

**The Wiley International Handbook
of Educational Leadership**

The Wiley International Handbook of Educational Leadership

Edited by

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Mere Berryman, MEd PhD ONZM, is an Associate Professor at the University of Waikato in the Faculty of Education. Her research in the 1990s focused on collaborations with schools, Māori students, their families and communities through relational and responsive literacy and behavioral interventions. This work merged with the inception of Te Kotahitanga, an iterative research program aimed at working with schools to develop more effective learning relationships and culturally responsive pedagogy to

promote Māori students' educational success as Māori. This pedagogical pathway saw understandings from kaupapa Māori begin to merge with critical theories and a socio-cultural view of the mind.

Mere is currently directing a national secondary school reform initiative, *Kia Eke Panuku: Building on Success*. This initiative spans three tertiary institutions and continues to work extensively with school leaders, classroom practitioners, Māori communities, iwi and other education professionals to bring about education reform for Māori students in 94 secondary schools. Ongoing evidence of educational disparities for Māori students in our schools, continues to make education for equity a priority.

Mere has also worked in these areas with indigenous and minoritized groups from other parts of the world. She continues to publish widely in this field.

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sciences and humanities. Zygmunt Bauman, Noam Chomsky, Helene Cixous, Clifford Geertz, and Maxine Greene are but a few who share their perspectives, providing an opportunity to compress the history of qualitative and critical research paradigm development into a rich overview. Through the development of two websites select video clips from these texts may be viewed at cooperwhite.com and thedigitalscholar-network.com.

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In 1999, Peter received the Comparative and International Education Society George Z. F. Bereday Outstanding Scholarship Award for his article, “The cultural production of educational utility in Pere Village, Papua New Guinea,” and in 2005 received the Ohio State University College of Education Distinguished Teaching Award. His 2009 book, *Producing Success: The Culture of Personal Advancement in an American High School*, is now in its second printing with the University of Chicago Press.

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Andy has authored or edited over 30 books, several of which have achieved outstanding writing awards from the American Educational Research Association, the American Libraries Association, and the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. One of these, *Professional Capital: Transforming Teaching in Every School* (with Michael Fullan), has received three prizes, including the prestigious Grawemeyer Award.

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Andy consults with organizations and governments all over the world. He is founder of the Atlantic Rim Collaboratory – www.atrico.org. His most recent book is *Uplifting Leadership* (with Alan Boyle and Alma Harris) published by Jossey Bass Business in 2014.

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His expertise is in leadership in education, management of educational systems; development and implementation of educational and training programs, retraining and advanced training of educators; monitoring the quality of education; and modern educational technology. He is a member of the jury and the organizing committee of the national competition "School principal. Honored Teacher of the Russian Federation."

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Working Within Radical Pluralism: Reconstructing Educational Leadership

Ira Bogotch and Duncan Waite

This handbook is an expression of ourselves and our lives' work. We are devoted—beyond the doing of our work as professors and editors—to the search for leadership. As educators, more specifically as educational leadership researchers, we understand the need to proceed systematically in our investigations, while also being imaginative, positive, and critical of the many different ideas we encounter. For we believe that educational ideas and experiences are filtered by personal, cultural, and professional identities. Hence, our judgments are based on both reason and imagination. The search for leadership, differs for each of us, according to our unique experiences, contexts, critiques, and consequences. The search for leadership—our lives' work—is more complicated than simple reflections upon the narratives and discourses we and others use to define leadership. However reassuring definitions may be, that is not the pathway to knowing education or educational leadership.

To be clear, we're not just talking about identifying leaders, those individuals whose ideas and actions are affixed to various schools of thought or school reform programs. We cannot ignore the role individuals play; however, the search for leadership always and everywhere extends beyond the thoughts and actions of individuals, for thoughts and actions intersect with the many relationships in and out of organizations and institutions. Moreover, by adding the term education to leadership, the search specifically asks us to explain why education matters. For example, understanding that education is not a preparation for life, but rather life's experiences in terms of growth and development was central to John Dewey's philosophy. Likewise, Neil Postman (1995) made the important distinction that "public education does not serve a public. It *creates* a public" (p. 18, emphasis in original). The marriage of education and democracy introduces a distinction between spectators and participants in terms of the means and ends of education. Gert Biesta and Carl Safstrom (2010/2011) call for educators to find ways to speak as educators and not through other disciplinary ways of knowing, so that we do not just speak *about* or *for* education, but *as* educators. In other words, appropriating (or being appropriated by) disciplinary ideas or accepting *a priori* definitions to be applied to education should only be considered after we, as educators, have analyzed and critiqued educational problems and their environments first. This continues to be the motivation and theory behind the many writings on social justice which assert that social justice is an educational construct, not the handmaiden of social theory, politics, ethics or philosophy (Bogotch, 2008, 2014).

Consequently, delimiting leadership to influences or service or transformation misses the fundamental notion that leadership, particularly educational leadership, is fully educational; thus, the objectives, both means and ends, of education are not for *any* externally driven policy or for creating *any* public, but rather, as Postman (1995) stated, for creating a particular public, one that fulfills the dreams and aspirations of all humans in terms of freedom, equality, and fulfillment. Yet even these high-minded abstractions have contextual meanings—culturally, racially, ethnically, and nationally. In this sense, education becomes more than formal schooling, just as leadership is more than school leadership. In his Rock & Roll Hall of Fame induction speech, Prince (2004) commented how, “When I first started out in the music industry, I was most concerned with freedom. Freedom to produce, freedom to play all the instruments on my records, freedom to say anything I want to... I embarked on a journey more fascinating than I could ever have imagined.” As with other human endeavors, shouldn’t educational leadership, too, be musical, poetic and beautiful (English & Ehrich, 2016)? Yet we see that too many of our brightest and most promising practitioners and researchers delimit and are limited in their thinking to the educational leadership theories concerning what is currently happening in schools without connecting their (re)search to insights (Kouzes & Posner, 2002) and ideas on how to better the societies of which schools and schooling are a vital component. As educational leaders, we cannot be oblivious to world events, from the mundane to the horrific, even when our work is grounded in local, regional, and national educational reforms. It is, therefore, the purpose of educational leadership research to engage in promoting educational ideas as part of the social, political and economic discourses circulating throughout societies the world over.

Our aim for this Handbook is for us all to recognize the many ways of knowing educational leadership within and beyond schools (Foster, 1986). The Handbook as *discourse* and as *action* is a liberatory project; searching for a leadership that seeks to understand, critique, and invite others in creating new educated publics and spaces that will be life-sustaining. That said, an international handbook such as this recognizes that there are many nations today in which such work is more difficult and more dangerous than in other developed, more stable, often Western nations. We in no way intend this to be dismissive of our colleagues’ serious struggles for leadership, because we recognize that we must all name, confront, and resist those dominant discourses, policies, and projects that only serve to promote exclusion, elitism, favoritism, corruption, or corporatization (see Waite, 2010, 2014; and Waite & Waite, 2010) and other malignant societal forces that must be resisted everywhere, all the time. Rather, we name the dangers so that even those of us working in safer settings understand the stakes involved in promoting educational leadership. In other words, to paraphrase the Reverend Martin Luther King, an educational victory anywhere in the world is a victory everywhere. An international handbook that brings hope to the world cannot but aid in a successful educational leadership journey.

In connecting the world, Freire (1970), Noddings (1988), and Waite (2000) remind us that educators need our love, respect and consideration so that they, too, may relate to children and other adults from the heart. The diverse and complex field of educational leadership distinguishes itself from education writ large in that a primary focus for education and love involves the adults working inside and out of educational institutions. For adults, doing education even under normal circumstances is hard work, and becoming more difficult, more stressful, and sometimes dangerous for one’s health and well-being

(Riley, 2014). Many administrators spend 60, 70, sometimes 80 hours a week *at work*. The tasks administrators perform are many and varied, and most administrators are experiencing work intensification, that is, having to do more with less (e.g., fewer resources, fewer staff, out-of-subject area teachers teaching in difficult, hard-to-fill subjects and schools, schools which are filled to overcapacity and which are themselves in dangerous circumstances) (Waite, 2015). The work is hard and the remuneration and public recognition rarely compensate for the professional efforts needed to do the job and do it well. Nevertheless, damage is done to education, public schools, and school people by the naming and shaming in reactionary public policy discourses. This affects the way that many in the public view public schools, teachers and administrators, and students.¹ Repeated attacks on public education—affixing negative labels collectively—are too numerous and strident for even the most diligent of critical researchers to challenge effectively. Our defenses are feeble in the face of these dominant narratives. And yet, it is left to us as educational leadership researchers to fight back with as much courage as our ideas can muster, for thinking and writing anew about educational organizations are courageous acts in these social and political times. Putting forth new and alternative leadership ideas into practice, for example, Professor Carolyn Shields and transformative leadership (2013), can be even more courageous/dangerous. Nevertheless, it is towards the task of thinking otherwise, in understanding that schools and public education can be the hope for a better future that is our responsibility. We strive to bring new meanings to our field by way of this international handbook.

The Reinvention of an International Handbook of Educational Leadership

In our initial invitation letter to scholars from around the world, we asked them to unleash their imaginations and inner dreams, sharing with readers what they envisioned for the future. Our invitation to them asked that:

In so doing, you should highlight the trends, the research questions, the social impetuses or movements swirling about today and where you think these social, political and aesthetic forces might take us? What utopian and/or dystopian futures seem most likely? Please don't hold back or self-censor; as editors, we'll help you rein it in, if and only if, that seems advisable. We are asking for your best and boldest statements to date.

What you will find here is a threefold departure from previous handbooks in educational leadership: at the analytical level, this handbook champions radical pluralism—of people and of ideas—over consensus and pseudoscientific or political solutions to problems; on methodologies, this handbook embraces social, economic, and political relevance alongside the traditions of careful and systematic rigor; as for conceptions of leadership themselves, this handbook aligns with John Dewey in never assuming *a priori* what leadership means, but rather searching for leadership contextually (aka internationally), deliberately and purposefully. Consequently, this handbook challenges the epistemological, cultural, and methodological biases favoring grand narratives built on consensus, heroism, quantification, and dominant discourses drawn

primarily from Western ideas on leadership. Intentionally or not, these biases have pushed the field of educational leadership towards becoming insular in its thinking and routines and, consequently, of limited interest and relevance to the public or to other fields of educational inquiry, most notably curricular theorists. To counter these traditions and abiding frameworks, this handbook is explicitly transgressive in how our authors approach leadership while, at the same time, being authentically international.

The chapter authors have each imagined how leadership might transcend the insular disciplinary and bureaucratic confines imposed by today's research designs and methods, and the unromantic, literal chronicling of schooling which dominates most of today's scholarly journals. In contrast, our vision, in a nutshell, is to present the most representative, provocative, stimulating, and authoritative compendium on leadership in education across the globe, one grounded in our field's historical antecedents, and reaching into the future. Herein, you will find radically new possibilities for remaking educational leadership research and educational institutions which are not yet in wide-scale operation at primary, secondary, and post-secondary levels. At the same time, you will see how our history had sought to advance the field; how language and politics were always at play; how new ideas were introduced into the field; and how the way forward, internationally, looks very different from the ever-present nineteenth-century, mechanistic, behavioristic, and psychometric models which are still dominant in nations around the world today. This handbook literally talks back to intransigent bureaucrats, profit-seeking business people, short-sighted politicians, and well-meaning, but misguided philanthropists. The chapter authors were given license to (re)create publics. Of course, in some geopolitical environments, educational leadership is more a matter of colonial reproduction wherein local educators have not been able to create spaces for critique of the dominant models of leadership preparation and practice. To these audiences, we seek to build bridges to leapfrog over template reproduction and move to more culturally relevant and indigenous ways of knowing. It is not enough for nations in Asia, for example, to raise the bar on standardized test scores; it is for them and others to discover leadership capacities that are grounded in their own values and contexts. The struggle in the United States begins with questioning the Institute of Education Sciences (IES), established in 2002, and how it has policed educational research such that methodological rigor and narrow definitions of evidence trump relevance and within-school quality-of-life experiences. Internationally, econometricians are working feverishly to establish a causal link by way of some sort of linear path analysis from leadership preparation programs to school administrator performance to teacher performance to student achievement, in order to hold all parties "accountable" in a name-blame-and-shame game. Talk about a lack of imagination! These absurd attempts at making causal connections highlight the worst of the uses to which statistics can and are being put. Such specious causalities are the logical ends of the "values added" movement championed by some in our own field. But we must not forget that such policies, policies which begin with documenting how much third graders, even kindergarteners know, have resulted in the erasure of music, art, gardening, school field trips, recess, and play from the school lives of children. There are always consequences to educational reform policies that can burden young and old throughout their lives. Our job is to "opt out," talk back, resist, and (re)create publics of freedom-loving peoples.

While the establishment of a profession implies agreed-upon goals and objectives, the processes by which these goals and objectives come to be also introduce the very

freedoms to enact different policies and practices, independent of and in opposition to external, non-educative forces. Whether or not educational leadership is a *true* profession, however, is still debatable. Our routines and work are circumscribed and delineated by roles, norms and proscribed practices for teachers, administrators, researchers, clinical professors, and other educators. Psychologically, agreed-upon goals create a space and feeling of belonging, namely a community, a normal science in Kuhn's (1962) paradigmatic terms. Consider the converse—one view of radical pluralism—as described by Yeats, writing after World War I. His poem the *Second Coming* includes this verse:

Turning and turning in the widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity.

Holding to, wishing for or establishing a center is reassuring and a likely tacit motivation behind many previous educational leadership handbooks. Terms such as coherence, alignment, fidelity, correspondence, consensus, measurement, classification, efficiency, and effectiveness have dominated too many past and present discussions of educational leadership. Such terms and their concepts allow for editorial alignment of both topics and authors into seemingly coherent texts. But this coherence has been, to a large extent, empty of substance and of questionable worth, an illusion often based on a succession of correlations of probabilities moving in a similar direction.

A second set of terms, too, is often found in these handbooks: words such as community, context, diversity, difference, and culture. Their use, however, is not meant to compete with one another for intellectual space and significance. Rather they are used as background or mediating or moderating factors. This is where language and methods conjoin: dominant discourses in major keys; receding discourses in minor keys, all beginning at the top by substituting science, measurement, and social efficiency for the moral and intellectual responsibilities of educators. Of course, such language games appear in our field as disciplinary surveillance (Foucault, 1975), whereby leadership was conceived of as supervision, inspection, administration, and management. We might ask, did any of these changes in terminology result in increased professional judgments, job enrichment, school improvement and student growth? To Thomas Sergiovanni (1992), all this amounts to is a displacement of goals, not professional freedoms.

By our efforts at destabilizing the insularity of educational leadership, we strive to place the moral and intellectual responsibilities of teachers and administrators at the forefront of what we all do. For us as editors, the field of educational leadership is diverse and radically pluralistic. At best, our philosophies and politics, as manifested through our collective and collaborative work in this handbook, while critical, yet reflect a positive stance, one of hope, as we champion liberatory ways of knowing. The chapters themselves are diverse, bringing to light the voices of those who are practicing leadership around the globe. The authors we have assembled here—the scholars,

practitioners and critics—possess the humility we value. In addition to being critics and doing cutting-edge work, none is dismissive of or presumes to know more than others—other scholars, readers, other practitioners in other geo-epistemological spaces. “For those who by chance or fortune occupy higher-level positions in our social structures to assume some type of superiority, for them to treat others disdainfully or with no consideration at all, should not be tolerated by anyone.” (Waite, 2014, p. 1226). Therefore, we do not presume to provide step-by-step directions for others to follow in their workaday lives. We respect others’ ability to take what is offered here and apply it themselves in their unique situations. The realities of life as diverse cannot be ignored, whether the context is a matter of life and death or of *repairing the world*, locally first, then globally.

Breaking with the Past, While Respecting Others

To better understand how and why this Handbook is coming at a significant time in the history of educational leadership, it is important for readers to walk briefly through some significant milestone events, both advances and setbacks. Knowledge of history, or, better said, the historical antecedents to the current situation(s), is an essential part of the social critics’ analysis. Such knowledge, naming and making explicit the antecedents and precursors to our historical moment(s), brings into clearer relief the notion that these moments are contemporary social constructions. Therefore, analysis of the social constructions gives the social critic, the educational leader, insights on how to change current social conditions. Unfortunately, our field’s current knowledge and experiences of using historical antecedents have too often been ignored.

It is not a sign of good health for any academic field or discipline to have an untested and unexamined history, especially when that field is education. Discussion and debate, as well as actions, invigorate the policies and practices of school leadership. Practically every contemporary problem has had a long and rich history of discussion and debate. Yet, many of us today will not even consider consulting the hard-earned experience of our predecessors when faced with a problem, whether it be adopting a new reading curriculum or deciding on the role of classroom testing or the scheduling of classes. Our own history seems to have no place at the school leadership and policy tables (Bogotch, 2005, p. 8).

Any history, however, is presented as an interpretation, more accurately, as one of many possible interpretations, reflective of multiple contexts and diverse cultural truths. Educational leadership itself was born out of the diagnoses of structural-functional problems as experienced by practitioners (Buckingham, 1919–1920; Mershon & Schlossman, 2008; Urban, 1998). For decades, the focus was on the study of practical educational problems by describing quantitatively the complexities of schooling, focusing on managing people, resources and facilities, and establishing professional criteria for differential roles and responsibilities in schools, school districts, and universities. As such, educational leadership research was torn between efforts to pragmatically and efficiently solve administrative problems, including the supervision of teachers and the direction of curriculum to meet the needs of practitioners and students, in contrast to efforts to study and better understand the philosophical underpinnings of education in relationship to society. The countervailing forces (Lewin, 1946)

do not, however, explain why the field of educational leadership has not, over the course of a century, established itself as a moral and intellectual endeavor, as envisioned by Dewey, Foster (1986, 1989, 1994), Bates (2006) and others. This dichotomous state of affairs is not for any lack of intellectual effort on the part of educators, whether practitioners or the professoriate, to bring us together as a profession. Yet, almost from the beginning of the twentieth century, the distance between schools and universities has widened, and the venues for writing about educational leadership in schools and universities have become divided between scholarly journals, read almost exclusively by university graduate students and their professor-authors, and practitioner-focused articles on “what works” and “best practices.” Moreover, the income disparities between administrators and teachers reflects and reinforces the hierarchies and hierarchical thinking that continue to plague public education. In describing the history of this professional situation, Foster reminded us that our work must always *go beyond* schools and as a human endeavor be grounded in values and contestations over power and language.

Foster’s (1989) admonition to think and incorporate societal issues, dispositions, and practices was rejected (e.g., NCATE accreditation standards) and co-opted by the corporate business thinking that contributed to the enactment of neoliberal policies, and the deregulation and dismantling of centralized, public authorities, to be replaced by private enterprises. Thus, the co-optation of “beyond school” was translated into competitive—not at all free—markets controlled by entrepreneurs in publishing, hardware, and software companies. The public was replaced by the private; the social by the individual; cooperation by competition; and the collegial was replaced by unfunded and mandated “to-dos.” All the while, in just a few short decades, educational institutions became ever more stressful, toxic, and de-professionalized. And what exactly has our response been to this degradation?

To answer that question adequately would require an in-depth historical analysis, which we cannot provide here. What we can do is outline a few of the more significant ideas and directions taken by numerous scholars since the 1980s. For those who immediately want a deeper critical discussion of the ebbs and flows throughout our history, we recommend Ellen Condliffe Lagemann’s (2000) *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research*; Fenwick English’s (2003) *The Postmodern Challenge to the Theory and Practice of Educational Administration*; and Helen Gunter’s (2016) *An Intellectual History of School Leadership Practice and Research*.

In the last few decades, two dynamic forces clashed: (1) the postmodern critique of the field of educational leadership which encouraged multiple pathways for understanding the field, including the struggles for wider representation successively of women, people of color, students with special needs, and indigenous voices; and (2) what the majority of chapter authors refer to as dominant discourses, specifically neoliberalism. Yet in spite of this clash, our field has become decidedly more inclusive. Pluralism acknowledges and values more than one way of knowing. Pluralism manifests itself through co-constructing meanings, through critical dialogues, and through the creative processes of sense-making with others (Christa Boske, personal communication, May 13, 2016). But the question now is whether this inclusiveness, through co-constructing, dialogue, and creativity, has had a material effect on the practice of educational leadership or whether the dominant discourses and professional associations representing distinct constituencies have held the field captive to powerful external authorities.

The answers to this question turns on the Freirean relationship between the “word” and the “world.” Many in our field have sought to leverage state and national policies around the development of leadership standards and the subsequent accountability measures. Others, through professional associations, have looked to reform the field by introducing new research agendas, for example the study of pedagogies and leadership preparation, designing alternative pathways for practicing educational leadership, for example, as scholar-practitioners and as bridge leaders. Still others, following the leadership of Catherine Marshall, sought to re-center the field around the meanings of social justice. International researchers have progressively added depth and richness of critique and perspectives to the US-centricity that had dominated the field’s modern era. In coming to this handbook in 2017, the field has become decidedly more international, due, in no small part, to our concerted efforts over the last twenty years editing the *International Journal of Leadership in Education*.

But if these concerted efforts—and reflective living—have taught us one thing, it is that the words as well as the world change, such that meanings and truths change. This is unsettling to administrative, problem-solving minds. It is also unsettling to single-issue theorists and compliant practitioners. It is, however, most unsettling to our policy-makers at every governmental and quasi-governmental level who are seeking to reduce educational leadership to the templated frameworks of standards and accountability as a way to reduce and resolve complexity, conflict and tensions. Pluralism, in contrast, imagines working inside dilemmas, contradictions, and ironies, the whole of human experiences for adults and children that distinguishes educational leadership as a lived experience filled with democratic and moral possibilities. Not surprisingly, the concerted efforts from the dominant discourses seek to constrain these possibilities by way of a definitive list of standards, classroom observation checklists, and dependent variables weighted in favor of standardized test scores. The world’s children and educators deserve more.

International Structure and Handbook Format

On many levels, this Handbook and its constituent chapters represent or reflect the field of educational leadership. Like the field, the chapters are diverse, bringing to bear the voices of those who are practicing leadership around the globe. Due to space limitations, we were forced to make strategic decisions about the geo-political areas or regions represented. It would have been impossible to represent or to showcase the work from every region of the globe. How then do you choose? How finely do you divide geographical areas? Take Asia, for instance: Do we have one chapter that covers “Asia”? Or do we cover China only? Do we include a chapter from India? Why not Pakistan or Bangladesh? Is Turkey part of Europe or Asia or the Middle East? What about Hong Kong and Taiwan? Do we need a separate chapter from Japan and one from Korea? In the end, we opted for a chapter co-authored by scholars we thought could capture a sense of Asia as a whole.

It was a similar case with Central and South America, which presented its own unique challenges. The Russian, Middle Eastern and the African cases were similar. In the case of Central and South America, Russia, the Middle East and Africa, we approached scholars who had extensive experience and expertise in/with these geo-political areas

and as with all the chapters here, asked the principal author to collaborate with colleagues who were based in those areas. All of these chapters are informed by local conditions and contexts and yet speak to wider, global trends and educational phenomena.

This, then, was how we decided to proceed: going with the very best scholars with whom we were familiar, fully cognizant of the limitations of this, of any approach. No doubt there were other options and different decisions that could have been made, but we opted to trust our authors to present a well-researched, imaginative and creative chapter. We are pleased with the result. By the numbers, we were pleased with the resultant geo-political representation in the handbook. Our authors come from Australia, Canada, Egypt, Hong Kong, Israel, Italy, Kenya, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Russia, Spain, Switzerland, Tanzania, Turkey, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay, representing some 21 countries from around the globe. To be sure, this is a small proportion of the approximately 190 countries represented in the United Nations, but in comparison to previous handbooks, it is a substantial improvement.

In parallel with geo-political representation, we wrestled with topical diversity and coverage. Again, we considered topical coverage carefully, as we were limited by space. We knew that we wanted a coverage of topics that would awaken the imagination as points of departure from previous educational leadership handbooks. We have included chapters on leadership and aesthetics, creativity, eco-justice, advocacy, Big Data and technology, neoliberalism, emerging philosophies and theories, critical democracy, gender and radical feminism, political economies, emotions, postcolonialism, and new directions in higher education around the world. In many cases, readers will see local practices *talking back* to theory, particularly “Western” theory.

Our Assessment

At this point in time, the parts of educational leadership remain larger and more significant, to us, than does the whole. That is, dissensus, difference, debate, diversity trump consensus, continuity, and coherence. Why? Aside from the language games where words become instruments of the powerful, we all still have to translate the words and their highfalutin’ theories into practice. This is how planned change and design research move to stages of implementation. If we look at the seemingly inconsistent terms of dissensus, difference, debate and diversity, and then ask how these open-ended mind-sets translate into practice, one answer, for us, is through collaborative communication networks. Conversely, if we look at the dominant terms of consensus, continuity and coherence, then the most logical and efficient methods of management become command and control. Educational leadership does not have to be consistent in its messaging, for such ambiguity is precisely what allows for multiplicities and radical pluralism of people and ideas. Decision-making done far from the locus of action produces only prescriptive and scripted curricula and pedagogies, driven by an unreflexive managerialism. We hope that we have made this position clear both in this introduction and throughout the handbook.

Educational leadership today is divided into narrow research families, each largely unfamiliar with other research families. We recently compared the reference lists of two

histories of critical race theory presented in two highly respected scholarly journals. Fewer than 10 percent of the citations overlapped. Bogotch and Shields (2014) made a similar observation with respect to the citations on social justice from within the field of educational leadership compared to those in curriculum studies. In other words, despite the wish on the part of some in the field to create a canon with consensus, many resist—without consequences. Hence, we are a version of the blended family: peacefully co-existing in parallel play, only rarely feuding in print. To date, education as theory is a center that has not held.

Why is this state of affairs a plus for us? We are the world, learning from one another and not espousing one way of knowing. We do not see difference as “othering” or as deficit. Our authors do not code-switch in the sense that their particular arguments assume normativity as subjects here, but not there. It is, as Gert Biesta reminds us, a subject-to-subject relationship in education. Conversely, the larger field of educational leadership (cum administration) is marching to the tune of governmental authorities, which would erase, ignore, or even quash alternative voices, ways of knowing and being in the world. Unlike the National Policy Board of Educational Administration, the Institute of Education Studies (IES) referred to above, unlike the What Works Clearinghouse, we do not privilege one set of truths above others based on criteria, which we know *a priori* will privilege one set of rules, methods, procedures, practices, and peoples over others.

The question is whether we continue to nurture a healthy and vibrant radical pluralism or whether the societies of the world and their schools will fall under the sway of yet another PISA moment, another scale of League Tables and international rankings or impact factor scores, resulting in another round of colonization by the already strong over the weak and emerging. Will dominant Western templates be taken up by those who mistakenly see things from wealthier Western nations as automatically better? Will globalization (i.e., market-based policies, standardization of products and performance, and accounting for profits) erase cultural and contextual policies and practices nationally and internationally? To what extent have the various meanings of education and educational leadership given way to a standardization of schooling around the world? Will educational researchers develop investigative methods from situationally sensitive perspectives that capture both the local and macro-international trends? Will leadership practices for advancing our field, and observational tools for diagnosing classroom teaching lead to enhanced performance and outcomes? Our position, as stated above, is that anyone writing in the field of educational leadership who is not intimately knowledgeable of our own diverse histories and debates, anyone publishing work in our field who does not acknowledge explicitly our own history, becomes complicit in the corporatization and diminution of our mutual profession. As editors of this handbook, our expectations were met and exceeded by all of our authors, regardless of their individual visions of leadership.

Growth and development (i.e., education) is never guaranteed. Globalism is the magnetic field that continues to lock processes and products in their already clearly-defined places. Its effects are realized through the domination of monopoly capitalism, the antithesis of free markets and free agency. Like John Goodlad (2004), we have had a lifetime love affair with education, even as we have struggled to make cutting-edge educational ideas relevant. We have fought for a more inclusive and imaginative vision of education and educational leadership in the pages of the *International*

Journal of Leadership in Education for the last two decades and continue that work in this international handbook.

So long as there is music, art, literature, sports and free expression in the world; so long as great literature breathes life into the human spirit; so long as the best and the brightest still find their calling in education, we believe that we can transform the dominant global politics. But to do so, we must win hearts and minds inside educational institutions, and that will not be easy. Fear, not love, too often fills the hearts of principals, teachers, and children: Fear of failing, fear of losing one's position, fear of the next evaluation cycle, fear of school closings and re-purposing, fear that the numbers will be taken to mean inadequate performance, fear of the rules of the game, fear of not being liked or respected, fear of not meeting standards—ours and others'. Overcoming these fears is one of the most difficult tasks for any leader, but in particular educational leaders. One cannot teach children or develop healthy relationships in fear. Overcoming fear takes courage, but it also requires that we address the causes of fear and danger. Where being a student, a female student in particular, can be a matter of life or death; where being a teacher or school administrator can also be a matter of life and death, we understand how hard it can be to teach the courage to overcome fear. But where our fears arise from banal and seemingly intractable situations which take over one's thoughts (Sloterdijk, 2013), then the role of educational leadership research is not about finding and validating truths, but rather about changing mindsets by changing the material conditions of where people learn and work (Bogotch, 2014), and of changing practices.

Walzer (2002) believes that critics, to be successful and agential, need to work from the inside. This is why administrators and other school leaders are elemental to any radical change efforts. "One of the most important objectives of an educational leader's education, preparation... is the leader's ability to undertake a critical social contextual analysis, ... [for] without a critical social analysis, students, teachers, administrators, other educational leaders, concerned citizens, and policy makers are likely to simply accept and work to maintain the status quo." (Waite, 2010, p. 367). Walzer enumerates three critical virtues of the social critic: courage, compassion and "a good eye."

Critics must be: brave enough to tell their fellow citizens that they are acting wrongly, when they are acting wrongly, but refuse the temptation of a provocative recklessness. They must sympathize with the victims, whoever the victims are, without becoming their uncritical supporters. They must look at the world in a straightforward way and report what they see. ... Critics aren't saints, even if one or another is virtuous beyond the normal run. ... I [Walzer] want social criticism that is accurate and timely, and this will often be ... radical criticism. But I distrust critics who are not men and women of common virtue and ordinary humanity. ...The "connected critic" ... stands in a certain moral relationship to his or her society.

(Walzer, 2002, p. xviii)

Rittel and Webber (1973) argued that there are no universal win-win solutions given a pluralistic society (p. 168). And herein begins the search for leadership inside issues of power and relationships. Nietzsche (1968), and more recently Bogotch (2012) and Waite (2012), among others, have noted the relation between knowledge

and power: “knowledge works as a tool of power. Hence it is plain that it increases with every increase of power” (Nietzsche, p. 266). As scholars, as citizens, as critics and as practitioners of educational leadership, we prefer to think of this knowledge–power relationship as weighted in favor of the “student”—he/she who chooses to be taught by another. But even as we theorize throughout these pages, even as we conceive, perceive, verbalize, and debate, we would do well to consider, as Walzer (2002) suggests, that “when [our] theory crashes”—as it inevitably will at some point,—“we can still rely ... on our moral sense as a ‘guide to knowledge’” (Silone, as cited in Walzer, p. 229) The authors assembled in this handbook, educational critics all, possess this moral sense or compass which guides us and our work. In sum, the search for leadership shifts from a romantic and nostalgic longing to the realization that leadership is a wicked problem (Rittel & Webber, 1973) that must surrender to events and circumstances as they exist in people’s lives around the world. As such, to impose leadership is to separate it from beauty, art, creativity and freedom, that is, from our work as educational leadership researchers.

We end by asking a pragmatic question: How will we know that we have made a difference? Were we poets, or were we to translate our love of schooling into poetry, we would follow the leadership of Walt Whitman (1855) in his preface to the first edition of *Leaves of Grass*:

This is what you shall do: Love the earth and sun and the animals, despise riches, give alms to every one that asks, stand up for the stupid and crazy, devote your income and labor to others, hate tyrants, argue not concerning God, have patience and indulgence toward the people, take off your hat to nothing known or unknown or to any man or number of men, go freely with powerful uneducated persons and with the young and with the mothers of families, read these leaves [pages] in the open air every season of every year of your life, re-examine all you have been told at school or church or in any book, dismiss whatever insults your own soul; and your very flesh shall be a great poem and have the richest fluency not only in its words but in the silent lines of its lips and face and between the lashes of your eyes and in every motion and joint of your body.

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Note

- 1 According to John Hattie (2015), not affixing deficit labels to students has had a consistent 0.61 effect size on student achievement, in line with teaching strategies at 0.60 and direct instruction 0.59.

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1

Educational Leadership for What? An Educational Examination

Gert Biesta

Introduction: Educational Leadership for What?

If it is granted that educational leaders should lead, then the obvious question is what they should lead *for*—which can also be phrased as the question what they should lead *towards*. Although the question seems obvious, it is easily forgotten in the maelstrom educational leaders find themselves in, being caught up with administration and management rather than leadership, and often just trying to keep up with bureaucratic demands and desires. This means that the question of direction, the question what educational leadership ought to be *for*, is often only answered in the concrete and short-term language of targets, outcomes, and Key Performance Indicators, with little attention and often simply just not enough time for considering the longer-term aims of education and the underlying purposes that direct, give meaning, and justify such aims. Also, in the world of targets and Key Performance Indicators it is quite likely that the answer to what educational leaders should lead for is already decided for them, with little scope for interpretation and negotiation, let alone for critique.

Yet the relative absence of sustained attention to questions of purpose is not just a practical matter; it is not just a matter of lack of time, but also has to do with the presence within educational policy, practice, and its wider discourse, of powerful but nonetheless rather unhelpful ideas, theories, framings, and assumptions of what education is about, what the task of education supposedly is, of how education works, and what this means for the administration, leadership, and improvement of education. The purpose of this chapter is not to provide a detailed overview of all these discussions, but—one step removed from this—raise a number of more fundamental questions about education, including questions of its discourse, its purposes, its theories, and its improvement. The intent partly is to have a perspective from which problems can be identified and can appear as problems, and partly to provide building blocks for a more informed, nuanced, and politically astute discussion about education and its leadership.

The chapter is structured in the following way. I begin where many would argue education should begin, that is with the question of learning, but I will argue that learning—and specifically the language of learning—has become a problem for education rather than just its obvious starting point and frame of reference. From here, I address the question of purpose in education, suggesting that, unlike what is the case in

many other domains of human practice, the question of educational purpose is a multidimensional question, which raises some particular issues for the conduct of, and research about, education. These issues, as I will discuss, call for pragmatism at all levels of education, where pragmatism means that the question about what ought to be done can only ever be answered in relation to what it is we seek to bring about or let emerge. This also has to do with our understanding of the dynamics of education—the question of how education “works.” Although there can be no doubt that education does work and should work, much of what is being discussed in relation to this starts from quasi-causal assumptions about the dynamics of educational processes and practices—assumptions that also play a key role in discussions about educational effectiveness. As an alternative to quasi-causal thinking about education, which actually is a cause of many practical and political problems in education, including in the domain of educational leadership, I suggest a complexity-oriented approach, which not only provides a more accurate account of the dynamics of education but also provides a significantly different way into questions about educational change and improvement. In the final section of the chapter I bring these threads together in a discussion about the position of the school in contemporary society, arguing that in an “impulse society” (Roberts, 2014) there is an important duty for schools to resist (Meirieu, 2007) rather than just satisfy the desires that societies project onto their schools.

The Learnification of Education

It seems obvious to start any discussion about education with the question of learning, and many would indeed argue that education is “all about learning,” even to the point that education without learning—or in my own phrase: education *beyond* learning (Biesta, 2006)—remains an option that not many would immediately want to consider. As one of the editors of this handbook formulated it recently: “(W)hat underlies and distinguishes educational ideas is that in each and every case, *learning must happen*” (Bogotch, 2016, p.1; emphasis added). While I still consider it important to consider the possibilities of education beyond learning, also in order to free teaching from learning and to free teaching from the politics of learning (Biesta, 2013; 2015a; on learning see also Stables, 2005), the point I wish to discuss in this section does not so much concern learning itself as its *discourse* and the ways in which this discourse has influenced (and in my view: distorted) thinking and acting in education.

The starting point here is the (remarkable) rise of the language of learning in education over the past two decades or so (which is not to suggest that learning was not part of the educational conversation before, but had a different position and status in the discourse). The rise of this “new language of learning” (Biesta, 2006; Haugsbakk & Nordkvelle, 2007) is visible in a number of discursive shifts, such as the tendency to refer to pupils, students, children, and even adults as learners; to redefine teaching as facilitating learning, creating learning opportunities, or delivering learning experiences; or to talk about the school as a learning environment or place for learning. The new language of learning is also visible in the ways in which adult education has been transformed into lifelong learning in many countries (Field, 2000; Yang & Valdés-Cotera, 2011).

The rise of this new language of learning has to be seen as the outcome of a number of only loosely connected developments in the theory, policy, and practice of education.

These include the critique of authoritarian forms of education that focus solely on the activities of the teacher and see education ultimately as a form of control (see, e.g. Freire's critique of "banking education"; Freire, 1972); the rise of new theories of learning, particularly constructivist theories (Richardson, 2003; Roth, 2011); and also, particularly in the shift towards lifelong learning, the influence of neoliberal policies that seek to burden individuals with tasks that used to be the responsibility of governments and the state (see Olssen & Peters, 2005). The language of learning has not only dramatically affected research and policy, but has also become part of the everyday vocabulary of teachers in many countries and settings (Biesta, Priestley, & Robinson, 2017).

What is the problem with the rise of the new language of learning in education? Perhaps the quickest way to express this is to say that the point of education is not that students learn—and it is remarkable how often this is what is being claimed in policy texts or research about what education is for, what teachers should do, and what research should investigate—but always that students learn *something*, that they learn it for particular *reasons*, and that they learn it *from someone*. Education, to put it differently, always raises questions about *content*, *purpose*, and *relationships*. The language of learning, viewed in this way and used in this way, is therefore at least *insufficient* for expressing what education is about and ought to be about. Just saying that students should learn, that teachers should make students learn or should support their learning, or that research should investigate how all kinds of factors affect student learning, simply doesn't say enough.

Learning, to put it differently, is a process concept, so that it is only when we specify the "of what" and the "for what" of learning—its content and purpose—that we begin to get into a meaningful discussion, both about learning and, more importantly, about education, where the ambition can never be that students will just "learn." A slightly different way to make the point is when we look at examples in which the word "learning" is used correctly, such as learning to ride a bike, learning that two and two equals four, learning the second law of thermodynamics, learning to be patient, learning that there are things that you are not good at, and so on—all examples of learning, and even of things that, in principle, can be learned in school, we can see that just to refer to "learning" is not enough. With this comes the fact that, at least in English language usage, learning is an individual and individualizing concept—you can only learn (for) yourself but cannot learn for someone else—which also makes the language of learning inappropriate if we wish to highlight that education is always in some way about relationships, such as the one between the student and the teacher.

There is not only a problem with the language of learning—that the language is insufficient to articulate what education is about—but also with the discourse of learning, that is, when this language becomes the main way in which educational practitioners, policy makers, and researchers speak, think, and act, as it is a language that, in itself, runs the risk of neglecting to ask the questions that ought to be asked in education about the content and purpose of learning, and about the particular relationships that are at stake in education. This is one of the main reasons why the rise of the language of learning in education is actually quite a problematic development—which was the main reason I coined a "problematic" concept for this development, namely that of "learnification" (Biesta 2010).

All this is of course not to suggest that when the only or main discourse available in education is the discourse of learning, that there is no content and no direction. On the contrary, the rise of the language of learning may have actually made it easier for particular forces to take control of what education should focus on or bring about. In this regard, it is interesting that the rise of the language of learning has coincided with the rise in education policy of a focus on a narrow set of “learning outcomes” (note the term) which, in recent years, have become the main “currency” of the global education measurement industry (Biesta 2015b). And it is not only policy who is to blame here, as the language of learning has also been promoted in research and scholarship, with a similar lack of attention to content and purpose, the “of what” and “for what” of learning. This is both the case in general scholarship on education¹ and in scholarship in the field of educational leadership, where leadership and learning are often seen as closely connected—see, for example, the occurrence of this connection in Boyle & Charles (2010), Collinson (2012), and Dempster (2012)—or the rise in leadership of the phrase “lead learner” in discussions about educational leadership.

The Question of Purpose in Education: A Threefold Issue

Having established that learning is not “enough”—that the *language* of learning is insufficient as an educational language and that the *discourse* of learning may actually distract educators from asking the questions they should be asking about their practice—the question that needs addressing, then, is what is needed to transform the language of learning into a language and discourse of education. I have suggested above that in education we always need to engage with questions of content, purpose, and relationships. Of these three, the question of purpose is the first and, in a sense, the most important question, because it is only when we have established a view about what we seek to bring about with our educational endeavors—in the broad sense of the word—that we have a criterion to make judgments about the content that is most appropriate for this and about the ways in which relationships can support our ambitions. Some authors have even gone so far as to say that the purpose is *constitutive* of education, which means that education *necessarily* needs a (sense of) purpose. In more technical terms, this means that education is a teleological practice, that is a practice constituted by a “telos”—the Greek word for the “point” and purpose of a practice (see Carr, 2003, p. 10).

There is, however, something distinctive about the question of purpose in education because, unlike what is the case in many other domains of human action, the purpose of education is not one-dimensional—there is not *one* purpose education is orientated towards—but is actually three-dimensional (and thus requires three-dimensional thinking; an issue I will discuss in more detail in the next section). The suggestion that the purpose of education is three-dimensional stems from the simple but nonetheless important observation that when we look at concrete instances of educational practice, we can find that they have a potential impact in three different domains or dimensions. What many would recognize is that education is about qualification; that it is about the transmission and acquisition of knowledge and skills. Acquiring knowledge and skills is important because it allows children, young people, and adults to “do” something—it qualifies them. This “doing” can be very specific, such as in the field of vocational and professional education, or it can be conceived of more widely, such as in general

education that seeks to prepare children and young people for their lives in complex modern societies. Some see qualification as the only task and function of the school, and assert that schools should stick to this remit. The idea that qualification is the only thing that matters and should matter in school education is also visible in much that is being measured about education, as it tends to focus on “academic” outcomes, and often only outcomes in a rather narrow domain (science, mathematics, and first language).

But even if the official discourse argues that schools ought to be only involved in qualification—in the transmission and acquisition of knowledge and skills—research on education has shown for a long time that schools are also powerful institutions of socialization, as they communicate traditions and practices and play an important role in providing opportunities for children and young people to engage with such traditions and practices. This partly happens “behind the backs” of teachers and students—as research on the hidden curriculum has shown—but is increasingly seen as a legitimate ambition of education, both in its more conservative modes, where the ambition is, for example, to communicate and preserve particular social, cultural, political or religious traditions and ways of being and doing, and in more progressive modes, where the emphasis may be on traditions of critical democratic citizenship. Socialization is therefore a second domain in which education functions.

In addition to qualification and socialization, I wish to argue that education always also affects what, in general terms, we might call the personhood of the student. And again we make a distinction between the fact that education always has such an impact and the fact that educators can actively seek to achieve such an impact, for example when they consider particular qualities that they seek to promote—such as critical thinking, a collaborative attitude, and so on. In my own work—see particularly Biesta (2010)—I have referred to this as the domain of subjectification, highlighting the fact that all education worthy of the name, that is, education that is not enacted as indoctrination, should ultimately promote the possibility for children and young people to exist as subjects of action and responsibility, rather than as objects of the intervention and control of others.

The argument I wish to put forward here is that qualification, socialization, and subjectification are more than simply three possible “effects” of education—that is, three domains in which education *functions*. I wish to suggest that because education always has a potential impact in these three domains, educators and educational leaders should also take explicit responsibility for what they seek to achieve in each of these domains (and engage with the question how their ambitions can be justified). This means that in addition to seeing them as three functions of education, we should also see qualification, socialization, and subjectification as *three domains of educational purpose*.

Two further observations are relevant for the focus of this chapter. The first is that if we see qualification, socialization, and subjectification as three legitimate domains of educational purpose, then we have a starting point for criticizing and countering trends that seek to reduce education to only one of these domains. The issue here is not only that such approaches tend to create educational systems and practices that are out of balance, but also that a one-sided emphasis can often annihilate one or more of the other domains (for an early “warning” on this problem see Kohn, 1999). Although the strongest “pushes” many educators and educational leaders are experiencing are

attempts at reducing education to qualification and, more specifically, to measurable outcomes in a small number of school subjects, we should not forget that attempts to “drive” education solely with regard to socialization or with regard to subjectification are also one-sided. Good education, therefore, should always be concerned with content, tradition(s) and the (formation of the) person. The second observation I wish to make here is that although qualification, socialization, and subjectification can be distinguished, they can never be separated. This raises some important considerations with regard to the design and conduct of education, to which I now turn.

The Need for Judgment and Pragmatism

If we look at education from the angle of purpose and acknowledge that the question of purpose poses itself as a three-dimensional or threefold question, and if we also acknowledge that the three domains are always “there” *together*, then we have a starting point for identifying the kinds of judgment required in an education that is oriented towards such a broad and encompassing conception.

First there is judgment needed about what we seek to achieve in each of the three domains and about how we can keep these domains in an educationally meaningful balance. Rather than to say that education should promote learning, the question becomes what it is we seek to achieve with regard to the qualification, socialization, and subjectification of our students. This is not just an abstract question that can be resolved at the highest level of policy and curriculum development—although it has to be taken into consideration there as well—but is also a question that poses itself again and again in the everyday practice of education and also in relation to each individual student. The need for achieving an educationally meaningful balance between the three domains introduces another moment of judgment in education, as qualification, socialization, and subjectification are not necessarily always in synergy with each other.

This means that a second judgment that needs to be made—again not only at a general level, but also in relation to each student at each point in time—is how we deal with the trade-offs between the three domains. What, in other words, are willing to give up *temporarily* in one or two of the domains in order to make something possible with regard to another domain. As educators, we know that it makes good sense to focus our educational endeavors and the efforts of our students on particular aspects of the educational spectrum—sometimes they have to focus on particular skills or knowledge; sometimes they need to focus on their relationships with fellow students. But such one-sidedness always comes at a price, so the key question is to what degree it is reasonable to limit our efforts in one or two domains in order to make something in another domain possible. It is here that we encounter a tipping point that shifts education out of balance—(and the current systematic drive on academic achievement reveals a system that runs a serious risk of being out of balance).

In addition to judgments about purpose—about the “what for”—education also requires judgments about the “how.” These are judgments about pedagogy, curriculum, assessment, classroom organization, school architecture, and so on. The reason why this requires attention as well has to do with another peculiarity of the practice of education, namely the fact that the means of education—the ways we “do” education—are not neutral “interventions” that only require a check on their effectiveness. On the contrary, the means of education themselves send important messages to our students, so

that it is never only a question of whether how we “do” education is effective with regard to what we seek to achieve or bring about, but also whether it is educationally meaningful (see Carr 1992). Students, after all, not only learn from what we say, but also—and in most cases even more—from how we do things, and many students are very good at spotting the contradictions between the two.

These considerations show the central role of judgment in teaching, and such judgments are first of all “of the teacher” (see Heilbronn, 2008) because they must be made in the always in some respect new, concrete, and unique situations teachers encounter. For educational leadership, this first of all raises the question of what needs to be done to provide teachers with the space for making such judgments—a complex question that has to do with the interaction of individual capacity, the cultures within which teachers work, and the structures that frame their work. They are questions, in other words, about what is required from those with leadership responsibility to make it possible for teachers to exercise *agency* (Priestley, Biesta, & Robinson, 2015). This is not to suggest that educational leadership is only there to facilitate the agency of teachers. Questions of educational purpose also play beyond the classroom—at the level of school policy and practice—and it is here that questions of judgment and engagement with educational purpose in its threefold manifestation are also within the remit of those involved in educational leadership.

A final observation I wish to make here concerns the fact that judgments about the purposes, the forms, and the trade-offs in education have to be understood as fundamentally *pragmatic* in nature. Pragmatic here means that the question as to what to do in education and how to do it can only be answered in relation to what it is that we seek to achieve. It can only be answered, in other words, with reference to our views on the purposes of education. This is an important warning against a trend in education to make *principled* claims about what should be done—a trend that is particularly fueled by research and particularly enacted by education policy. Principled statements about education suggest that in education things should *always* be done in a particular way. We encounter such claims often in the form of educational fashions, such as current claims that all education should be flexible, personalized, focused on the student, and so on. To highlight that most if not all judgments in education are pragmatic, means to see that whether education should be flexible, personal, and student-centered always depends on what it is we seek to achieve. In some cases we may indeed conclude that flexibility or personalization are meaningful ways to design and enact education, but in other cases we may judge that this is precisely *not* what needs to happen.

The current push towards evidence-based forms of education tends to overlook this important insight in suggesting that the only consideration that should matter is “what works”—forgetting that the question “what works” is meaningless if we forget to ask what something is supposed to work *for* (Bogotch, Mirón, & Biesta, 2007), and also if we forget to ask about the way in which the “how” of education itself crucially contributes to what it is we seek to achieve.²

How Does Education Work, and How Can It Work Better?

In the previous sections I have outlined that if we wish to move “beyond learning” in our thinking and speaking about, and doing of, education, we need to engage explicitly with the question of the purpose of our educational activities and endeavors. While I do not

wish to determine what the purpose or purposes of such endeavors should be, I have indicated three domains that are always “at stake” in education and that all education in some way needs to attend to. Looking at education in this way also begins to highlight the particular judgments that are required in the design and enactment of education—judgments that are at the heart of the daily work of teachers and that also occupy an important position in the work of those with a leadership responsibility. All this also provides a framing for the critical analysis of the all-too-easy solutions that some researchers and some policy makers (and some practitioners too) seek to generate, implement and adopt: solutions that are based on the assumption that if we have robust scientific knowledge about the relationship between educational inputs, mediating factors, and educational outcomes, we can reduce the need for difficult judgments about the complexities of education, including value-laden judgments about what education is supposed to be *for*. One thing I have tried to argue is that the complex, open character of education and the need for judgment are not the result of a lack of knowledge—such that with more investment in research we could eventually “close” education and take judgment out—but rather belong to the very qualities that make education *educational*.

There are two further aspects I would like to add to the discussion so far before I draw my conclusion about the meaning of the approach presented in this chapter for the field of educational leadership. The issue I wish to explore briefly in this section has to do with the question of how education “works” and with common assumptions about the workings of education—assumptions that, in my view, tend to generate quite unhelpful questions, expectations, research agendas, policy initiatives, and interventions. What I have in mind here is what I refer to as quasi-causal assumptions about the workings of education, that is, assumptions that tend to depict education in terms of inputs, mediating factors, and outputs or outcomes. Whereas I don’t think that many would argue for perfect causality in education—where teaching is seen as the cause of learning and where good, effective or perfect teaching would produce predictable learning outcomes—there seems to be, nonetheless, a not-uncommon expectation in research, policy, and practice that education roughly works in this way (hence, for example, the ongoing appeal of the phrase “what works” in many corners of education).

I have found it useful to approach the question of how education works in terms of insights from complexity theory and systems theory (see, for example, Osberg & Biesta, 2010). One thing that such a perspective allows us to do, is to ask the question about the conditions under which perfect causality actually occurs. The answer to this question is that perfect causality actually only happens in closed systems within which interactions between elements work in deterministic and non-recursive ways. This already begins to show why causal expectations about education are problematic, as education is best understood as an open system, a system that is in interaction with its environment, and as a system where the interactions are not deterministic but semiotic (much in education happens through communication and interpretation), and where these interactions are recursive (which basically means that the “elements” in the system—teachers and students—can think and make up their own mind and can adjust their actions based on the conclusions they draw).

To argue that education should be understood as an open, semiotic, and recursive system, begins to raise the question of how anything in education can “work” at all. After all, if education systems are open to outside influences, based on ongoing processes of mutual interpretation, and populated with people who can think and make up

their own mind, it seems to be highly unlikely that such systems will operate in predictable ways. But here, again, thinking about education as an open, semiotic, recursive system is useful, as it can generate a fairly precise answer to the question what needs to be done to make open, semiotic, and recursive systems such as education behave in more structured and predictable ways, as this requires that one begins to reduce the openness of such systems, begins to limit opportunities for interpretation, and begins to reduce the recursivity of the system—that is, the ways in which actors are free to act in any way they want. Interestingly, this is precisely what is done in education. We reduce the openness of education systems by organizing education within buildings (schools), classrooms, age groups, cohorts and so on. We reduce interpretation through the combined “work” of curriculum—which offers “material” for interpretation—and assessment—which specifies the boundaries of what makes sense and what doesn’t make sense—and, through processes that are partly still in need of further investigation, we manage to let even very young children understand what it means to act as pupils, just as, through teacher education, we work with teachers to develop their understanding of what their role involves, thus framing their thinking and, through this, their acting.

When we reduce the degrees of openness, interpretation, and recursivity of the educational system, it begins to behave in more predictable ways, even giving us the impression that the relationships between teaching and student action are more or less causal. Complexity theory and systems theory provide explanations as to why this may seem so, and what needs to be done to make education systems more predictable. These same approaches can also help to understand where, as a result of the ongoing reduction of complexity, education systems reach a point where they are no longer educational, no longer orientated towards the subject-ness of students, but become systems of indoctrination and control, where the links to the environment are shut off, where only one interpretation is considered to be right, and where we try to limit people’s own thinking, sense making, and acting.

I offer these thoughts as an alternative way of understanding the dynamics of education, other than the quasi-causal way of thinking that continues to dominate educational thought, policy and practice. I also find it interesting that the approach presented here indicates quite different drivers for change in education. The approach highlights what can be done to make education systems behave in more predictable ways and also shows the price of such interventions, as they always tend to involve a reduction of openness, interpretation, and thinking. In some cases this may be important, particularly if the task of a particular educational endeavor is for students to get it absolutely right—think of the education of airline pilots, for example. But if it is granted that education is never just about training in the domain of qualification, but also carries a responsibility for helping students to act in thoughtful and responsible ways (subjectification) in relation to existing practices, cultures, and traditions (socialization), making education “work” immediately becomes a much more complicated question.

The Duty to Resist

The thrust of the argument throughout this chapter has been that education cannot avoid normative questions, question about value, about desirable directions for education, and desirable ways of designing and enacting education. On the one hand, the implication

of my argument so far is that such normative questions are an essential part of education, and I would contend that in a democratic society there should be an ongoing open discussion about the values that should orient decisions about the direction, content, and form of education. have suggested that all education worthy of the name—that is education that does not conceive of itself as indoctrination—needs to be concerned with the qualification of students, their socialization—the ways in which they orient themselves in relation to existing cultures, traditions, and practices—and their subjectification, that is, the ways in which they can exist as independent, responsible, and responsive human beings.

This argument identifies the domains that those working in and for education need to take into consideration, but it says little about the actual choices to be made in each of these domains and the domains together. But the “says little” does indicate that it says something, namely that education is not the same as indoctrination, and that it ultimately needs to support the possibilities for students to be subjects of their own—individual and joint—actions, rather than remaining objects of the actions and interventions of others. One could say—and this is the position I would like to defend—that for education to be *educational* it needs to be concerned with the possibilities for students to exist as subjects rather than objects. There are, of course, complicated questions about what it means to exist as a subject and what that requires, just as there are complicated and important questions about why existing as a subject is desirable. The latter question can in my view only be engaged with from a historical perspective, that is, with reference to those situations where the possibility for individuals to exist as a subject was suppressed, up to and including the annihilation of other human beings. This, so we might say, is the injunction of “education after Auschwitz” (Adorno), and at least poses a reference point which all those engaged in education need to take into consideration.

I propose that there is a distinctive educational interest and that schools, if they want to be institutions of education rather than of training and instruction, need to stand for this particular interest. From here it follows that the school can never just be understood as a function of society, that is, the institution that simply does everything society (or groups within society) wants it to do. As an educational institution, we might say that schools and those working in schools, leaders included, always have a duty to critically examine all the demands and desires that society puts to them, and that they need to examine these demands and desires from the perspective of their educative responsibility. The school, from this perspective, is therefore not just *functional* for society, but also has a duty to resist, as the French educational scholar Philippe Meirieu formulates it (Meirieu, 2007), and in this regard is also a fundamentally *dysfunctional* institution (a point made by the German educational scholar Klaus Mollenhauer; see Mollenhauer, 1973). The school’s duty to resist, on the ground of its responsibility for the possibility for students to exist as subjects rather than objects, also extends to the desires that students (and their parents) bring to the school. Again, if those in schools take their educational responsibilities seriously, they cannot treat students (and their parents) as mere customers whose wishes have to be obeyed. There again there is a task to resist such wishes and desires, and at least offer students (and perhaps also their parents) the opportunity to examine and, where needed, transform their desires so that their existence in the world as subjects of action and responsibility remains or becomes possible.

Conclusion: Educational Leadership for What?

I return to the question in the title of this chapter—the question of what educational leadership should be for. I do not claim that the question in itself is new or unique, but what I have tried to show in this chapter is that common ways of answering—such as that educational leadership is ultimately there to promote learning, to lead teachers in this task, to make the educational endeavor more effective in doing so and, through all this, serve society and the wider “clientele” of education—may be limited in outlook, often because they accept a prevailing “common sense” about education (such as that education is all about learning, that improvement of education means making it more effective, or that education needs to serve its customers). Ultimately educational leaders are free to answer so, just as long as they provide sound rationales for their judgments, decisions, and actions. In this chapter I have suggested that, in addition to the need for remaining critical of the powerful discourses that currently engulf education, it may be that education has a particular interest to stand for, a particular interest to defend. This educational interest in the possibility for children and young people to exist as responsible subjects of their own actions may be something that educational leaders need to take into consideration when they seek to formulate their own answers to the question of what it is they should lead *for*.

Notes

- 1 I leave it to the reader to explore examples of “learnification” in research, policy, and practice, but cannot resist one salient example, that of “deep learning,” now being promoted by the New Pedagogies for Deep Learning Partnership (see <http://npdl.global>). For example: “We work alongside educators to change the role of teachers to that of activators of learning who design learning experiences that build on learner strengths and needs, create new knowledge using real-life problem solving and help all students identify their talents, purpose and passion.”
- 2 To say, for example, that homework is of no use—a claim apparently supported by research, as reported by Hattie (2008)—is a meaningless statement if we do not specify what it is not useful *for*. And while there may be no positive evidence that homework impacts significantly on academic achievement (which could also be because there may not be meaningful research available), this does not mean that we should just abolish it, because it could well be that homework has significance and meaning for other domains of educational purpose. After all, to make students responsible for a task outside of the controlling gaze of the teacher may be very important if we want to help them to become responsible subjects, rather than being entirely driven and controlled from the outside and thus remaining objects. In this sense, I am surprised by Hattie’s suggestion—partly made in response to my critique of evidence-based education (Biesta, 2007)—that, although there is more to education than academic achievement, in the end it is what matters most (Hattie, 2008, pp. 245–255), thus reinforcing a one-dimensional view of education in which only qualification seems to count.

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2

The Question of Creativity for the Field of Educational Leadership

Susan Field Waite and Kirsten Robbins

In this chapter, we explore creativity as a question for the field of educational leadership. We begin by examining creativity discourses in the educational leadership journal literature. After describing orientations to creativity in this literature base, we suggest that creativity inquiry in the field of educational leadership would benefit from thinking creativity from a different place. We question the assumption that creativity and educational leadership must be thought from the worldview of an ordered uni-verse, which is also a personal (see Esposito, 2012, 2015) logic of construction and technology of production, with a regenerating structuration of ends (see Nancy & Barrau, 2015). We suggest, not as a conclusion but as an opening, that creativity (and educational leadership) instead can be thought from plural worlds, from the taking-place of immeasurable singular plural existence. It is from this place that we must think (or follow the traces of) creativity. Such movements would be conducive not only to rebuilding (restyling) creativity inquiry within the field of educational leadership but also may be helpful to changing other practices in educational leadership and beyond (e.g., living together in the twenty-first century). The place from which we think creativity matters for a life, for plural worlds.

Orientations

Orientations turn us toward some things rather than others (Ahmed, 2006). Orientations shape how we dwell in the world, how we apprehend the world, how we feel about the world, what we reach for in the world, and what seems to be within our reach (Ahmed, 2006). Orientation is derived from the Latin *orientum* “rising sun; the east; part of the sky where the sun rises.” Such histories remind us that personal orientations incorporate, and depend on, putting things into order, in order to get one’s bearings, in order for one not to be lost.

Sometimes orientations diverge from a line of inheritance; sometimes they swerve from a straight line (Ahmed, 2014). When we are aligned with others as we reach, when we move in the same direction, we usually are unaware of personal orientations and attunements. We become aware of our orientations when we experience a wall;

suddenly we experience the world's resistance to our movements (Ahmed, 2012). When we act with a different orientation from others, it can be experienced by others as disruptive and can make them unhappy (Ahmed, 2010b). Sometimes it can take a lot of effort not to follow the dominant current. At such times we may feel as if we are not even moving, although we are working hard (Ahmed, 2012).

In a sense, traces from other times can be carried. In another sense, traces also can be followed, as one might track an animal through the forest (thinking along with, living together with, the inaccessible that is the open). Histories can shape not only what we reach for, but also how. An academic field can become attuned in certain ways, influencing those who come near it. Academic fields, academic disciplines, and individuals are organized and influenced by what they have been close to and by what they have inhabited. As things are put into order, subjectivities in their (numerable) singular and plural forms are constructed (e.g., professional fields, autonomous individuals, sovereign nation-states, the global market). One also could say that existence is machined and ordered into enclosed wholes, putting these ones into the "natural" order of the uni-verse, into the self-regulating, self-selecting "natural" ecosystem of the global market, or into the "natural" ordering of "civilization." We may not be aware of the attunements that we carry, that we bear, because to become attuned with something is to become "one" with it (Ahmed, 2014). Therefore, examinations of creativity discourses in the educational leadership journal literature can provide helpful insights that can open up both present discussions and future inquiry on creativity in educational leadership (in addition to opening up other conceptual categories).

States of Creativity Inquiry in Educational Leadership Journals

In order to study states of creativity inquiry within the field of educational leadership, we analyzed English language, peer-reviewed and editor-reviewed articles that addressed the topic of creativity (by name), either as a focus or as a significant emphasis, in major journals associated with educational leadership. In our review of the educational leadership journal literature, some authors used the word "creativity" only once in an article. We excluded articles that only briefly mentioned creativity as well as articles that did not use the term. Benham and Murakami-Ramalho (2010), for example, explicitly referred to creativity only once, mentioning that creativity could be used to support indigenous ways. Though creativity *might* have been one of the implicit emphases of this article, with the authors simply not using the term more than once, we decided that such an interpretation not only would be over-reaching but also would compromise our examination of "creativity" within the educational leadership journal literature. Therefore we did not include such articles.

Sometimes creativity and innovation have been used interchangeably in the academic literature. Sometimes they have been distinguished as different. We focused on creativity rather than including innovation for multiple reasons, including but not limited to the following. First, we were interested in the educational leadership field's use of the term "creativity." Second, some scholars have viewed innovation as a reductive understanding of creativity (e.g., see Joas, Sennet, & Gimmler, 2006). Third, some

scholars have conceptualized innovation as something that cannot happen without creativity (e.g., Glaveneau, 2012). Additionally, some scholars have viewed innovation as the implementation of creative ideas (e.g., West, 2002), a distinction (and problematic separation of thought and action) that locates creativity inside subjects' heads, while locating innovation in the environment. Fourth, researchers who have studied animal creativity, who heretofore have been publishing their scholarship in journals related to biology rather than in journals that focus on psychology or creativity, often have not distinguished between creativity and innovation (see Kaufman & Kaufman, 2015).

We sought to include in our examination any articles that discussed primary research from qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods research traditions; any articles that discussed primary theoretical research; and any secondary source articles with a focus on describing the ideas of others. We included both journals that mainly targeted an audience of university-based individuals who teach educational leadership courses, and journals that mainly targeted an audience of school-based individuals in leadership roles. Because a field can perform a gatekeeping function for a domain, deciding which variations of that domain are worthy of being passed on (Csikszentmihalyi & Wolfe, 2000), we analyzed peer-reviewed and editor-reviewed articles in major educational leadership journals. We purposely did not extend the literature base to non-refereed works, such as reports on creativity that have been generated by centers or organizations.

Orientations to Creativity in Educational Leadership Journals

Although authors have been writing about creativity in educational leadership journals for decades (see, e.g., Meyers & Torrance, 1961), we found few peer-reviewed or editor-reviewed articles with any direct focus or substantial emphasis on the topic of creativity in the major professional journals that focus on educational leadership. This finding, in itself, could be helpful to a professional field if it is hoping for “new directions” for research. The small number of articles on creativity (countable on our fingers) in the educational leadership journal literature base could be interpreted as meaning that the field of educational leadership has not been orientated toward “creativity” in recent decades. In other words, based on these findings, the field of educational leadership did not appear to be reaching toward creativity.

Therefore, the few authors who have written about creativity either as a focus or major emphasis of articles within educational leadership journals (and perhaps also the journal editors and manuscript reviewers who accepted their works as appropriate for publication) could be viewed, from one perspective, as swerving from the orientation of the larger “whole” of the educational leadership field. However, as we shall discuss later, this swerving did not significantly diverge from one line of thought. All of the articles discussed creativity from the place that might be called the “structuration of ends,” a paradigm that constructs and completes everything as one and everything as order (see Nancy & Barrau, 2015, on the one and order). (We further discuss this paradigm later.) We turn next to these articles and their orientations to creativity.

Creative Leadership

In the literature base that we reviewed, we found a couple of articles that approached creativity through the concept of “creative leadership.” Creative leadership was described as if it were a special category of leadership, one that was somehow different from regular leadership and perhaps even from other models of leadership (i.e., types identified in typologies of leadership, as “transformational leadership” and “distributed leadership” might be). Stoll and Temperley (2009a, 2009b) and Harris (2009) described creative leadership as if it were especially necessary for learning and survival in the twenty-first century. Stoll and Temperley (2009b) defined creative leadership as:

an imaginative and thought-through response to the opportunities and challenging issues that inhibit learning at all levels. It’s about seeing, thinking, and doing things differently in order to improve the life chances of all students. Creative leaders also provide the conditions, environment, and opportunities for others to be creative. (p. 12)

For Harris (2009), creative leadership was “fundamentally about connecting people, often very different people” (p. 11). For both of these authors, flexible teamwork and collaborative learning were positioned as essential for an inevitable future of rapid change, a future to which both educators and students had to adapt in order to survive. Creative leadership was portrayed as unquestionably necessary for leaders in education; indeed, as the passage above illustrates, life depended on it.

Creative Learning

Thomson (2011) in turn critiqued the existing literature base on creative leadership (a small sample consisting not only of journal articles but also non-refereed texts) and then called for a focus on “creative learning” instead of creative leadership. With some similarities to those in the field of creativity research who have distinguished between creative teaching and teaching for creativity (e.g., Beghetto & Kaufman, 2010), Thomson distinguished between creative leadership and what she referred to as “leading for creativity in and as learning” (p. 266). She cautioned that the field of educational leadership should not assume that creative leadership is causally linked to creative learning. For Thomson (2011), the conception of creativity that was offered in the existing texts on creative leadership was both problematic and under-analyzed, in that creativity was construed as: (a) primarily about ideas; (b) a thing or event rather than a contextual social practice; and (c) something that is latent in everyone and that simply needs the right conditions to become available (p. 254). Thomson expressed a concern that the existing texts on creative leadership failed to analyze power issues, such as why, for whom, and how learning is to be changed. She also found that the literature on creative leadership paid little attention to the creativity research literature base beyond the narrow field of educational leadership, which was something that we also noticed in our own review of articles with an emphasis or focus on creativity.

Although Thomson critiqued the literature on creative leadership in her 2011 article (using what she called a deconstructive approach), she did not critique the concepts of creative learning or creativity-*as*-learning, which she presented almost as a kind of solution to contemporary educational issues. The learning of individuals and groups also

seemed to be a central concern for other authors who wrote about creativity within educational leadership journals. Stoll and Temperley (2009a), for example, even began their article by stating that the core purpose of schools is learning (p. 65). Across the educational leadership journal literature with any emphasis on creativity, we found no critiques of learning or of what Biesta (2006) has called “learnification.” Learning, including creative learning and creativity-as-learning, was discussed throughout the literature base as an unquestionably valuable means *and* end.

Orientations to Barriers to the “Release” of Personal Creativity

Some authors who wrote about creativity were orientated to barriers to a personal creativity (personal in the sense not only of solitary individuals but also of groups that share something in common). Creativity frequently was portrayed as something to be released, as if from a cage; therefore, educational leaders should remove the barriers that prevent the release of persons’ creativity (see, e.g., Harris, 2009). Creativity here seemed to be conceptualized as a slippery essence that first could be innately inside a person and then expressed if freed from constraint. Oppressive conditions, however, could keep creativity locked up inside individuals. Creativity needed freedom from constraint in order to become visible (to be present as a whole, or for potential to be actualized into fullness).

Managing creativity-enabling conditions perhaps feels in reach of the educational leader’s position in the school, because the leader may consider the management of both school conditions and people to be part of the job. Some authors portrayed the educational leader as someone who should provide the right conditions for creativity (see, e.g., Azzam, 2009; Booth, 2013; Lowe, 2010; Moos, 2015). Given the historical association of educational leadership with the managerial role of educational administration (Burns, 1978), an orientation to managing conditions for creativity in schools was not surprising.

Managing the potential barriers to creativity was discussed in a variety of ways. For example, Booth (2013) claimed that arts education and arts-integrated curricula could promote creativity. In addition, some authors described certain kinds of group practices as ways of managing barriers to creativity. Some authors, for example, emphasized the need for interactive, coordinated social groups, both for educators and for students. Newton (2004) conceptualized jazz as a shared improvisational approach that could serve as a model both for educational leadership and for learning the kinds of collective-orientated improvisational skills needed for leadership. In order for creativity to take place and for learning goals to be achieved in schools, educational leaders needed to work together harmoniously, interdependently, and fluidly; they needed to develop their own interactive improvisational skills over time. Moos (2015), who discussed leadership *for* creativity, described creativity in terms of creative learning, which in this case involved school practices such as group and project work, dialogue, and deliberative democracy. The interactive version of creative learning here was contrasted with the solitary acquisition of basic skills and with individualistic teaching methods, both of which could serve as barriers to persons’ creativity. Finally, Azzam (2009) reported an interview with Sir Ken Robinson, a well-known “popular” speaker from beyond the field of educational leadership, on the topic of why creativity is important today. Robinson’s responses in this article portrayed creativity as a misunderstood concept, with

associated myths and misconceptions. According to Robinson, educational systems should be significantly changed (in an almost revolutionary way) so as to encourage rather than squelch creativity. Creativity was deemed essential for the economy and for being competitive in the global market, and so schools' barriers to creativity needed to be removed.

Despite the concern with removing barriers to creativity, the educational leadership journal literature on creativity was relatively silent on the potential penalties to educational leaders for thinking and acting in ways that differ from the "general will" (see Ahmed, 2014, on will), as well as on the penalties that leaders can inflict on others for acting in ways that wander away from the aligned orientation of the ordered whole, the unity of the community-with-something-in-common. The works of Robert Sternberg (2005, 2009) were some of the exceptions. Beyond the educational leadership literature, Ahmed (2014) has discussed how other people may become unhappy with the individual who wanders away from the familiar and familial line. Those who are unwilling to will and reach in the "right" way risk being struck down for their own good (Ahmed, 2014). Those who wander from the dominant orientation not only can be viewed as impeding a perceived "happy" march of education's forward progress, but they also can have their feelings categorized by others as bad and wrong. As Ahmed (2010a) has stated, "Bad feelings are seen as orientated toward the past, as a kind of stubbornness that 'stops' the subject from embracing the future" (p. 50). Mueller, Goncalo, and Kamdar (2011) found that creativity was not viewed favorably when people assessed an individual's leadership "potential," unless an individual's creative expression was combined with charisma. Such scholarship points to the challenges related to creative action under some conditions.

Aspects of our own practices can be easily overlooked. For example, according to the research of Mueller, Melwani, and Goncalo (2012), people can state explicitly that they desire creativity but actually end up rejecting creativity. In this case, the researchers made sense of their findings in terms of implicit biases against creativity. Other researchers have found that human beings have implicit biases for what already exists (see Eidelman, Pattershall, & Crandall, 2009). Furthermore, due to what has been called a longevity bias, people are more likely to think that what has existed longer is better, tastier, and even more moral (Eidelman, Pattershall, & Crandall, 2010). The stickiness of affect sustains connections (Ahmed, 2010a); as individuals enter a field, they can be affected by orientations that are prevalent in that field, sometimes without awareness of a shift in their own orientations. Although these research studies were not referenced in the literature that we examined, we mention them because the pluriverse can be thought as historical, always exposed and altering (for various perspectives, see Aharov, Popescu, & Tollaksen, 2013; Nancy & Barrau, 2015; Unger & Smolin, 2015). However, persons can deny the un-appropriable exiting that "co-constitutes" existence. They can spatialize such exposure or abandonment into a whole, dividing and adding it for enhanced personal control, or filling it up wisely (see Hall, 1984). One does not have to be aware of orientations or turnings in order for them to affect one's practices. These practices in turn can affect others and can co-participate in creating conditions that can make it difficult to act ethically.

When we are personally orientated with others in similar ways, we typically do not experience much friction of the machine that we inhabit. Persons often try to make life smooth, consistent, holistic. When we think from the worldview of a unified and orderly

cosmos, we keep machining ourselves into its functioning. Thinking from the place of this techno-cosmos, with its structuration of ends, orientates us in ways that repeat. We form passionate paths (Ravaisson, 1838/2009), which (with just enough repetition) eventually turn into pleasurable smooth grooves, and before we know it, we are in a rut that sometimes can be difficult to notice, let alone think beyond. Questioning our assumptions, and as well as what has been thought by others to be unquestionable, can be a practice that slowly exhausts such a machine. When we think existence, and life, only in terms of essence and what persists (through resisting decay, disorder), there can be real effects, as Esposito (e.g., 2008) has discussed.

Worlds

From the worldview of construction (i.e., the place of the techno-cosmos), everything is one, and everything is order (Nancy & Barrau, 2015). However, this world of constructed sense has opened to the sense of the world(s) (Nancy, 1997; Nancy & Barrau, 2015). According to Nancy and Barrau (2015), there have been three major transformations in how we think about the world: first, “the world may no longer be represented as a cosmos (the ordering of a well-composed set or ensemble)” (Nancy & Barrau, 2015, p. 1); second, the world “is now devoid of any manageable and definite order (both on a universal scale and on every level of ‘nature’ and ‘culture’)” (p. 1); third, the world “has been diversified and pluralized like never before, both in the complexity of our interactions with the given (matter, life, space, and time) and in the upheavals that affect all forms of civilization (knowledge, power, and values)” (p. 1). Nancy, a philosopher, and Barrau, a physicist and philosopher, continue: “For this threefold reason, the sense of ‘world’ is not only undecided and multiple: It has become the crucial point where all the aspects and stakes of ‘sense’ in general become tied together” (p. 1).

Creativity and educational leadership continue to be thought from a constructivist view, from a cosmos (*kosmos*, “order, good order, orderly arrangement”) that resists disorder and impurity while embracing coordination (and operations that can be put to use for reproduction and production and for the representation of complete presence). Differences in dominant conceptual models of creativity (and educational leadership) have been merely variations of the constructivist one and order. Creativity inquiry and the ways in which we speak of creativity have remained within this yoke, even though as many scholars have noted (Nancy & Barrau, 2015; also Bohm, 1980; Rubenstein, 2014; Unger & Smolin, 2015), we can no longer represent the universe, or better, pluriverse, as a one (unity, union) where everything is ordered.

Thinking the world (and existence, creativity, educational leadership, education, community, time, research, identity, etc.) from the powerful abstraction (and absencing extraction) mechanism of the constructed one and order has real effects. The machine that is unicity encloses such that the world is split into discrete elements yet is bound together into complete presence by a common measure. From this worldview, means and ends can become interchangeable (see Nancy & Barrau, 2015), generating conditions where nihilism can reign.

This paradigm that repeatedly refuels itself arguably has influenced the dominant scholarly definitions of creativity. For decades, the dominant definition of creativity required two essential elements. What was deemed to be creative had to be both

original (novel) and effective (useful, task appropriate, valuable) (Runco & Jaeger, 2005). In recent years, some scholars in the field of educational technology proposed that a third element, wholeness, also was essential to the definition of creativity (Mishra, Henriksen, & the Deep-Play Research Group, 2013; Mishra & Koehler, 2008). For Mishra and Koehler (2008), wholeness meant that “creative products and solutions” are “integrated, organic, and whole” (p. 11). According to Mishra et al. (2013), the element of wholeness was necessary in order for creative work to be evaluated. Creativity had to be fully present so that it could be evaluated with a rubric with measurable gradations. This expanded definition of creativity, which explicitly identifies wholeness as a third and necessary defining element of creativity, is one example of the predominant constructivist (and productive) discourses of the twenty-first century. Creativity is thought in terms of the production of a whole, that must also be novel as determined by a normalizing comparison to other produced wholes, and that also works within the order of the universe in a way that makes sense to an Other, an observing subject. That this definition, with its third element, emerged from the field of educational technology also is not surprising, given that technology (and the subject as a technology produced by the machine of the structuration of ends) has long been thought from the place of construction (the techno-cosmos that includes constructivist epistemologies).

The educational leadership journal literature on creativity that we reviewed did not question the worldview of the (constructed, reproductive, productive) one and order. Creativity was described as something that countable singulars and plurals could have, use, free, or produce in order to achieve the unity and order that was lacking (e.g., learning, knowledge, identity, group harmony, adaptability to the needs of a larger whole such as a nation-state or the global market). Creativity itself also was viewed as a whole, a one made visible, a one normalized such that there could be more or less creativity, which was appropriable by persons, corporate and otherwise. Creativity could put things or persons into an improved order, assisting with their health and survival (see Canguilhem, 1989, on the persistence of life serving as the normal, with disease as the abnormal against which life must struggle). When education is thought from the place of construction, creativity is both more easily positioned in opposition to learning (the acquisition of knowledge, and the induction into existing social orders) *and* is more easily appropriated *as* learning.

“Persons” (in both their solitary and collective self-sufficient forms), with their two-fold division or splitting, have been orientated in many different historical times from the logic of construction, repeatedly pursuing the one and order (e.g., Esposito, 2012). They have attempted to either reach or return to a one and order (e.g., achieve a perfect whole; fill a lack or bridge a gap to accomplish a unity or union; put into an appropriate or “natural” order; return to an earlier time of order and community; make a “general” History; remediate student “deficits”; repay one’s debts). From this numerable (and measurable) worldview, the one is a countable and interchangeable element. Ones can be added and multiplied, laying a foundation for banking, capitalism, big-data algorithms, and the global market. This one can be divided up into smaller parts that constitute the whole, laying a foundation for the aligned parts that make up the whole of a nation-state, a school, an ethnic identity, and so on. Multiple (non-foundational) conditions with multiple histories are assembled into practices from and with which the independent subject, dependent on negation for its essence, must try to think. Persons must maintain a purifying separation from what they are not, a splitting (and denial)

that provides absolution from the debt-obligations of living together as undetermined, dis-ordered pluriverse, with the inappropriable space left free that co-constitutes (if such a thing can be said) existence.

Time and the social bond can be rethought in terms of the relation-without-being-or-commonality, the plurality (the only one) that spaces or pulses the world, the exposing of singularities to their “outside” (though not in any transcendental sense). When we rethink plurality in terms of the irreducible resonance of the world’s pulsing and spacing, for example, the plurality that exposes (dis-encloses) the passage of singular material existence, we may be better able to question and discuss the notion of “outside.” For example, perhaps by recognizing inaccessible (and non-appropriable) exposure as an aspect of existence, as an aspect of the pluriverse, we could better re-build (re-style) practices of existence, slowly withdrawing from feeding the insatiable mechanism that seeks to make everything wholly “accessible” and visible (fully present) to everyone (e.g., all data) (see, e.g., Nancy, 2007). We might be better able to discuss why “evidence-based strategies” only tell us what worked in the past in particular situations—not right now, here, with these particular students (see Biesta, 2007). We might be better able to discuss the contemporary demand that everyone must be creative, at least according to the social order, where some need to become the inventors of creative “products” and others need to become the flexible, adaptable service-workers, and where all must share in the consuming activity that is necessary for the health and survival of the creative economy. We might be better able to discuss identity, sovereignty, and those who do not stay in their proper place. We might be better able to discuss the limitations of Barad’s (2007) universe and of the mathematical foundation of numbers and counting (Aharonov et al., 2015).

We can rethink world, and the singular and plural, in different terms. In some senses, from plural worlds we can re-appropriate (alter) the terms of “the one and order,” discussing it and “creativity” from plural worlds. Such actions could be conducive for the critique of contemporary practices (e.g., educational, social, economic, cultural, theological) and for acting for a good education, where there are no universal principles and no universal, timeless applications of “evidence-based practices.” Rather, from plural worlds, one might ask what there is to be done next (and then next) with these students, with particular relations, given the passage of a unique moment. If we think (practice) creativity from the place of plural worlds, we may be more able to think (practice) creativity in ways that can alter our thinking (practices), which in turn can help us to better do and undergo ethical practice (the practical ethics, or ethos, of doing what there is to be done as singular plural existence). There is something to be “done” (with the gifting of relation-without-being), something to be “done” (following the resonance of the pluriverse’s pulsing that spaces the pluriverse), something to be “done” (as the undetermined, non-foundational pluriverse, where only existence can free existence, where this freeing also is the gifting of existence).

We are no longer in the world or on the stage of the world, but we are world(s); we are pluriverse (see, e.g., Nancy & Barrau, 2015). As Nancy and Barrau have written, “We are the world and the world relates to itself in us and through us” (2015, p. 4). We suggest that it is possible to participate, to practice, as worlds in thinking creativity with educational leadership. When we participate *as* worlds (rather than as separate from worlds), “Being’ is no longer in itself, but rather contiguity, contact, tension, distortion, crossing, and assemblage” (Nancy, 2013, p. 5). The participation (practices) of existence offers

opportunities for ethical action. Such participation is not the seeking of a complete revolution against a constructed order, aiming for the production of a totally separate world and the elimination of the old order (which would simply keep the negative structuration in repetition), but rather acting in relation with worlds, in ways that exhaust totalitarian mechanisms as well as rebuild (not reconstruct) conditions for ethical action, for living together as plural worlds.

It is possible to think creativity, world, and existence from the place of plural worlds. Unlike Deleuze and Heidegger, who only confronted disorder and chaos, rather than unfolding in such a place (Nancy & Barrau, 2015), Nancy and Barrau (2015) proposed that we can enter disorder—and that we indeed already have. The pluriverse is already dis-ordering and historical. The “social bond” of existence can be the “space” left free, that is, as exposure, edge, or abandonment, the pulsing (spacing) of the world(s), which participates in gifting (offering) life to the world(s). We can rethink life and education from a world that circulates.

Personal orientations cannot be ignored. They can even bring us much enjoyment. However, they also have been dwellings that have extracted us from the world(s). From a personal orientation, one can produce a profit, a surplus that in turn can be invested for multiplied growth of a whole. In the world of personal orientations, meaning is lost but repeatedly sought; whereas in contrast, the world *is* sense. Orientations often demand reasons or goals for the course of a personalized world (see Nancy, 1997, p. 77). Orientations provide constructed and constructing subjects with a way to proceed, a way to navigate things, a way to make sense of the world, a way to perfect ourselves in order to harmoniously take our place within the natural order of the *universe*, much like the ancient worldview of *oikeiosis*.¹ With both *oikeiosis* and the self-sufficient subject, a closed presence (a one) is completed within its own “natural” order.

When one thinks the world from the paradigm of construction, education can become a whole either to protect, or to destroy in disruptive revolutionary acts of “creative destruction” that allow for constructing an improved order. From such a place, education also is more likely to undergo both venal and systematic corruption (see Waite & Waite, 2010). From such a place, it does not matter if teachers have little authority to make their own educational judgments. From such a place, it becomes more difficult to discuss education beyond the language of learning (see Biesta, 2010). It becomes normal for teachers to be facilitators of learning who classify learners by type, who apply “evidence-based” strategies that others have decided worked in the past for standard learning ends determined by others, and who then test learners to see if the learners got the learning right. Learnification reduces education to a simple causal machine, where ends or outcomes for learning define the inputs into the machine, and then the machine measures whether or not the learning was acquired correctly (Biesta, 2013, 2015). This view of education dismisses the entanglements of educational relationships, as well as the (plural) impact that teachers may have on students.

For a good education, we might try thinking with the struction of plural worlds, opening onto a never-finished present. Saevi (2011) deftly describes a scenario in which a teacher’s glance is offered to a struggling student; this glance acts as an opportunity for student confidence, which is helpful at this moment. The unscripted glance that the teacher offers the student may seem like a small act on the part of the teacher, but it is what is to be done for a good education—in relation with *this* student, in *these* relations (see Biesta, 2010)—that are always unfinished surprises. A good education takes place

in such a practical ethics. These actions are not the senses of the teachable moment, of the creative micro-moment (Beghetto, 2013), or of creative metacognition (Kaufman & Beghetto, 2013). These movements (this sense) are somewhat like the teacher's "pedagogical tact" and the tone of teaching (van Manen, 1991, 2002). Tone (from *tonus*) is resonance that stretches or expands the world(s) through a "bodily" tension that is also a tending (see Nancy, 2008, p. 134). Therefore, such actions are about ethical teaching, not "effective" teaching. Here, a *good* education is practiced with decisions from the ethos of plural worlds, inhabiting a place where nothing is "general." Such actions take practice and "proceed" in unique style.

Opening

A major "task" of our times is to enter disorder and think struction from the place of plural worlds. Whereas Deleuze imagined that thought could not happen in the chaos of disorder, struction says that we are already disordered. We must think struction "in a place where thought does not have any currency," stated Barrau (Nancy & Barrau, 2015, p. 88). Thinking from this taking-place of struction could be helpful in altering our practices. Neoliberalism, the collapse of "ecosystems," global market competition, and the rule of student learning outcomes or using evidence-based practices in education, for example, do not have to be viewed as inevitable. In school curricula, we can turn toward the patency (opening, expanding) of the pluriverse, rather than toward the securement of innovative patents by budding entrepreneurs. From plural worlds, existence is open and without foundation or essence, and the future is undetermined. The struction of disorder reminds us that there is always something to be done in relation, action possible because of a gift that we cannot possess: existence that happens unexpectedly *with* the resonances of the pulsing of the pluriverse, *with* an irreducible freedom that cannot be ordered, possessed, or accessed. Existence opens itself to its "own" "outside," surprising itself. The passage of existence surprises itself such that existence cannot follow a direction by a principle. Existence, as the movement or event that is also creativity, is deprived of essence.

Terminus was thought to be a god of boundary markers. The terms of creativity, and the structuration of ends associated with certain terms, ought to be called into question by the field of educational leadership. Creativity inquiry could be helpful to an educational leadership that just might be mired in the business (and busy-ness) of the extraction of persons and things from the pluriverse. One action that may be conducive to increasing our ability to think from plural worlds is to question our assumptions. We can question the unquestioned. Such actions can rupture, or open up, existing world-views, enabling us to alter our practices. Chi's research discussed cognitive flexibility in terms of thinking from more than one associative "tree" (as cited in Georgsdottir, Lubart, & Getz, 2003). When we question our associations, we can more easily think beyond the one and ordering. We open to the sense of worlds and to altered movements.

Psychologists have viewed "openness to experience" as critically important to creativity (e.g., Feist, 1998; Kaufman, 2013). Torrance (1966), who wrote extensively on the topic of creativity in education and who is considered to be one of the pioneers of creativity research, included "resistance to premature closure" in the figural version of his Torrance Tests of Creativity Thinking. He defined creativity as:

a process of becoming sensitive to problems, deficiencies, gaps in knowledge, missing elements, disharmonies, and so on; identifying the difficulty; searching for solutions, making guesses, or formulating hypotheses about the deficiencies; testing and retesting these hypotheses and possibly modifying and retesting them; and finally communicating the results. (*Torrance, 1966, p. 6*)

Although Torrance likely intended his definition to be interpreted as a form of “the scientific process,” it also can be rethought. For example, Torrance’s definition also points to the importance of becoming sensitive to the world and of movement in relation. His definition, in a sense, starts with communication and ends with communication, because communication from the edge does not necessarily have to transmit a meaning, or represent anything. In Torrance’s definition, creativity exposes the sense that *is* the dis-ordered pluriverse that pulses and resonates without completion or full presence. Creativity is how the different parts (partings) of the world(s) communicate, the pluriverse both singing and listening to itself, transforming in the struction of dis-order.

The irreducible plurality of existence opens us such that we are repeatedly obligated by the gift of the space left free. This obligation is not the ethics of personal creativity (e.g., Moran, Cropley, & Kaufman, 2014), nor is it the responsabilization of neoliberalism, where one is made responsible for one’s own adaptability and/or creative productivity, depending on one’s place in the social order. Thinking from plural worlds can help us to think beyond the discussions of an ethics and culture of creativity, opening us to the ethos of disordered plural worlds, or what is also existence freeing itself of existence (also the struction of disorder, or the struggle of creativity, existence bearing its turning toward its “own” “exteriority”). According to Grosz (2010), freedom “is not a state one is in or a quality that one has, but it resides in the activities one undertakes that transform oneself and (a part of) the world” (p. 152). Creativity may be re-thought in terms of the ethos of plural worlds in struction. Existence is gifted (pulsed or spaced) such that can be alteration and circulation; there is something “weighty” to do (to be) that has not been predetermined. Education does not have to only be thought in terms of learning and putting into order (i.e., knowledge acquisition, socialization). Education also can be thought as having something to do with existence freeing itself of existence, and with receiving the surprising gift that cannot be kept but that obligates us with relation and to the community with nothing in common (Waite, 2015). Educating from plural worlds could make more discussable the profusion of existence turning toward its co-constituting “exteriority” (e.g., thought of: dark energy; time; “time’s arrow” through quantum entangled information loss; quantum gravity; the “outsides” of the “human” digestive system, nonconscious processes, microbiomes, and default mode network; sociality; denial; the embryonic process of turning inside out; the “frontier point” of the innumerable); and in doing so, such practices in turn could slowly alter the conditions of the world(s) in ways that could make more thinkable (more do-able) an existence where we can live together, as practical ethos possessing neither a unifying commonality nor a determined future.

We have not intended, in this chapter, to define what creativity “really is,” nor to provide a set of steps for encouraging creativity in schools or in the field of educational leadership. Rather than putting creativity into order, we have put terms of creativity into question. We have offered openings for the field of educational leadership, instead of

providing conclusions or setting aims that must be achieved. We have not sought to construct a revolutionary separate new world, nor did we call here for the invention of new concepts that can be used to connect everyone to a perceived smooth order of the cosmos. For the purpose of ethical action (and a practical ethos) through and with educational practice, we have strived to critique some of the under-examined and unquestioned conditions of educational leadership practices, with the hope of eventually altering some of those conditions and practices that are always historical and in relation.

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Notes

- 1 *Oikeiosis* has been viewed as influential in the thinking of the social bond and morality (see, e.g., Labierre, 2014; Vigo, 2012). Although some scholars literally translate *oikeiosis* as “appropriation,” there is widespread agreement that this Stoic term is untranslatable today (Labierre, 2014). For example, there is an affective dimension to *oikeiosis* that is not conveyed well by “appropriation” (Labierre, 2014). In *oikeiosis*, nature is the cosmic principle that makes each living being appropriate to itself (Doyle, 2012). Living beings also seek what is appropriate to each of them, including the preservation of their own constitutions (Labierre, 2014). According to *oikeiosis*, nature is the source of impulses, the foundation for morality (see, e.g., Vigo, 2012), and the means for human beings’ perfective development (Doyle, 2012). For beings with the primary impulsion of reason (i.e., human beings), the following “double equation” would be posited: “living in accord with nature = living in accord with reason = living in accord with virtue” (Labierre, 2014, p. 727).

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3

Educational Leadership and Emotion

Gabriele Lakomski and Colin W. Evers

Introduction

A principal's daily work comprises a vast amount of diverse activities, ranging from overseeing financial, property and building matters, to staff and parent conferences, directing or being advised by the senior leadership team, speaking to the media, talking to students, mediating conflicts, generating and monitoring curriculum initiatives, making decisions about appointments, managing expectations, and much more. The principal's emotions, and the emotions of others, play a key role in these activities. The mood of a senior staff meeting has to be read correctly; a parent's complaint about the conduct of a teacher has to be replied to sensitively; anger has to be held in check when a conflict between two teachers is more apparent than real. The list is endless—emotions are always involved and empathic responses are required.

Mind reading, reading the emotions and feelings of others, does not depend on language. We generally do it without the use of words. We “see” successful *mind reading* at work in the effective principal who responds emotionally appropriately to whatever the present situation demands. We also “see” it when emotions are misread, an all too common occurrence. In the worst case, where the ability to read others' minds is impaired, or even lacking, as in autistic adults (Baron-Cohen, 1994, 1996, 2005), leadership becomes compromised, often ineffective and, in some circumstances, destructive.

The main purpose of this chapter is to argue that *mind reading*, simply taken for granted in everyday life, is critical for the successful execution of principals' work. Knowing how and why reading others' minds works is important, as it can make the difference between being an effective or ineffective, perhaps even disastrous, educational leader or teacher. Understanding *mind reading*, then, has a legitimate role in the discussion of principal training programs. That this aspect has not come into focus yet is because, until recently, the role of the emotions was not sufficiently recognized as important in educational administration (Lakomski & Evers, 2010, 2012), although emotion has been shown to be an integral part of cognitive human functioning in recent neuroscience (e.g., Churchland, 2011; Damasio, 1994; Reimann & Bechara, 2010).

We want to emphasize from the outset that terms such as emotion, empathy, and *mind reading* belong to the vocabulary of our commonsense experience, or folk psychology, and are tokens for highly complex and multi-layered interconnected neural circuits and

the body that, in fact, “do” the emoting or empathizing and regulating. The difficult task of understanding scientifically what we know intuitively and commonsensically is one of bridge-building between folk conceptions of mind reading, or empathy, and scientific explanation (Decety & Jackson, 2004). It is important to keep this distinction in mind as the chapter progresses.

In order to accomplish the task we set ourselves, we need to understand the relationship between mind reading, or *cognitive empathy*, and *affective empathy*, what *empathy* is taken to be in the research literature, what is known of its origins, and by what means or mechanisms empathy is *shared* between individuals, including emotional contagion and simulation. It is the sharing aspect in particular that accounts for why we have a social or empathic mind at all (Adolphs, 1999, 2009; Decety & Ickes, 2009; de Vignemont & Singer, 2006; Frith & Frith, 2010). What happens when we are unable to read the minds of others, also called *mindblindness* (Baron-Cohen, 1996), as investigated in autism research (or Autism Spectrum Condition, ASC), provides the clearest scientific evidence yet that the “basic building blocks [of empathy] are hardwired in the brain” (Decety & Jackson, 2004, p. 71). The success of *mind reading* depends on the integrity of empathic function.

Finally, leadership would neither be effective nor wise if it were not for emotional (self-)regulation (Gross, 2015, Williams et al., 2009). We consider here one expression of it, *emotional labor* (Hochschild, 1983, 2003), to indicate the emotional work involved in managing one’s own emotions and those of others, as well as the consequences of regulation. For a principal, or teacher, indeed any person working in a profession that requires “people management,” this is a highly significant yet vastly underrated and unacknowledged aspect of their work.

The chapter is organized into six sections that reflect a transition from understandings of emotion deriving from folk-theoretic accounts through to those accounts that begin to draw more heavily on theoretical models and empirical findings in neuroscience. We first deal with ideas about emotion that derive from folk theory, a long-lived theory that has dealt with emotion from antiquity to the present day. While it is often presumed to fund a dichotomy between reason and emotion, we show that even within a folk-theoretic framework, that distinction cannot be maintained. The next section draws attention to a presumed distinction between reasons and causes, a distinction that has often been used to justify the autonomy of folk theory from scientific theory. We challenge this defense of theoretical autonomy. The third section provides an overview of recent research on emotion as can be found in the literature on education and educational leadership, much of which is in the folk-theoretic tradition. Drawing on neuroscience and the corresponding explanatory category of causation, the fourth section asks, “What is this thing called ‘empathy?’” This is followed by a discussion of *mind reading* and *mindblindness* and their implications. The last section discusses emotion regulation and emotional labor and points to strategies that appear helpful in blunting the emotional costs of emotional labor. We also signal very briefly further developing research (Lambie & Marcel, 2002; Thagard & Aubie, 2008) that attempts to pull together and explain a number of emotional phenomena as to how cognitive appraisal and bodily perception interact to create emotional awareness. Although we do not discuss its details, we indicate our belief that neuro-computational modeling of emotion informed by empirically realistic models is the future direction of our understanding of emotion.

Folk Psychology, Emotion, and Reason

If leadership is conceived in a very general sense as the capacity to influence both the formulation and achievement of goals in organizational contexts, then the importance of emotion to this process has enjoyed support from antiquity. Thus, Aristotle's *The Art of Rhetoric* has an entire section devoted to emotion. As befitting the author of the *Prior Analytics*, the first sustained treatment of logical inference, Aristotle is vaguely embarrassed about incorporating rhetoric into a notion of proof that was better suited to his formal logic. However, in the Athens of the time when Aristotle took over the Lyceum and became head of it as a school (ca. 335–322 BCE), two important social practices conspired to render rhetoric a vital force for influence. The first was the role of citizens in Athenian democracy, a role where the exercise of influence demanded being able to speak persuasively to great effect. The second was that, in the courts of law, plaintiffs and defendants had no legal representation, but represented themselves.

These social arrangements for the exercise of influence continued the erosion of a traditional classical Greek belief that great oratory was a gift, a trait of great leaders. What emerged instead was a belief that oratory could be taught, and with that came a concomitant flourishing of schools of rhetoric. It was under these circumstances that rhetoric was taught at the Lyceum, and that Aristotle produced the finest work on the subject in the ancient world (Aristotle, 2004, pp. 1–61).

There are two broad categories of roles for emotion in which influence can be enhanced. The first is what we might call authenticity. In oratory, it is important for a speaker's message to cohere with the manifestation of its most appropriate expressions of affect. In general, a speaker's demeanor should match both content and context. Where such authenticity prevails comprehensively, it expresses character, the sort of person the speaker is. The second category has more to do with what we've dubbed *mind reading*. It involves both knowing something about how recipients of a message feel, and how to shape those feelings in a way that enhances the speaker's influence. Aristotle (2004, p. 140) sums up these two categories as follows: "we must have regard not only to the speech's being demonstrative and persuasive, but also to establishing the speaker himself as of a certain type and bringing the giver of judgment into a certain condition." The bulk of Aristotle's analysis is given over to emotions felt by an audience and how they might be shaped—emotions such as anger, calm, friendship, fear, shame, favor, pity, indignation, envy, and jealousy (Aristotle, 2004, pp.139–171).

What lies behind Aristotle's account of emotion in human action is a theory of rationality that is both ancient and modern. It is known as belief-desire theory, and it posits explanations of human behavior as the rational coordination of beliefs and desires. Thus, in explaining why person X went to the supermarket, the theory would say that X believed that certain merchandise was located in the supermarket and that X desired that merchandise. Persuasive influence can therefore be exerted on both aspects of this explanatory set-up. Arguments can be mounted to change beliefs. And they can also be mounted to change desires, which are underpinned by some form of emotional commitment. By skillfully influencing a person's desires, changes in action can be accomplished just as much as they can in the case of altering a person's beliefs.

The value of belief-desire theory (sometimes referred to as "folk psychology") is that it is quite useful for predicting what people will do without the need to know the fine-grained physical details, for example the causal details of what is going on inside their

heads. Today's more sophisticated version, that equates rational action with the maximizing of expected utility, also makes no use of micro-physical accounts of what might be causing human behavior. This is affirmed by Putnam's (1967, 1975, pp. 410–411) remark that "von Neumann and Morgenstern have shown, and this is the fundamental result in the area, that any agent whose preferences are consistent always does behave in a way which can be interpreted in terms of at least one rational preference function." Emotion enters this sort of formulation as part of what it means to be motivated to have the relevant preferences. But again, it is worth noting that the evidence for preferences is behavioral.

Folk theory not only provides an explanation of human action, it can also be used for prediction. Thus, if *X* believes that some product can be bought at the supermarket, and *X* desires that product, then other things being equal, *X* will go to the supermarket. From the perspective of this kind of folk-theoretic view of rational action, it is easy to see that there can be no rational decision-making without emotion. Take the task of choosing a meal at a restaurant. Normally taste would contribute to your preference structure, but in this case let us suppose you have the flu and cannot taste any differences. The same problem affects your sense of smell. Another aspect of preference might be nutritional value. However, all the meals are about the same on this criterion. And the same thing applies to price. Having no differentiated feelings about any of the alternatives that fall under all of the preference criteria, while it removes emotion altogether from the decision process, it also neutralizes the entire category of preference. So what remains for decision-making is something like coin tossing. At this point, the whole belief-desire concept of rationality and all its modern utility-maximizing variants also collapse.

If decision-making is central to leadership, and if emotion is essential for decision-making, why has the intrusion of emotion been so often thought to be the enemy of good reasoning? One problem is that under very general conditions, emotions appear to be labile, thus compromising rationality by denying the possibility of a consistent preference structure. The simplest way this comes about is due to the fact that the same state of affairs can be described in emotionally non-equivalent ways. The expressions "teacher sitting by the window in the social sciences staffroom" and "best teacher in the school" may unambiguously refer to the same person in that context, but their role in maintaining the consistency of a wider range of preferences will almost certainly diverge. This need not be a reason for abandoning any further inquiry into rationality, since it is always possible to engage in further study of this kind of phenomenon. Kahneman and Tversky (see Kahneman, 2011) have conducted extensive empirical research into what they call "cognitive illusions," errors of reasoning that are common and persistent in people. For example, more people would choose to have an operation with a survival rate of 80 percent than one with a death rate of 20 percent. These alternatives are actuarially equivalent but emotionally different. A study of these cognitive phenomena that invokes recourse to psychology is one that may be on an explanatory continuum that has, as an endpoint, accounts that draw on cognitive neuroscience. The payoff is a deeper understanding of the nature of human rationality.

Another way in which emotion is thought to compromise decision-making is that it can narrow the scope of possible goals for leaders to consider. Emotion prompts a focus on some goals to the exclusion of others. In response, we note that all goal selection is in some way restrictive, usually being subject to two sorts of constraints. The first is

relevance. Goals must somehow cohere with the organizational context in which they will apply. The second is worthwhileness. Goals must in some way be thought to be worthwhile. This second criterion opens the door to considerations of what is desired, which in turn allows the entry of emotion.

A more complex way in which emotion can work to the detriment of good reasoning is over the assessment of evidence for the testing of our ideas. Suppose we embark on a course of action that we hypothesize will lead to the solution of a problem. The most important role for empirical evidence is to let us know whether the chosen course of action is really solving the problem. But if one is emotionally committed to that course of action, then emotions can influence the interpretation of evidence to the point where confirmation bias occurs; that is, the evidence is interpreted as confirming evidence. On an extravagant scale, something like this might have occurred in the second Gulf War, where evidence concerning Iraq having weapons of mass destruction was persistently construed as supporting invasion.

There are various ways of limiting the possibility of confirmation bias, especially in group contexts where leadership can manifest itself. The first is to adopt the kind of cognitive procedure recommended by the philosopher of science, Karl Popper (1959), and look for evidence that might refute rather than confirm hypotheses or theories. Popper's model, emphasizing the growth of knowledge through the practice of looking for falsifying evidence, was meant to be applicable to scientific knowledge. However, it can be fruitfully applied to the growth of knowledge in social science (see Chitpin & Evers, 2005, 2012; Evers, 2015).

Research in social epistemology (see Evers, 2012, for a review) implies the adoption of two related strategies. The first is to ensure a group contains enough different members to challenge the emergence of a "group mind" occurring early in the evaluation of evidence. The second concerns the nature and exercise of leadership. A number of computer simulations of group decision-making imply that there is a trade-off between efficient decision-making and organizational learning (Hutchins, 1995; Zollman, 2007). Defining strong leadership as the capacity to exercise a strong influence over the views of other group members, the models show that decisions can be made fairly quickly. The downside of this is that errors become more difficult to correct. Having made up its group mind, confirmation bias sets in, with evidence being construed as supporting the decisions made. This is sometimes known as the "royal family" effect. Under a regime of weak leadership, the opposite happens: the group takes longer to make decisions, but confirmation bias is less likely to occur. The result is not necessarily a case for weak leadership, since there are many more factors involved—such as strength of leadership, the geometry of the social network comprising the group, the ambiguity of empirical evidence, and the strength of members' emotional commitment to their ideas about courses of action. It is sufficient for our purposes to show the importance of emotion for the rationality of leaders' actions, both individually and in group contexts, even within the explanatory context of folk theory.

The discussion above focused primarily on how emotion was central to the nature of reason, and hence reasons-based actions such as decision-making and problem-solving. In what follows, we illustrate the importance of reason for understanding emotion.

Earlier, we noted Aristotle's point about the importance of authenticity in the sense of having a speaker's message—what they say—cohere with appropriate expressions of affect. This point has a deeper aspect to it. Within a folk-theoretic framework,

authentic emotions are presumed to have a significant cognitive component. Thus, for someone making great expressions of anger, there is presumed to be some thing, or some situation, that warrants the anger. Here is Aristotle's (2004, p. 142) view: "Let anger, then, be desire, accompanied by pain, for revenge for an obvious belittlement of oneself or one of one's dependents, the belittlement being uncalled for." Aristotle offers this kind of analysis for each of the ten emotions he discusses, an analysis that has three components: a "psychological state," a "description of the provoking events," and the "character of the human objects" (Aristotle, 2004, p. 142). Authenticity in this cognitive setting depends crucially on coherence between a person's psychological state and the description of the provoking events. A leader's influence is therefore diminished to the extent that inauthenticity is implied by followers' inability to extract this coherence from their use of a belief-desire theory of interpretation. One epistemological advantage of the reason-ladenness of emotion is that it helps to reduce the emotion-driven confirmation bias that we discussed earlier.

Reasons and Causes

The explanatory scope and predictive application of reasons as the coordination of beliefs and desires has much diminished since Aristotle's time, when unseen gods were thought to control natural events, such as the weather, wins or losses in military conflict, or the many material circumstances that affected life. Since misfortune is more to be feared than good fortune, an elaborate structure of sacrifice was common, designed to appease gods who were venting their displeasure. The rise of science, with its focus on causal explanations, is largely responsible for much of the dethroning of folk theory in the natural world. This is not to say that folk theory cannot be useful in causal contexts. If we don't know the causes of some natural phenomenon it can be a helpful proxy. Here is an example: It's a cold morning and your car won't start. You know that something is causing it not to start, but what lies beneath the car's bonnet is an opaque mystery. So in requesting help from Roadside Assist you say "my car doesn't want to start this morning." But this is understood by everyone as merely a manner of speaking. No one expects the mechanic to proceed by suggesting more desirable destinations. It's knowledge of the causal story that will be most effective in getting the car to start.

When it comes to human behavior, we also see causal inroads into previously reasons-based explanations. Explaining a child's misbehavior in school by saying that the child desires attention and believes that misbehaving will attract that attention will probably suffice for many pedagogical purposes. But there are a number of categories of behavior for which this model of explanation is plainly wrong. For example, some fairly developed appeals to causal explanations have been constructed that fall under the disciplinary provinces of special education and medicine. Attention deficit disorder draws on pharmacology, and autism draws on neuroscience, as does dyslexia.

The implied bifurcation into reasons and causes can nevertheless engender an error, for it is not just the cases that don't fit belief-desire theory that require appeal to causes. All the cases for which reasons explanations seem entirely adequate are offering those reasons about material bodies whose every action emerges from and is enmeshed in complex causal fields, fields better specified by such research as the neuroscience of information processing, the pharmacology of hormone effects, and the physiology of

the human body. Everything we explain by appeal to reasons is also the outcome of causes. Moreover, the parallel architecture of the brain that supports pattern processing models of cognition is much more suited to learning mind reading, which requires recognizing facial expressions (and other bodily cues) of emotion than traditional sentential representations of emotion (see Churchland, 1995, pp. 38–55).

Emotion in Education and Educational Leadership

Since the early 2000s, the discussion of the role of the emotions in education has grown in prominence (e.g., Beatty, 2000; Beatty & Brew, 2004; Blackmore, 1996; Hargreaves, 1998; Samier & Schmidt, 2009; Schutz & Lanehart, 2002; Schutz & Zembylas, 2009; also the special issue on emotions in the 2010 *Journal of Educational Administration*). This discussion has recently been advanced by Berkovich and Eyal's (2014) review of empirical work on the role of the emotions, specifically in educational leadership, a topic that has remained underdeveloped.¹ This review spanned the decades between 1992 and 2012, and collected evidence from 49 international, empirical studies.²

Berkovich and Eyal (2014, p. 2) defined emotions as “affective experiences, such as fear or joy, that emerge when one perceives events or situations to have personal significance ... are often accompanied by bodily reactions ... and occasionally ... even stimulate a tendency for action that can help in coping with the event. ...” This definition is representative of elements found in psychological theories of emotions, if not empathy. Generally, “Emotional phenomena are suggested as vital for achieving a better understanding of leaders' attitudes, behaviors, and outcomes. ... [the latter] are individuals who aspire to influence other people's motivation, knowledge, and practices to facilitate teaching and learning” (Berkovich & Eyal, 2014, p. 2). According to their analyses of the studies reported, three themes emerged: (a) leaders' emotional experiences and displays; (b) leaders' behaviors and their effects on followers' emotions, and (c) leaders' emotional abilities.

Berkovich and Eyal noted that emotions cannot easily be separated from external, contextual factors and are more than simply an expression of individual personal attributes. The concept of *emotional labor* expresses this in that people in the workplace often suppress or induce feelings to align them with the emotional norms of the workplace that prohibit some emotional displays but require others. This feature, the authors note, has been discussed extensively in relation to gendered power relations that are claimed to shape the emotions of educational leaders, especially women. Women leaders, in order to fit into a masculine-rational administrative culture, need to adjust their emotions accordingly and only display emotions deemed appropriate to that culture. As Berkovich and Eyal see it, masculine rational discourse dominates the management field, including educational organizations, and marginalizes emotion-oriented discourse that is considered the domain of women educators, while rational discourse is apportioned to men.

Regarding the second theme, leaders' behaviors and their effects on followers' emotions, Berkovich and Eyal noted that little such work has been found in educational leadership. Here education research differs from research in the field of organizational behavior that has a long track record in researching leaders' affect and emotions influencing employees (e.g., Elfenbein, 2007). As to the third of Berkovich and Eyal's themes,

leaders' emotional abilities, much work has reportedly been done through the theoretical lens of Emotional Intelligence. But Berkovich and Eyal note with caution that such key constructs as empathy and emotion regulation have a theoretical and empirical basis outside of the Emotional Intelligence framework (see Lakomski, 2015). Their review is important both in terms of its findings and in terms of the recommendations they make for future work. Amongst the latter are the prevalence of emotions and emotional abilities in educational leadership—particularly affective empathy, care, and hope, as these are the emotions repeatedly listed in the reports and which “deserve special attention” (Berkovich & Eyal, 2014, p. 26). Arising from these issues is the most important question: Can knowledge about emotions help make better leaders? To answer this question, we need to know more about how leaders transmit their emotions, or how emotions are “caught.”

As is evident from the review, emotions are considered conscious, feeling states, and people are deemed capable of accessing their innermost feelings and reporting on them. In other words, emotions are accepted as we know them in everyday experience. In noting this, we do not deny that descriptive field studies have an important role to play. What they do not tell us, however, as the authors of the review note, is how to explain the means by which emotions are shared, or how leaders' emotions can influence other people's motivations, what empathy is and why it matters, and why *mind reading* is indeed “Nature's Choice” (Baron-Cohen, 1996). Answers to these questions are beyond the explanatory resources of folk psychology. In the following, we provide our rationale for why we draw on the neurosciences to provide causal explanations of the phenomena we discuss here.

What Is This Thing Called Empathy?

Although there is consensus that empathy is important, there is little agreement in the empathy literature on what it actually is, why it is important, what it is “for,” why evolution might have favored it at all, and what effects it has (Baron-Cohen, Tager-Flusberg, & Cohen, 2013; Blair, 2005; Decety & Jackson, 2004; de Vignemont & Singer, 2006; Preston & de Waal, 2002; Saxe & Baron-Cohen, 2006). “Empathy” has variously been offered as an account of “different and multifarious social behaviors ... [such] as emotional contagion, helping behaviors, imitation, and cognitive empathy” (Gallese, et al., 2002, p. 35), and been described as either an emotional or cognitive process (Chakrabarti et al., 2006). What is referred to as *cognitive empathy* (or traditional Theory of Mind) describes our ability “to represent the mental states of others ... their thoughts, desires, beliefs, intentions, and knowledge” (Blair, 2005, p. 699).

Affective empathy shares with cognitive empathy the ability to recognize what another person is thinking and feeling, especially through recognition of the facial expressions of emotion, or other bodily expressions of emotion, but also comprises the ability to respond to the other person's feelings with an appropriate emotional state (Saxe & Baron-Cohen, 2006, p. vi). The best known attempt to unify the disparate accounts of empathy is Preston and de Waal's (2002) model, which proposes an underlying mechanism, a broad view of *perception-action*, that is said to generate the diverse expressions of empathy. Their model is complex, and has been subjected to extensive discussion (e.g., in *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 2002, 25, 1–72). One critical issue is

the broadness of the model, in that empathy includes phenomena “such as the reaction to a gory movie and the reaction to a tragic one ... [as well as] emotional responses from ‘contagion’ to altruism, involves unconscious processes, cognition and meaning” and more (Constantino, 2002, p. 31). Such broadness makes it difficult to test this model. Furthermore, the model’s authors state that “*attended perception of the object’s state automatically activates the subject’s representations of the state, situation, and object, and that activation of these representations automatically primes or generates the associated autonomic and somatic responses, unless inhibited*” (Preston & de Waal, 2002, p. 4; original emphasis). The stress on automaticity is also expressed as *motor* empathy, “the tendency to automatically mimic and synchronize facial expressions, vocalizations, postures, and movements with those of another person” (Blair, 2005, p. 700) “and, consequently, to converge emotionally” (Hatfield et al., 1994, p. 5; also Hatfield et al., 2009).

Empathy is thus characterized as an automatic response to perception that takes place without any accompanying appraisal process. But here our everyday experience tells a richer story. While we do experience emotional contagion, our empathic experience covers a wider range than is stipulated by the Preston and de Waal model. We do not empathize all the time, and what form of empathy we choose (if any) depends on many factors to do with the (closeness or otherwise of) persons, situations and context, imagination, prior experience, and more.

There is one further critical issue to consider. What gave the perception-action account its biological plausibility was the discovery of mirror neurons that, at the cellular level, were said to underpin direct, automatic simulation so that an observer could “recognize, understand and imitate the behaviors of others” (Gallese et al., 2002, p. 36). There is an extensive literature on mirror neurons, and we present only a sketch of relevant issues here.³

First discovered in the rhesus monkey (di Pellegrino et al., 1992; Rizzolatti & Craighero, 2004), mirror neurons are a subset of neurons in the frontal cortex of the monkey (area F5) that respond both when a particular action is performed by a monkey and when the monkey sees someone else perform the action. In brief, the conclusion the original researchers drew was that mirror neurons “code for” action understanding, meaning they represent a goal or intention. If true, there could then be a link between mirror neurons and the attribution of mental states, such as intentions, and this could possibly explain how we develop Theory of Mind (Adolphs, 1999; Churchland, 2011). Amongst the many reasons why caution is advised here is the observation that the case for mirror neurons as the basis for action understanding ultimately depends on providing evidence that they are *qualitatively* different from other sensory motor cells in F5, and have a semantics that the others do not have. This assumption is not justified, as Hickok (2008) argued convincingly, as neurons do not possess an object semantics (also Saxe, 2005, 2009). In addition, recent brain-imaging data (e.g., Gazzola & Keysers, 2009) do not support the initial mirror neuron claim in that many regions are activated in the human brain that extend beyond the originally stipulated (monkey) mirror neuron system, leaving aside debates about what is the human “mirror system,” and to what extent, if at all, the two can be compared. Suffice it to say that the debates are ongoing.

While the above comments serve to indicate only some of the difficulties encountered with understanding empathy in earlier neuroscience research, a more pared-down account is offered by de Vignemont and Singer (2006). Compared with the definitions

we saw above, theirs is far less inclusive, and is based on neurological evidence: “There is empathy if: (i) one is in an affective state; (ii) this state is isomorphic to another person’s affective state; (iii) this state is elicited by the observation or imagination of another person’s affective state; (iv) one knows that the other person is the source of one’s own affective state” (de Vignemont & Singer, 2006, p. 435). This definition allows for differentiation from other related phenomena, such as emotion contagion and sympathy. Furthermore, while there is indeed evidence for shared networks in human brains, it does not follow in their view that empathy is merely automatic, a passive response; rather, empathy is subject to *contextual appraisal* and can be *modulated*. This is the first important feature of their model. The second is that “modulation is present even at the subpersonal level of a neural empathic response, and can be fast and implicit” (de Vignemont & Singer, 2006, p. 437). Modulation depends on (1) intrinsic features of the shared emotion; (2) the relationship between the empathizer and the target; (3) characteristics of the empathizer; and (4) situative context. The question of when modulation begins cannot yet be determined.

As for the “why” question of empathy, de Vignemont and Singer (2006) propose that empathy has two roles: epistemological and social. Empathy makes it possible for us to understand what others feel, and it also provides knowledge about important environmental factors. In this sense, its epistemological role is “an efficient computation tool for acquiring knowledge about the values of the world around us” (de Vignemont & Singer, 2006, p. 439). The social role of empathy might well be that it serves as “the origin of the motivation for altruistic behavior and cooperation” (p. 440).

This approach to empathy is a significant advance over earlier models in that both experience sharing (*emotional contagion*) and mentalizing (*mind reading*) are subject to contextual factors and modulation. Empathy is thus conceptualized as ‘social’, and as an interpersonal phenomenon. Methodologically, empathy had been treated as constituted by its separate neurological building blocks alone, established mainly by neuroimaging studies. But from these separate building blocks it is not possible to establish how people actually integrate the social stimuli they receive in real life as opposed to laboratory settings. As Zaki and Ochsner (2012, pp. 676–677) observed, this process is “akin to drawing inferences about how the brain processes the sound of an orchestra based on data describing how the brain processes the sound of each individual instrument, agnostic to the types of information (for example, harmonies across instruments) that uniquely characterize the real world stimuli of interest.”

This analogy serves nicely to indicate some recent developments. The shift from “inside” to “outside,” from considering empathy as just intra-individual to conceptualizing it as a social, interpersonal ability, by considering, *inter alia*, its phenomenological properties, is indicative of the recent shift from cognitive neuroscience to *social* cognitive neuroscience (SCN), whose goal it is to understand the relationships between the neural, cognitive, and social levels of analysis (Ochsner & Lieberman, 2001; Rameson & Lieberman, 2009). Part of such an ambitious enterprise—if not the most important aspect—is theory-building; that is, providing a coherent, biologically real explanation of how brains act in and on the world.

As empathy is a social ability, and thus the normal way of human experience, the abnormal, as experienced by autistic individuals, provides insights that show just how dramatically different, ‘odd’ and isolating the life experiences are for the autistic individual, and how difficult it is to relate to their experiences in the absence of the shared emotional understanding and empathy that is second nature to the rest of us.

Mind Reading and Mindblindness

Autism researchers investigate a broad array of developmental disorders in children and adults in social development and communication development, such as empathy. Autism is a biological condition, and individuals who suffer from it “fail to develop the capacity to mindread in the normal way” (Baron-Cohen, 1996, p. 5). “In the normal way” means that children go through three main developmental stages to reach theory of mind (Stage 4) by about age four. Theory of Mind allows “pretend play ... understanding of false belief ... and understanding of the relationship between mental states [such as] the seeing-leads-to-knowing principle” (Baron-Cohen, 2005, p. 5). Depending on the severity of their condition, such individuals suffer in varying degrees from what Baron-Cohen has termed *mindblindness*, the inability to put oneself into another’s shoes or imagine what the other might think and feel (Baron-Cohen, 1996, 2008, 2010). Individuals with autistic spectrum conditions (ASC) characteristically do not make eye contact, are incapable of following pointing gestures, cannot follow gaze, or engage in pretend play. They also tend to display a lack of empathy, have difficulty with emotional relationships, cannot adapt their behavior to changes in conditions, and display “restricted and repetitive patterns of behavior and interests” (Blair, 2005, p. 706). The details regarding the various brain mechanisms underlying normal child development, making *mind reading* or Theory of Mind possible, and the varying kinds of delays and/or deficits in autistic children leaving them with limited to no Theory of Mind, are highly complex, controversial, and cannot be discussed further here (see Baron-Cohen et al., 2013). Those who have an autistic child anywhere on the spectrum, or live with an autistic/Asperger syndrome adult, know full well what this feels and looks like, and no description is needed. But for others, Oliver Sacks’s (1995) account of meeting Temple Grandin, an autistic, highly successful, scientist with a PhD, is both remarkable, fascinating, and sad. What the absence, or severe limitation of Theory of Mind looks like in a high-performing autistic person is conveyed in the following brief paragraphs. Sacks wanted to know how Temple responded to myths or dramas, and asked her about the Greek myths she had read:

She thought of Icarus in particular – how he had flown too close to the sun and his wings had melted and he had plummeted to his death. “I understand Nemesis and Hubris,” she said. But the loves of the gods ... left her unmoved – and puzzled. It was similar with Shakespeare’s plays. She was bewildered, she said, by *Romeo and Juliet* (“I never knew what they were up to”), and with “*Hamlet*” she got lost with the back-and-forth of the play. Though she ascribed these problems to “sequencing difficulties,” they seemed to arise from her failure to empathize with the characters ... She said that she could understand “simple, strong, universal” emotions but was stumped by more complex emotions and the games people play. “Much of the time,” she said, “I feel like an anthropologist on Mars.”

(Sacks, 1995, p. 259)

Her life’s experiences were like “a library of videotapes, which she could play in her mind and inspect at any time” – “videos” of how people behaved in different circumstances. She would play these over and over again, and learn, by degrees, to correlate what she saw, so that she could then predict how people in similar circumstances might act. She had complemented her experience by constant

reading, including trade journals, and the *Wall Street Journal*—all of which enlarged her knowledge of the species. “It is strictly a logical process,” she explained.
 (Sacks, 1995, pp. 259–260)

Sacks asked her to tell him what it is that went on between people from which she felt herself excluded:

It has to do, she has inferred, with an implicit knowledge of social conventions and codes, of cultural presuppositions of every sort. This implicit knowledge, which every normal person accumulates and generates throughout life on the basis of experience and encounters with others, Temple seems to be largely devoid of. Lacking it, she has instead to “compute” others’ feelings, and intentions and states of mind, to try to make algorithmic, explicit, what for the rest of us is second nature.

(Sacks, 1995, p. 260)

As has been commented on in the autism research literature, high achieving autistic individuals like Temple are not devoid of affect altogether. There is no overall “flatness or blandness”—as Sacks puts it, affect or empathy deficits are much more selective. In Temple’s case, she has extraordinary rapport and empathy with animals, especially cattle, and a strong moral sense of what is right and wrong in regard to the treatment of animals. The affect or empathy deficit in her case, and the cases of many autistic individuals, is in relation to complex human experiences, and perhaps allied ones as well—aesthetic, poetic, symbolic, musical (Sacks, 1995). What is especially clear in the example of Temple Grandin is that for normal human experience and social communication to function fully *causally* depends on the normal functioning of the *empathy circuit* constituted by at least ten interconnected brain regions (Baron-Cohen, 2011). As a high-performing autistic individual, Grandin has outstanding cognitive skills and abilities that help her maneuver in the world with relative success, but they do not help her in feeling what it is like to be human.

Emotion Regulation and Emotional Labor

Modulating empathic responses is part and parcel of what principals and teachers do in everyday encounters, sometimes successfully, other times poorly, as we noted earlier with reference to Berkovich and Eyal (2014). Emotion regulation is a relatively new field of research that has grown in importance since the mid-1990s (see Gross, 1998, 2013, 2015 for a presentation and extension of his influential emotion, or later, *affect* regulation model). The focus of emotion regulation research is to find out how we nurture helpful emotions, such as love, joy and interest, and how we manage negative or potentially destructive emotions such as anger, sadness, and anxiety (Gross, 2013, p. 2).

Agents can regulate their emotions in two ways: (1) by modifying the situation or the appraisal of the situation, that is, evading an emotion-laden situation, and if that is not possible, adjusting their attentional focus, and perceiving/appraising the situation and adjusting their emotional response accordingly by “calling up” the emotion that is required (Gross, 1998). Hochschild (1983) described this as *deep acting*, familiar from

the technique of method acting. Cognitive change that comes about as the result of appraising the situation helps lessen its emotional impact. *Response modulation* is the second intervention point, and originally described as *surface* acting by Hochschild (1983). Agents suppress their real emotions, and “fake” the emotional expression required. Hochschild (2003, p. 7 fn) first identified this kind of regulation as *emotional labor*: “I use the term *emotional labor* to mean the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display.” This type of labor is particularly required for people who deal with others face to face, such as teachers and principals, who often need to control their emotions in difficult situations where parents, for example, may be stressed or angry. A principal who appears calm and in control is much better able to “read” the angry parent’s real concern, to respond emotionally appropriately, and to create a feeling of calm and possibly gratitude in the parent for the manner in which the situation was handled. As these types of situations are frequent in schools, the emotional labor teachers and principals need to exert on a daily basis is considerable, and can be costly if poorly managed. In addition to the ‘technical’ and cognitive aspects of leading and teaching, it is quite clear that emotions need to be acknowledged and properly managed, and that therefore emotional labor is central to the teaching profession.

Emotional labor has costs and consequences that differ significantly regarding which type of regulation mechanism is chosen and executed implicitly *or* explicitly. Burnout, withdrawal, or negative work attitudes, can be some of the negative outcomes of poor emotion regulation. Importantly, Williams et al. (2009, p. 848) reported, on the basis of laboratory studies, that there is a link between the habitual use of *reappraisal strategies* for emotion regulation and positive psychosocial outcomes. This is a highly significant result, as it points to potential strategies and interventions to be developed in everyday life that may assist in the successful regulation of emotion and blunting the negative consequences of emotional labor.

Although we do seem to manage our emotions with some success, somehow, we so often get emotion regulation wrong. Emotion regulation failure and emotion misregulation (see Webb et al., 2012) are as yet poorly understood phenomena, but it seems that inaccurate emotional response tracking, implicitly or explicitly, may be part of emotion regulation failure which, in turn, may be part of the larger problem of what Haybron (2007) called “affective ignorance.” We may be mistaken about the kind of emotional experience we have, that is, be unable to tell pleasant from unpleasant experiences, which then makes an appropriate regulatory response difficult or impossible, as there would be a mismatch, leading to misregulation (Haybron, 2007).

There are many strategies people employ to manage their emotions, and while the choice of a strategy seems to depend on context and the intensity of the emotion experience, we do not yet understand what influences the choice of specific regulation mechanism at a particular time. As Gross (2013, p. 4) remarked, “there are so many paths to emotion regulation failure and misregulation, it’s a wonder people ever are able to successfully regulate their emotions at all.”⁴

As is the case with emotion and empathy, the search for the neural correlates of emotion *regulation* is still in the early stages (e.g., Ochsner & Gross, 2014). Indeed, the distinction between *emotion generation* and *regulation* may turn out to be no more than a matter of our present psychological terminology rather than one of substantive difference.

The previous discussion of empathy, sense making, and emotional regulation can be taken as examples of one kind of conscious experience: emotions. There is, however, much ongoing research that seeks to extend our understanding of the science of emotional consciousness. For example, one recent account of emotional consciousness attempts to present a unified account both of the neural mechanisms of emotion that synthesize previous accounts and how these mechanisms can give rise to emotional experience (Thagard & Aubie, 2008). Although we conclude without further discussion of these ideas, we think that the developing notions of emotion that more deeply draw on neuro-computational modeling of empirically informed brain processes reflect the future of what will count as adequate explanation, not just of emotion, but of its links to reason, action, the nature of how we read and influence people, and of key aspects of leadership that are currently still dominated by folk theory.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have tried to present an account of ideas about emotion and leadership that have emphasized a number of issues. First, we have located emotion within the context of leadership as influence in shaping goals and their achievement in organizational contexts; that is, of emotion as a key to influencing people. The main forms of influence we focused on were those to do with persuading by reasoning and of decision-making. This allowed us to champion arguments for the importance of emotion for reasoning and for the importance of reasoning for emotion. The second issue we addressed was the transition from reasons-giving, folk-theoretic accounts of cognition through to scientifically informed causal accounts of emotion. While the interpretation of leader behaviors and followership actions is mostly given in terms of folk-theoretic perspectives, scientific understandings in terms of neuroscience are being developed to explain the causal processes that underwrite the embedded physicality of human behavior and action. While it is still too early for this newer research to figure explicitly in much predictive work, it does offer deeper explanatory accounts of key elements of influence and the *mind reading* that is essential for its manifestation. We fully expect a rising number of payoffs to emerge over time as this sort of research continues to gather momentum.

In the meantime, an immediate consequence of the causal understanding of emotion and its centrality in human behavior and action is that *mind reading*, empathy, and emotion regulation ought to be included in all teacher and principal preparation programs. It is no longer defensible for practitioners to be trained in the “technical” aspects of the education profession only. Emotion training, in particular, skill in *mind reading* and empathy, are fundamental requirements for leadership to be effective. While we may continue for some time yet to use Aristotle’s well-honed language of the emotions, we now have a much deeper, causal understanding of the how and why of emotion. We ignore such knowledge at our peril.

Notes

- 1 But for exceptions see George (2000), Blackmore (2010), and Zorn & Boler (2007).
- 2 For recent reviews of emotions in organizational behavior and leadership studies generally, see Rajah et al. (2011) and Gooty et al. (2010).

- 3 A good overview is Iacoboni (2009).
- 4 See Gross (2015, pp. 14–15) for further examples of potential causes for misregulation.

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4

Leading With Consistency: How the Ends Don't Always Justify the Means (and Vice Versa)

Andy Hargreaves and Rebecca Lowenhaupt

Introduction

In the face of a rapidly evolving and increasingly inequitable world, we believe that educational leaders must seek ways to develop new narratives and structures via improvement efforts that in turn create increased opportunities and prosperity, better outcomes, and greater dignity for all. This important work must be done despite the presence of unbending or uncomprehending opposition, the persistence of outmoded structures and practices, and the dispiriting contexts of economic austerity. In this pursuit, we contend that, whenever possible, there should be consistency in educational leadership between the ends at which it is directed and the means by which it achieves those ends.

This call for consistency is based on three principles of leadership as it relates to working with educators. First, the consistency between ends and means is about the ethics of human dignity — that neither the people we serve nor the people who serve them should be subjected to exclusion, degradation, or oppression; that their essential worth as human beings should be recognized and validated (Hargreaves, 2004; Sennett & Cobb, 1972).

Second, the call for consistency is also in line with the political principle of governance and decision making known as *subsidiarity* – in which, wherever possible, decisions and judgments should be made by those who are closest to and most directly responsible for the services and practices at which improvement efforts are directed (Hargreaves, Halász, & Pont, 2007).

Last, research suggests that improvement efforts that attend to the dignity of the adults responsible for implementing them are at least as effective as efforts that have no such ethical underpinning (for instance, those strategies that employ punitive methods of top-down accountability) (Rincón-Gallardo & Elmore, 2012). When different strategies are equally effective, we argue that consistency between ends and means should drive educational leadership efforts to promote more inclusive schools, sustain ongoing improvement, and initiate important innovations.

This consistency has not been explicitly articulated in most existing leadership theories. For instance, distributed, instructional, and inspirational leadership can be directed to elitist ends in competitive schools that primarily serve the privileged as

much as they can promote equitable ends in more inclusive environments. By the same token, leadership aimed at securing greater inclusion and social justice for students can sometimes be autocratic and punitive in the accountability-driven methods it imposes on adults to achieve these ends.

This chapter explores this notion of consistency through discussion of three leadership frameworks that each promote this consistency in attending to the relationship between the means and ends of improvement for all students and for the adults who work with them. They are:

- sustainable leadership
- inclusive leadership
- uplifting leadership

Sustainable Leadership

In 2006, one of us coauthored a book on sustainable leadership that examined how thirty years of educational change efforts had persisted or perished in eight US and Canadian high schools (Hargreaves & Fink, 2006). In the wider literature on educational change, sustainability was defined as maintainability or persistence in terms of whether reforms became embedded in the everyday operations of a school or a system over long periods of time. Non-sustainability, meanwhile, referred to those all-too-frequent occasions when reforms were overturned in favor of other, sometimes contradictory, reforms, or when they failed to have an impact on the details of teachers' practice.

The study found that whether innovations and reforms persisted over time was also connected to other factors that were part of a wider narrative of sustainability that had been more completely theorized in the context of environmental sustainability. In this respect, although sustainable leadership processes certainly needed to pay attention to concerns such as leadership stability where leaders stay in place long enough to see changes through (Johnson et al., 2015), or to leadership succession where planned processes can help ensure that change continues across several leaders (Fink & Brayman, 2006), five other aspects of sustainable leadership were also critical to the endurance of educational improvement efforts.

Breadth is where leadership for change and improvement is a shared, collective responsibility that depends on the efforts and commitments of the many, not just on the heroic actions of the few (though heroic individual actions also have their place). Not all distributed leadership is sustainable (for instance the leadership of Domsday cults and sects), but all sustainable leadership beyond the tenure of a single leader ultimately depends on being distributed, to a large degree.

System-ness (we called it *justice*) is where improvements in one part of the environment, such as an individual school, do not occur at the expense of other parts of that environment, such as neighboring schools and their students.

Diversity is where educational systems operate like biodiverse communities in which the interactions arising from difference become sources of resilience and strength, as compared to standardized monocultures where learning is limited to one-size-fits-all approaches that are vulnerable to fitting no one.

Energy is where leadership does not use up resources too quickly or burn people out in the early stages of change, but where it conserves people's energy and also endeavors to renew it through motivating engagement and continuous professional learning.

Conservation is where visions of a better future are built upon and connected to clear narratives of what has been successful in the past.

In other words, for efforts in leading change to be sustainable, there has to be leadership stability or effectively planned leadership succession over time. There has to be broad and shared commitment to change among many leaders rather than change being precariously dependent on the actions of just one or two individuals. Interactive diversity among a range of teachers and teaching practices is preferable to compliance with a single, standardized instructional script. People's energy should be conserved and renewed rather than depleted. And future goals should not disregard the best of what has been achieved by previous leaders in the past.

In addition to endurance, breadth, diversity, system-ness, energy, and conservation, there was also a seventh factor of sustainable leadership according to the results of the study: depth of purpose. Sustainable leadership, the study argued, could not, by definition, be about sustaining things of no value or negative value – such as cigarette manufacturing in industry or obsessions with pervasive high-stakes testing that inhibit effective learning in schools. Furthermore, the purpose of sustainable leadership had to be connected to the process of its implementation. In *Sustainable Leadership*, purpose was defined in relation to ideas of developing deep and slow learning rather than focusing only on making quick gains in achievement in standardized test scores. But the study missed the most obvious purpose of sustainable educational leadership of all – to develop young people's understandings of and engagements with climate change and environmental sustainability — what has become known as *Education for Sustainable Development* (ESD) (see Chapter 8 in this volume).

Coincidentally, 2005, the year when our book was being written, was also the start of the UN's *Decade of Education for Sustainable Development* (UNESCO, 2005). This had four major thrusts:

- Improving access and retention in quality basic education;
- Reorienting educational programs to address sustainability;
- Increasing public understanding and awareness of sustainability; and
- Providing training to advance sustainability across all sectors.

The Education for Sustainable Development movement gave rise to a wide range of initiatives and emphases – in curriculum materials that reinvented environmental science as sustainable development; in architectural initiatives to create and retrofit school buildings that made efficient and aesthetically pleasing use of energy, water, light, and waste; and in teaching students, and, by implication, their families, to reduce, reuse, and recycle wherever they could (e.g., Selby & Pike, 2000; Wals & Kieft, 2010).

UNESCO recommended processes to achieve these Education for Sustainable Development goals, such as vision-building, capacity development, networks, and monitoring, but these strategies were surprisingly conventional in form and disconnected from any explicit discussion of organizational sustainability or sustainable leadership. The work of the environmental scientists seemed disconnected from that of the organizational development theorists.

Considerable work therefore remains to be done on how to connect the *content* of education for sustainable development with a coherent *process* of sustainable organizational change and leadership development that would enable the Education for Sustainable Development work to persist and to spread.

The UN's new Sustainable Development Goals for 2030 have many ambitious and admirable features, with 17 more goals, including the elimination of hunger and poverty, significant reductions in economic and social inequalities, and a number of environmental goals, such as clean water for all. Nonetheless, the UN's framework also suffers from similar inconsistencies between the goals and the means of sustainable leadership and change (Project Everyone and the Global Goals Campaign, n.d.).

Just one of these 17 goals explicitly addresses education. The UN's previous Millennium goals had emphasized universal *access* to basic education worldwide (UN, 2006). Goal 4 for 2030 now specifies that this access must be to *quality* education (Project Everyone and the Global Goals Campaign, n.d.). The goal is accompanied by 10 targets that concern things such as free and equal access to all levels of education; provision of relevant skills in literacy, numeracy, and vocational training; a concentration of learning on sustainable development, gender equity, and human rights; and provision of suitable resources. Yet the same problem occurs with these targets and the bold goals to which they are directed as with the ones that were originally set out for Education for Sustainable Development. There is no clear strategy for implementing or monitoring them (L. Hargreaves, 2008). Just one target out of the ten established for 2030 addresses the capabilities of adults to meet the ambitious goals. It specifies that by 2030, participating nations should "substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers," but does not say how this will or should be done (UN, 2006).

In practice, there are a number of contending possibilities for improving teacher quality across the world. But not all of them pass the litmus test for sustainability of developing the capacity of many quality teachers, for all students, over a long period of time. For instance, market-driven strategies to procure new teachers or individual human capital through private programs at relatively low cost seem to have difficulty delivering enough teachers for more than a few schools (Vasquez Heilig, Cole, & Springel, 2011). Schools that are staffed in this way also fail to retain many of their teachers beyond the first three years or so of their career (Smith & Ingersoll, 2003; Vasquez Heilig & Jez, 2014) – incurring high costs of replacement, hidden costs of repeated mentoring work among veterans in the system, and instability over time of teaching and leadership in schools serving less advantaged students who are likely to already experience considerable instability in their families and in their communities.

A second common global strategy for improving teacher quality requires that poorly qualified teachers teach prescriptive programs of basic skills in literacy and numeracy to compensate for their own limited knowledge base (e.g., Barber & Mourshed, 2007). This strategy may improve teachers' individual human capital of knowledge and skills in these particular areas, but it is unlikely to develop in teachers the skills required to address more complex educational goals such as "sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles," "human rights," "gender equality," "promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence," "global citizenship," and "appreciation of cultural diversity" (UN, 2006).

More promising strategies for developing teachers' professional capital in a sustainable way rely on the social capital of teachers in terms of how they share and circulate what some of them already know through mentoring and coaching instead of

depending on outside knowledge and/or programs that are imposed on them by others (Daly et al., 2014; Gamoran, Gunter, & Williams, 2005; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). These more sustainable strategies have been evident in large networks of schools focused on more child-centered pedagogies such as in the Mexico Learning Communities project (Rincón-Gallardo & Elmore, 2012) and in the award-winning network of Escuela Nueva schools that disseminate child-centered learning strategies within and beyond Colombia (Colbert, 2013).

Sustainable leaders seek to engage all students in sustainable learning in support of sustainable societies, while including educators in sustainable change processes as well. These processes avoid and outlast brief surges of top-down implementation. They build on and expand the knowledge educators already have rather than imposing new, and, sometimes, suspect knowledge on teachers who are regarded as deficient. And these processes engage and renew the energies of many educators rather than relying on externally imposed mandates that will in all likelihood be implemented by only a few.

Inclusive Leadership

Another leadership theory that applies principles of inclusion to leadership — inclusive leadership — also emphasizes consistency between the ends and means of leadership practice. By focusing on social justice, equity, and inclusion, inclusive leadership calls for educational leaders to galvanize support for disrupting existing inequitable structures in pursuit of more equitable outcomes for all students through more inclusive practices (Capper & Young, 2014; Ryan, 2006; Theoharis, 2007). We focus here on three key aspects of inclusive leadership that are relevant to our call for consistency between ends and means. These include:

- efforts to promote inclusion and achievement for all students;
- examination and reform of marginalizing structures and policies; and
- inclusive leadership practices that take into account multiple voices and diverse perspectives.

The inclusion movement originated in the United States and the United Kingdom in response to the marginalization of students identified with disabilities (Ainscow, 2007). Much of the work on inclusion has focused on Special Education programs and justice imperatives related to ensuring access to high quality education for students with disabilities (McKinney & Lowenhaupt, 2013; Theoharis & Scanlan, 2015).

Inclusion has evolved and become more broadly defined, to encompass and engage with how schools define and marginalize difference. For example, one strategic way to address inclusion has been the Universal Design for Learning movement. Universal Design for Learning is based on the principles of universal design in architecture, where buildings are constructed from the outset to include the maximum possible use by old and young, with a range of disabilities, rather than being constructed first and then adapted later with ramps and walkways for those with physical impairments. Likewise, instead of creating a standardized system of curriculum and assessment which is then adapted later for students who do not fit, Universal Design for Learning sets out from the beginning to ensure that all students have the maximum opportunity to access and express their learning (Hargreaves & Braun, 2012; Meyer, Rose, & Gordon, 2014).

It does this through such means as differentiated instruction, teaching students the skills of self-advocacy, providing a range of assistive technologies such as programs that convert text to sound, and building closer collaboration between conventional classroom teachers and those with particular qualifications or responsibilities in special education. By conceptualizing inclusion as crucial for all, Universal Design for Learning employs strategies such as creating classroom environments that make effortless and effective uses of technology with all students, so that those who have needs for specific kinds of technological support do not feel stigmatized. Universal Design for Learning can also provide all teachers with microphones so that “everyone has a front seat” (Hargreaves & Braun, 2012).

These kinds of inclusion efforts extend well beyond the conventional conceptions of disability to also focus on learners who represent a range of differences often marginalized by schooling processes and policies — such as second language learners, ethno-cultural diversity, students from families in poverty, or students with a range of gender identities. Inclusive leadership goes beyond a focus on accommodations or adjustments so students can cope with a standardized system of curriculum, assessment, and class teaching. It ultimately involves disrupting embedded, standardized practices in the first place.

For example, inclusion of indigenous populations has motivated substantial reform efforts in countries where cultural difference has been a longstanding source of exclusion and marginalization (Corson, 1990; Hornberger, 2006). In some New Zealand schools, substantial efforts have been made to incorporate Maori culture into the curriculum, classrooms, and the organization of schooling, influencing the core structure of schooling to ensure inclusive practices (Corson, 1990). Across the country, Maori stories, songs, language, and culture are increasingly infused into the curriculum for all students and their teachers. What has been seen as essential for Maori students is increasingly coming to be regarded as good for all New Zealanders.

Importantly, sources of exclusion and marginalization rarely occur in isolation, but rather coalesce and compound one another. For example, those who have become drawn into drug abuse may find it easier to access financial and social support in wealthy communities than in places of intense economic deprivation and family dislocation, where poverty and social class divisions add to any other difficulties (Putnam, 2015). This is a phenomenon known as intersectionality (Theoharis & Scanlan, 2015). Leaders are called upon to untangle the multiple ways in which school structures and routines work to highlight some differences, while hiding others—for instance, when race is given more attention than social class or vice versa, or when issues of bullying related to gender identity are de-emphasized in contexts of social and religious conservatism (Theoharis & Scanlan, 2015). Students who are identified for Special Education services and also as English Language Learners can encounter significant challenges based on the intersection of these “differences”—such as multiple withdrawals from regular classroom instruction that set them further apart from and leave them further behind their peers (Theoharis & Scanlan, 2015). In these and other circumstances, the emphasis on intersectionality addresses the ways in which multiple identities can converge to create or reinforce systems of inequity.

Inclusive leadership emphasizes the important role that leaders play in making difference visible. It develops the capacities, policies, and practices that enable educators to support difference effectively, openly, and even inspirationally, while challenging

policies, systems, structures, and beliefs that impede progress toward a supportive culture of inclusion, or “community of difference” for all students and their families (Shields, 2003).

Inclusive leadership theories view injustice (and exclusion) as implicit in many existing structures and practices of schooling (McKinney & Lowenhaupt, 2013). Inclusive leaders therefore seek systemic change and reform that disrupts these exclusionary practices (Villa & Thousand, 2003). Integrating services, ending programs that provided substandard support for some groups, and maintaining a focus on equity in all aspects of reform are the primary aim of leadership for social justice (Capper & Frattura, 2009; Theoharis & Scanlan, 2015). Inclusive leadership also questions, challenges, or disrupts how difference is often construed (and misconstrued) as a departure from some established, dominant and historically arbitrary norm and actively seeks to promote achievement and inclusion for all individuals (McKinney & Lowenhaupt, 2013). In all these senses, the goal of inclusive leadership is to support diversity, promote social justice, and work toward more inclusive practices.

One way to address the stubborn persistence of exclusion and marginalization has been by mandate, legislation, and regulation that have been exercised with top-down authority. For example, the focus on closing achievement gaps, criticized by some (e.g., Berliner, 2012; Ravitch, 2010, 2013) as a technocratic diversion from broader questions of class and racial inequality, has actually brought issues of inclusion into conversations about systems of accountability and standardized testing (Theoharis, 2007). Here, while some critics have been concerned that test-driven accountability presses the system to assimilate culturally marginalized groups into monocultural norms of standardization (Capper & Young 2014; Hargreaves & Skerrett, 2012; Skerrett & Hargreaves, 2008), others have pointed to how strict accountability requirements have led to increased equity by requiring schools to raise achievement among all their students, including second language learners and those with identified learning disabilities, rather than merely focus on the measured achievement average (Florian & Rouse, 2001). Using more sophisticated measures of accountability within an equity-oriented environment, it is argued, can raise awareness, justify the introduction of more inclusive practices, and expand efforts to increase achievement among a range of vulnerable or marginalized student groups (Theoharis & Scanlan, 2015).

Beyond narrowing gaps in tested achievement, inclusive leadership acknowledges that underachievement in school is affected by issues that occur beyond the school in the wider community, such as poverty, homelessness, discrimination, residential segregation, poor standards of infant care, and so on (Berliner, 2012; Skerrett, 2015). In this respect, inclusive leadership is about being a responsible community leader through community engagement and community organizing, as well as a building leader (Scanlan & Lopez, 2014; Shirley, 2009; Starratt, 2004). This kind of inclusive leadership can involve the school becoming more of a center and a focus for community learning, after-school care, liaison with social services, and so forth (Epstein, 2001; Walsh et al., 2014). For example, one of us is working with a local district to explore the ways that different families participate in school activities, in order to identify practices that might ensure greater participation among all kinds of families, especially those that have been most prone to marginalization in the past (Lowenhaupt, 2014).

If these aspects of inclusive leadership are not difficult enough, an especially crucial question is how to be inclusive of educators so that they can and will introduce and

instigate the practices that foster learning for all students. In relation to our call for consistency between leadership ends and means, while the ends of inclusive leadership focus on high achievement for diverse kinds of students, and maximizing the participation, belonging, and dignity of students and their families in every aspect of school life, the means of inclusive leadership entail expecting and advancing the very same processes and supports for the professionals and other adults in and around the school.

This theory of leadership calls for bringing together inclusive leadership as a process as well as a set of goals, to incorporate multiple voices and diverse perspectives in decision-making, to maximize senses of commitment and belonging among teachers and other education professionals, to foster a diverse teaching force in which multiple forms of effective teaching are valued, and to avoid creating fear, dependency, or divisiveness among the adults in seeking the best outcomes for all students. Drawing from his work on *Inclusive Leadership* (2006), James Ryan argued that “the goal of inclusion is to see that everyone is included in the social processes common to communities and schools” (Ryan, 2006, p. 6). Inclusive leadership strives to incorporate multiple perspectives, particularly those that have been traditionally marginalized, into decision-making processes (Ryan, 2006). In this respect, inclusive leadership relies on distributed forms of leadership, including many kinds of teacher leadership that bring diverse voices into leadership practices (Campbell, Lieberman, & Yashkina, 2016; Harris & Spillane, 2008; Spillane & Coldren, 2011; Spillane, Halverson, & Diamond, 2001). In order to enact inclusive leadership, leaders develop structures, norms, and routines that foster such distributed decision-making and empower various stakeholder groups to participate in leadership practice (Ryan, 2006).

This duality of inclusion—for and with students, as well as for and with educators—seems to be a truth that might be self-evident for anyone committed to social justice and inclusion. But what if many teachers in a school or a system genuinely believe that some children from very poor families cannot succeed because of their wretched home circumstances? What if poorly performing schools serving impoverished students fail to succeed even after massive investment in professional development and team-building for the staff? What if teachers seem unable to develop their own skills quickly enough to serve the children for whom they are already responsible?

Professional trust, consensus, and commitment take time to build in a school community, which can mean that several cohorts of students are sacrificed to an inclusive professional approach that can only deliver better educational outcomes many years down the line. Who are we running the schools for—the sensibilities of the adults or the success of all students?

In these circumstances, some writers and reformers advise imposing hierarchical changes on professionals and other populations who refuse to engage seriously with issues of inclusion and equity. For example, they may recommend imposing prescribed curriculum programs on teachers in systems that are “awful” or barely adequate, and claim success when their capacity to achieve results with their newfound skills is improved (Barber 2008). Other moves toward greater inclusion have occurred through structural or regulatory changes, such as legislated desegregation programs in the United States over the past half-century, and mandated de-tracking (or de-streaming) of Grade 9 in Ontario, Canada in the 1990s. Contemporary US reform measures have brought about closure of schools, firing of principals, and/or replacement of unionized teachers with younger, non-unionized teachers when, it is argued, schools do not raise achievement or narrow achievement gaps effectively.

Although these “no excuses” initiatives offer a wide range of solutions from sometimes very different perspectives and starting points, they generally seek change without considering the alignment of the means with the ends. So even if and when the impact and effects of a structural change in regulations, legislation, and procedures are swift, there are high risks that implementation will not be effective or authentic (for instance, teachers often segregated their de-tracked classes in Ontario into three internal tracks) (Hargreaves et al., 2001). There is a strong likelihood that the impact will not persist or be sustainable (as principals are fired and staff turnover is increasingly higher). The immediate benefits for some schools and districts may occur at the expense of others (for instance, those to which ousted teachers and principals, as well as students who have less chance of graduating, are transferred). Last, if the structural change is not accompanied by a cultural shift, other counter-strategies will emerge to subvert the structural disruptions—for instance “white-flight” to the suburbs in response to desegregation and busing (Baker & Foote, 2006), and associated “bright flight” from urban schools and districts with high populations of students, such as those with special educational needs who cost more to educate.

Pedro Noguera (2009) has rightly argued that “predominant theories of educational change that are promulgated by mainstream educational researchers” (p. 165) typically fail to address the needs of marginalized groups such as immigrant students. Instead, Noguera has advocated for change strategies often downplayed by “mainstream” educational change theory, such as relentless attention to narrowing achievement gaps and structured literacy strategies.

So the argument for top-down reforms in the service of being more inclusive toward all students comes from diverging ideological perspectives on inclusion and equity, and also seems to point to tensions between partial or short-term success on the one hand and wider sustainability on the other. More than twenty years ago, the late Barry Troyna (1993), an advocate of anti-racism, critiqued anti-racist practices in many schools, including ones he studied intensively, because their strategies of professional development presumed that the obstacle to equity was the racism of teachers, and not, for instance, lack of knowledge of students’ challenges, or underdevelopment of pedagogical skills. Elizabeth Ellsworth (1989) wondered why critical pedagogy so often did not feel empowering to teachers with its reliance on rational (and sometimes jargonized and obscure—exclusionary?) critical arguments and language in professional communities that valued many different kinds of discourse. Individual charismatic leaders may be able to attract and motivate professionals to achieve extraordinary results with working-class, immigrant, or other students who struggle in traditional school environments. But whether these schools and their leaders are in Richmond Road, New Zealand (Corson, 1990; Millward et al., 2001), Central Park East in New York (Meier, 1995), or even the model industrial community of Robert Owen’s New Lanark in the nineteenth century, which created the first early childhood program for the working class (Thompson & Williams, 2011), they often depend on charismatic leadership that relies on hierarchical authority in the form of a kind of paternalism or maternalism that breeds emotional dependency and is therefore ultimately unsustainable (Nieto, 1998).

So what can we conclude about the dual character of inclusive leadership? Wherever possible, professionals and other adults should be treated with the same dignity and inclusive engagement and respect as the students they serve. Mandate, force, and

legislation should be the last options, not the first. And structural changes should be made alongside cultural ones, not instead of them. The turnaround results of school systems like Lawrence in Massachusetts (Schueler, Goodman, & Deming, 2016) may be explained by top-down pressure and replacement of staff; but they could equally be explained by the intensive resourcing and attention that has been withheld from other struggling schools. Fear and threat may yield achievement gains in the short term, but longer-term, high-threat environments reduce teachers' motivation and capacity to improve and distract them from focusing on how to improve deep and lasting learning, by making them concentrate on how to make quick gains in measurable results (Daly et al., 2011).

Sometimes, a structural change, or legislative imperative, is needed to transform or disrupt the system—removing schools and classes that are segregated by race or disability, for example. At times, almost all leaders, even the most inclusive ones, must draw on their positional authority to challenge the status quo and push schools toward more equitable, inclusive practices—even and especially in the face of internal and external resistance (Rorrer, 2006). In his study of social justice leaders, Theoharis (2007) found that working toward inclusion for all students was not easy, as leaders enacted, faced, and sustained resistance in their efforts to facilitate change.

The challenge of enacting inclusive leadership with both students and the adults who serve them should not be underestimated. With adults, leaders must seek to bring multiple voices to the table, to avoid using pedagogies of force, guilt, or other kinds of oppression, and to steer clear of cultivating emotional dependency on charismatic authority that cannot be replicated. But ultimately (rather than initially), the positional leader must also persist in the face of conflict that arises from disruptions of the status quo and must sometimes also instigate structural or legislative changes to promote inclusion for everyone (Theoharis, 2007).

Even so, we suggest that most of the time inclusive leadership with respect to the adults as well as the students in a school or a system should be the preferred strategy for educational improvement that benefits all students. It should be the first impulse, not the last; and a strategy that is itself persistent and not abandoned when patience wears thin in the process of establishing relationships, building trust, and ensuring sustainability. But sometimes, when resistance to the idea that all students can learn is deeply entrenched, leadership that is more inclusive for students cannot always be inclusive for everyone overall. The answers to when and how these options should prevail are ultimately empirical as much as ethical—which brings us to the third form of leadership which expresses consistency about means and ends: uplifting leadership.

Uplifting Leadership

The idea of uplifting leadership proceeds from an extensive study that was jointly led by one of us on *Performance Beyond Expectations* in business, sport, and education (Hargreaves, Boyle, & Harris, 2014). This study examined unusually high performance in organizations that were selected for investigation because they met two of three criteria. Some of the organizations had turned around from poor performance, come back from the brink of bankruptcy, or had risen up their sporting league or division after being at the very bottom of it. Others, like the island nation of Singapore, start-up

companies, or brand new schools, had begun from nothing or almost nothing and then not merely survived but also sustained their growth and success over time. Last, some of the cases we investigated performed extremely well under very challenging circumstances—such as school districts that served children from high-poverty environments or small-town sporting teams that could afford fewer highly paid players than all their competitors.

What all these organizations exemplified and epitomized was what turned out to be a simple but compelling principle—*they uplifted the people they served by uplifting the people who served them*. This double delivery of improved outcomes rests in some ways on a dual meaning of *uplift* within communities and human life.

The original idea of uplift among people has its origins in the struggle for social justice among the African American former slave population in the United States. Among African Americans, the original idea of *uplift* in the late nineteenth century was about “a personal or collective spiritual—and potentially social—transcendence of worldly oppression and misery” (Gaines, 1996, p. 1). The first editors of black newspapers and magazines disseminated “messages aimed at the vindication, uplift, and acceptance of blacks into mainstream America” (Hutton, 1993, p. 3). One of the first uses of the term *uplift* to elevate the black race occurred in a paper by leading abolitionist, Frederick Douglass, in 1853, where a leader advocated for a journal edited by African Americans that “would be able to counsel and uplift the African Race generally” (Wesley, 2013, p. 249).

In time, the meaning of *uplift* among African Americans became more controversial and contested, especially between the educational views of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois. Washington believed in uplift through industrial training. In his essay, “The Talented Tenth,” the more classically oriented and less training-centered DuBois (1903) argued that self-uplifting qualities in the former slave population would need to be enhanced not only through programs of education, but also through hard work and committed struggle against oppression to achieve a better life (p. 121). The question remains until this day as to how much racial and social uplift can and should be achieved through education. In all cases, though, *uplift* in this original sense is about the personal and collective struggle for freedom, equality, opportunity, human dignity, and a better quality of life.

While the idea of uplift can be as profound as the struggle for civil rights and social justice, it can also focus on more prosaic ends. In business, it can be about the idea of cooperative ownership that is founded on the belief that labor should own capital and not vice versa, or about expanding the use of small energy-efficient cars in the North American market. In sport, we found, uplifting leadership can be concerned with developing a Premier team to build a Premier community, even and especially when it is currently one of the poorest in the nation. In education, uplifting leadership was expressed in schools and school systems that dramatically improved results on many indicators for populations living in challenging circumstances.

The second part of uplifting leadership is that these ends are achieved not through no-excuses environments of endless pressure, constant bullying, and imposed performance targets to achieve improved results. Uplifting leaders do not uplift students, for example, by browbeating teachers and other adults in schools. Nor do they ignore the role and importance of adults in meeting the needs of their students. Uplifting teachers and others who work in and with schools means raising their spirits and aspirations for

themselves as professionals. It means attending to teacher engagement as well as student engagement; supporting teacher well-being as well as student well-being.

In our research on performance beyond expectations, we discovered six core principles of uplifting leadership that operated in all sectors.

- *An inspiring and uplifting dream*, pursued with relentless determination that connects the desired future to moments of success in the past. In the poor London Borough of Tower Hamlets, populated largely by refugees from Bangladesh, the dream was that poverty would be no excuse for failure.
- *A creative and counter-intuitive pathway* toward achieving the dream, as in schools that increased achievement (including on conventional test scores) by making the curriculum more arts-based and interdisciplinary to mesh with the learning styles of cultural minority students.
- *Collaboration with competitors*, as in another London Borough—Hackney—where school leaders are required by contract to assist any schools around them that may be struggling, even when they are competitors. This had the result that all schools improved—with the effect that teachers and families stayed committed to them rather than going to other boroughs or into the private sector.
- *Pushing and pulling* in teamwork, where educators at all levels of the system inspire and encourage each other and also place a little peer pressure on one another to raise performance for the common good.
- *Using meaningful metrics* that reflect the range of goals and purposes that organizations are trying to achieve, rather than relying on one or two easily measurable indicators. In this respect, we found that unusually high-performing businesses and sports teams were better than educational institutions at measuring the range of what they truly valued rather than valuing one or two things they could easily measure.
- *Sustainable growth* where, in tune with the precepts of sustainable leadership, schools and school systems did not try to improve at an unsustainable pace, carefully developed their own leaders in order to improve leadership succession, and found ways to both “find and fix” short-term problems like poor math teaching in one grade level, and also to “predict and prevent” longer-term problems in the future through such measures as increased investment in early childhood education.

Conclusion

In leadership for school improvement, we have contended that the ends do not and should not justify ethically questionable means that demean and destroy people's dignity and reduce their sense of autonomy and worth. Furthermore, as we have argued, reform measures and leadership strategies that are punitive and top-down in nature will bring about improvements that often fabricate the nature or extent of success by teaching to the test; that do not endure over time, as teachers and principals become unable and unwilling to tolerate the cultures of intimidation, guilt, and fear in which they work; or that incur unacceptable collateral damage on surrounding schools and other institutions which, when they already often have fewer resources, are raided for their best teaching talent, and used as dumping grounds for students that other schools find too hard to serve.

Sustainable leadership treats people sustainably, just as it does in relation to the planet. Inclusive leadership creates a culture where all kinds of adults are encouraged and empowered to contribute to the inclusive participation of all students. And uplifting leadership uplifts the people we serve by uplifting the people who serve them. These are three examples of leadership that is consistent and coherent in the ways that it aligns the ends of leadership with the means of achieving those ends.

Perhaps it is now time for other strategies and interpretations of educational leadership such as distributed, instructional, transformational, or simply “strong” leadership to be more explicit about how they relate to, resonate with, or even sometimes overtly reject this call for consistency. Is elitism, like W. E. B. DuBois’s “Talented Tenth,” acceptable as a means to achieve racial equity? Is violence defensible in the struggle for peace? Should teachers be compelled to liberate their students? These are the sorts of questions about consistency that all theories and strategies of educational leadership should address.

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5

Rethinking Gender and Socially Just Leadership in the Sociospatialized Context(s) of Global Edu-Capitalism

Jill Blackmore

This is a crucial historical moment for the field of education: as a discipline, as a profession, and as a site of emancipatory hope. Educational restructuring and the fields of educational policy, administration, and research are being scaled up globally (Lingard and Rawolle, 2011). In this chapter, I argue that neoliberal policy, one of the drivers of this restructuring, is increasing educational inequality and producing gendered, racialized, and class-based identities, practices, and outcomes (King, 2004; Mirza, 2009). These matters challenge contemporary approaches to educational policy, research, and leadership.

I draw on Nancy Fraser's (1997) notion of a "post-socialist condition" and her principles of social justice—redistribution, recognition, and representation—as an analytical tool (see also Blackmore, 2013; Mills, 2013). Briefly, Fraser (2013) argues we are now within a post-socialist condition characterized by

an absence of a credible overarching emancipatory project despite the proliferation of fronts of struggle, a general decoupling of the cultural politics of recognition from the social politics of redistribution, and a decentering of claims for equality in the face of aggressive marketization and sharply rising material inequality.

(Fraser, 2013, p. 3)

Since the rise of social movements (women's, civil rights, multicultural, gay, indigenous, and more recently conservative groups) in the 1980s, Fraser (1997, 2008) argues that recognitive justice has supplanted redistributive justice and that the politics of cultural recognition has taken precedence over the politics of redistribution. In education, the former is most evident in policies of school choice that emphasize individual and collective rights (Bunar, 2011; Butler and Zanten, 2007; Campbell et al., 2009; Hsieh & Urquiola, 2011; Klees, 2010; Musset, 2012) and the latter in the increased polarization of educational achievement, even in affluent countries (Raffo et al., 2010). Fraser argues that any theorizing of social justice is multimodal as it has to explain a range of injustices of race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, disability, and their interdependence within specific contexts. Fraser (1997) considers that gender and race are "bivalent collectivities" which present dilemmas in seeking social justice, as recognition of race or ethnicity can lead to gender inequality (misrecognition, maldistribution, and misrepresentation due

to historical male dominance), and vice versa. Such dilemmas are evident in everyday decisions made by teachers and leaders in schools, particularly in disadvantaged communities. Claims for choice by individuals and groups on the basis of cultural difference do not necessarily redress maldistribution that produces educational underachievement arising from poverty. Fraser concludes that parity of participation is a precondition; that is, different cultural groupings should not only be represented in, but also respected, heard, and able to influence decision-making. Leadership issues will be teased out through discussions around these issues in the latter section of this chapter.

Furthermore, the rapidly changing global context in which teachers and leaders work has led, in Fraser's (2008) terms, to a "scaling up" around issues of governance and social justice. Rapid moves in both developed and developing economies toward privatization of education provision and costs have resulted from transnational neoliberal agendas of marketization and managerialism since the 1980s (Blackmore, 2016). I argue here that the restructuring of education into a global business is gendered and that gender as a "structuring structure" is central to the relations of ruling in twenty-first-century "edu-capitalism" (Ball, 2007, 2012). Global cultural, political, and economic structures, discourses, and practices, as well as value systems, interact to frame leadership capacity and opportunity in the Australian context. School leadership is framed and confronted by, and therefore has to negotiate, increasingly commercialized and contractual relations. This new contractualism is characterized by growing divides between public and private education and between an increasingly casualized and feminized teaching profession and an emergent transnational executive class of educational entrepreneurs, policymakers, and consultants (Rawolle et al., 2016; Seddon & Levin, 2013).

Fraser's work (1997, 2008) highlights the ongoing daily dilemmas confronting teachers around policies promoting both standardization and diversity; equity claims arising from the intersections of class, "race", gender, and religious identity; and contested claims for economic redistribution and cultural recognition (see Blackmore, 2016; Keddie, 2012; Mills, 2013). Education is increasingly viewed as a private, not a public good in policy and public discourse. Market discourses encourage rights-based demands for individual choice or recognitive justice (cultural) which can undermine needs-based claims for redistributive justice (economic), because equity is being reconceptualized as individual social capital (Savage, 2011). I illustrate through examples of entrepreneurialism how the principle of recognition jostles uncomfortably with the growing realization of the collective social costs of increasing educational and economic inequality that require redistributive justice or economic redistribution. I illustrate how principals can address these dilemmas through Fraser's third principle—that of representation and parity of participation—to create inclusive education (MacWhinney, 2004). Finally, Fraser (2013) argues that feminism and other social movements have to look beyond the West and the nation-state to reframe, if not reinvent, our understandings of social justice and the feminist project of gender equity. The scaling up of education policy to the global level as outlined below (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010) and the significance of sociocultural context as described in the examples following illustrates that systemic issues shape individual leadership practice in individual schools but require systemic responses. Furthermore, the factors outlined next require a rethinking if not revitalization of the field of educational leadership research that informs policy and practice.

Challenges to the Field of Educational Leadership, Management, and Administration

Education: From a Democratic to a Transnational Project

Multiple challenges confront the field of educational research, administration, policy, and practice in the twenty-first century. I have argued extensively elsewhere that the field of Educational Leadership, Management and Administration (ELMA) and its assumptions informing education reform have historically been—using Fraser’s (2013) framing in the *Fortunes of Feminism*—economistic, Westcentric, etatist, and androcentric (Blackmore, 2016). In the Anglophone states, since the 1980s, there has been a shift from a twentieth-century modernist (Westernized) state-centric democratic education project to a twenty-first century global project of edu-capitalism (Ball, 2012). The modernist democratic project considered education to be an investment by the state as both a public good with regard to citizenship and social cohesion and an individual good (Green & Janmaat, 2011). Teaching was an emergent post-war profession offering a vocation and tenured career and imbued in many Western nations with a strong collective sensibility exemplified in high levels of unionism (Seddon & Levin, 2013). Many feminist educators promoted education’s emancipatory capacity for equitable social change while recognizing education as being reproductive of class, race, and gender identities, norms, and hierarchies (Gewirtz et al., 2009). At the same time, Western education systems were premised upon a strong gender, and in many instances, racialized division of labor in which (white) men lead and (black/white) women teach (Fennell & Arnot, 2008).

The interaction of processes of globalization and neoliberal policies tapping into rising social conservatism and economic radicalism is now transforming relationships among the state and education and the individual, challenging etatism. Au and Ferrare (2015) state:

We see neoliberalism as a massive restructuring structure, one that restructures commonsense, restructures relations between humans and other humans, restructures relations between humans and production, restructures cultural, capital and political flows and restructuring the state and economy in line with individual self-interest and at a cost to commitments to collective wellbeing. (p. 3)

The influence of neoliberal policy orthodoxies since the 1980s, voluntarily adopted by the Anglophone nation-states and imposed on other developing economies by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in return for loans, has articulated differently within nation-states but with similar effects on the practices of teachers and leaders (Harvey, 2007). New Public Administration (NPA), a key ideological tool of restructuring, claimed that private-sector management was more efficient and effective than public-sector management; promoted the generic manager without any educational expertise or experience that suggested loyalty to the field of education, and was capable of managing anywhere and anyone regardless of context or cultural difference (Fitzgerald & Gunter, 2013). Producer-capture discourses positioned professionals such as teachers and teacher educators and researchers as motivated by collective self-interest, not the public interest (Hall, 2013). The move from bureaucratic to corporate

or market governance in national education systems (etatism) was premised upon the principle of subsidiarity (i.e., decisions were best made by those at the interface of delivering service). The effect of corporate governance was to devolve risk and responsibility down to the individual school, leader, teacher, and student in the self-managing school (Blackmore, 2012).

From an *economistic* perspective, NPA assumed the market would produce quality due to the exercise of parental choice, as “underachieving” schools would fail. These policies collectively promoted an instrumentalist view of education and the production of the entrepreneurial self-maximizing individual who is assumed to be gender, class, “race”, and culturally neutral. Human capital theory and the concept of merit epitomize this *androcentrism* of the field (Blackmore, 2016; Fraser, 2013). Women were moving into middle management as principals in the Anglophone nations where they undertook the emotional management of increasingly residualized public systems in crisis as government systems were restructured along competitive lines, while executive power in education and politics was retained by (usually white) men (Blackmore, 1999).

Scaled-up Gender Politics of Edu-Capitalism

The early 2000s have witnessed a new scalar politics informed by edu-capitalism (Ball 2012), as education became the focus of big business, philanthropy, and social capitalism. What is different in the twenty-first century about the processes of globalization is the scope, scale, and speed of change, marked by mobility and facilitated by new technologies in what is becoming a globalizing network society (Appadurai, 1996). In education, all these aspects are evident, with intensified flows transnationally of students, teachers, researchers, and consultants; flows of images of the norm of a “good school” embodying well-groomed digital natives; flows of products, including curriculum, learning technologies, certification, examinations, texts, and credentials; flows of international student fees, patents, profits from outsourced education provision and research income to transnational firms (Ball 2012); and, flows of policies promoting school choice, twenty-first-century skills and graduate employability (Arber et al., 2014). National geographic boundaries are blurring and, Fraser (2013) argues, Western understandings of democracy and justice are contested.

The School Effectiveness and Improvement paradigm has been scaled up into the Great Education Reform Movement (Sahlberg, 2011), due to its promotion by mobile policy actors, entrepreneurs, and organizations. The School Effectiveness and Improvement paradigm’s focus on individual schools and teacher quality aligns well with the neoliberal imperatives of marketization and managerialism. Policies such as school choice spread through networks of policy actors within a global architecture of governing bodies including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Edu-capitalism has been facilitated by “governance by numbers” and national political hypersensitivity to ranking based on standardized assessment such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) (Lingard, 2012). In association with multinational business (e.g., Pearson, IBM, KPMG, McKinsey), philanthrocapitalists such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation promote charter schools (Buras, 2011) and Western consultants advocate

school effectiveness and improvement approaches transnationally (e.g., Au & Ferrare, 2015; McKinsey, 2007). Multinational corporations such as Pearson offer online packages from teacher and leadership training, curriculum and assessment programs through to providing buildings and technology to both developed and developing economies, often through public–private partnerships (Klees, 2010). This benefits Western-based transnational corporations rather than domestic economies (Ball, 2012).

One effect of this has been that edu-capitalism, with its agenda of market-driven provision and privatization, challenges distinctions between public and private and between philanthropy and capitalism. This complexity raises issues regarding how equity is understood, even though philanthrocapitalists justify their policies promoting charter schools on the basis of equity (Ramdas, 2015). Fostering individual entrepreneurship through small loan schemes is now central to development policies for women (Strivastava, 2013; Unterhalter, 2013). Public–private partnerships build the schools which governments in developing and developed economies cannot afford while seeking to address those Millennium Development Goals that arguably benefit girls (Sivasubramaniam, 2008). Online provision provides access across geographical distance, but offers a Western curriculum (e.g., the Khan Academy). Do these new educational formations create opportunities by providing greater access, or are they merely profit-driven forms of neocolonialism, or is that distinction no longer possible?

A second interrelated effect has been a regendering of educational restructuring arising from the close links between hegemonic masculinism and edu-capitalism (Au & Ferrare, 2015; Blackmore & Sachs, 2007; Fennell & Arnot, 2008; Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2013). Gender not only operates discursively through “representations and valorizations of social processes and practices” such as leadership (Marchand & Runyan, 2004, p. 8), but through unequal social relations of gender and discriminatory constructions of a sexualized body. Gender is also materialized in how markets, organizations, and household units work with regard access to and control over resources (money, goods, time, and labor). Education capitalists embody transnational masculinities as the global networks are dominated by a small cadre of Western white male players establishing the rules of the game—policy actors, entrepreneurs, consultants, businessmen, politicians, researchers, and philanthropists; hegemonic masculinity scaled up (Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). This scales up globally the traditional gender division of labor between executive and middle management in late twentieth-century Western education national systems (Blackmore & Sachs, 2007).

A case in point is that of Michael Barber, previously educator advisor to the “Third Way” Blair Labour government, and author of the McKinsey reports on *How the High Performing Schools Stay Get to the Top* and *How the World’s Most Improved Schools Keep On Getting Better* (Hogan et al., 2015). While different problems are identified in different contexts, the solutions are the usual orthodoxies of School Effectiveness and Improvement Movement promoted by pundits, media, and politicians cross-nationally: a standardized curriculum to fit international student tests; standard learning materials; and the same solutions to context-specific problems (Sahlberg, 2011). Barber is now Chief Executive of Pearson Education Programs. Recruiting Barber and his educational networks allows Pearson, formerly a media company, to gain legitimacy within the field of education internationally, like other multinationals, such as Tribal, by purchasing “network capital ... emphasizing the connections more than the resources the connections bring” (Hogan et al., 2015, p. 48). Pearson’s *Efficacy Framework* (2013) for school

improvement exemplifies a policy intervention derived from the medical industry with efficacy defined as “a measureable impact on improving people’s lives through learning” (Hogan et al., 2015, cited p. 51). Telecommunication and media corporations, together with management consultant firms (KPMG, McKinsey), now produce research reports on technology, school improvement, and leadership. Edu-capitalism shifts the notion of philanthropy away from giving back to society without obligation to one which positions education as core mission (Au & Ferrare, 2015). This has significant implications for who and what gets researched and how, who defines what is a policy problematic and how, and who benefits most.

With the entrance of these new players into the fields of research, policy, and provision, teaching in Western nations is becoming increasingly feminized and casualized. In many developing economies, a non-unionized teaching workforce is operating in more precarious international labor markets, where international schools and low-fee-paying private schools outnumber government schools (e.g., UAE) and are flooding India and Africa. While women are now accessing the leadership roles in schools under increased pressure for performance, executive power is still wielded by male-dominated bureaucracies, school boards, businesses, or charities (Stritastava, 2013). In Western countries, the source of many teachers in international schools, numerically feminized university-based teacher education programs, are being pared down into short-term courses (e.g., the Teach America and Teach For Australia programs) or pushed back into schools on an apprenticeship model reminiscent of the nineteenth century, as in the UK (Sondel et al., 2105). Teachers’ work is being unbundled with increased differentiation occurring between levels of skills and responsibility (Seddon & Levin, 2013). Brown et al., (2011, p. 145) ask: “are we leading towards digital Taylorism, with high skilled but low paid gender segmented workforces?”

Furthermore, dominating the international and national education policy field is a discourse about preparing students for the twenty-first century, of education by cultivating particular dispositions required by employers in order to fully participate in a democratic society and globalized economy. Most countries now have national policies that refer to the dispositions and capabilities required to be a twenty-first-century lifelong learner, a flexible and adaptable worker and a global citizen (Bellanca & Brandt, 2010). In Australia, there is the *Melbourne Declaration in Educational Goals for Young People and Children*. Singapore, China, Korea, and Japan have similar statements, and are seeking to discourage students from cramming for exams (Ng, 2008). At the same time, these nation-states have instituted reforms such as PISA, a national curriculum, standardized testing, and ranking of schools. Yet research indicates these external pressures are counterproductive to the aims of developing critical thinkers, self-managing learners, creativity, and innovation. Instead, they encourage teachers to teach for the test, another aspect of deprofessionalization (Ravitch, 2009; Johnson, 2015). What are the conditions of work more likely to enable innovative and creative teaching in this context that leaders can nurture?

Scaled-up Policy Paradoxes

Various policy paradoxes and contradictions confront politicians, school leaders, and teachers in Anglophone nation-states. Among other factors, the trend toward governance by numbers, markets, and privatization is reconfiguring relations between the

state and the individual in, and through, education as well as highlighting growing sociospatial educational inequality.

These tensions are foregrounded in Australia as disabling federal policies are informing state policies and local school practices. The pressure of PISA and of international comparison due to “governance by numbers,” led Julia Gillard, Education Minister of the federal Labor government, to establish the MySchool website. MySchool displays every Australian school’s student outcomes from the National Assessment Program on Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN), final exit results, and post-school education destinations (Windle, 2009). After union pressure, school income but not assets were included. The justification for MySchool was that transparency meant greater accountability of both government and schools and that parents would make better choices of school.

Later studies of MySchool indicated that most Australian parents used local networks rather than MySchool to inform school choice (Windle, 2011), but the rising numbers of parents of international students were accessing MySchool online to make choices. MySchool unexpectedly highlighted that residential location also benefited many high-achieving public schools in higher-income residential areas, thereby competing with selective non-government schools. Yet high-achieving schools are more able to select students, and many parents, even those with cultural and economic capital, do not gain access (Aitchison, 2006). Furthermore, confronted by the evidence of an increasing polarity of standardized test outcomes between regions, sectors, and schools, the same federal Labor government’s Gonski review of school funding recommended a return to needs-based funding across all three sectors—a redistributive policy—a review which, despite significant public support, has not been fully adopted by the new Liberal government since 2013, with a reduced funding per head in Victorian schools.

Therefore, paradoxically, in rich and affluent countries, education reform since the 1980s has seen the production of greater educational inequalities mapped onto socio-spatial inequalities and residential segregation based on class (Ball, 2007, 2012; Gulson & Symes, 2007; Raffo et al., 2010; Teese et al., 2007). In the affluent nation-states, status hierarchies within and between public and private schools are being reconfigured. Numerous studies in Australia, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand, countries with the more devolved education systems after decades of neoliberal policies, indicate greater inequality emerging between rich and poor schools and families and between rural and urban regions, as well as a greater polarization between high and low achievers in PISA and TIMSS (OECD, 2011; Raffo, et al., 2010; Teese & Lamb, 2007). A similar pattern occurs due to economic neocolonialism in developing economies (Macpherson et al., 2013).

School choice policies in the context of de-industrialization and demographic shifts have enabled even greater residential segregation (Holme, 2002) based on class and race and ethnicity in Melbourne (Lamb, 2012) and Sydney (Campbell et al., 2009), and other metropolises such as Chicago (Lipman, 2011), in the US South (Reardon, 2011), London (Gulson & Symes, 2007), and Stockholm (Bunar, 2011). Residential/school segregation is fueled by the better resourced middle-class family’s capacity to move into low-risk locations to access “high-achieving” government or non-government schools (Raffo et al., 2010; Teese, 2012). Low-achieving schools have multiple external pressures such as cultural and linguistic diversity and poverty in under-resourced communities. These leaders cannot alter these factors without significant systemic and policy initiatives to support innovation, including funding (Lupton, 2005).

Paradoxically, despite School Effectiveness and Improvement and school choice policies' apparent failure over decades to achieve systemic and systematic improvement for all students (Gorard, 2010; Hsieh & Urquiola, 2007; Scheerens et al., 2001), advocates claim the market can deliver quality, outcomes, and accountability through devolved governance to self-managing schools, with the promise of greater principal and school autonomy (Eacott, 2015; Sklra & Scheurich, 2004). With the rise of the middle class in Asia and South America and the threat of its fall in the United States and Australia, school choice policies capture heightened "parental anxiety" about education and the desire to obtain for one's child comparative advantage over others (Blackmore, 2012). The seductiveness of school choice is evident in the rapid expansion internationally of Free Schools originating from Sweden (Bunar, 2011), Charter schools from the United States (Brighthouse & Schouten, 2014), the Academies from England (Gunter, 2012) and "independent public schools" in Australia. The School Effectiveness and Improvement paradigm aligns well with market and managerialist imperatives, given its focus on individual school improvement, leaderism, and teacher quality, with only a genuflection to "challenging contexts" (Wrigley, Thomson, & Lingard, 2013).

Yet in a *Review of School Choice* in OECD countries, Musset (2013) concluded that there is little evidence linking structural reforms (e.g., devolution) to improved student learning outcomes. But the choice discourse has powerful adherents: it facilitates governments shifting costs onto families. It appeals to any tendencies of those families to want to be with others like themselves with regard to language, culture, and "race." This desire for "homosociability" is reflected in leadership recruitment by appointing individuals who "best fit" the dominant culture rather than promoting diversity (Andre-Becheley, 2005; Blackmore et al., 2006; Grummell et al., 2013). While Charter schools may provide local communities and social groups with a sense of community ownership and cultural identity and recognition, there is ambiguous evidence as to whether this improves learning outcomes (Brighthouse & Shouten, 2014; Musset, 2012). In the United Kingdom, any sense of a system of schooling is disintegrating into a "systemless system" (Lawn, 2013), and Australian federal governments continue to shift funding from public to private schools through new formulae, thus encouraging parents to follow the money into the private sector (Morsy et al., 2014). Musset (2013) concludes that structural reform based on choice fragments, rather than nurtures social cohesion.

Meanwhile, the policies of choice and the privatization agenda are being scaled up in developing economies as they work to achieve the Millennium Development Goal of Education for All (Miles & Singal, 2010). Philanthropic bodies, such as the Gates Foundation, and multinational firms, such as Pearson, are extending their reach into Asia, South America, and Africa (Au & Ferrare, 2015). Low-fee private schooling is expanding rapidly in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa, often chains of schools owned by one firm (Srivastava, 2013; Unterhalter, 2013). The context is that of a shift from "palliative to developmental giving" by the "joining up of epistemic, financial and policy endeavours" instituted by transnational organizations (Ball, 2012, p. 68). Yet the notion of philanthrocapitalism as social change philanthropy is contestable. It

must be measured by its capacity to question the dominant development model, to seek the root causes of inequality, and to engage in a process of self-reflection that also seeks to expand its accountability to the broader public that it seeks to serve ... but the dominant form of global philanthro-capitalism is too deeply

embedded in the current economic and political status quo of global capitalism to make investments that might really rock the boat. Critics of philanthro-capitalism are not really against the use of those funds for the social good, as much as they are opposed to the policymaking and agenda-setting powers that tend to accompany this new global elite.

(Ramdas, 2015, p. 2)

The question is not just whether low-fee private schools aggravate equity or mitigate disadvantage but whether, given their ownership and what is taught, they are also another form of economic neocolonialism (Srivastava, 2013).

Furthermore, with regard to gender equity, Unterhalter (2013) argues that the dominant School Effectiveness and Improvement paradigm promoted through philanthro-capitalism fails to address how the “lived experience” of injustice impacts on girls and other marginalized groups and their capacity to learn (e.g., racial or sexual harassment); or to “make connections between the dropout of girls and the gender dynamics of households, school and societies”; or to link pregnancy to “household and social, political or schooling processes” (Unterhalter, 2013, p. 78). School Effectiveness and Improvement more generally, feminists have argued, doesn’t examine the gender dynamics of exclusion and the interaction between private (family) and public sites of discrimination, making social justice “the other’s” concern and not that of mainstream research. And many girls are being educated in low-fee-paying schools to become underpaid teachers in these same schools (MacPherson et al., 2013), usually without protection offered by unions or state regulation.

Finally, the global game of education requires new strategies for teachers, schools, and parents. As international professional labor markets become more precarious (Brown et al., 2011), middle-class and aspirational parents struggle to gain or maintain class position (Rowe & Windle, 2012). One strategy is for students to acquire international credentials and thus gain a distinct advantage (Arber et al., 2014). The International Baccalaureate and private-and government-owned international schools are proliferating across borders, becoming a powerful influence over governments (Hobson & Silova, 2014). As Windle and Stratton (2013, p. 4) comment, the International Baccalaureate, as a “product of distinction,” is a prime example of this kind of “obsession with exchange value and the accumulation of cultural capital through consumption.” Offshore international schooling for parents in developing economies provides access to higher education, with the promise of acquisition of the valued cultural capital of the global worker. But the growth of international schools, many private, or those promoting the International Baccalaureate within domestic markets in the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, while increasing choice for some parents, has consequences for the choices of many. Concentrating cultural, social, and financial capital in the International Baccalaureate or other private international schooling detracts from investment by these families in increasingly residualized, and therefore less attractive local government schools, often positioned in low socioeconomic communities (Arber et al., 2014).

A second strategy beyond the scope of most families is to access elite schools, which in Australia also receive public funding. Children of the elite circulate within a global network of residential locations, workplaces, and leisure surpassing most educational experiences. Elite schools based on the public-school model in former British colonies

of Australia, Barbados, Hong Kong, India, Singapore, South Africa, and Cyprus seek to enhance how they serve the more privileged and powerful sectors even as they face competition from new elite commercial private schools, as in India, by recruiting globally (Koh & Kenway, 2012). This next generation of mobile corporate entrepreneurs and philanthrocapitalists are educated to become agile, entrepreneurial, and socially committed, displaying the highly nuanced racialized and gendered subjectivities of the global citizen worker, and thus enhancing their exclusivity (Koh & Kenway, 2012). The outreach and international programs of these schools claim to develop future global leaders and promote a form of “ethical consumption” (Windle & Stratton, 2013). Cultural recognition thus dominates policy through choice by adding value to the existing cultural capital of the advantaged while choice exacerbates existing economic maldistribution. Economic redistribution therefore requires political will to guarantee more just education systems. The tension emerging is between who is responsible for the provision of education as government’s outsource to private providers as cheaper and how access, participation, and equity for students as well as well-paid professional teachers (arguably, conditions for twenty-first century learning) can be achieved (Ballanca & Brandt, 2010; Beetham & Sharpe, 2007).

How Policy Shapes Leadership Practices: The Victorian Story

The following narrative(s) of school reform derive from data collected in studies funded by the Department of Education, Victoria called *Innovative Learning Environments Research Study* (2010–2011) and the Australian Research Council: *Inter-agency collaboration supporting resilient students, families and schools in disadvantaged communities* (2010–2013); *Redesigning schools and leadership* (2007–2009); *Understanding and managing risk for 15–19-year-olds in learning networks* (2003–2005); and *An investigation of the declining supply of principals in Australia* (2002–2004). I use these studies to illustrate how constantly changing contexts constrain or enable how schools and their leaders address this complexity of global/local articulation and how and why dominant modes of leadership are privileged.

The fundamental restructuring of public education toward self-managing schools was initiated during the 1990s by the neoliberal policies of the Kennett Coalition government in Victoria. Public schools became more like small businesses operating within local, national, and global education markets (Blackmore, 1999). Principals were encouraged to separate from teacher unions through a new industrial agreement with the promise of more pay and greater autonomy (always seductive), 20 percent of teachers were made “voluntarily” redundant, 300 schools were closed, casualization of teaching trebled to meet demands of flexibility of self-managing schools open to parent choice, and parent and teacher organizations with policy agendas contrary to government policy were replaced on school councils by individual parents (Blackmore et al., 1996). Elected councils were expected to implement government policy, act as employers, and make and manage money. But, as principals, they were not consulted on policy (Blackmore, 1999). Many of the newer principals were women enthused by a decade of equity policies, seeking to change the system. While gaining greater authority over staffing and school buildings, it was with fewer resources and system support. Any individual or group who spoke out against the neoliberal “reforms,” usually announced

in the press, were penalized (Blackmore & Thorpe, 2002). Within this punitive policy regime, school leaders, the linchpin of devolved governance, were expected to be compliant and entrepreneurial, as well as good human resource managers (MacBeath, 2008). There was no parity of participation, which Fraser argues is critical for socially just practices, encouraged in terms of the voice of parents, teachers, or even principals. School councils were a case of misrepresentation, being seen to have power, but having none in reality.

Federally, Howard's socially conservative Coalition government agenda, after 1996, converged with Kennett's neoliberal agenda. Howard also promoted school choice by changing the federal funding formula from one based on need (for economic redistribution) initiated by Labor in 1974 to remedy maldistribution, as the Catholic sector was failing and disadvantaging 20 percent of Australian students. The funding of faith-based schools policy reversed the principle of a free, compulsory, and secular education legislated in the 1870s in the Australian colonies, with elite as well as the Catholic systemic schools able to receive government funding. By 2015, one effect has been that over 70 percent of federal education funds are now allocated to the non-government schools, constituting 30 percent of students, with 8 percent of these being in high-fee elite schools. Another has been a rapid expansion of small faith-based, often fundamentalist, schools, both Christian and Islamic, which often replaced state government schools which had closed due to their size (Maddox, 2014). In Fraser's terms, while funding of faith-based schools was premised on greater equity for all students, neo-conservative and market-focused principles have meant cultural recognition has trumped economic redistribution.

Again, such policies, and the discourses that inform them, have to be read through multiple lenses, given the intersectionality of gender, race, and class. PISA results, in Anglophone nation-states where devolved governance is greatest, show that gender differences in educational achievement *amongst* boys and girls are greater on the basis of socioeconomic background (the proxy for "race," rurality, and ethnicity) than gender differences between boys and girls as "unified groups" (Allegre & Ferre, 2013). Gender/race/culture are, according to Fraser (1997), bivalent collectivities, often in competition, thus creating dilemmas for policy makers and school leaders, particularly when there is dominant discourse that boys are victims of feminism and disadvantaged, as there was in Australia and the United Kingdom during the 2000s (Mills, 2013). While family background continues to be the greatest predictor in Australia of educational outcomes (economic maldistribution, in Fraser's terms), the location as well as type of school a student attends also counts, due to urban/rural differences. In Melbourne, students with similar socioeconomic backgrounds, ethnicities, and faiths tend to choose to congregate in the same schools, consolidating patterns of residential segregation based on wealth and opportunity (Jackson & Lamb, 2014; Lamb, 2007, 26).

Despite being publicly funded, faith-based private schools have less accountability than public schools and do not have to comply with gender equity policies and inclusive practices. For example, faith-based schools can exclude homosexual teachers (*The Age*, 2015) and yet receive government funding, as they can claim this is a religious belief and therefore not addressed by equal opportunity legislation. Girls' rights for a fair and equal education can also be subsumed by parent choice and cultural/religious value systems (Maddox, 2014). Fraser would argue that parental rights should be overridden to privilege girls' right to an equivalent education as boys in such circumstances, particularly if funded by the public.

Entrepreneurialism

In this entrepreneurial context, schools became more self-reliant, accruing additional resources and undertaking serial redesign of their curriculum in order to reposition their school within constantly changing education markets (Blackmore, 2005). A three-year Redesigning Schools and Leadership project (Blackmore, 2012; Thomson & Blackmore, 2006) showed how location impacted on the capacity of school leaders to provide the program their students needed. A secondary college and a K-12 government school were in close proximity to social housing in inner-city suburbs that were rapidly being gentrified. Both schools had a large proportion of students from refugee and culturally diverse backgrounds, the result of waves of refugees from Chile, Sudan, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran over a decade. Leadership teams constantly re-evaluated programs, as any change in migration or refugee policy or international crises radically reduced or increased intake overnight. In both schools, the teachers were committed to the schools mission of an inclusive and personalized education. Each school undertook serial redesign of their programs to meet the specific cultural needs of each new refugee cohort, focusing on both English language and survival skills while valuing what different cultures brought to the school.

Because of their “refugee” profile, most of the local middle-class parents drove past these schools to take their children to academically high-achieving and Anglo-dominated government schools, or to one of many private schools in the eastern suburbs. The leadership dilemma for both leadership teams in the government schools was how to attract local families to create a broader student base. A greater social mix usually meant more parents able to contribute to school capacity-building financially, and who could mobilize their local and professional networks, which in turn facilitated student success and resilience (Blackmore et al., 2015).

For the secondary college, the capacity to constantly redesign their programs was achieved by working with local drama groups and the computer industry to develop a music program. This practical hands-on studio work enhanced their students’ opportunities and achievements through authentic learning programs. The K-12 school provided prescribed and structured literacy programs, but also sought to attract local middle-class parents through a Steiner program, whose progressive ideas about early childhood pedagogy espoused delaying learning to read, as a child will freely come to read through structured play. The K-12 was one of the first schools in Victoria to introduce the International Baccalaureate. Student mentor programs linked the senior students to local business and the school gained a reputation for piloting a kitchen-garden scheme with a high-profile chef.

Principals in both schools were therefore negotiating internal pressures with regard to cultural diversity that meant a focus on pastoral care and personalized learning, and external pressures due to head office expectations of a focus on literacy and numeracy. The latter pressure was intensified due to all Australian schools’ results on standardized assessment being published on the MySchool website, each school compared to “like” schools, regardless of context (Gorur, 2015; Windle, 2009). These external pressures and the social mix limited both principals’ capacity to develop innovative and extra-curricular programs around twenty-first century teaching and learning considered attractive to many middle-class families seeking a comprehensive liberal education. Most of the parents at both schools did not engage or participate in activities, as they

lacked resources and time. Some had different cultural attitudes and education experiences which shaped how they saw teachers' and parental roles, many never having attended school (Blackmore & Hutchison, 2010).

Both principals were responsive, flexible, and entrepreneurial: they developed links to local community organizations and industry to gain expertise and access to additional resources. Both schools still survive because Australian immigration policies have reduced the flow of refugees, providing each school with the opportunity to change their profiles and intake, and thus shift community perceptions favorably. Global factors (war, financial crises) and changes in policy (e.g., migration) outside their capacity to change therefore created opportunities for different leadership strategies, although their focus on social justice never faltered.

The limitations were greater on school leadership in a rural region, 300 kilometres from Melbourne. The one government K-12 school, the result of amalgamating a primary and secondary school, was confronted with aggressive marketing by three local high-fee-paying private schools. With fees supplemented by government subsidies, these private schools offered international programs, residential placements, sport and indigenous scholarships, upgraded sports grounds, and an international student experience. A smaller secondary school in a nearby town was ultimately closed after the private schools extended their busing route. While those parents who could afford to argued that the government should fund their choice of school and therefore fund travel, this meant the closure of the nearby government secondary school which denied most other parents' preference for a community school (Morgan & Blackmore, 2012). Equity was, in some parent discourses, now equated to individual choice.

These examples indicate how contextual factors such as rurality, deindustrialization, demographics, funding, and the level of inter-school competition all impact on which schools "succeed," regardless of leadership. The capacity for entrepreneurialism was severely restricted in rural regions relative to even the poorer inner-city schools, although all small government schools remained constantly under threat of closure unless they could be agile and resilient.

Collaborative Networks

The emergence of system-less systems (Lawn, 2013) was evident in many Anglophone nations during the 1990s. In 2002, the Victoria Labor government's *Report on Public Education* (Connors, 2000) concluded that there was now loss of a sense of a "public education system" among teachers and parents because teachers no longer felt responsible for students not in their school and many students "slipped through the cracks" and were not in education or employment. Significant locational disadvantage was evident in Australia, as in the United Kingdom and United States, with educational underachievement linked to geographic concentrations of high levels of poverty, inter-generational unemployment or underemployment, poor community health and well-being, and inadequate infrastructure (transport, health, educational, and community service) (Vinson, 2007). A geographic polarity was evident in PISA results, which indicated that in Australia, socioeconomic background was the primary indicator of student achievement.

The Victorian Labor government's response (2000–2009) was to rebuild the sense of a "public system." One policy approach was to develop a *Blueprint for Victorian Schools*

that provided teacher and leadership professional development programs informed by teacher research and evidence-based practice. But literacy and numeracy standardized testing and funding based on school enrolment, introduced by the previous neoliberal government, was maintained, creating a tension between competition and collaboration. Furthermore, under the School Improvement Strategy, “underachieving” schools, and therefore underachieving leaders, were subject to greater accountability through a hierarchy of school improvement levels. Greater autonomy and softer accountability were enjoyed by high-achieving schools, whereas schools in disadvantaged communities came under closer scrutiny. Regional Network Leaders were created to facilitate and support schools, and literacy and numeracy coaches appointed in schools to improve learning outcomes.

A second approach by Labor was to encourage principals, teachers, schools, and other agencies to work more collaboratively through networks, echoing similar policies of the “Third Way” Blair Labour government in the United Kingdom about knowledge cities, neighborhood renewal, and collaborative networks among multiple agencies and partnerships (e.g., Action Zones in the United Kingdom and Neighbourhood Regeneration in Australia) (Dahlstedt, 2009; Angus, 2009). In Victoria, within a state-wide strategy of community capacity building, schools in some areas of high locational disadvantage were made central to newly built precincts that included health, welfare, and employment facilities (Cummings et al., 2011). In 2002, 38 Local Learning and Employment Networks were formed to link up organizations addressing students “at risk” (early school-leavers). These networks of networks (including non-governmental organizations (NGOs), schools, technical institutes, and health and welfare agencies) aimed to support those young people who had to negotiate multiple and complex pathways if they left school early to enter work or further education and to support young mothers to stay on at school (Kamp, 2006). These networks redistributed knowledge about employment, education, and resources to support student transitions through interagency collaboration.

A later study in this region investigating *How interagency collaboration supported resilient students and schools* (2011–2015) found that student resilience was produced when students could relate to others through a range of extra-curricular and out-of-school activities such as sport and drama in addition to strong pastoral care in school, activities not available to students in high poverty areas where neither schools nor communities had the resources (Muschamp et al., 2009). To some extent, the new Victorian Certificate of Applied Learning that focused on authentic experiential learning informed by theory opened up new pathways and revalued vocational learning. But again, this expensive program which linked to the workplace was offered primarily in schools in disadvantaged communities where there was the most need and least money, thus diverting funds from other programs. Public school principals managed this tension between competitive pressures for continual improvement on standardized tests and the need to collaborate in accumulating resources to offer extra-curricular programs to meet student needs by networking with each other, sharing resources, and working with philanthropic organizations.

Enabling policies, this study indicated, encourages collective (Lumby, 2009) or network leadership. Network leadership (Blackmore, 2012) was characterized by a focus on a shared problem with a clear purpose; gaining respect and agency through action and not position; displaying a capacity to work with others from different disciplinary

paradigms and mindsets (universities, schools, industry NGOs); and the ability to accumulate a range of resources to address a problem. But such network relationships were also tenuous, transient, and reliant on mobilizing the social capital of its members, trust, goodwill, and relational leadership; in other words, network sociality (Wittel, 2001). For these same reasons, network leadership was less sustainable without systemic support, due to its reliance on “the relational.” Networking as a policy response and leadership practice also challenged how we understand what constitutes professional and school autonomy, as there was greater interdependence required to achieve shared aims (Eacott, 2015). Furthermore, given there is no institutional base, accountability is dispersed and cannot be tracked so readily in terms of who can be held responsible for predefined outcomes. Network or collective leadership suggests there is a relational economy in terms of how we theorize school reform and what enhances innovative practice.

Innovation

A third strategy of the Labor government after 2002 was to rethink school organization and provision in the regions where there was significant educational underachievement, again concentrated in areas of locational disadvantage, by recognition of the need for redistribution of resources (Vinson, 2007). The Leading School Fund as an enabling policy proposed that communities reconsider school provision within a region in return for significant government investment in new buildings designed with a clear pedagogical purpose. Investment in the school built environment was later scaled up nationally with federal Labor’s Building Education Revolution as a rapid response to the 2007 global financial crisis, with AUS\$16 billion expended over 3000 school buildings (cf. the Building Futures study in England).

In an OECD study of *Innovative Learning Environments* (Istance, 2012), 12 case studies were undertaken in Victoria in 2010. These schools self-evaluated as innovative learning environments, based on the criteria of being student-centred with strong teacher professional learning communities and personalized learning, and six had redesigned their built environment through the Leading Schools Fund (MacBeath, 2008; Thomson & Blackmore, 2006). Leadership was critical in the process of redesign of the configuration of schooling. The process of decision-making was in many instances generative, including all stakeholders—principals, teachers, students, and parents—and principals developed a warrant for redesigning school provision through this consultative process. In one region, ten schools were amalgamated into a multi-campus K-12 school in order to improve student outcomes. Some principals, most of them women, gave up their positions to become campus principals under an executive principal (predominantly male, some from highly successful schools elsewhere) in the larger multi-campus configurations, science and technology specialist schools, and secondary schools. Restructuring to offer more innovative programs and provision reproduced the gender bias of the system.

These 12 case studies also indicated the willingness by principals to encourage experimentation by teachers. When open space and flexible buildings were being designed with architects, two principals knocked down the walls of the old school and encouraged teachers to experiment on the use of space and to design the furniture. Teachers were funded by the leading Schools Fund to travel to other redesigned school buildings

in Australia and overseas to inform planning, a participatory process that meant the teachers were committed to transform learning. And even when flexible spaces were built, many schools found the need for serial redesign, as teachers were forced to rethink use of time as well as space, and the application of technology to integrate the spatial with more mobile technologies and flexible use of time. Open spaces required less movement and more time in one place. Teamwork required significant dedicated planning time but also reduced preparation, and specialist teachers were integrated through interdisciplinary activities (Blackmore et.al., 2011). Leadership in most schools was shared among principals and staff, with innovation originating from groups of teachers. The principal's role was to persuade the system, school council, and industry and to channel school and community resources into the redesign. Systemic support from both the regional network leaders and central administration was critical across all schools in the form of literacy and numeracy coaches, additional staffing, and expert advice.

The international OECD study of *Innovative Learning Environments* (Istance, 2012) showed that teachers have a stronger sense of professional efficacy if given scope for autonomy and capacity to exercise professional judgment; innovation was more likely with flat structures of staffing, shared decision-making, and a high level of commitment to renewal by teachers and community. The affordances provided by well-designed or renovated built and outdoor environments were taken up because school leaders encouraged teachers to be risk takers. And small experiments were often scaled up within the school as others saw the benefits.

These 12 studies indicate how policies premised upon redistributive justice made a difference to those schools in disadvantaged communities most, but it takes time, often up to several years, to see a marked improvement in measurable outcomes (e.g., standardized tests). The informal evaluation of student artifacts and observations of new ways of relating to and working with other students and teachers found that many of the students were acquiring and displaying the much vaunted twenty-first century learning capacities—collaboration, self-management, engaging visual and digital literacies, and interpersonal and communication skills (Blackmore et al., 2011). For those schools that focused on standardized tests alone, there was some immediate satisfaction if scores rose, but continual improvement was often unsustainable as different cohorts of teachers and students moved through the school and, as a result of the frequent and often contradictory policy reversals between collaboration and competition, enabling and punitive policies, and radical changes in funding. After seven years of policies encouraging school collaboration and innovation, the next Liberal government reverted to neoliberal policies (2009–2012) promoting “independent” government schools supposedly giving greater autonomy to principals (OECD, 2012, p. 7), and abolished the regional network leaders. Then a Labor government in 2013 promoted Victoria as the Education State, with an emphasis on international education in particular, and is again focusing on learning precincts in areas of disadvantage.

Victorian schools are now recognized as operating within local, national, and global education markets, competing for international students. The policy discourse is that of developing students' intercultural capabilities as befits the twenty-first century learner-earner. At the same time, under pressure, this government has guaranteed 25 percent of all funds to Catholic systemic schools (constituting 20 percent of students) regardless of need, going against the Gonski review recommendations to fund according to need regardless of sector, i.e., redistributive justice.

Rapid changes in policy and context frame leadership possibilities, as the Victorian narrative illustrates, with the ongoing tension between professionalism and leaderism, community capacity building and accountability to the evaluative state. Principals and teachers negotiate conflicting policies between the dominant neo-Taylorist and standardizing approaches driven by governance by numbers on the one hand (Lingard, 2012), and national policies and discourses that aim to develop twenty-first-century skills of adaptability, resilience, communicative skills, intercultural understanding, and creativity and personalized learning on the other (Bellanca & Brandt, 2010). The accountability agenda is driven from above by accountability regimes and normative models of School Effectiveness and Improvement. The twenty-first century agenda requires bottom-up innovation based on professional judgment and creative leadership and teaching that is responsive to a diversity of approaches, learners, and contexts; a systemic and school culture that encourages experimentation and risk taking and promotes deliberative decision-making involving all stakeholders. Fraser (2013) would refer to this as parity of participation.

I have argued that the dominant School Effectiveness and Improvement paradigm informing policy has shifted focus from “leaderism” in the 1990s to teacher quality as the solution to underachievement (e.g., Hattie, 2007). School Effectiveness and Improvement and teacher quality discourses ignore the rapidly changing composition and conditions of work of teachers (predominantly female). Teachers are experiencing reduced rather than enhanced autonomy due to increased accountability; that is, de-professionalization rather than re-professionalization (Gewirtz et al., 2009). The casualization and feminization of teaching, a condition for staffing flexibility in self-governing schools and privatization, is increasing, with most teacher graduates in Victoria in 2014 now on contracts for up to five years (Johnson, 2015). This has implications not only for sustained attachment to teaching by “quality” graduates but also undermines understandings of professionalism as a collective practice and when teachers are less likely to have the protection associated with tenure (Seddon & Levin, 2013). Furthermore, as the state has withdrawn from provision of education, individuals have become increasingly responsible for the costs of their education. Australia has one of the highest investments by families in education (Connors & McMorro, 2011). This has long-term effects on how families use their income. Privatization also makes schools more reliant on sponsors, industry, and philanthrocapitalism and therefore more vulnerable to market fluctuations and failure that ultimately government schools are obliged to remedy.

Rethinking Policy and ELMA Purposefully Through a Social Justice Lens

I have identified multiple paradoxes and contradictions within the global policy field as well as the local practices of educational administration and leadership. While the School Effectiveness and Improvement paradigm has successfully repositioned itself as the dominant orthodoxy of edu-capitalism because it aligns with neoliberal principles of marketization and managerialism, as a paradigm it has failed to redress inequality. On the other hand, education leadership and management as a field may render itself irrelevant as policy is becoming more distant from the influence of educational researchers and practitioners within universities and schools and originates from the fields of politics, the media, philanthrocapitalists, and big business.

Over this period of rapid and radical transformation, various understandings of social justice ranging from the negative positioning of disadvantage and inequality through to positive notions of equal opportunity, equality, and equity within liberal democracies have been appropriated, translated, and redefined. Equity in both policy texts and parental discourse is increasingly understood as a form of social capital which can be mobilized by individuals to gain advantage and not just redress disadvantage (Savage, 2011). Claims made upon the nation-state previously have been premised on *needs* (with regard to welfare, education, and health) requiring redistributive justice as a policy remedy, as in the case of the education reforms of 1960s and 1970s focusing on socio-economic disadvantage in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia. During the 1990s claims are being based on what Fraser refers to as *interests* due to group discrimination, oppression, and disadvantage, or recognitive justice, which can be remedied through recognition of cultural, racial, sexual, religious, gender, and sexual difference. This is exemplified in school-choice discourses. Claims, Fraser argues, are also made on the basis of individual and group *rights*: to vote, travel, work, own property, to be listened to, to be heard, to be educated, and, of course, to choose. Fraser (2013) argues that socially just policies and practices require all three elements: redistribution, recognition, and representation. Neoliberal policies in education have arguably, in recent times, privileged rights-based claims (school choice) over needs-based claims (inequality), while powerful groups (mainstream religious and the neo-conservative press) have sought to maintain the status quo through interest-based claims and dominating representative forums. School-choice policies assume a narrow neoliberal version of equity that equates equity to the individual right to choose while ignoring redistributive injustices that reduce the capacity of choice for most. Fraser (2013) would see education is critical in terms of imparting “positive freedoms,” or the right for every individual to have the capacity for agency, but that this requires some form of redistribution as well as recognition and representation.

The looming issue is to whom will equity claims be made (individual schools, the nation-state, international bodies,) and on what basis as education becomes a business moving outside the realm of government policy as well as educational researchers and practitioners. Transnationally the nation-state increasingly mediates global markets through trade and financial agreements and regulates what are now international education markets while stepping back from provision. For Western states, whereas education was implicitly central to the social contract underpinning the welfare state, education in the post-welfare state is indicative of an “ethos of contractualism” focusing on individual responsibility and less on government obligation, shifting the “balance between values or priorities, such as that between equity and markets” (Rawollle, 2014, p. 232). As the OECD (2011) *Divided We Stand Report* states, this has wider implications:

The social contract is starting to unravel in many countries. This study dispels the assumptions that the benefits of economic growth will automatically trickle down to the disadvantaged and that greater inequality fosters greater social mobility. Without a comprehensive strategy for inclusive growth, inequality will continue to rise. (paragraph 6)

A socially just education requires both top-down policies *and* systems that support and enable bottom-up school initiatives premised upon interagency collaboration

and community capacity building, as well as a well-paid and professional teacher workforce. Schools cannot do it alone, nor can an underfunded residualized public sector address what are systemic inequalities. For systems, the lesson is that there is a need for constant re-evaluation as to the unexpected consequences of educational restructuring with regard to equity and the types of leadership practices that are enabled or emphasized—relational or entrepreneurial—and which of Fraser’s principles of redistribution, recognition, and representation inform both leadership practice and policy.

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6

Politics, Activism, and Leadership for Social Justice in Education

James Ryan and Katie Higginbottom

A number of years ago, the first author of this chapter heard something in an interview that was to influence the trajectory of his research agenda for years to come. At the time, he had been conducting research into how school administrators promoted inclusion and social justice in their schools and communities. He was hoping to collect data that could be used to help leaders in their quests to make their schools and communities more inclusive places. A school principal who was part of the study at the time told him that she had learned over the years that, given the many challenges, school administrators who sought to promote inclusion and social justice in their schools would only be successful if they had “political acumen.” More specifically, she told him that these leaders were “dead” if they did not have and apply this political wisdom.

The administrator’s statement made reference to three elements in her social justice work—resistance to her efforts, understanding the politics of her organization, and putting political wisdom into practice. The first element was resistance; this administrator indicated that she regularly encountered people, practices, and policies that overtly or subtly made it difficult to pursue her social justice agenda. She knew that if she was to succeed with this enterprise, she was going to have to find ways to counter this resistance. Doing so, however, required that she understand the ways in which her organization worked, the second element of her social justice work. First and foremost, she needed to recognize that her organization was political. But she also understood that knowing how her organization worked was not enough to counter resistance. This administrator also recognized that she needed to act. If she was to attain her social justice goals, she would have to develop, acquire, and exercise the political skills or acumen necessary to navigate the politics of her organization. She knew that she would not achieve her social justice objectives by forging ahead without this specialized knowledge.

This administrator’s perceptions of her social justice work are not unique. Recent research has confirmed her perceptions. It is not easy, at the best of times, for educators to promote inclusion, equity, and social justice in contemporary institutions that continue to display racist, sexist, classist, and homophobic policies, cultures, traditions, and practices (Ryan, 2012; Theoharis, 2007). But changing these practices is complicated by the way in which education organizations work. Scholars have acknowledged that, like most other institutions, schools are political organizations (Elliot, 1959;

Scribner, Aleman, & Maxcy, 2003). Leaders who wish to promote social justice need to know how to work within these political structures. They need to acknowledge the political character of their organizations, acquire the skills and knowledge to understand these politics, and ultimately put this knowledge into action (Ryan, 2010).

But what is the best way to understand this process? What is the most useful way to characterize the challenging task that social justice-minded educators have before them? How can we frame the work of leaders so that it can assist these leaders to actively promote social justice? Given the nature of schools, is this task a political one? If so, how is it political? How useful is the current political literature in education? Does this political literature inform the practice of leaders in ways that help them promote social justice? Are there other traditions that may be useful, such as, for example, activism? What does the activist literature have to offer social justice leaders? What are its shortcomings? This chapter attempts to answer these questions.

The chapter is organized in the following way. First, we examine the current context in which equity-minded leaders work. Citing current inequitable environments and the associated challenges, we illustrate why it is so important for leaders to pursue social justice agendas. Next, we explore the political nature of educational organizations, drawing from and critiquing the literature in the field of educational politics. Next, we make a case for characterizing what social justice-minded leaders do in politically charged institutions as activism, maintaining that that these leaders can best hope to realize their social justice ends when they pursue them in a strategic way. Finally, we portray strategic activism in action.

The Neoliberal World

Social justice-minded leaders have their work cut out for them. Spurred on by neoliberal ideology and practice, the institutions and communities in which leaders ply their trade are deeply exclusive, inequitable, and unequal. But there is nothing new about these inequities. They have been around for some time now. For many years now particular individuals and groups have found themselves excluded from what life has to offer, while others enjoy privileges that others do not. This does not occur by chance or happenstance; there are distinct patterns to this marginalization. These patterns play out along race, gender, class, sexual orientation, ability, and other lines; non-white, female, poor, LBTGQ, and differently abled people do not enjoy the same privileges as the white, male, middle-class, straight and abled.

One easily identifiable terrain of inequity is economic; the world's resources are not, nor have they ever been, distributed evenly or equitably. In feudal times, a relative few had the privilege of owning vast tracts of the land, while most others had very little land or resources. The inequalities continued even when the system of distribution changed. For example, market practices ushered in different but still inequitable ways of allocating resources. Owners of emerging large-scale industries profited from the labor of those who worked in their establishments, paying their workers less than their worth and widening the gap between rich and poor. Eventually, however, the economies of the West did make progress in reducing the gross inequities in the distribution of resources toward the middle of the twentieth century. The condition of the working class gradually improved over the years, and a middle class emerged and grew (Byrne, 1999).

This progress has now come to an abrupt end, however, brought to a halt by a phenomenon that has come to be known as neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism is “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong property rights, free markets and free trade” (Harvey, 2005, p. 2). Neoliberal practice revolves first and foremost around a belief in the primacy of market principles. In contrast to classical liberal approaches based on the autonomy of the market, neoliberal convention solicits institutional and state assistance to ensure that the market – and its competitive spirit – will flourish. Doing so involves confronting trade union power, attacking forms of social solidarity that hinder workplace flexibility, dismantling welfare commitments, privatizing public enterprises, reducing taxes, encouraging entrepreneurial initiatives, and creating a favorable business climate that will induce a strong flow of foreign investment (Harvey, 2005).

Neoliberalism, however, has not produced the results that its proponents had envisioned. One of its alarming by-products is the growing gap between the haves and the have-nots. Providing advantages for the rich while penalizing the poor, neoliberal market-friendly practices have dramatically increased the gap between the two, and in the process also reduced the middle class. While a few studies have cited a leveling off (Grant, 2014; Kwong, 2015), the majority point to a steady widening of the gap between rich and poor (e.g., Beardsley et al., 2014; Fuentes-Nieva & Galasso, 2014; Shulman, 2015). The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development’s (OECD) (2015) most recent study reflects the latter. It reveals that the gap between the rich and the poor is at its highest level in 30 years. In the OECD countries that it surveyed, the richest 10 percent of the population earn 9.6 times the income of the poorest 10 percent, up seven times from 1970s levels. In the United States, the gap between the rich and the poor is the fourth highest among OECD countries. Much of this inequality in the United States shows up in many of the most prosperous cities. For example, the top 5 percent of earners in Atlanta averaged \$279,827 in 2012, almost 19 times more than the bottom 20 percent (Berube, 2014). It is not just US cities that display this gap, however. Toronto, Canada, has transformed in the last 42 years from a mostly middle-income city into an island of wealth surrounded by increasingly poor pockets of suburb (Hulchanski, 2010).

Much attention has understandably focused on the fortunes of the rich. Some of the figures are eye-catching. For example, the richest 85 individuals in the world now hold wealth equal to that owned by the poorest half of the planet’s population; 1 percent possess one-half of the world’s total wealth (Oxfam International, 2014). Surprisingly, even these numbers may not represent the true wealth of this elite. This is because it is not always easy to document their resources. One way for these individuals to sidestep officially reported income is to funnel their income through private companies that are not included in standard measures of individual earnings. Wolfson, Veall, and Brooks (2014) report that the top 1 percent of earners in Canada may be taking in 36 percent more than what they declare on traditional income tax rolls. But the elite also have other ways of hiding their wealth. Oxfam International (2014) estimates that the wealthy hide about US\$21 trillion in unreported and offshore accounts.

But current disadvantages extend beyond financial issues. Men, women, and children can be further marginalized by virtue of gender, race, sexual orientation, ability, and other power relationships (Crouch, Keys, & McMahon, 2014; DeMitchell, Eckes, & Fossey, 2009; Durbin & Fleetwood, 2010; Lareau, 2014; Simson, 2014). Some of these

relationships overlap with economic issues. Women tend to be poorer than men, and economic privilege is associated with race (Ryan, 2006).

These inequalities also spill over into educational institutions. In most contemporary schools in the Western world, non-white, gay, lesbian, poor, and differently abled students tend to achieve at lower levels, drop out in greater numbers, and are less likely to attend post-secondary institutions than their white, straight, middle-class and physically able counterparts (see, e.g., Bennett, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Orfield, 1995; Sweetet et al., 2010; Tremblay, Ross, & Berthelot, 2001). But it is just not students who are marginalized in schools. So are educators. A recent study (Ontario Alliance of Black School Educators, 2015) documented that black teachers in Ontario continue to face racism on the job. One teacher in the study reported that his new colleagues asked if he was the caretaker.

Neoliberal practices also show up in more direct ways in schools. Many infiltrate educational institutions in the guise of recent reforms. At the heart of neoliberal education reformers' vision is an enhanced market system. Proponents believe that a market-based education system provides the conditions to enable students to learn better. Anderson (2009) claims that market practices in education most often take the forms of corporatization, marketization, and privatization. Corporations now regularly sell management, cafeteria, custodial, security, and busing services, and education services such as counseling, teaching, professional development, and student assessment (Anderson, 2009). More and more children are attending private schools, some of which are partially funded by taxpayers (Smyth, 2008). And reformers are sponsoring market-friendly practices such as voucher systems, tax incentives, and charter schools.

While market practices continue to infiltrate education, they are not able to do so on their own; they require the assistance of the state. In true neoliberal fashion, public institutions with the authority to dictate policy have conspired to encourage and support market initiatives. In education, this state control has come on with a vengeance (Ryan, 2012). Ironically, these new forms of control exceed the power of that formerly associated with educational bureaucracies of the past, routinely accompanied as they are by a vast array of rules, procedures, and accountability measures (Anderson, 2009). At one time, teachers and administrators could retreat to their secure classrooms and schools to do what they felt was best. This is no longer the case. New policies that originate at the state level now reach into the heart of classrooms and schools, dictating administrators' priorities, and what and how teachers teach. This administrative control shows up most obviously in managerial ideologies and testing regimes (Ryan, 2012).

Neoliberal policies induce social justice-minded leaders to engage in practices that may not be consistent with their ideals. In many places, policies force school leaders into competitive relationships with colleagues. In places like New York and Chile, for example, principals need to exercise their entrepreneurial skills in order to attract the best students, teachers, and resources to their schools (Anderson & Barraza, Chapter 9 in this volume). While principals who succeed in these endeavors may benefit their own schools, they do so at the expense of others' schools as they draw resources from other parts of their district. But even in places where competition is not overtly encouraged, leaders still have to cope with a lack of resources, the product of neoliberal regimes that devolve responsibilities to schools and school systems. In Ontario, Canada, for example, 99 percent of elementary schools need to raise money on their own, not just for extras like field trips, but also for crucial assets, such as learning resources (People for Education, 2015).

The neoliberal regimes have not produced the promised results. One glaring shortcoming is the inability to increase the achievement of marginalized students. Evidence illustrates that inequality among students has actually increased since the introduction of widespread testing (Hursh, 2007). There is little question that current testing regimes further marginalize already marginalized groups of students (Ryan, 2012). Darling-Hammond (2010) contends that these tests have not improved schools or created opportunities for students. She reveals how low-income students and students of color have been the primary victims of high-stakes testing. The flawed nature of these tests (Hursch, 2007), their Eurocentric character (Ryan, 2012), the manner in which schools and school districts seek to attract desired students, and the way in which they prepare students, game, and maneuver testing situations penalizes students who may be otherwise disadvantaged (Darling-Hammond, 2010).

Social justice-minded leaders have to find ways to counter long-standing oppressive practices such as racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, and so on that manifest in policies, cultures, traditions, and structures of schools and schooling. Just as challenging are the more recent manifestations of neoliberal sentiments that now appear in the guise of policies and practices that compel leaders to support inequitable practices. Leaders routinely encounter resistance to their social justice initiatives from fellow educators who put these and other policies and values into practice on a daily basis (Ryan, 2012; Theoharis, 2007; Tuters, 2015). Given the politics of contemporary educational institutions, leaders need to be able to navigate the political side of life in their organizations if they ever hope to counter institutional barriers and colleagues' resistance to their labors (Ryan, 2010).

Educational Politics

Educational politics is a relatively new field of study. The first references to the idea that education was a political enterprise date back to 1959 when Elliot (1959) encouraged scholars to explore the "political factors" associated with educational governance (Scribner et al., 2003). A raft of these sorts of studies followed in the 1960s (e.g., James, Kelly, & Garms, 1966; James, Thomas, & Dyck, 1963; Scribner, 1966). Taking their lead from political scientists such as Laswell (1936) and Easton (1965), these and many of the education scholars who followed saw politics as "the authoritative allocation of value" that dictated "who gets what, when, and how." These and other scholars sought to explore these distribution processes, structures and practices.

The first explorations of politics in education concentrated on large-scale allocation issues. These included, among many others, the distribution of resources, financial management, school board performance, the role of policies, and district decision-making (James et al., 1966; James, Thomas, & Dyck, 1963; Scribner, 1966). For these and other scholars, system analyses of phenomena "mostly from outside the schoolhouse" (Townsend, 1990, p. 207) were designed to illuminate how value gets distributed in educational institutions. Over time, this approach spawned a number of research streams, one of which has come to be known as neo-institutionalism (Scribner et al., 2003).

This initial foray in to educational politics marked an important step. To begin with, it shed light on a previously unknown, yet crucial aspect of education, providing useful knowledge about the political nature of education systems. This perspective, however,

displayed limitations as an approach that could potentially help school leaders promote social justice. First and perhaps most obviously, scholars' stance on the distribution process ignored its inherent inequalities. Researchers opted instead for a supposedly neutral view of politics, endorsing the status quo as they did so (López, 2003). Another limitation of this early work concerned its inability to capture how these political processes worked within schools. A preoccupation with systems theory and large-scale analyses made it difficult to tap into the experiences of those who worked and learned in schools. As a consequence, scholars had difficulty exposing just how the larger political processes played out in the daily interactions of teachers, students, parents, and administrators.

A subsequent approach to politics in education sought to compensate for some of these shortcomings. Referred to as micropolitics (Innaconne, 1975), this newer approach looked to reveal how the political process played out at the local level by studying the ways in which individuals understood their environments, acted on their interests, and interacted with others. This micropolitical perspective was never a unified field, however; it is as fragmented today (Flessa, 2009) as it was in the 1980s and 1990s (Marshall & Scribner, 1991; Mawhinney, 1999). Even so, a number of these approaches share a number of characteristics, typified in Blase's (1991) oft-cited passage:

Micropolitics is about power and how people use it to influence others and to protect themselves. It is about conflict and how people compete with each other to get what they want. It is about cooperation and how people build support among themselves to achieve their ends. It is about what people in all social settings think about and have strong feelings about, but what is so often unspoken and not easily observed. (pp. 1–2)

Blase and other like-minded scholars emphasize a number of key elements in their micropolitical approaches. First and foremost they assume school organizations are conflicted entities, driven by competing interests, and controlled by power. Conflict plays a key role in organizational life. Ball (1987), for example, contends that schools are arenas of struggle. He and others maintain that educational institutions are rife with disagreements, clashes, and unresolved issues. These conflicts are, in turn, the product of different interests. Those who work in school organizations tend to struggle with one another over these different interests. In contrast to political approaches that employ systems thinking, most micropolitical scholars focus on the interactions of those who work and learn in educational organizations, because they assume that the actions of individual men and women drive what happens in these organizations, although some of these researchers do attempt to make connections with the world outside schools (e.g., Bachrach & Mundell, 1993).

This micropolitical perspective provides a number of useful insights into political life in educational institutions. The most obvious contribution is scholars' insistence that a political lens can help explain what happens in schools. Micropolitical scholars acknowledge that schools are rife with politics. They identify the allocation processes—who gets what, when and where—and illuminate how contests over conflicting interests turn out. Micropolitical approaches, however, display limitations. Two of these limitations are scholars' proclivities to adopt individualistic perspectives and their tendency to take a "neutral" stance.

A number of micropolitical scholars adopt an individualistic perspective (Ryan & Higginbottom, 2016). They routinely depict images of teachers, administrator, or groups of individuals vying with each other over various internal issues, independently of institutional contexts and constraints. Accompanying this perspective is a view of power as something that individuals can possess and deploy. It is difficult at the best of times to envision in these analyses a more structured or invisible form of power working on and through these actors to enforce (or disrupt) the marginalizing practices associated with gender, race, class, and other relationships (Ryan & Higginbottom, 2016). Any perspective that is to help educators promote social justice from within schools needs to acknowledge the structural nature of the allocation process and the fact that these structures can be oppressive.

Most micropolitical approaches in education also tend to take a “neutral” or ambivalent stance in their inquiries. While researchers may identify with a particular set of values, they generally do not provide sets of prescriptions or explicit advice about how to politic. Rather, their work is generally geared to expose *how* politics operates in organizations. Micropolitical pioneers like Ball (1987) and Blase (1991), for example, have explored how principals, teachers, and others have sought to promote their interests in contested and conflicted environments. These and many other studies (for a review, see Malen & Cochran, 2008) help us understand the world of politics in schools. However, they have little to say about what people need to do to contest or use power to promote social justice (Ryan & Higginbottom, 2016).

One branch of micropolitical inquiry that does offer a normative view of organizational politics is the managerial one. These types of studies are more evident in the business literature than they are in education, although some do exist in education (e.g., Cilo, 1994). Conducted from a manager’s vantage point, this body of literature is largely prescriptive. Some of this advice has an empirical base (e.g., Cialdini, 2009; Kandola, 2009), and some of it does not (e.g., Rogers & Meehan, 2007; Vermeulen, Puranam, & Gulati, 2010). The work of Buchanan and Badham (1999) typifies this tradition. The authors advise, for example, that when joining an organization, the politically astute executive ought to make an effort to find out: (1) who is friendly with whom, who are enemies, and secret liaisons; (2) the real agendas of key resource holders; (3) who controls discretionary resources and who to reach if you want something done; (4) past and current hot issues; and (5) who to befriend and who to avoid. These approaches, however, are largely superficial. They pay scant attention to what is going on beneath surface activities and assume that people in the lower echelons of the hierarchy have little to offer, and thus need to be levered to accomplish work that those in the upper levels of the hierarchy deem important. Most managerial inquiries of this sort are thus not consistent with social justice ideals; they end up reinforcing hierarchies that social justice advocates are working to overturn (Ryan & Higginbottom, 2016).

Despite shortcomings, the managerial approach provides insights that can assist those wishing to promote social justice. Most pointedly, it emphasizes the importance of political acumen, wisdom, and strategy. In doing so, a number of these managerial approaches use the ideas of the much maligned and misunderstood Niccolò Machiavelli (1952). Machiavelli believed that rulers could not effectively govern their respective states by brute force alone. Instead, they needed to be wise, and had to use this wisdom in judicious ways if they were to ensure the best for their respective domains. A few

contemporary scholars in education and other disciplines have pursued Machiavelli's notion of statecraft. With Machiavelli, they believe that it is necessary for leaders to acquire knowledge of the system/environment in which they work, and apply this knowledge in strategic ways (Bolman & Deal, 2008; Buchanan & Badham, 1999; Crow & Weindling, 2010; DeLuca, 1992; Fink, 2005; Kotter, 1985; McGinn, 2005; Ryan, 2010; Winton & Pollock, 2013).

Another approach to politics in education is the critical or anti-oppressive one. Somewhat surprisingly—given that it focuses exclusively on distribution systems—this approach has received the least attention in the politics of education field. Even so, critical scholars in education have over the years sought to expose how race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ability, and other structures unfairly distribute the opportunities that particular groups receive from educational institutions and call for ways to change these arrangements. From the 1980s (Apple, 1981; Giroux, 1983) to the present (Fabricant & Fine, 2013), scholars have explicitly referred to this systemic and patterned marginalization as a political phenomenon. Despite this obvious connection, only a few scholars (e.g., Lopez, 2003; Lugg, 2003; Marshall, 1991) in the politics of education field have emphasized the political aspect of systemic marginalization.

A critical approach to politics in education has much to offer social justice-minded leaders. For instance, this approach focuses on issues of marginalization that go beyond the school. Even so, critical scholars look to understand how marginalization works in the school and how we might counter its effects. This critical approach is also explicitly normative. Critique and action are central to most inquiries. Unlike much of the other work in the politics of education, critical inquiry explicitly acknowledges a distaste for inequities and unashamedly works to counter these injustices. But this critical approach displays at least one weakness, at least for those leaders seeking to promote social justice in their organizations. While critical scholars emphasize action, they generally have not paid sufficient attention to the strategic aspects of such action.

If educators and leaders are to advance social justice in schools and communities, they must acknowledge that educational institutions are political entities. The various approaches to politics in education, each in their own way, are useful in this enterprise. The more traditional systems-level approaches emphasize the political character of education; micropolitical research in education reveals the mechanics of everyday struggles among educators with different interests; anti-oppression scholars point to the need to take action against structural race, gender, class, and other inequalities; and managerial studies scholars recommend strategic action on the part of leaders. Taken together, these perspectives illustrate that leaders will need to take strategic action in contested political organizations if they are to have any chance at reversing inequitable race, class, and gender relationships in their schools and communities. In order to assist in this quest, scholars would do well to conduct inquiry that is capable of connecting normative action and everyday interactional struggles within the structural realities of schools and communities.

One helpful way to frame an approach to inquiry that can help leaders promote social justice would be to acknowledge and combine the normative, active, and strategic political elements that scholars associated with the different traditions feature. One perspective that incorporates all of these approaches is strategic activism.

Strategic Activism

Activism is inherently political; activists seek to influence the way social values are distributed. Toward this end, they target particular issues such as racism and/or the social and political conditions that contribute to such issues. As an example, Occupy activists took action to challenge the unequal distribution of wealth and the system(s) that produce such inequities.

Action was the key for Occupy activists and for activists generally. Beyond a focus on action, not everyone can agree on what activism is. Permanent Culture Now (2013) considers activism to be quite simply taking action to effect social change. Even so, Permanent Culture Now prefers not to use the term “activist” because this designation may separate those who claim to be activists from those who actually carry out activism. Sharonda et al. (2013), on the other hand, use the term willfully. For them, activists are people who are driven by passion, guided by a vision for a better future, and who see a need for change, improvement, and motivation on a large scale.

Activists take action to advance a cause in ways that depart from the conventional or routine (Martin, 2007). Although the boundary between conventional action and activism is often unclear, activism generally goes beyond conventional politics; it is typically more energetic, passionate, innovative, and committed than routine political action. Activism is also most often undertaken by the less powerful. This is because those who occupy positions of power can usually get what they want through conventional means. What counts as activism, or who are considered to be activists, however, will inevitably depend on the context in which the action occurs (Martin, 2007). Sending an email complaining about the government in countries where free speech is not respected is a form of activism. On the other hand, this may not be viewed as activism in a Western democracy.

Activism can take a number of forms. Drawing on Sharp, Martin (2007) identifies three types of (non-violent) activism. The first type is protest and persuasion. This includes speeches, slogans, banners, picketing, marches, teach-ins, and so on. The second form of activism involves non-cooperative actions, such as disobeying social customs, strikes, producers’ boycotts, and international trade embargos. The last type is intervention. This can include sit-ins, various kinds of occupations, fasting, and setting up alternative economic and political institutions. These types of activism are intentionally visible, and are typically intended to attract attention and/or provoke reaction on a large scale.

Activism can take place in a variety of settings, including education. Although most educators may not think of themselves as activists, their actions may nevertheless qualify as activism. Indeed many educators have been engaged over the years in activist activities (Robertson & Smaller, 1996). In Ontario, Canada, for example, teachers have marched on the provincial legislature in force, boycotted extracurricular activities and conducted illegal strikes. Education activists have engaged in similar activities in the United Kingdom and the United States over the years (see e.g., Johnson, 2002; 2013; Loder-Jackson, 2011). New York City educators fought racial and ethnic prejudice in the years before, during, and immediately after World War II (Johnson, 2002). They promoted culturally responsive materials, advocated for the hiring of more representative (African American) staff, and worked hard to reform schools in predominantly black neighbourhoods.

Activism can be risky for educators. If the cause they advocate does not coincide with official or sanctioned organizational values, practices or policies, then educators may be penalized for partaking in oppositional activities. They may lose their jobs or their career trajectories may be comprised (Ryan, 2010). Some activities are riskier than others. The activities of the New York City educators mentioned above risked much more than the Ontario teachers, and their struggles came at a cost; many were fired and/or experienced great personal struggles and distress (Johnson, 2002). More than this though, this type of activism may not always be effective. Activists who are engaged in these sorts of activities may find themselves marginalized and ignored (Ryan, 2010).

Not all activism is as visible or as risky as the large-scale traditional forms mentioned above. Those working for change also engage in activities that can also be considered as forms of activism. This includes activism that occurs within organizations. Organizational activism acknowledges that people can also engage in activism “inside” organizations. Martin (2007) observes that:

It is also possible to speak of activism inside an organization, such as a corporation, government department, political party or labor union. Organizations have their usual ways of doing things, such as senior executives making decisions in corporations. If employees organize to alter the usual decision-making process, this can be called activism, though it is much less visible in public places. (p. 20)

Organizational activism generally involves less visible activities than other larger-scale activism. Yet within organizations people can participate in activities that are visible and provocative. Low-key activities dedicated to a particular cause can be a form of activism. Horton and Kraft (2009) refer to these kinds of practices as implicit activism. Those who are engaged in implicit activism tend to avoid the more noticeable grandiose and iconic forms of activism and embrace the banal, small-scale, personal, and quotidian activities that attract little fanfare (Loder-Jackson, 2011; Martin, Hanson, & Fontaine., 2007).

Over the years, educators have engaged in organizational and implicit activist activities, although few may acknowledge them as such. Those teachers and administrators who act to make their organizations more socially just and inclusive are involved in implicit activism. This may include advocating for marginalized groups, working for inclusive decision- and policy-making processes, fostering inclusive dialogue, helping others to critically reflect on their practice, prioritizing socially-just pedagogy, and ensuring that community groups are meaningfully included in school processes (Anderson, 2009; Furman, 2012; Ryan, 2006, 2012; Shields, 2003; Theoharis, 2007). Like other activists, those who engage in such activities are acting as less powerful individuals, often outside of conventional decision- and policy-making channels, to promote social change. These lower-profile activities attract less attention and, as a result, may not only be less risky, but more effective than higher-profile activities.

Engaging in activist activities is challenging enough. But such activism may be doubly challenging if the cause for which educators advocate is not popular. This is often the case with social justice issues. Those who promote social justice causes often encounter resistance; so it will be in their interests to conduct their activities in such a way as to avoid or counter this resistance. One way of doing this is engaging in lower-key, implicit forms of activism. Being less visible or obvious, they are likely to attract less attention

and evoke less opposition. Despite their lower visibility, however, these lower-key activities still may be seen and recognized for what they are and thereby generate resistance. Thus, those engaged in social justice activism within their organizations need to consider alternate forms of action. Activists would do well to be strategic.

Activist scholars have noted the importance of being strategic. Shaw (2013), for example, believes that successful activist work requires proactive planning. He refers to this approach as tactical activism. He uses the case of the Tenderloin neighborhood in San Francisco, California to illustrate the importance of tactical maneuvering. Threatened with redevelopment that would radically change their neighborhood, Tenderloin residents mobilized to maintain the community as an affordable one for the elderly, poor, and disabled. Their strategy was twofold. First, they fought to establish the Tenderloin as a residential neighborhood. After this was accomplished, they insisted that the district was entitled to the same zoning protections that other San Francisco neighborhoods enjoyed. In the end, this plan worked. The city approved rezoning and the Tenderloin avoided gentrification that would have radically altered the neighborhood. The Uptown Tenderloin Historic District of San Francisco currently encompasses thirty-one blocks of a low-income neighborhood.

Tenderloin activists operated strategically. They understood their context and carefully choose their actions on the basis of this knowledge. They knew the neighborhood, and also, more importantly, understood how local politics and city regulations worked. They knew how important it was to establish the Tenderloin as a distinct neighborhood, carefully choose a forum to launch this first step, and judiciously select the appropriate methods to communicate their message. In the end, their strategy proved successful.

Social justice-minded leaders in education have much in common with Tenderloin activists. They have a cause—social justice, and take action to achieve this goal. In order to successfully pursue their social justice causes, these leaders must be strategic about how they proceed. The difference between the Tenderloin activists and the situations facing social justice-minded educational leaders is in the scale. While the Tenderloin activists contended with large-scale political processes, educational leaders, particularly principals, often deal with issues that pertain to their organizations, even though the social justice matters that concern them transcend these institutions. Social justice activist leaders can learn from the politics of organization literature; it provides ideas about the strategies needed for organization-level issues. In particular, this body of literature emphasizes having or acquiring a degree of political acumen or wisdom. This involves understanding the way that power works, assessing the situations at hand, and judiciously choosing a course of action with a high probability of success (Ryan, 2010).

Whether they acknowledge it or not, educational leaders engage in activist activities. Scholars point to out the necessity of carrying out activist-like activities (Foster, 2003; Giroux, 1992) and describe their use (Anderson, 2009; Furman, 2012; Hoffman, 2009; Ryan, 2006, 2012; Shields, 2003; Theoharis, 2007). Despite the progress that scholars have made in this area, they have yet to acknowledge the importance of being strategic. Missing in these studies are descriptions of how these leaders strategically put their social justice initiatives into practice in organizations where they routinely encounter resistance. Strategic action is crucial; social justice activism may well fail if leaders do not carefully consider and weigh their options.

In the next section, we describe the scant research on leadership and strategic activism in education. Drawing on our own studies (Ryan, 2010, Ryan & Higginbottom, 2016; Ryan & Tuters, 2014, 2015), we outline the way in which leaders can strategically promote social justice in their organizations.

Strategic Activism and Leadership

The relatively sparse literature on leadership, strategic activism, and social justice in education indicates that not all leaders are comfortable engaging in the politics of educational organizations. Those who do recognize the low priority given to social justice and the accompanying resistance know that they need to be strategic in their actions. This means that they must learn about their organizations and position themselves appropriately before they can further their cause. Leaders speak of the strategies that they employ to deal with the politics of their organizations.

Social justice-minded leaders tend to approach organizational politics in at least three ways (Ryan, 2010). One group prefers not to think of themselves as politicians. Part of the issue for these leaders is their perception of what politics means. For many, the idea of politics conjures up images of manipulation, inauthenticity, back-room deals and self-promotion. And they want none of this. More common, though, are leaders who have difficulty articulating what they do in their political capacities. When pressed, however, many of these people acknowledge their political moves and the importance of engaging with organizational politics. The final group readily acknowledges the importance of politics in organizations and can easily talk about the political side of their work. These leaders routinely describe how they strategically promote social justice.

Being Strategic

Leaders who recognize the importance of organizational politics maintain that they have to approach situations strategically (Ryan, 2010). They acknowledge, for example, that they should not attempt to pursue everything that they want. Instead, these leaders report that they need to selectively target social justice issues that they value, carefully choosing ones they believe to be appropriate for their circumstances. They believe that they will “wear out their welcome” quickly if they attempt to “go after everything.” They routinely consider a number of situation-specific features before acting. These include, among others, the history of the issue, the players involved, the degree to which leaders can read the situation and how much they can push. There are times, however, when leaders know that they need to pull back. A participant in one of our studies expressed it like this:

I have had to say “no” on a few things, even things I know we should be getting ... for staff. But we’ve just gone to the superintendent three times. I don’t think a fourth time to the well, right now, is a good idea. I think we need a little bit more time. ... So you’ve got to kind of pull back, regroup, rethink.

(Ryan, 2010, p. 370)

Other leaders talk about strategizing in different ways. A participant in another study of ours (Ryan & Tutters, 2014) used a chess metaphor to describe how she approached her social justice work. Wanda, a principal in a diverse elementary school, said:

You have to be very smart about how you do it. It is a very calculated approach to how you keep social justice on the table, and you have to be one step ahead of everyone who wants to maintain the system. You have to be one step ahead of them at every stage that you can anticipate what they are going to do. It is like a chess game. It really is. (p. 15)

This particular leader used a chess metaphor because it nicely captures what she is actually doing. Wanda is aware that she has to deal, first and foremost, with people she works with who do not support her social justice efforts. She believes that they are happy with the way things are, and characterizes these colleagues as people who want to maintain the current system. Because they do not see a need for substantive change, they prefer to focus on other issues that they feel are more important than social justice ones. As a result, they are not prepared to entertain issues of social justice. In order to ensure that social justice issues are not neglected, Wanda recognizes that she needs to anticipate how these colleagues are likely to act in particular situations. She has to be able to predict these things in order to make the moves necessary to promote social justice.

Understanding and Acquiring Knowledge

The ability to read situations and correctly predict likely outcomes requires an understanding of the environment or context. Not so long ago, we heard a senior school leader speak about the importance of understanding organizations. She used a garden metaphor. She said that when she recently moved into a new house, she waited a full year before planting her garden. She wanted to find out how the environmental conditions affected the garden plot before she made a decision about what kind of plants she would invest in. She waited to see, for example, how much sun the garden plot received, when the sun shone on it, how the surface water runoff affected the area, whether it was sheltered from the wind, and so on. The point she was trying to make is that leaders, like gardeners, need to understand the immediate environment, whether it be a yard or a school, before they act. They can do this by being patient and acquiring knowledge of the environment. Failure to do this will result in planting things that do not grow or initiating school improvement plans that do not foster social justice.

Social justice-minded school leaders also talk about the importance of knowing their organizations. They speak of it in two ways: what they need to know and how they acquire this knowledge. Leaders maintain that it is crucial to understand school cultures, community dynamics, and wider system idiosyncrasies. Understanding these requires that they come to know, or know about, the people who work in the system—teachers, parents, and central office people and their values, priorities, and peculiarities. These leaders contend that it is vital to know who has power, what kind of power they possess, and how they exercise it. A school principal in one of our studies believes that power is not necessarily associated just with a person's formal organizational position. She says, instead, that it is often a product of the kind of relationship people have

with others. She maintains that it is important for principals to understand these kinds of relationships and the relationships that they have with these powerful others in order to know who is likely to support their initiatives and interests (Ryan, 2010).

School leaders also talk about the ways in which they can acquire knowledge of their organizations. One strategy that these leaders use is to listen carefully and observe. They maintain that this is particularly important for those who are starting a new job. Others talk about forging relationships in order to get to know the people with whom they work and to engender trust. They mention strategies such as sitting on district-wide committees, inviting the community into the school, and sending out surveys. Not all leaders, however, support the idea of using surveys. A few of our study participants do not employ this technique because they believe that it reinforces the power of people who already have it. Not all parents will take advantage of the survey opportunities and, as a consequence, not all sectors of the community will be equitably served by the practice.

Leaders also speak about the importance of understanding emotions—theirs and those of the people with whom they interact, and dealing with them strategically (Ryan & Tuters, 2015). They recognize, first and foremost, that they need to understand how they are feeling in particular situations. Their jobs can be quite emotional at times, and if they let their emotions dictate their actions, then they might not be able to get what they want out of particular situations. As a result, leaders may find themselves engaged in varying degrees of emotional labor (Hochschild, 2012). A participant in one of our studies speaks about the necessity of strategically suppressing her anger and fear in the many emotionally charged situations in which she finds herself (Ryan & Tuters, 2015). She feels that expressing what she really feels at the time would not be in her longer-term interests and, as a consequence, masks these feelings from parents, teachers, and students. She knows that presenting an even demeanor in these interactions will likely engender emotions in others that lead to more meaningful outcomes, allowing her to pursue her social justice goals.

Positioning

Once leaders have knowledge about the relevant aspects of their situations and understand what they are facing, they need to act. They take two kinds of actions: positioning and directed. Positioning activities are designed to enable these social justice leaders to succeed when the time comes to take more direct action; they are preparatory in nature. Leaders prepare the ground by setting themselves up in ways that prompt their colleagues to see them in a particular light: as amenable, non-threatening, a good community citizen, a company person, and so on. It is necessary for them to do this because of their own positioning within their organizations. They often have to cope with their own inferior power positions, the product of their level in the organization hierarchy, their race or gender positioning, or their (unpopular) stance on social justice. In order to position themselves, leaders work on their relationships, profiles, and credibility.

The kind of relationships that leaders have with their colleagues affects the way in which they are treated. Participants in our research pay a lot of attention to cultivating relationships with others. Leaders feel that the people with whom they deal are more likely to be open to various overtures, requests, and initiatives if they have good working relationships with them. Some leaders note that good relationships help when

they have to talk to their staff about issues that can be uncomfortable or, for that matter, issues that just involve social justice. Leaders who have good relationships with superiors can count on getting a break from them when they make mistakes. Leaders talk of practices that help them cultivate and maintain relationships. These include treating people right, not being perceived as a “whiner” or someone who looks to “grab all the resources,” and giving people credit for the things that they (and others) do. Study participants also speak of another kind of relationship that assists them in achieving their social justice goals: alliances. Forging alliances can make it easier to promote social justice, and politically astute leaders acknowledge the importance of finding allies.

Leaders also need to be conscious of their general profile. Given that social justice initiatives are not always popular, many social justice-minded leaders prefer to keep a low profile. Leaders employ various metaphors to describe the actions associated with this tactic, including “hiding in the weeds,” “flying under the radar,” and “walking softly.” These leaders recognize the value of not drawing attention to themselves or to their schools. They know that central office personnel tend to look more closely at schools with a high profile, and with this scrutiny, those in the central office see things that they may not endorse. So, many of the social justice leaders in our studies seek to keep their heads down, avoid publicity, and not advertise their social justice initiatives.

Keeping a low profile by itself is not sufficient to ensure that leaders are perceived in the best light. Leaders also need to make sure that they are seen as credible. Social justice leaders accomplish this in a number of ways. One way is to give the impression that they are solid “system people”—team players who do what is expected of them. Doing this requires, among other things, that they do their paperwork well and on time. But credibility also entails other elements. This includes making sure that others recognize their expertise in the areas of responsibility. Leaders understand that in order to get people to listen to their social justice views, they need to demonstrate their knowledge in relevant areas, such as curriculum. There are times, though, when these leaders need to be careful about displaying too much knowledge because doing so might threaten colleagues or those who might sabotage their social justice plans. Many leaders recognize the need to strike a balance between demonstrating competence and showing their limitations. Failure to strike such a balance may be threatening to colleagues, may unnecessarily raise the leader’s profile, and risks alienating others.

Taking Action

Leaders also take direct action to promote their social justice agendas. The ways in which they do this vary. These actions depend on a number of things, including the leader’s position, relationships, skills, and power. In some circumstances, leaders may be strategically aggressive, while in other situations they may select less confrontational methods. Leaders who have power—the product of experience, personal connections, or skill—may engage in more forceful strategies. One participant in one of our studies (Ryan, 2010), a principal who was confident in her power, made a practice of keeping her central office colleagues on edge and off-balance. But these aggressive methods are not the norm for social justice-minded leaders. Most find themselves in situations where they are at a power disadvantage and, as a consequence, opt for strategies that are lower key, considerably less confrontational, and that do not perturb others. These include persuading others, pleading ignorance, planting a seed, and aligning priorities.

Leaders frequently find themselves in the position of having to persuade others to go along with their social justice initiatives. To do this, they employ various information-circulating techniques, such as prompting, guided discussions, questioning, and provoking. They also use arguments to get their points across. To circulate information, leaders supply others with academic articles and student performance data, employ stories and videos, and make use of people's experiences to get teachers, parents, and students to come to see the value in their ideas about social justice. They also have strategies for getting their messages across. Many prefer to ask critical questions, promote discussion, and let others reach their own conclusions about the issues, rather than preaching to them. Some, though, do provide their own arguments. One particularly effective argument is that (social justice) initiatives are "good for the kids."

Other low-key tactics leaders use include pleading innocent, planting seeds, and aligning priorities. Leaders say that it is sometimes easier to just go ahead and do things without getting permission. If their superiors call them on their premature action, they simply ask for forgiveness. Doing so short-circuits any potential objections and avoids confrontations. Another subtle strategy is planting seeds. Those who adopt this practice try to find ways to indirectly get their colleagues to entertain a particular idea or practice, to talk about it, and to consider putting it into practice. A third strategy is to align social justice initiatives with current district or state policy. Leaders feel that they can achieve more by employing these three tactics. Their relatively inferior positions in the organization hierarchy and the (un)popularity of social justice issues prompt them to avoid confrontational situations where, owing to power differentials, they and their ideas might lose out.

At some point, though, leaders might have to take action in a more direct or confrontational manner. But when they do, social justice leaders contend that they have to be particularly selective in the battles they choose. They cannot stridently pursue everything that they believe is important, or argue or fight over every issue. Instead, they need to choose only those they believe in strongly. More than one of our informants describes this process as "picking a hill to die on." This happens when sacred programs, valued initiatives, or revered plans are threatened. While leaders may risk many things, including jeopardizing career trajectories, when they chose to take these kinds of stands, they claim that the risks are worth it.

Conclusion

The challenges that contemporary leaders face when attempting to promote social justice in their schools and communities are daunting. Exclusive neoliberal policies, inequitable cultures, unjust traditions, resistant colleagues, and inflexible superiors are just some of the obstacles that social justice-minded leaders face on a daily basis. But overcoming these obstacles is not a simple or straightforward matter. Educational institutions are political, and if leaders are to have any hope of achieving their social justice goals, then they will have to acknowledge, understand, and be able to act in these political environments.

The literature on the politics of education illuminates the challenging work of social justice leaders. The various approaches discussed in this body of literature reveal the contested, conflict-ridden character of educational institutions as students, parents,

teachers, and administrators maneuver to promote their often different interests. A key element is how organizational actors calculate their actions. The activist literature is also useful. While emphasizing the action inherent in the pursuit of causes, the literature also recognizes the importance of strategizing. While research in the area of strategic activism is only in its initial stages, it reveals that social justice leaders do engage in these activities. Social justice-minded leaders seek to understand their organizations and position themselves in appropriate ways before taking strategic action.

The leaders discussed here generally target their organizations—not the communities or wider contexts in which these institutions exist. Despite the organization-specific nature of these practices, leaders hope that these actions will sufficiently disrupt patterns that are ultimately systemic. Scholars are also optimistic about the effects of local practices. Martin et al. (2007), for example, see these kinds of activities as precursors to political action that can transform communities or reach wider social networks. These small acts, they contend, can transform social relations in ways that have the potential to foster meaningful social change. It remains to be seen, however, what kind of impact these kinds of actions will ultimately have in education and the communities served.

If leaders are serious about social justice, they may at some point have to consider ways to influence social life beyond schools. One option is to work at making changes at the system level. Although rare, a few education initiatives that target system-level transformation are already underway. Su (2016) describes one such enterprise where local organizations develop skills in students, such as public speaking, teamwork and proposal writing, designed to help them influence municipal budgets for local schools, city council legislation, and local redevelopment and construction projects. It may well be that what Su refers to as macropolitical skills—skills that target system-level phenomena—will in the long run prove to be at least as important in changing system conventions as micropolitical skills. Social justice advocates and activists in education will need to consider both micro- and macropolitical arenas and develop skills that will enable practitioners to navigate both realms if they hope to generate meaningful change in their schools and communities.

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7

From “Data-Driven” to “Democracy-Driven” Educational Leadership: Navigating Market Bureaucracy and New Technology in a Post-Fordist Era

Kenneth J. Saltman and Alexander J. Means

Dominant conceptions of educational leadership are rooted in a corporate managerial logic and set of practices that has evolved in concert with the rise of neoliberal ideology since the 1980s and 1990s (Waite, 2014). This corporate managerial regime is characterized by a vast expansion of state bureaucratic authority in the name of anti-bureaucratic market freedom. It is aggressively enacted through the state, which is thoroughly reconstituted as a vehicle of elite financial and corporate interests. Within this frame, educational leadership tracks with the emergence of a vast “new market bureaucracy” in K-12 education modeled not on the factory, as in a previous era of Fordist industrial management, but on the corporation, in a post-Fordist era of network governance (Means, 2013a; Saltman, 2012). In the words of neoliberal educational reformer Fredrick Hess (2013), educational leaders are “cage busters,” charged with dismantling supposedly inefficient public systems under democratic oversight and replacing them with supposedly efficient private systems under corporate oversight. The concrete result has been to produce a paradoxical situation whereby privatization and corporate managerialism generate a profound intensification in the reductive instrumental domination of educational institutions, which is then legitimated through the celebratory language of markets, creativity, and innovation (Means, 2013b).

In this context, “dynamic” and “transformative” educational leaders are those who dutifully adhere to and enforce rigid new systems of privatization and accountability. This includes administering a proliferating set of performance evaluations, auditing tools, examinations, scripted curriculum, credentialing mechanisms, and high-stakes tests that operate under the banner of “evidence-based” and “data-driven” practice. New digital technologies such as IT-based administrative platforms and predictive analytic software are also rapidly being developed and implemented to further rationalize and extend these administrative practices. What is crucial to understand here is that the new emphasis on data-driven educational leadership has little to do with educational improvement in any meaningful sense. Rather, what is fundamentally at stake is a redistribution of control over social life, including over public educational institutions and administrative practices. Specifically, “data-driven” audit culture displaces collective, dialogically enacted forms of administration and teaching that involve deliberation and contestation over knowledge-production, values, and pedagogical practices.

The focus on data-driven leadership has arisen simultaneously with the implementation of standardized curriculum and high-stakes testing that, since the turn of the millennium, has functioned as an expression of neoliberal educational restructuring,

promoting homogenization of curriculum and pedagogy towards the end of facilitating privatization and corporate contracting. Like scripted curriculum and high-stakes testing, the data-driven educational leadership movement has presumed that the only knowledge worth teaching is quantifiably measurable, that teaching practice must be ever more controlled to be able to be replicable and improved, and that standardized tests are the only meaningful arbiter of educational quality. The assumption that quantitative metrics should drive administrative and teaching practices denies the acts of interpretation and judgment necessary for administrators and teachers to select, make, and use curriculum and to employ collaborative and dialogic pedagogical approaches. The denial of judgment and interpretation in “data-driven” leadership actively conceals the political and ethical values and assumptions behind curricular and pedagogical choices. Taking our examples mainly from the United States, in this chapter we chart the intellectual origins of data-driven educational leadership, its political economy as reflected in a new market bureaucracy in education, and how new technology fueled by Big Data and learning analytics is serving to intensify ideological assumptions and practices at odds with democratic conceptions of education. We conclude by suggesting the need to reframe educational leadership from an instrumental, data-driven paradigm to a critical, democracy-driven paradigm.

Origins of Data-Driven Leadership: Taylorism, Positivism, High-Stakes Testing

Historically, “data-driven” leadership can be seen as having its intellectual origins in the rise of Frederick Winslow Taylor’s “principles of scientific management” at the beginning of the twentieth century. Taylor sought to introduce a “science” of business management. His primary aim was to create labor efficiencies by eradicating waste in the labor process. Taylor saw management’s role in production as mentally developing and actively implementing scientific programs of time and movement efficiency. Taylorism calls for breaking down the work process into the fewest possible subtasks to decrease time and movement and energy of the worker. Taylor preached the universal virtue of efficiencies created by disciplining workers to carry more pig iron or lay more bricks in a day—right up to the point of physical failure. While the owner of the industry, of course, benefitted from producing more in the same time, Taylor erroneously believed that this meant the worker earned more in the same time. In fact, the work speed-ups that Taylor promoted allowed more work to be extracted from a given worker for the same labor cost while creating greater competition among workers and driving wages down. Taylor believed that workers were mentally incapable of knowing how to manage themselves through the “scientific” approach. Workers should be treated as dumb animals or machines. Taylor’s scientific management formed the basis of modern business education and educational administration. The theory was imported into education in the early twentieth century by Franklin Bobbit and others applying a factory production model to schooling (Au, 2011). Those inspired by Taylorism modeled the time and space of school on the factory, treated knowledge and curriculum as the domain of specialized expert managers and positioned teachers as delivery agents aiming for efficiency, framing students as the “raw materials” of the production process (Kliebard, 2004). In short, as critical education scholars in the 1970s and 1980s pointed

out, Taylorism functioned to initiate a hidden curriculum of capitalism within a public system. As E. Wayne Ross (2015) recently contended, while the modern workplace has moved on to flexible specialization and lean production, not to mention a service-based rather than industrial economy, the US school is still rooted firmly in the factory model.

Critical education scholars in the 1970s and 1980s took aim at the legacy of Taylorism or scientific management as part of a broader leftist criticism of the ways that public schooling was implicated in reproducing class and cultural hierarchies and in undermining the development of politically engaged forms of civic education. In this discourse, critical scholars highlighted how scientific management as a cult of efficiency was also involved in actively denying the politics of schooling and curriculum. Today, this insight could not be more relevant as corporate reform and ideological notions of "data-driven" administration seek to impose a political agenda for schooling under the guise of disinterested objectivity and neutrality. For instance, following the 2001 launch of No Child Left Behind and its institutionalization of high-stakes standardized testing, a number of critics have described the testing regime as a "new Taylorism" that, as Au (2011, p. 30) put it, "is promoting the standardization of teaching that both disempowers and deskills teachers." High-stakes testing intensifies an efficacy model of educational administration and teaching in which numerically quantified outputs must be sought by teachers and administrators. With federal funds in the United States contingent upon increased test scores, such standardization results in teaching to the tests and gutting out courses and programs of study that are not tested, such as arts, music, and physical education. The standardization trend also mutilates the study of language and literature and history into a skills-based curricula. Worse yet are the federally mandated forms of deskilling that have been radically expanded, such as scripted "teacher proof" lessons in which the last shred of teacher autonomy, reflection, and participation in curriculum and pedagogy planning is stripped from the teaching process. The transformation of teaching into a series of prescribed subtasks, leaving the thinking to the experts, thereby expanded Taylorism in its original forms into the classrooms of today.

Notions of data-driven educational leadership are rooted not only in the assumptions grounding Taylorism as a mode of efficiency maximization modeled on capitalist production, but have to be understood more broadly in relation to positivist ideology. We define positivism as an ideology grounded in instrumental epistemological assumptions regarding the nature of social reality. It is an approach to knowledge that suggests that truth emerges through the aggregation of facts, defined narrowly as discrete and measurable units of knowledge (Bernstein, 1976; Giroux, 1983). Positivism thus separates claims to truth from the values and assumptions underlying the organization and selection of truth claims. In this view, truth is ideally measurable, numerically quantifiable, neutral, and objective. Positivism thus manifests a hostility to theory and constructivist notions of grounded interpretation. Instead, it puts forward a radical objectivism in which the subjective positions of the claimant to truth should not be considered in relation to the truth claim. Data-driven educational leadership not only enacts "scientific management" principles of quantifiable efficiency through a slavish adherence to instrumental processes such as testing and test-based teacher evaluations, but also reinforces the epistemological claims of positivist interpretations of truth as solely a decontextualized and measurable unit. For example, student test scores and test-based measures of teacher performance (like value-added-models, VAM) are situated as supposedly objective and neutral mechanisms from which to "drive" the decision-making

of administrators in areas such as the appropriate exercise of authority over teachers, when to contract with supplemental educational service providers, what metrics and systems need to be in place to effectively teach to the tests, and when to usurp teacher autonomy and implement scripted curriculum. Moreover, positivism effaces crucial questions about the social location, and material and symbolic interests of the test-makers; what is excluded from the official knowledge sanctified on the test, or what assumptions undergird them; values and ideologies behind claims that four answers on a multiple choice question are the only possible ones; and how such official knowledge is positioned in relation to broader social, political, and cultural matters and struggles.

What becomes clear about the relationship between data-driven leadership and efficacy in this model is that in a context where deep engagement with the epistemological assumptions and ethics of practice is abandoned in favor of “objective” metrics, the metrics themselves become self-perpetuating and self-justifying. Linda McNeil (2001) refers to this as the “contradictions of control,” whereby the implementation of market-based and standardized systems of managerialism, measurement, and accountability serve to reproduce their own logic. For instance, low test scores simply become a justification for more testing and further efforts to control teaching and standardize curriculum. Concurrently, high test scores are a sign that incessant testing is the key to improving performance on the tests. The problem of education in the data-driven view is thus always framed as never enough control, never enough measurement, never enough administration. Data-driven leadership thus denies precisely the findings of five decades of social science research on high-stakes standardized testing that demonstrates that test scores correlate to family income of students and broader class stratification. Specifically, testing expresses class and cultural hierarchies of what Bourdieu referred to as capital and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2011). That is, testing participates in the unequal distribution of social wealth—or what he described as the means of appropriating and enacting socially valued knowledge, tastes, and dispositions (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Bourdieu’s point was that the outputs from the tests can be misunderstood as neutral, objective, and socially disinterested, when in fact they express material and symbolic cultural and class hierarchies. As we discuss below, ideological assumptions of data-driven leadership are profoundly anti-democratic and participate in reproducing social and economic relations of domination. As we suggest, in order to reflect and promote the values and ethical social relations conducive to a democratic polity and collective self-governance (such as criticism, debate, dissent, intellectual inquiry, and critical agency) educational leadership needs to be reconnected to matters of power, politics, ethics, and history.

The Political Economy of Data-Driven Educational Leadership: The New Market Bureaucracy

The recent emphasis on data-driven educational leadership needs to be interpreted not only in relation to its intellectual origins in Taylorism and radical objectivism, but also in terms of the broader political economy. Beginning in the 1970s, the Fordist economy shifted to post-Fordist regimes of accumulation and complementary neoliberal ideology. This shift marked a transition from the stable, unionized industrial economy, Keynesianism, and the compromise between labor and capital, to a financially based

service economy in which unions were broken, labor was shipped overseas, and labor precarity became increasingly dominant, along with neoliberal economic doctrine emphasizing monetarism, financialization, privatization, and deregulation. This shift also marked a steady decline of direct state provision of care-giving social programs to a state that would come increasingly to orchestrate and facilitate the entry of private for-profit forces into public services and state governance. This shift is exemplified, particularly in the United States, by the dismantling of the employment safety net in the form of welfare and its replacement by workfare, the dismantling and privatization of public housing into for-profit mixed-finance developments, the privatization of the military through the extensive use of mercenary contractors, the privatization of public hospitals and health services, the privatization of prisons and the rise of mass incarceration as a state tool to manage displaced workers, and the privatization of schools in the form of charters, vouchers, commercialism, contracting, and the expansion of the ideology of corporate culture to all aspects of school practice and policy.

Embedded within the shift to post-Fordism has been a reformulation of bureaucratic and administrative processes in line with the rise of corporate managerial norms and neoliberal economic assumptions. As Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello (1999) document, the legitimacy of neoliberalism as a political economic formation, particularly among a recalibrated professional managerial class under post-Fordism, has been heavily predicated on the transformation of corporate management strategies. They argue that corporate managerialism explicitly took up leftist critiques of the oppressive nature of bureaucracy in the 1960s and 1970s, perhaps most succinctly expressed by Herbert Marcuse's notion of the "totally administered society". Seizing on radical-progressive criticisms of the bureaucratic state and the totally administered society, justifications for privatization and corporate management have been strongly rooted in an anti-bureaucratic ethos, whereby the public sector has been equated with inherent inefficiencies and the private sector with streamlined efficiency. Moreover, since the 1980s, corporations and the market have become positioned as a means of universal self-realization (think here of shifts in workplace culture where all employees are rebranded as creative leaders, and in popular culture whereby a ruthless CEO such as Steve Jobs is held up as expressing the supposedly inherent creative freedom enabled by capitalism). However, while the integration of corporate managerial ideology into all aspects of the state and public institutions has been legitimated through anti-bureaucratic rhetoric, in reality, as Mark Fisher (2009) and David Graeber (2015) have each observed, the infusion of market principles and corporate norms into public policy has vastly expanded the scale of rigid bureaucratic authority. Graeber referred to this contradiction as the "iron law of liberalism," whereby the logic of market deregulation produces a profound intensification of rules and regulations. Prior to Graeber, in education, this phenomenon has been referred to by Kenneth Saltman (2012) as the "new market bureaucracy" and has been empirically detailed by Alexander Means (2013a) in his ethnographic research in Chicago.

Data-driven leadership needs to be understood in relation to a new market bureaucracy in public schooling. The new market bureaucracy is characterized by the deep penetration of corporate management ideology into all aspects of educational organization and practice (Waite, 2014), justified through anti-bureaucratic claims to decentralization, creativity, innovation, and accountability. The new market bureaucracy coincides with the emergence of a "new market positivism"—that is, corporate

managerial systems of numerically quantifiable performance outcomes and the bureaucratic apparatuses that are put in place to control teachers, administrators, and students and to transform curriculum and pedagogy. The new market bureaucracy in education contains elements of Taylorism and scientific management left over from the Fordist era. However, unlike educational administration under Fordism, the new market bureaucracy involves linking the new market positivism to the institutionalization of market imperatives and the funding of entirely new strata of bureaucratic organizations dedicated to furthering the corporate agendas of privatization, deregulation, and standardization, charter support organizations, venture philanthropies, district support organizations, and lobbying infrastructure. The new market bureaucracy also imports into public schooling business expenses and rationales that contain financial and social costs, such as public relations and advertising, real estate deals with chartering organizations, and funding for market-style competitions for private and public funds through corporate reforms and projects such as Race to the Top, the Broad Prize, and the Milken Prize. This form of the new market bureaucracy involves the use of billions of dollars in private foundation money, especially from the large venture philanthropists Gates, Broad, and Walton, to influence and steer public policy. The wealth of these foundations, which is only possible through generous tax incentives and a corporate socialism, effectively redistributes control over public policy to private, super-rich individuals. Thus, the public pays to give away control over public institutions.

The new market positivism reinvigorates the expansion of longstanding positivist approaches to schooling: standardized testing, standardization of curriculum; the demand for policy grounded exclusively in allegedly scientific, empirically based pedagogical reforms that (unlike science) lack elaborated framing assumptions or adequate theorization; and a drumbeat against educational theory and in favor of a practicalism that insists that “facts” speak for themselves and that untheorized experience is the arbiter of truth. What is crucially different between the old positivism and the new market positivism is the ways that the old positivism neutralized, naturalized, and universalized social and cultural reproduction under the guise of the public good, the public interest, but also individual values of humanist education. The new market positivism still neutralizes, naturalizes, and universalizes the reproduction of the class order through schooling and yet still espouses humanist values. However, the new market positivism also openly naturalizes and universalizes a particular economic basis for all educational relationships (schooling for work, schooling for economic competition), while justifying a shift in governance and control over educational institutions to private parties. It effects a kind of *deep privatization* in the sense that it renders public schools places that are less open to struggle for public values, identifications, and interpretations, thereby reducing the social space of non-commercial values, ideas, and ideologies. What this means concretely in relation to data-driven educational leadership is that within the new market bureaucracy, the knowledge, expertise, and judgment of educational administrators and other educators is fully integrated into a market-based framework of understanding. This, of course, is actualized in the form of externally imposed systems of measurement, scripted curricula, and evaluation taken straight from corporate management and MBA textbooks. One of the most important consequences of this is that it narrowly reframes questions of professional responsibility and forecloses opportunities for critique and questioning. Under constant surveillance and

threat of disciplinary sanction for violating standardized protocols, the intensive pressure to hit numerical targets such as test scores becomes an all-encompassing focus. The effect of this is that the professional responsibility of administrators and teachers is increasingly limited to satisfying the demands of the administrative apparatus itself. Furthermore, critical reflection over the assumptions, values, and the ethical content of practice is officially declared off limits and even redundant in a system of supposedly "neutral" and "objective" data-driven decision-making (Davies, 2010). This enacts a powerful prohibition against dissent. Fear, cynicism, and surveillance abound. Educational leadership becomes obedient enforcement of the system, reframed of course as realization of "best practices" for achieving "empowerment," "excellence," and "twenty-first-century learning."

Emerging Technology and the War over Data: Big Data, Learning Analytics, the Convergence of Data Systems

Data-driven educational leadership can be understood as one element in a broader corporate agenda for education, driven by educational entrepreneurs, venture philanthropists, and educational technology and media companies, Wall Street executives, hedge fund managers, billionaires like Bill Gates, opportunistic politicians from across the political spectrum, and monopolistic corporations such as Pearson, Walmart, and Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation. This includes an emerging convergence of new educational technologies and corporate media conglomerates. Emerging technologies such as machine learning, cloud computing, learning analytics, and big-data processing are being used to intensify data-driven leadership practices. In effect, these new digital platforms and capabilities represent a mode of digital Taylorism that reanimates the dreams of efficiency experts of the early twentieth century who sought to apply the managerial logic and organizational structure of the factory in order to rationalize all aspects of mass public education. However, departing from these earlier efficiency movements, which were oriented squarely within a Fordist paradigm of state-managed capitalism and industrial administration, new data-driven educational technologies seek to harness decentralized market forces, speculative logics, entrepreneurship, and the network intelligence of the IoT ("Internet of Things"—an expression which refers to a total integration of knowledge) in order to "personalize" and "individualize" learning through new digital learning platforms. The stated goal is to break down the older inefficient bureaucratic hierarchies and one-size-fits-all formulas in order to "reinvent" education for the twenty-first century. Enthusiasts (who happen to be the same early proponents of corporate school reforms such as Chubb and Moe) thus suggest these new technologies represent a cutting-edge alternative to factory models that are now, like the nominally social democratic Keynesian welfare state, considered irrelevant in a neoliberal age of digitalized post-Fordism and notions of globally integrated "cognitive," "financialized," and/or "cybernetic" capitalism.

The phenomenon of data-driven educational leadership that has historically focused on collecting and analyzing standardized testing and student information is now merging with the broader trends in data science such as Big Data, learning analytics, and efforts to increasingly connect data collection and processing systems. Big data involves the collection of data from multiple media sources and the use of analytic models to

draw correlations between seemingly disparate information. Big-Data models are currently in use, for example, by insurance companies that purchase and collect data from individual computer, phone, and tablet usage to secretly figure out who is higher-risk and to deny those people coverage, thereby mitigating future costs. Big Data is also in wide use by marketing companies that are able to predict future purchases and target market advertisements based on internet activity and consumer profiles. In a notorious case of Big-Data marketing, the retailer Target sent pregnancy-related coupons to a teen before either she or her parents confirmed she was pregnant (Duhigg, 2012). Effective data models can be highly predictive with regard to consumer behavior. Yet, as in the case of both insurance profiling and consumer profiling, there are monumental ethical questions regarding the collection and use of data. Corporations now widely capture and buy data that are produced nearly every time everybody touches a touch screen or keyboard or makes a call. This information is taken not only without compensation but without the knowledge of the individual as to how, among other things, it will be used to create a profile of the user. These ethical questions involve issues of privacy and also lack of transparency regarding the uses of personal information and the profiling, sorting, and sifting of populations and individuals. While these ethical lapses continue to go unaddressed and uncontested in the insurance and retail domains, venture philanthropists can't move fast enough to adopt these technologies in the educational context.

In the United States, venture philanthropists such as the Eli and Edythe Broad Foundation and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation have been promoting the expanded use of student data to inform teaching practice and educational administration. The federal Race to the Top program has incentivized states to expand data-collection projects. Some of these projects are supposed to track student test scores over time and contribute to projects such as value-added modeling that aims to replace unionized secure teacher work with teacher work that is evaluated in terms of student test scores. What is at stake here are not only important questions in relation to protecting the privacy of youth and ethical questions as to the uses of information, but also the commodification of educational environments. Big Data is big business.

Wall Street banks such as Goldman Sachs and Citibank, and corporate foundations such as Gates (Microsoft), Walton (Walmart), and Broad (Sun Life), are currently committing billions in loans and venture capital to support educational corporations and technology start-ups. Major technology and media companies including Microsoft, Apple, and News Corp are also heavily marketing tablet hardware and educational software to school districts aided by the Common Core State Standards. These hardware and software products have to be understood as components of a highly coordinated effort to capture profit from educational systems, estimated as a potential \$600 billion a year market in the United States alone. This effort to commodify education occurs through gaming public policies such as Race to the Top and Common Core to generate profit through charter school deals and contracts for IT infrastructures and technology services. For instance, technology companies such as K12 Inc., Wireless Generation, and SchoolNet capture rent-based profit through the lending of intellectual property, whereby school districts pay millions to access online learning, analytic software, databases and cloud storage, and digital curriculum and testing platforms through subscription fees that can require an endless cycle of billing (Means, in press; Waite, Rodríguez, & Wadende, 2015). Similarly, teacher and student data produced

through digital learning environments and software systems represent a potential source of capitalist rent, where access to databases can be sold to corporations to generate targeted advertising and drive decision-making in relation to product development and even future hiring decisions (digital storage and commodification of student data thus gives a new meaning to the idea of a "permanent record," as Big Data follows students through the life course). Further, the bundling of public investments and private loans for charter school deals and outlays for educational technology into stocks, securities, and derivative instruments represents a source of speculative profit for Wall Street banks, hedge funds, and rich private investors.

Educational technology enthusiasts largely deny being motivated by profit. Instead, they suggest that through algorithms and Big Data, adaptive learning systems can be used to personalize and customize teaching and learning in order to efficiently develop and enhance the cognitive and non-cognitive capacities of each individual student. As Means (in press) has explained, adaptive learning software is like the movie-streaming service Netflix. Netflix utilizes a program to predict the consumer's likely interest in particular films and consequently tailors what is made readily available based on past selections. This builds a consumer identity profile based on the programmed assumptions of the software engineers as to what are the intelligible categories of film viewership. In education, adaptive learning developers are drawing on such models as well as the latest research in neuroscience, psychology, sociology, and child development in order to construct algorithmic learning systems that can promote, assess, and capture data points not only on cognitive abilities (rendered as discrete "skills"), but also affective dispositions such as grit, perseverance, resiliency, tenacity, creativity, even "thinking" itself (Garrison, 2009; Roberts-Mahoney, 2015; Saltman, 2014). It is argued that this will contribute to developing the human capital and creative entrepreneurial capacities necessary to stimulate economic growth, empower youth, and invent the jobs of the future. However, data-driven adaptive learning systems are mechanistic, linear, and reductive and therefore unlikely to produce either high-skilled workers or healthy and flourishing human beings (Roberts-Mahoney, Means, & Garrison, under review). This contradiction has to be understood in relation to a broader neoliberal debt and austerity economy, marked by growing class stratification, state budget crises, and the erosion of employment within the precarious labor market. Corporate technology entrepreneurs openly discuss how adaptive learning systems will contribute to cutting costs, dismantle teacher unions, deskill teacher labor, and drastically reduce the need for professionally trained and certified educators. Philip McRae (2013) noted that adaptive and online learning models have been shown to "reduce the teaching force to a 1 to 150 pupil teacher ratio with the monitoring of students in computer labs, tutoring and marking supported by non-certificated staff with titles like 'Coaches,' 'Facilitators' or 'Individual Learning Specialists.'" Further, McRae observed, "in the case of K12 Inc., the United States' largest provider of online education for grades K-12, it is reported that student teacher ratios are as high as 1 teacher to 275 students". It is impossible to imagine affluent parents and communities tolerating schools with a student-to-teacher ratio of 1 to 150 and/or schools that excessively employ reductive adaptive learning regimes. Such harmful educational conditions are aimed almost exclusively at disintegrating middle- and working-class communities. In a stagnant global capitalism that currently has a vast surplus of both low- and high skilled workers, technology represents a cost-effective and profitable way to educate youth whose future productive labor is viewed as

increasingly redundant and therefore disposable (Means, 2013a). Moreover, new data-driven leadership practices and technologies can be read as a tool of social control aimed at managing potential threats emanating from these structural conditions. They not only synergize the security state and control society, where everyone is under surveillance at all times, but form a powerful educational and cultural apparatus to delimit consciousness and contain transformative energies and imagination(s) (Giroux, 2014).

Data-Driven to Democracy-Driven Educational Leadership

While new data-driven educational technologies represent a new arena for profit-making and social control, it is essential to point out that they are also becoming increasingly contested. Administrators, teachers, parents, and students are beginning to openly express opposition to the reductive use and commercial nature of algorithmic learning technology. The most high-profile case thus far involves the Big Data platform inBloom. Funded by the Gates and Carnegie Foundations with \$100 million in seed money, inBloom was to be the cornerstone of a “shared learning collaborative” described by a Gates spokesperson as an “amazing” software platform similar to a “huge app store... with the Netflix and Facebook capabilities we love the most” (Class Size Matters, 2014). inBloom was designed to collect over 400 data points that included personally identifiable student and teacher information. This information was to be explicitly shared with for-profit vendors without parental notification or consent. For instance, the data generated by inBloom were to be stored on a cloud serviced by Amazon, with an operating system contracted to Amplify, a for-profit subsidiary of Rupert Murdoch’s News Corporation. Between 2011 and 2014, nine US states had entered into partnerships with inBloom. However, concerns over student privacy and the commodification of student data began to circulate among parent groups and grassroots organizations (Class Size Matters, 2014). Pushed by an increasingly organized campaign of opposition, states began to sever their ties with the company. In 2014, 40 superintendents across the state of New York gave back Race to the Top funds to opt out of inBloom. New York was the last US state with an inBloom partnership; shortly after New York ended its partnership with inBloom, the company announced that it would be permanently dissolving its operations.

The story of inBloom is a hopeful one, as it demonstrates that those closest to children, namely school administrators, teachers, and parents, hold values that are typically antithetical to the corporate appropriation of educational systems. As also reflected in the growing opposition in the United States to the Common Core and in the national standardized testing opt-out movement, most parents and teachers believe that education is fundamentally about human relationships that cannot be quantified, measured, standardized, predicted, and administered by machines. In this chapter, we have examined data-driven educational leadership as a reflection of earlier forms of scientific management and positivism that have played a role in the history of public schooling. We have also detailed how data-driven educational leadership is merging into a new market bureaucracy and new forms of data science. As part of a shift to post-Fordism and a neoliberal political economy, these developments are serving to further the instrumentalization of educational policy and practice, while at the same time they can be viewed as part of a new corporate managerial regime based on privatization, commodification of knowledge, and social control.

It should be clear by now that we see no place for the ideological concept of "data-driven" educational leadership. Our point here is not to suggest that there can be no progressive role for data in education or educational leadership, but that data always need to be comprehended in terms of the underlying values, assumptions, and ideologies that give them meaning and that animate their collection and use. Educational leadership always enacts values and visions for the future, whether or not these are overtly stated and/or comprehended. For instance, the systems of corporate managerialism that we have critiqued in this chapter are based upon a set of assumptions that not only reify the prevailing institutional and ideological arrangements of neoliberal society but actively foreclose alternative frameworks and modes of thinking. We contend that leadership needs to be driven not by positivism, Taylorism, and market values but by human values. That is, educational leadership needs to be guided overtly by values such as the value for egalitarian social relationships, the value of just material distributions, the value of enhancement of human freedom from domination and arbitrary control, and the value for collective participatory self-governance. In a practical sense, for educational leadership to move from a data-driven paradigm to a democracy-driven paradigm would mean that, foremost, educational leaders need to be educated in traditions of thought that connect practice to forms of ethical judgment, social and cultural interpretation, and broader structures of power, privilege, and authority. These traditions would include both progressive and critical forms of educational theory, such as in the thought of John Dewey, George Counts, W. E. B. Du Bois, bell hooks, Paulo Freire, and Henry Giroux, that insist that knowledge is always constructed and is therefore always fundamentally social and political. These traditions suggest that learning be relevant to both human development and connect to broader social problems, issues, and struggles. Consequently, there is much at stake in the future form of leader-preparation programs. It is not a coincidence that corporate philanthropies such as Broad and Gates are deeply committed to promoting corporate and military forms of leadership for school systems that are limited to concerns with efficacious delivery of units of knowledge and the crunching of data about them.

Public and democratic commitments for educational leadership must involve developing collective decision-making and power-sharing with regard to decisions about school finance, teacher control and autonomy, and institutional organization. Democratic forms of leadership should aim to democratize social relations in the institution of the school and foster shared forms of working and living for shared benefit rather than being modeled on the corporate tendency towards collective labor for individualized benefit. This must involve ending the divides between teachers and administrators and schools and communities. Teachers must be a collectively self-managed labor force at the same time that schools must be made transparent and open to the community. To put it differently, educational leadership ought to be primarily teacher leadership that is embedded within a framework of collective governance and community decision-making. The existing educational leadership establishment and district management justifies itself through the discourses of measurable accountability and disciplinary threat. To rethink accountability means the measure of educational progress should no longer be testing and standardized matrices, which are really just a performance of efficacy. Instead *accountability in common* is understood through the extent to which schooling furthers and reflects public values and interests—that is, collective benefit, shared democratic forms of control, and improvements in communities.

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8

Educational Leadership and Environmental Justice in a Climate-Challenged World

John Hardman

We must reach a new level of consciousness, a new moral ground. We are all of us in this together.

Mary Robinson (President of Ireland, 1990–1997)

In this chapter, I review some of the most significant global events that have shaped the sustainable development and environmental justice narrative over the past 30 years, issues that only recently have begun to attract greater attention from educational leaders. I provide an overview of some of the current environmental and, more specifically, climate justice challenges emerging in the United States and globally. I also offer a description of key leadership attributes as well as the behaviors of “regenerative leaders” (Hardman, 2012) who are addressing environmental justice agendas in community, in education, and in business. I suggest that the work of these leaders offers hope for breaking out of old paradigms and creating alternative pathways to prosperity, equity, and well-being regardless of the nature and scope of the challenges being addressed. I do suggest that, while environmental justice concerns may be the overriding purpose of those called to improve the quality of lives of those marginalized by poverty, race, ethnicity, culture, beliefs, ignorance, or other systemic challenges, true and long-lasting human well-being can only emerge when social regeneration is approached systemically, not viewed separately from accompanying environmental and economic concerns.

Notes on Regenerative Leadership

Research into the effective leadership of organizations that were outpacing their peers in sustainability performance in the public and private sector has revealed a number of correlations in the attributes, skills, and behaviors of these leaders across the domains of business, community, and education (Hardman (2012). Several of these leadership factors will be explored and described in this chapter, in this case with a closer focus on the styles of notable leaders who are engaged in work with clear environmental justice linkages. The personal attributes, skills, and behaviors evidenced by regenerative leaders are reflected in the Regenerative Leadership Framework shown in Figure 8.1.

Several core regenerative leadership attributes and behaviors are demonstrated by the leaders reviewed here. Among these are a driving inner purpose (depicted in Quadrant 1 in the framework) that connects the leaders emotionally and morally to

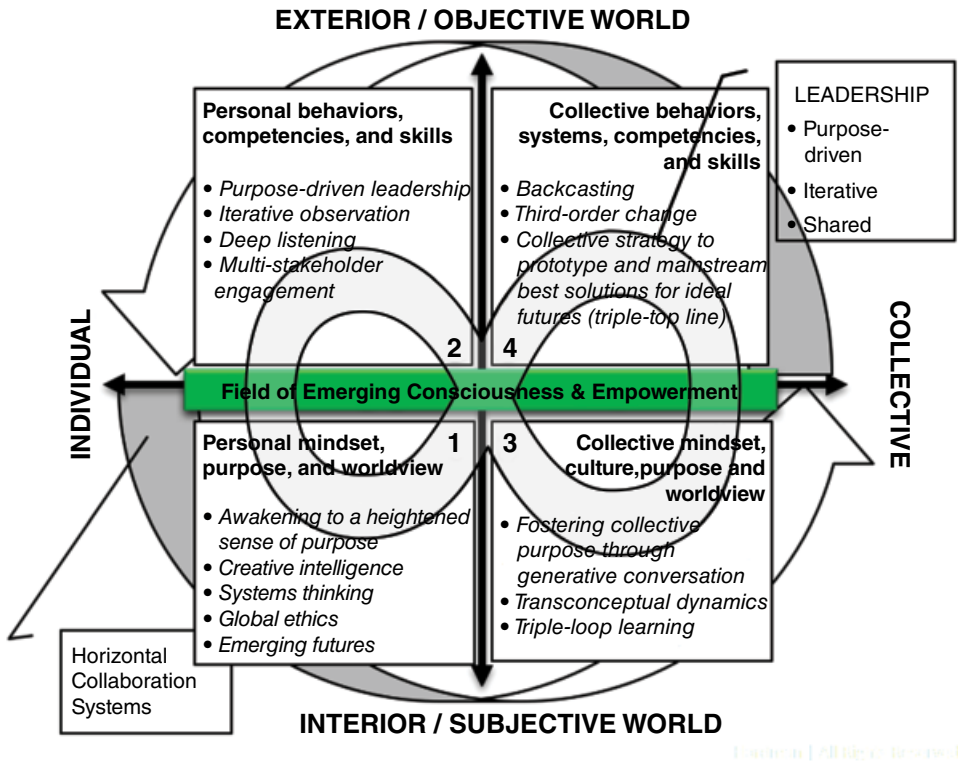


Figure 8.1 The Regenerative Leadership Framework. Source: Hardman, 2012. Reproduced with permission of Routledge.

their environmental justice causes in powerful ways that significantly increase the transformational impact of their message. This is enhanced by their ability to think systemically (also shown in Quadrant 1), and their capacity to inspire and engage multiple stakeholders in a common endeavor through purpose-driven leadership (shown in Quadrant 2). Other important regenerative leadership factors are also demonstrated by these leaders, including the capacity to co-create powerful organizational cultures and behaviors that secure financial, social, and political support for their causes that have allowed them to scale up their efforts from small and local grassroots initiatives to the national and global level (listed in Quadrants 3 and 4 of the framework).

Notes on Human Evolution

Concern about the human impact on environmental sustainability and its potential effects on our survival can be traced back hundreds of years. Many indigenous traditions demonstrate a profound understanding of the direct connection between survival and a healthy natural environment. A tradition of the Iroquois nation, for example, has been to weigh every important decision made as a community in terms of its potential consequences on the succeeding seven generations (An Iroquois Perspective, 1973).

In the twentieth century, the global spread of a consumerist society propelled by cheap fossil fuels, technology, and free-market capitalism, has swept aside this long-term, systemic perspective, bringing with it increasingly serious consequences for the health and well-being of our natural and social environments (Brown, 2006). When added to the exponential increase in population of the past decades, from 2.5 billion in 1950 to 7.2 billion today, and potentially 9 billion by 2050 (Human Population: Population Growth, n.d.), it has becoming increasingly apparent that the long-term quality of life of our species is at risk, something Hardin (1968) famously described as the tragedy of the commons. It should not be surprising, then, that a concern over how we may shape our legacy for future generations has combined with the notions of environmental justice and equity, and that it has reemerged on a much grander scale.

One of the most globally significant events to jump-start this concern was the 1987 report to the United Nations entitled “Our Common Future” (Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Better known as the Brundtland Commission Report, in honor of Norwegian Prime Minister Grovnn Brundtland, who headed up the commission, its second chapter introduced the notion of sustainable development to a global audience for the first time. The term was designed to include the effects of human activity on economic and social factors as being of equal importance as those affecting the natural environment, giving rise to what John Elkington (1997) would later define as the triple bottom line (TBL). The Brundtland report described sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 54). This definition was followed by two important social justice concepts, previously not formally considered, and all too often overlooked even today. The first is “the concept of needs, in particular the essential needs of the world’s poor, to which overriding priority should be given”; the second is the idea of “limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment’s ability to meet present and future needs” (p. 54). The UN Conference on the Environment and Development of that year initiated a global consultation process over several years, culminating in 2000 with the Earth Charter and the U.N. Millennium Development Goals or (MDG) (We Can End Poverty, n.d.). These goals established eight priorities for the next 15 years, goals that would seek to eradicate poverty and extreme hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and promote global partnerships for development (see report of results in *The Millennium Development Goals Report*, 2015). As will be demonstrated, events across the globe in recent years have required a revision and expansion of these goals and, more importantly, a profound exploration of how they may, and indeed must, be implemented effectively if we are to secure a sustainable and environmentally-just future.

The Global Landscape Today

History may determine that 2015 was a watershed moment in the human experience, particularly in terms of how we committed to bridging the gap between the richest and the poorest in formally acknowledging environmental injustices and marshalling a

global response. This was a year that the world community recognized as never before that many of the most serious challenges we face as a species can no longer be addressed in isolation, but require a concerted global response (Tong, 2015), and that climate change may well constitute the greatest threat to basic human rights (IPCC, 2014; Robinson, 2015). As Mary Robinson, past President of Ireland noted:

no country can make itself safe from the dangers of climate change. This is an issue that requires complete human solidarity. Human solidarity, if you like, based on self-interest, because we are all in this together, and we have to work on this together if we are to ensure that we reach zero carbon emissions by 2050.

(TEDWomen, 2015, min. 11:00)

Ms. Robinson echoed the words of Wangari Maathai of the Greenbelt Moment in telling us “that we must reach a new level of consciousness, a new moral ground” (min. 21:40). Arguably, this is the most daunting challenge we face as a species.

Fortunately, the world is showing signs of a greater willingness to acknowledge and address this challenge, not just regarding climate change, but a range of complex problems that require comprehensive, integrated solutions. To begin with, in September, 2015, the United Nations adopted 17 Sustainable Development Goals 2015–2030 (SDG), replacing its previous eight Millennium Development Goals. The Sustainable Development Goals provide a set of lenses through which the most current issues of ecological, social, and economic justice (and injustice) can be identified, described, and addressed. But these kinds of grand statements are nothing new, as Pope Francis cautioned in his address to the UN General Assembly on September 25, 2015. While lauding the nature, scope, and potential of the goals, the Pope also alerted world leaders to the risks of declarative nominalism, which he defined as the human tendency for creating grand statements that ultimately go nowhere. The Pope’s stance is but one example of a growing number of faith-based institutions increasingly committed to addressing environmental issues, or what some call “creation care” in their communities (Blumberg, 2014). Shortly before his address, the Pope had issued his own encyclical on the state of the environment and our responsibility towards it and towards the poor (Pope Francis, 2015). He took the lead in reaffirming the link between the human effects on nature and their effect on the quality of life today, and that of future generations. As he points, these effects hit hardest on those who have been marginalized and disenfranchised.

A second major global milestone was reached in Paris in December of that same year, when close to 200 countries met to create an agreement on addressing global climate change at the UN Conference of the Parties (CoP 21). At the conference, climate change was acknowledged as the greatest and most complex global androcentric challenge we have faced since the beginning of recorded history (IPCC, 2014; Steffen et al, 2004). The agreement established that 55 percent of the participating countries must ratify the agreement by April 2017 to secure a commitment to “nationally determined contributions in order to hold the increase in the global average temperature to below 2° C above pre-industrial levels by reducing emissions to 40 gigatonnes or to 1.5° C above pre-industrial levels” (CoP 21 Adoption of the Paris Agreement, p. 3).

Over the next decades, the successful outcomes of these non-binding, self-regulating agreements will rely on the conviction, skill, and persistence of the participating leaders,

who must go back to their respective countries and persuade their people, including those in the fossil fuel industry, to embrace this ambitious goal despite the fact that this will require significant changes in how we live and work.

Multilateral consensus regarding the environmental justice implications of the agreement was a decisive factor in securing a viable final draft. Among the most important aspects of this consensus was the acceptance by developed countries to fund the transition, as stated in Article 54, with a “new collective quantified goal from a floor of USD 100 billion per year, taking into account the needs and priorities of developing countries” (p. 8). The years leading up to 2030 will reveal how much real fruit this commitment will bear, particularly in redressing the inequities that can be collected under the umbrella of environmental justice, which brings up a topic that can be ignored when urgent local needs are demanding pressing attention.

Given the long-term global impacts of human activity, the environmental justice agenda cannot exclude future generations as at risk as vulnerable populations today. It behooves us all who possess the know-how and power to create effective, lasting change to ensure that the United Nations’ global climate pledge doesn’t become “simultaneously perhaps the world’s most important, ambitious, and pathetic goal” (Sperling, 2006, p. xiii). Sperling was referring in this case to the second Millennium Development goal that all children should receive a primary education by 2015, another example of a well-intended universal goal that we have not come close to realizing.

So the question remains: what type of leadership will it take to secure a healthy, prosperous, equitable, and sustainable future for all? There appear to be very few globally recognized leaders on the world stage today who can help us get this done as of yet. The leaders we need have still to emerge and hence, are not yet in the public eye (Hawken, 2013), but are likely to be working in the anonymity of their local causes to create real, lasting change. A few have been able to scale up their efforts beyond their local agendas to establish a more widely applicable model of leadership, ones that ought to consider. The following section offers some answers to this critical question by presenting the work of three leaders in the areas of community activism, public education, and corporate development.

Environmental Justice Leadership in the United States

The US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) defines environmental Justice as “the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, culture, national origin, income, and educational levels with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of protective environmental laws, regulations, and policies” (US Environmental Protection Agency, n.d.). What follows is a review of environmental justice issues and some of the emerging leadership lessons we might glean from the domains of community, education, and business, and which may inform the field of educational leadership as a whole.

Community

Not everyone in the United States or the world, for that matter, lives in a community inspired by the EPA’s definition of environmental justice. Majora Carter, the “green

power broker” and “one of the [New York] city’s best-known advocates for environmental justice” (Holloway, 2008, para. 1), expressed it simply when she said that “no community should be saddled with more environmental burdens and less environmental benefits than any other” (Carter, 2006, min. 2:40). Carter, who was describing her own neighborhood in the South Bronx, arguably one of the most vulnerable communities in the nation, went on to indicate that “race and class are extremely reliable indicators of where one might find the good stuff, like parks and trees, and where one might find the bad stuff, like power plants and waste facilities” (min 3:00). This underscores Bowers’ (2001) description of what he termed eco-racism, where “marginalized communities in different parts of the world are being victimized by toxic chemicals that the industrialized system of production, and the consumer-dependent lifestyle, are dependent upon” (p. 17). Carter’s following statement is worth citing in full, as it summarizes many of the environmental threats faced by vulnerable communities throughout the country:

As a Black person in America, I am twice as likely as a White person to live in an area where air pollution poses the greatest risk to my health; I am five times more likely to live within walking distance of a power plant or a chemical facility, which I do. These land use decisions created the hostile conditions that lead to problems like obesity, diabetes, and asthma. Why would someone leave their home to go for a brisk walk in a toxic neighborhood? Our 27 percent obesity rate is high even for this country, and diabetes comes with it. One out of four South Bronx children has asthma. Our asthma hospitalization rate is seven times higher than the national average. These impacts are coming everyone’s way, and we all pay dearly for solid waste costs, health problems associated with pollution, and more odiously, the cost of imprisoning our young Black and Latino men who possess untold amounts of untapped potential. Fifty percent of our residents live at or below the poverty line; 25 percent of us are unemployed; low income citizens often use emergency room visits as primary care. This comes at a high cost to taxpayers and produces no proportional benefits. Poor people are not only still poor; they are still unhealthy. (min. 3:10)

But this list of woes is only a starting point for Majora Carter. As an activist, and in response to such inequities, Carter offers ideas and programs that have been shown to right these deplorable conditions. Through her community agency, Sustainable South Bronx (SSBx), she has demonstrated that it is possible to address these issues, and she has helped to make “green the new black” not only at the grassroots level in her own neighborhood, but also in marginalized communities across the country.

To try to explain Majora Carter’s impact and that of other similarly effective leaders, it is helpful to gain an understanding of her leadership style. Whether on camera or in the field, Majora employs a powerful mixture of her own moving and emotional story that shines in and through her work, a strong belief in the empowerment of local stakeholders, understanding of systems, all coupled with great humor, smart use of data, strong respect for research, ethical business and social entrepreneurship, highly effective communication skills, and political acumen. Similar to the qualities I have found in other regenerative leaders (Hardman, 2012), these leadership qualities bring

Majora to compare the circumstances surrounding sustainable development in her locale in the South Bronx, and New Orleans post-Katrina:

We have emerged with valuable lessons on how to dig ourselves out. We are more than simply national symbols of urban blight, or problems to be solved by empty campaign promises of presidents come and gone. Will we take proactive steps and learn from the home grown resource of grassroots activists that have been born of desperation in communities like mine?

I do not expect individuals, corporations or government to make the world better because it is right or moral. I know, it's the bottom line, or one's perception of it that motivates people in the end. I'm interested in what I like to call the Triple Bottom Line that sustainable development can produce; development that has the potential to create positive returns for all concerned: the developers, government, and the community where these projects go up. At present, that's not happening in New York City. We are operating with a comprehensive urban planning deficit. A parade of government subsidies is going to propose big box and stadium developments in the South Bronx, but there is scant coordination between city agencies on how to deal with the cumulative effects of increased traffic, pollution, solid waste, and the impacts on open space, and their approaches to local economic and job development are so lame, it's not even funny.

What's missing from the larger debate, is a comprehensive cost-benefit analysis between not fixing an unhealthy, environmentally-challenged community vs. incorporating structural, sustainable changes. My agency is working closely with Columbia University and others to shine a light on these issues. Now, let's get this straight. I am not anti-development. Ours is a city, not a wilderness preserve. I have embraced my inner capitalist. We probably all have, and if you haven't, you need to. I don't have a problem with developers making money. There's enough precedent out there to show that a sustainable, community friendly development can still make a fortune. We are all responsible for the future that we create.

(Carter, 2006)

Carter's leadership and influence were soon to expand, as shortly after she uttered these words she was invited to join the National Board of Directors of the US Green Building Council (USGBC), the largest non-profit organization in the world dedicated to transforming the built environment for sustainability. During her tenure on that board, Carter was instrumental in the development of a new initiative to expand the organization's work, initiating what became known as the Community and Faith-based Campaign (Snow, 2014). This initiative was adopted by all the USGBC chapters throughout the country. Among the key USGBC principles listed in the campaign that connected to issues of environmental justice issues were these: "to reconcile humanity with nature" and "to foster social equity" (Snow, 2014, slide 2). These translated into two related core themes: "sharing responsibility for future generations" and "compatibility with faith traditions" missions of benefitting others and social justice" (slide 4). Such an expansion of influence is also demonstrated by the next exemplary leader, in this case in field of education.

Public Education

Another renowned activist and regenerative leader in the South Bronx, Stephen Ritz, a science teacher and founder of the Green Bronx Machine, has seen his work on the incorporation of the principles of sustainability and environmental justice go from his classroom to his school, then his neighborhood, to all of New York City, the United States, and more recently globally. In 2015, his work placed him in the top ten finalists of the Varkey Foundation's Global Teacher Prize. In March of that year he was received at the Vatican by the Pope in recognition for his project to feed 30 million children around the world. Ritz, combining passion with an engaging hyperactive demeanor, has created opportunities for his students by transforming the classroom, growing organic food in class as science, math, reading, and cafeteria projects. He has then taken his students to the streets to turn South Bronx boulevards, back alleys, underpasses, and abandoned lots into vegetable gardens. In the process, he has helped thousands of poor students of color build their personal pride and identity, change their nutritional habits, and acquire green collar entrepreneurship skills that they have put to work in multiple projects. Among these, they have served diverse communities by installing green walls and roofs for the wealthy in the South Hamptons, fed seniors and the homeless in South Bronx, and partnered with like-minded community agencies throughout the city (Ritz, 2012). Like Majora Carter, Ritz exhibits a leadership style that places the empowering and dignifying of others at its heart, in his case through the active learning of students in high-needs public schools, and with a focus on academic achievement, healthy nutrition, and green job skills development. Through the skillful use of critical data on local environmentally related child health indicators such as asthma, diabetes, and obesity, along with statistics on community poverty, he has evidenced a clear understanding of the challenges faced by the most vulnerable students in his charge. However, his passionate disregard for the limitations others might consider insurmountable has allowed him to help some of the poorest students in the nation "learn not to get, but to give" (Ritz, 2012, min. 3:00) by growing for food justice, something that the students have learned to do far beyond the neighborhood boundaries, to the point where they have attracted the interest of the international community. "My kids, the most disenfranchised and marginalized, were able to roll out a hundred gardens to New York City public schools. That's triple bottom line!" (Ritz, 2012, min. 6:20). When his high school went on to earn the city's first award as a green school of excellence, in addition to achieving some of the highest math and reading test scores in the state while students were learning to make money from "green" jobs, he came to the conclusion that "the greening of America starts with the pocket, then with the heart, and then with the mind" (Ritz, 2012, min. 7:30).

Initiatives such as Ritz's are taking root in schools and districts across the country. National organizations such as the Green Schools National Network (GSNN) and the USGBC's Center for Green Schools (CGS) have rolled out "green" programs, facilities, and curricula covering a wide range of sustainability topics that can be linked directly or indirectly to issues of environmental justice, and to Ritz's willingness to challenge the educational establishment's status quo with regard to how we should educate the lowest performing students in our schools. These challenges address issues of school governance; of environmental literacy across the curriculum; of facilities construction, operation, and maintenance; community engagement; professional development for

teachers and administrators; and advocacy (Greenprint, n.d.; USGBC Impact). Within an even broader context, in 2011 the US Department of Education instituted the Green Ribbon Schools and District Awards, which recognizes schools and districts that have made significant progress in three principal areas:

- 1) Reducing environmental impact and costs;
- 2) Improving the health and wellness of schools, students, and staff; and
- 3) Providing environmental education, which teaches many disciplines, and is especially good at effectively incorporating STEM, civic skills, and green career pathways. (US Department of Education Green Ribbon Schools, n.d.).

Since the first awards in 2012 through to 2015, the US Department of Education has recognized 270 public, private, and charter green ribbon schools, and 23 public school districts.

However, of the many other sustainability efforts in education, perhaps the largest is the Green Schools Alliance (GSA), founded in 2007 during New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg's administration to support the goal to reduce emissions by 30 percent by 2050. In 2015, the Green Schools Alliance launched its District Collaborative, bringing together 20 of the largest public school districts in the United States, with the intent to "harness the collective power of schools to support greener, more efficient solutions." (Green Schools Alliance, n.d.). While not directly referencing the term environmental justice, one of the main goals of the collaborative is increased community engagement, a key factor in the development of healthier, more prosperous, and more equitable neighborhoods (Hardman, 2012). We will soon see the environmental justice benefits that can derive from a collaboration of this magnitude, which will affect close to 4 million students from all backgrounds in 17 states.

Business

While corporate social responsibility focusing on the welfare of personnel has come into its own as a driver of revenue and organizational health, the collective corporate mindset has yet to fully embrace the value of transferring this concern for people to the community, and particularly vulnerable communities, as part of a long-term strategy to secure profitability *and* sustainability (Hardman, 2012). As Esty and Winston (2009) acknowledged in their research into corporations, their case studies explicitly excluded findings on issues of environmental justice, due to the fact that the most successful sustainability-driven firms they studied at the time were found to be focusing primarily on environmentally friendly revenue-generating innovations, cost efficiencies, and impact reduction, not on improving the quality of people's lives outside of their client base. That said, while reducing environmental impact may not be considered a direct attempt at improving the lives of marginalized communities, the removal of toxic substances from products such as food, building materials, home appliances, and from polluting processes that affect the air, water, and land can be seen as an indirect step in the right direction (Anderson & White, 2011). Conversely, the least progressive corporations, many of them related to the agro-industrial and fossil fuel industries, relied on "greenwashing" or marketing campaigns designed to present a commitment to sustainability that often turned out to be false, as evidenced by the Gulf of Mexico oil spill in 2010, for which BP—whose campaigns at the time had touted the company as

going Beyond Petroleum—was found to be responsible. Numerous examples of these regressive practices, all of which have the potential to seriously affect vulnerable populations, can be found in companies seeking to explore and exploit the emerging Arctic ocean oil reserves; lobbying municipal, state, and federal policy-makers to obtain hydraulic fracking and other permits all over the United States; and the government of Greenland’s very recent award of oil exploration licenses to major corporations.

Fortunately, greater awareness of the impact that companies have on the well-being of those who are not considered to be part of their market has renewed interest in the notion of externalities, an indirect, secondary, or unintended consequence of industrial processes and business practices on those for whom these processes or practices were not originally intended (i.e. external stakeholders). This awareness, accelerated by the exponential increase in public access to previously hidden corporate practices due to social media, has promoted a shift away from shareholder management towards greater stakeholder engagement, to the emergence of corporate strategies that consider stakeholder perspectives in corporate decision-making, and to a new understanding of the meaning of philanthropy (Doppelt, 2009; Hardman, 2012).

Regenerative business leaders have begun to understand that their core business, be this a product or a service, can actually be leveraged to improve the lives of the disenfranchised in ways that are redefining charity and philanthropy and are demonstrating collective impact (Kania & Kramer, 2011), while at the same time increasing market share, branding, and revenue. This shift has led more progressive organizations to replace conventional handouts for tax write-offs with the creation of their own spinoff foundations and true business partnerships with non-profit organizations and community agencies (Yeatman, 2015) designed to provide targeted marginalized populations with free or heavily-discounted access to their products and services, and to opportunities for improved education, jobs training, and health care, among other benefits. One particularly interesting example can be found in Nike, Inc., the sports apparel manufacturer. In 1997, the company emerged from a comprehensive sustainability audit with a renewed vision, committed to ensure that the company would generate zero waste to landfill, zero emissions, and zero toxicity by the year 2020, its “2020 vision” (Hardman, 2012). Complementing this ambitious vision, the company conducts its philanthropic efforts through its non-profit 501 (c)(3) Nike Foundation, the motto of which is “Community Impact: Unleashing Human Potential.” Darcy Winslow, then senior advisor to the foundation, acknowledged another quality of regenerative leaders, that of having the capacity to engage in meaningful change to serve those in need. She stated that “it’s been an unbelievable learning opportunity to understand the deep-seated issues around social inequities in the world and how we need to take action to create a different future” (Hardman, 2012, p. 97). As another example of a regenerative leader, Winslow’s circumstances differ from Carter and Ritz in that she was not seeking to solve a local problem affecting the well-being of her own community, but a more abstract and widespread issue, that of empowering disenfranchised young people everywhere. The fact that her passion and commitment were equally strong speak to the capacity of environmental justice issues to spark a compassionate response in others, regardless of the closeness of their connection to the actual situation. In alignment with this learning, the foundation’s funding, products, and in-kind support have focused on “communities and organizations that focus on our strategic priorities” (About Nike, n.d.). Among these priorities are the support of school, community, and

youth sports programs, support of non-profit organizations sitting on Native Lands in the US and Canada with a commitment to inspiring and enabling participation in sport for Native American and Aboriginal populations; and sponsorship of poor female athletes in forty of the world's poorest countries (Hardman, 2012). This last initiative is included as part of Nike's commitment to global change, a perspective that a number of multinational corporations are beginning to embrace, which has led to the development of the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI), a voluntary self-reporting organization that "helps businesses, governments and other organizations understand and communicate the impact of business on critical sustainability issues such as climate change, human rights, corruption, and many others" (Global Reporting Initiative, n.d.).

The Global Reporting Initiative indicates that 93 percent of the world's largest 250 corporations currently report on their sustainability performance, which speaks to the diffusion of the notion of the value and profitability of sustainable practices regarding issues that impact the natural, economic, and social environment.

The Global Reporting Initiative's statements below of its vision, mission, and beliefs parallels the attributes and behaviors of regenerative leaders, and translates them into organizational imperatives.

Our vision is to create a future where sustainability is integral to every organization's decision-making process.

Our mission is to empower decision makers everywhere, through our sustainability standards and multi-stakeholder network, to take action towards a more sustainable economy and world.

We believe:

- In the power of a multi-stakeholder process and inclusive network;
- Transparency is a catalyst for change;
- Our standards empower informed decision making;
- A global perspective is needed to change the world; and
- Public interest should drive every decision an organization makes.

(Global Reporting Initiative, n.d., para. 2)

Specifically, under the social category of its guidelines for sustainability reporting, the Global Reporting Initiative addresses labor practices and decent work, human rights, society, and product responsibility (G4 Guidelines, n.d., para. 3).

Southeast Florida: Defining Climate Justice

What does it look like when there is structural racial injustice inherent in climate injustice in Southeast Florida? It looks like a room full of White people identified as "stakeholders" meeting during work hours on weekdays to provide input into adaptation planning when the African Americans and Haitians (whose neighborhoods have standing water for three days after heavy rains due to sea level rise and saltwater intrusion) are at work.

Janice Booher (sermon, Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Boca Raton, January 31, 2016)

One of the world's most promising broad-based collaborations on climate change is the Regional Climate Action Plan developed by the Southeast Florida Regional Climate Compact (RCAP, 2012). The compact emerged in 2009 as community leaders, academics, elected officials, and concerned citizens in four Florida counties—Monroe, Miami-Dade, Broward, and Palm Beach—chose to work together across artificial county lines to change climate policy at the state and federal level on the understanding that a collective and systemic response to the effects of climate change had far greater potential for attracting the attention—and shifting behaviors—of policy-makers and local residents. The compact's initial work culminated in the development of the Regional Climate Action Plan, a groundbreaking plan containing 110 actions designed to provide a roadmap for the region to adapt to and mitigate the effects of climate change (RCAP, 2012). The plan presents a broad spectrum of recommendations in seven major areas: sustainable communities and transportation planning; water supply; management and infrastructure; natural systems; agriculture; energy and fuel; risk reduction and emergency management; and outreach and public policy (RCAP, 2012, p. 2). Based on the recommendations, the climate compact also rolled out the RCAP's accompanying Mayors' Climate Action Pledge, which as of today has been signed by 29 cities, towns, or municipalities across the region (Mayors' Climate Action Pledge, n.d.). This collaboration has attracted national and international attention, and has been the recipient of several awards, among them the Local Governments for Sustainability award (2011), "the world's leading network of over 1,000 cities, towns, and metropolises committed to building a sustainable future" (ICLEI, n.d.).

A close reading of the Regional Climate Action Plan shows it to be a broad and comprehensive approach to adapting to and mitigating the effects of climate change over the next decades, with the intent to build the resilience and prosperity of communities across the region. In at least two places, it offers general recommendations on issues of equity and environmental justice (pp. B-10 and 46), but does not offer specific details on how climate change issues may be addressed effectively for and in vulnerable communities. This section focuses more closely on some of the principal environmental challenges the region is already facing, how these are affecting vulnerable populations, and it describes some of the community-based strategies that are emerging to respond to them.

One particular climate-related impact is of special concern to Southeast Florida, and this issue is compounded by possessing arguably unique implications for vulnerable communities. Alongside the Netherlands, Bangladesh, and island nations worldwide, the Southeast Florida Region—from the Florida Keys to the Treasure Coast—is one of the world's regions most susceptible to sea level rise, which is directly related to climate change (Digital Coast, n.d.; Englander, 2012; Tompkins & Deconcini, 2014). Florida's vulnerability, as John Englander, a geologist, points out is due not only to its low elevation above sea level, but to the fact that the entire state sits on limestone, a porous rock formation that offers scant protection against the saltwater-intrusion effects of sea level rise. This condition facilitates the contamination by saltwater of existing aquifers, and has obliged cities like Hallandale Beach, Dania Beach, Pompano Beach, and Lake Worth to abandon some of their coastal clean-water wells and drill new wells further inland (Homeland Security News Wire, 2011).

The porosity of the limestone bedrock also enables the increased pressure of high tides to push up groundwater, causing low-lying neighborhoods to flood, even when no rainfall is present. In 2014, the Federal Emergency Management Authority (FEMA)

began to release the updated and revised flood zone maps for the region, acknowledging the phenomenon, prompting drastic increases in flood insurance costs throughout the region, and far-reaching changes in building codes (FEMA, n.d.). This has precipitated one of the region's unique environmental justice threats. Though all communities have become vulnerable, marginalized populations in low-lying areas, mostly impoverished communities of color, have little capacity to adapt to or mitigate the effects of sea level rise, and they are especially susceptible to its associated health impacts.

That said, a different kind of threat is now beginning to affect some of these low-income communities. One of the paradoxes of Southeast Florida is that many of its most valuable physical assets, assessed in the billions of dollars in commercial and residential properties (Tompkins & Deconcini, 2014), are located on desirable waterfronts in the lowest lying areas close to the coastline and along the Intracoastal Waterway, causing them to be most vulnerable to sea level rise (Eyes on the Rise, n.d.). More seriously, regular flooding caused by high tides and increasingly erratic and extreme weather events has raised the level of risk of damage and, in response, the cost of insurance. This has also begun to have an effect on property values, which has caused developers and property owners to begin to take an interest in higher ground further inland. Historically, in Miami for example, where higher land had been considered of little commercial value until recently, relocating and immigrant families had been able to settle in previously affordable neighborhoods such as Hialeah and Little Haiti. Additionally, modest laborers and impoverished migrants settled along lands close to the Florida East Coast Railway. Ironically, the land along which the tracks were laid is also some of the highest ground close to the coastline, and working-class neighborhoods along the Dixie Highway, which borders much of the railroad, are also beginning to attract the attention of developers. Currently, this shift in interest has begun to stimulate investment in upscale residential and commercial real estate, leading to an increase in property values and tax rates, which in turn has placed the original, mostly less wealthy, local residents under increasing pressure to upgrade their properties or move, in a phenomenon known as gentrification. This climate-induced trend suggests the need for a revised conceptualization of the notion of environmental or climate justice, and how the effects of gentrification may be addressed equitably and sustainably.

Additional problems faced by those living in low-income communities of color are the health impacts associated with climate change and sea level rise. People in these communities often are unaware of the health risks that accompany increased flooding and long-standing water, and are therefore ill-prepared to address them. Public agencies are only now beginning to understand the scope of these health issues, and are still far from developing effective response plans, as exemplified by the lack of comprehensive information materials in English, let alone Spanish, Creole, or other languages (Puszkin-Chevlin, 2016). Among the effects of sea level rise are the emergence of long term chronic respiratory diseases such as asthma and emphysema due to reduced air quality caused by the unique environmental effects of climate anomalies such as prolonged dry and wet seasons, often accompanied by extreme heat waves. Other effects include the immediate dangers of flash floods and conversely of longstanding floodwaters contaminated by chemicals and even raw sewage that can stand for days after an exceptionally high tide or rain event, devastating homes and neighborhoods. Water standing for prolonged periods also facilitates the emergence of disease-carrying insects such as dengue and Zika-carrying mosquitoes, and can cause the bloom of toxic algae in retention

ponds receiving runoff containing fertilizers and pesticides. Children, the elderly, and people with physical disabilities who lack mobility are particularly susceptible to these kinds of environmental factors. Irregular weather patterns also affect the stability of agricultural processes, leading to a reduction in the quality and availability of local foods of high nutritional value, making it difficult to cultivate local gardens, and increasing the cost of feeding families already financially taxed.

Demonstrating strong leadership focusing on multiple stakeholder engagement (Hardman, 2012) with a heightened focus on the disenfranchised, a number of local community agencies and faith-based organizations¹ have campaigned to educate local communities and raise awareness among elected officials, involving them in designing solutions to the effects of climate change that both address the problems and take into consideration people's needs and aspirations. A key principle of effective multiple-stakeholder engagement is to include in the design process those most directly connected to a problem. This follows from the understanding that these are the people most likely both to have the greatest interest in a solution and who have the often highly localized insights and skills needed to bring about the needed changes. Among the strategies currently emerging that genuinely empower vulnerable populations is the development of partnerships between community agencies and leaders from the vulnerable communities themselves. When specific characteristics such as those described below become embedded in the governance of these partnerships, practical, replicable, and scalable results are possible. Among these outcomes are a genuine, empathetic concern for the circumstances of the less fortunate. This leads to a driving shared purpose in both partners. Just as importantly, the voice and specific talents of each member of the partnership are to be valued and considered in the decision-making process. For community or faith-based organizations, members are seen as possessing the education, training, and skills needed to develop draft programs and projects to address identified needs, and possess the expertise to secure grant funding and donors. Members of these organizations also understand that they cannot roll out effective programs without the active collaboration and participation of the community itself. Therefore, they are deliberately dependent on the community leaders to define the needs, aspirations, and cultural identities of their communities. These community leaders are also able to identify the most talented, willing, and effective emerging leaders within their own community who can then be invited to co-create the content and delivery methods of the specific programs to be implemented. In this process, these community leaders are able to develop the capacity to act as highly effective community organizers in communicating, involving, and empowering their own families, neighbors, and co-workers.

Conclusion

Environmental justice issues today continue to be as structurally complex as they have ever been, and climate change has only served to increase this complexity and the diversity of challenges faced by vulnerable populations. Resolving these issues is a daunting leadership challenge that can appear to be beyond the scope of human ingenuity, our current technology, or governmental structures, at least in the short term. That said, the illustrative examples of the exceptional leaders in community, education, and business

highlighted here provide the leadership lessons add some insights into how these issues can be addressed successfully. By learning from these inspiring, local examples that we might see ways forward, where we may acknowledge that we are indeed all of us in this together. To paraphrase Rob Hopkins (2008), the founder of the Transition movement, if we wait for the government to do it, it'll be too late; if I try to do it by myself, it'll be too little; but if we do it together, it may be just enough, just in time.

Note

- 1 Miami Climate Alliance, the Climate Action Coalition of South Florida, Habitat for Humanity, Commit2Respond, Interfaith Power and Light, and the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Boca Raton

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9

Resisting and Reclaiming the Global Discourse of Leadership

From Entrepreneurial to Advocacy Leadership

Gary L. Anderson and Andrea López

There has been a discursive shift in the United States and globally from a discourse of public or educational *administration* to one of *leadership*. O'Reilly and Reed (2010) document the emergence of a leadership discourse over the last thirty years that parallels the introduction of market-based, neoliberal reforms. This discursive shift corresponds to a move from the public *administration* of the public bureaucracies of welfare states to the more amorphous notion of *leadership* appropriated by post-bureaucratic neoliberal forms of governance.

During the 1980s and 1990s, academic discourse in education slowly abandoned the notion of the administration of public bureaucracies and replaced it with leadership, a term that had already gained legitimacy within business, public policy and geopolitics (Burns, 1978). O'Reilly and Reed (2010) argue that *leadership* has been appropriated by New Public Management (NPM) (Ward, 2011) and neoliberal reformers as a cover term for administering the dismantling of the welfare state and the implementation of new market-based, performative demands placed on teachers, principals and superintendents (Dent & Whitehead, 2002).

While scholars in the field of educational leadership continue to promote approaches to leadership that range from a return of trait theory to different strains of distributed leadership (Gronn, 2010), leadership-in-practice has increasingly taken on entrepreneurial characteristics. This entrepreneurial leader is less the product of leadership theorizing and more the product of new policy networks that have promoted market-based and performance-based accountability strategies that have required new tasks and dispositions of school principals and superintendents (Anderson, 2009; Gewirtz, 2002). These tendencies are not limited to education professionals, but have refashioned the roles of professionals across the public sector (Anderson & Cohen, 2015), and, as we will illustrate in this chapter, across the globe as well.

As educational systems globally are absorbed into a market, profit, and efficiency logic that is sustained through new discourses, the professional identities of teachers and leaders are being redesigned (Brantlinger & Smith, 2013; Evetts, 2009). Market-based, neoliberal discourses do more than shape policy and curriculum; they also influence educators' understanding of themselves as professionals, hitting at the very core of what it means to be a teacher (Ball, 2003; Popkewitz, 1998) or a leader (Anderson, 2009; Cohen, 2013; Hall, Gunter, & Bragg, 2012).

Here we will explore how new policy networks are promoting the new discourses and practices of New Public Management (NPM), which is a form of governance based on the transfer of private sector logics to the public sector (Ward, 2011). We will examine how these new policy actors and networks conceive of the role of leaders in implementing entrepreneurial leadership. We will provide a US example of entrepreneurial leadership from New York City, a district that marketized its school district under Mayor Bloomberg. We will also provide an account of entrepreneurial leadership in Chile, where privatization and NPM have been implemented since 1973. The United States and Chile were early adopters of neoliberal and NPM policies—Chile, under the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet who came to power in 1973 and the United States under Ronald Reagan’s administration, which began in 1980. Although not a focus of this chapter, we reference several British researchers, since Britain, under Margaret Thatcher, was another early adopter. In the US context, we focus on New York City, since, under the 12-year Bloomberg administration, it implemented the most far-reaching market-based reforms—with the possible exception of New Orleans—of any American city.

Besides New York City, we have chosen Chile as a focus because it was the first experiment in the massive privatization of a national educational system, and because, by analyzing another national context, we can better recognize how our own local experiences are part of a global neoliberal attempt to privatize the public sector. Neoliberal policies were imposed on Chile under a dictatorship in the 1970s and 1980s, but as democracy returned, new forms of network governance and mechanisms of accountability have been developed to promote the continuance of policies implemented by the dictatorship—policies promoted by the World Bank and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and, in many cases, written into the national Constitution, obstructing possibilities of reform.

We will also provide some theoretical and practical grounding for how leadership might be reimagined in a way that is neither a return to public administration nor an affirmation of entrepreneurial leadership. Instead, leadership might be viewed as a form of solidarity with communities and advocacy for new policy counter-networks and a re-professionalization of teaching and leading centered on what Achinstein and Ogawa (2006) call *principled resistance* to neoliberal policies. Chile has seen massive student-led demonstrations against these policies, and an advocacy stance is becoming more visible in the US context as teachers publically burn their test-driven evaluations, leaders petition state departments of education, parents opt out of testing, and students stage walk outs to protest school closings. The student movement of 2011 in Chile, and the “Alto al SIMCE” (Stop the SIMCE exam) group will be presented as examples of these possibilities for a new kind of leadership.

New Governance, New Advocacy Networks, New Professionals

New forms for the governing of society from outside the state have emerged in recent decades (Ball, 2012; Bevir & Rhodes, 2003). Classical notions of government within nation-states have given way to the emergence of global, national, and local policy network governance. The shift toward NPM that is constructing new teacher and leader

identities is characterized by: 1) an audit or performance culture and work intensification created by an increase in the compliance requirements of high-stakes measurement, testing, and teacher evaluation systems (Ball, 2001; Strathern, 2000); 2) a narrow, scripted “what works” conception of teaching that diminishes professional judgment (Biesta, 2007); 3) the commodification and commercialization of teaching through a new education industry (Burch, 2009); 4) new forms of governance, regulation and self-regulation (Ball & Junemann, 2012; Rose, 1993); and 5) a proletarianization of teaching in which conception becomes divorced from execution (Ellis et al., 2014; Lawn & Ozga, 1987). Some argue that these shifts are also marginalizing multicultural, aesthetic, physical, and civic education and making it harder to recruit and retain teachers of color (Achinstein & Ogawa 2012).

Neoliberal and NPM reforms did not emerge out of nowhere, they were heavily promoted—especially in the southern hemisphere—by international organizations, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the OECD, and by new national and global policy networks documented by numerous policy researchers in education (Anderson & Montoro Donchik, 2016; Au & Ferrare, 2015; Ball, 2012; Corbalán, 2012). These policy networks consist primarily of venture philanthropists (e.g., Gates, Broad), edubusinesses (e.g., Pearson, K-12, Inc.), business associations (e.g., the Business Roundtable), consultancy firms (e.g., McKinsey & Co.), lobbyists, and think tanks (e.g., The American Enterprise Institute). Their influence in education is so great that they constitute a new form of privatized governance outside the state, but often in partnership with it.

By the 1990s, these new advocacy networks had successfully introduced a market logic into education (and all sectors of society) through choice policies, charter schools, contracting to the private sector, anti-union policies, public–private partnerships, and restricted voucher systems. This mix of market logics and NPM has resulted in what O’Reilly and Reed (2010) refer to as the dominance in the public sector of markets, metrics, and managers.

These policies also have redesigned what professionals do and how they think about what they do. Sociologists of the professions have identified what they call a *new professionalism* (Evetts, 2009). They argue that while there are some continuities from the “old” professionalism, a shift has occurred as professionals are increasingly managed and controlled, a tendency that Evetts (2011) refers to as *organizational professionalism* or professionalism “from above” (p. 407). She contrasts this with occupational professionalism or professionalism “from within” and, as noted above, documents a shift from professional to managerialist (NPM) values.

Evetts (2011) further conceptualizes the shift in professionalism as one from “notions of partnership, collegiality, discretion and trust to increasing levels of managerialism, bureaucracy, standardization, assessment and performance review” (p. 407). This new professionalism is largely the result of a transfer of private-sector logics into the public sector, and the replacement of an ethos of public service by the discipline of the market and outcomes-based external accountability (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2011; Evetts, 2009; Exworthy & Halford, 1999).

These developments are shifting the locus of control from a previous focus on professional judgment to control through policies that increase organizational professionalism from above and reduce occupational professionalism from within (Evetts, 2011). The new teacher and administrator are put in a position in which they must look to

market and test-based forms of accountability for direction rather than rely on their professional training, associations, or unions. The ability of new digital technologies to integrate management information systems and standardize the labor process promises to intensify this tendency (Selwyn, 2011).

Everyday Neoliberalism and the Entrepreneurial Leader in New York City

Much of the critique of new forms of governance is necessarily abstract and theoretical, but students, teachers, and administrators are living NPM on a daily basis. These manifestations of everyday neoliberalism are often lacking in the theoretical accounts, but some ethnographic studies have provided thick descriptions of them (Black, 2008; Gewirtz, 2002; Hall et al., 2012). In this section, we will provide a localized analysis of just one of the many ways that the marketization of public education has redesigned the role of public sector administrators—pushing principals to be more entrepreneurial. We will also discuss why this is counterproductive for public education systems. More disturbing than the new market-based practices principals are engaging in, is the subtle normalization of these practices over time (Cohen, 2013).

In New York City, under the mayoral regime of Michael Bloomberg, the role of principals changed rapidly. Principals were explicitly modeled after Chief Executive Officers (or “education executives”). The school district essentially disappeared, as did any mechanism for citizen input under mayoral control. Principals instead dealt with networks and “vendors” in a marketplace to contract for services (Burch, 2009). The Department of Education produced a market-maker page to provide principals with the array of choices they now had of vendors and networks. They purchased professional development packages that contained different prices for different services. They chose their own network or “mini-district” for support.

Many aggressively marketed their schools, partnered with the private sector, and engaged in data-driven decision-making just like businesses do, except the data were mostly test scores (Shiller, 2011). Although they were told they were being empowered, most principals reported feeling more beleaguered (Shipps, 2012). New York City’s current mayor, Bill DiBlasio, with his “Tale of Two Cities” slogan is trying to return to a focus on the common good, but a powerful and bipartisan policy network is pushing similar entrepreneurial leadership models across the country (Anderson & Montoro Donchik, 2016; Scott, 2011).

Twenty years ago in principal certification programs, teachers who were moving into the principalship were taught that their central task as a leader was to take a teaching staff composed of teachers arrayed along a continuum from incompetent to outstanding and help them all improve. If the incompetent ones (usually only one or two) could not improve after working with them over time, then the task was to counsel them out of teaching or use documentation to move them out (Bridges, 1992). Although sometimes adversarial, teachers unions were not scapegoated. Principals were expected to provide due process by helping struggling teachers improve, while documenting their work in case they did not. Many principals struggled to find the time to do this supervision and documentation, but in theory, it could be done, and was done routinely by the most conscientious principals.

Aspiring principals were taught how to encourage professional renewal for burned out or “plateaued” teachers, how to target professional development for the teachers with specific needs, and how to inspire the good teachers to become outstanding. The problem back then was how to carry out both a management and instructional leadership role given the time constraints (Rallis & Highsmith, 1986). Eventually, teacher leader positions, literacy coaches, and critical friends groups were added to provide additional support for teacher development. Because most teachers saw teaching as a career and stayed in schools longer, there was time to do this kind of capacity-building in the school, which also meant building capacity in the system if these teachers moved to another school. All children benefited when teachers improved. This was seen as particularly important in low-income schools, where students needed skilled teachers and depended on institutional agents, such as teachers, counselors and administrators for access to dominant social and cultural capital (Stanton-Salazar, 2011).

The new entrepreneurial principal, modeled after business CEOs, brings a completely different ethos and internal logic to the public sector (Ward, 2011). Especially in marketized districts such as New York City under mayor Bloomberg, there is a tendency for principals to recruit lower-maintenance students and teachers to their schools in order to improve test scores. Charter schools are particularly geared for this kind of entrepreneurialism, but even public school principals in marketized districts engage in the same behavior (Lubienski & Lubienski, 2006). This is why charter schools tend to have far fewer students with special education or English Language needs (Baker, 2012). Some principals have figured out that if they recruit good teachers, their job is easier, their test scores improve and their careers take off. This may seem overly cynical. Most principals do not want to play this market game, but if competition is the game, then they have to play.

But a principal who recruits great teachers to his or her school is not building capacity. Those teachers leave behind a classroom of equally deserving students at their former school. All this does is move resources around the district with the goal of enhancing a particular school’s (and by extension, principal’s) performance. Closing, “turning around” or “reconstituting” schools does the same thing. It just moves resources around the system on the pretext of getting rid of bad teachers (Malen et al., 2002). The former notion of principals providing instructional support and helping all teachers improve, increases system capacity. The entrepreneurial model does not.

At least as an entrepreneurial businessperson like Michael Bloomberg, one can argue that one’s self-interest in building a successful business creates jobs and may help one’s community. It makes sense to poach the best employees from other businesses because you are in competition with them for customers and profits. But in public school systems, viewing a school as “one’s business” or a “startup” usually means you have to attract the best teachers to your school and have fewer kids who might be higher maintenance. At least as an ideal type, public schools and school professionals are supposed to be serving the public with an ethos of seeking a common good, introducing competition into the system incentivizes professionals to not share their practices and fails to build system-wide capacity. It is hard to imagine how this entrepreneurial stance can be viewed as being an advocate for children—other than perhaps those at one’s own school, who are increasingly seen as human capital that can boost test scores.

Businessmen like Michael Bloomberg and venture philanthropists like Eli Broad believe that all public sector administrators should behave more like business leaders.

But this cross-sector borrowing from business has not been carefully examined nor widely studied (Cuban, 2004; Mautner, 2010). Meanwhile, business models are not only creating dysfunctional policies and a “new professionalism” (Exworthy & Halford, 1999), they also sap the school leadership of its public service orientation (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2011).¹ Many principals are changing their ethos from being advocates for children to being savvy businessmen and women, maximizing their own school’s brand—often under the guise of progressive rhetoric. The very idea of *public* school leadership seems at risk.

Some might correctly point out that it is doubtful that public schools for poor children and children of color that preceded entrepreneurial forms of leadership were more effective, or even more socially just. But had we continued to focus on an ethos of public service and had the patience for “scaled down” reforms to mature (Erickson, 2014, Payne, 2008), we would likely have made more progress by now than we have by scaling up high-stakes testing and market logics to incentivize and punish teachers and principals. We have lost many outstanding teachers and principals because they no longer feel they can use their professional judgment to advocate what they know is best for children. Entrepreneurialism is a wonderful asset for someone starting a business. It has turned out to be problematic for principals in marketized system such as New York City under Mayor Bloomberg.

The Chilean Neoliberal Experiment: Forty Years Later

New York City’s reforms under mayor Bloomberg are relatively recent examples of everyday neoliberalism and only date back to 2002. But they have an uncanny similarity to those of Chile, in part, because they share many of the same policy networks. Neoliberal reforms in education have been sustained in Chile for more than 40 years, since the 1973 US-backed coup that toppled the democratic socialist government of Salvador Allende. During this period, the discourse of entrepreneurial leadership has permeated education reforms in Chile in the context of a market-oriented educational system, imposed during the dictatorship and perpetuated by subsequent democratic governments.

The main regulations and principles of the Chilean educational system are contained in the Constitution of the Republic, which was established in 1980 under the rule of General Augusto Pinochet. This constitution—much like right wing think tanks in the United States—uses a discourse of *freedom*, which confers upon individuals the right to open, organize and maintain educational establishments; and upon parents, the right to choose the educational establishment for their children (Senado República de Chile, 2015).

In 1981, a universal voucher system was implemented in Chile, in which the government granted a per-student subsidy to all public and private schools provided that they did not charge tuition. Families were allowed to use their voucher for the school of their choice, which led to a massive reallocation of students from the public to the newly established private-voucher sector and to the promotion of competition among schools (Mizala & Torche, 2012; Bellei, 2011).

In 1993, a voucher reform allowed private-voucher schools to charge add-on fees to parents to complement the government voucher, turning Chile into the most

socio-economically segregated country during school age of all OECD members (Valenzuela, 2008). In 1981, 80 percent of the student population of Chile attended a public school (Elacqua, 2012). By 1998, only 55.1 percent of students attended public schools and 34.1 percent attended private subsidized schools; by 2011, these percentages had nearly reversed, with private subsidized schools enrolling the majority of the students (51.8 percent), and with enrollment in public schools falling to only 39.3 percent (Montecinos et al., 2015). The remaining roughly 10 percent of Chileans send their children to elite private independent schools without government subsidies.

These reforms were complemented by the implementation of the high-stakes standardized test “Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación” (SIMCE) (Agencia de Calidad de la Educación, 2015), intended to measure the quality of education in elementary, middle and high schools nation-wide. The test is applied to all students in second, fourth, sixth, eighth, tenth and eleventh grades in the subjects of Language Arts, Math, Science, Social Sciences, English as a Foreign Language, and Physical Education. SIMCE is a low-stakes test for students but has high stakes for schools. Test scores have a significant weight in the National System for Performance Evaluation that provides financial incentives to reward teachers in high performing subsidized schools, and SIMCE scores weigh 67 percent in the classification of schools in the *Ley de Aseguramiento de la Calidad* (Quality Assurance Law); and the publication of these scores is a marketing strategy used by Chilean principals to raise their enrollments (Montecinos et al., 2015).

Campos-Martinez, Corbalan-Possel, and Inzunza (2015) provide a detailed history and description of the policy actors and networks that made SIMCE and Chile leaders in Latin America in the development and implementation of high-stakes testing. They document how early networks composed of the Pontific Catholic University of Chile (PUC), the World Bank, UNESCO, and the Chilean Ministry of Education expanded over time to include more Chilean elites, private interests, and testing corporations.

The results of the SIMCE exam, much like high-stakes tests in the United States, were used to reward and punish schools and principals. As principals received funds to improve test scores, they were encouraged to spend it on vendors who were exploiting this new market niche. Much as was the case in New York City, principals are sold data coaches, technology, test prep materials, and other professional development targeted to the test (Campos-Martinez et al., 2015). Montecinos et al. (2014) document how enterprising teachers, certified by the Ministry of Education through the Teachers of Teachers Network, are selling their services to principals as well. Under NPM everyone becomes an entrepreneur.

While the extension of compulsory education in Chile, from preschool through secondary education, has been a significant achievement of recent decades, inequality in terms of access and financing of higher education lessens the impact of K-12 educational efforts. Higher education in Chile evolved from an elitist system to a massive one in a relatively short period, but the 25 public and private universities certified by the Council of Deans of Chilean Universities (CRUCH) have increased their enrollment by only 18 percent between 2006 and 2011, while private universities not certified by the CRUCH have increased their enrollment by 63 percent. Most of these private universities have non-selective admission systems and enroll students from the lowest socioeconomic groups without access to scholarships and loans.

Furthermore, the degrees they provide do not have the same standing as the ones from CRUCH-recognized universities (OCDE, 2013).

The extreme inequality of the education system has ignited widespread protests. The state had so thoroughly withdrawn support for higher education that tuition in public universities had reached the level of private ones, sending families into massive tuition debt. During a seven-month series of protests in 2011, students demanded free higher education and an end to profiting from education. They used innovative forms of communication and organization, and engaged in a wide array of public demonstrations: marches, take-overs, strikes, carnivals, debates, and performances (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013). More recently, students, teachers and scholars have spoken out against SIMCE for promoting competition between schools and teaching to the test. They claim that this has led to principals selecting “easier” students, avoiding those with discipline issues or learning disabilities (Almonacid, Luzón, & Torres, 2008; OCDE, 2004).

New Policy Networks in Chile

In many ways, Chile is a cautionary tale for the United States. The US system has not yet been voucherized, nor do private schools receive public subsidies, although charter schools exhibit some of these characteristics. Nor has tuition in US state universities reached the level of elite private schools, although state tuition in California is nearing \$20,000 a year and student debt has become a central political issue. As Klein (2007) and others have documented, neoliberal policies in Chile are, in part, a legacy of the 1973 coup, but they have made inroads in other countries through new forms of governance based on new policy networks outside the nation-state. In Chile, progressive policies are constrained by both the Constitution and new policy networks that have emerged in the last two decades.

Elites in Chile have been involved in education through venture philanthropy, think tanks, and the creation of foundations that sponsor private subsidized schools (Campos, Corbalán, & Cavieres, 2013). Much as in the United States, these foundations and think tanks focus their rhetoric on students from low-income families and neighborhoods and promote school choice, vouchers, and high stakes testing. Some examples of these foundations are provided in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1 Education Foundations that Sponsor Schools.

Foundation	Characteristics
Educando Juntos-Fundación Astoreca (Educating Together- Astoreca Foundation)	Composed of retail owners, religious groups, real estate holdings, bank owners, former education ministers, center and right wing politicians, and conservative families. It brings together different educational organizations and shares educational resources online.
Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria (SIP) (Society of Elementary Teaching)	With 150 years of existence, it sponsors 17 schools serving 18,876 students.
Belén Educa (Bethlehem Educates)	Under the Archbishop of Santiago, it has 12 schools serving 13,646 students.

Because the schools these foundations sponsor have high test scores, they tend to have a strong voice in education debates (Belén Educa, 2015; SIP, 2015). As Campos, Corbalán, and Cavieres (2013) posit, they reinforce a private-sector logic by advancing an educational model funded by national and international businesses and banks, centered on standards and outcomes, seeking economic growth over other forms of social and cultural development.

Think tanks and foundations in Chile have interlocking board memberships. One of the members of the board of the Educando Juntos foundation, Lidia Ariztía, is also a member of SIP, whose owner is the Matte family, ranked as the second wealthiest family in Chile by *Forbes Magazine*, just below the Luksic family, which also has stakes in education through their Luksic Foundation (Campos et al., 2013; Fundación Luksic, 2015). Patricia Matte is the current president of SIP's board and is also a member of the board of the think tank Libertad y Desarrollo (Campos et al., 2013). These connections show the acute concentration of power in Chile, and how these elites are highly connected through networks where education is intertwined with businesses and political groups.

One example of how elites are shaping education from neoliberal and neocolonial frameworks is the Puentes Educativos Program, which seeks to affect policy to improve the quality of education in low-income schools in Chile through the use of digital multimedia resources, developed in alliance with the government (Ministry of Education). They are networked with sponsors in the telecommunications sector with a focus on the use of technology in the classroom, and with NGOs, to show transparency and have access to the NGO's networks with local governments. This program uses training videos developed in the global North for teachers around a standardized curriculum. Local teachers had no role in producing the videos, which were not culturally responsive to local communities. Policy networks, in this case, managed to create a strategic alliance and infiltrate the state apparatus (Campos et al., 2013).

Another example of these new policy networks is Fundación Chile, a not-for-profit private foundation, in partnership with the mining company BHP-Billiton-Minera Escondida and the Chilean government. Fundación Chile provides consulting services in different areas, including school management and leadership. This foundation promotes the idea that the logics of the marketplace should be transferred from the for-profit sector to public education. Their educational mission is focused on contributing to the development of students' twenty-first-century skills, and supporting teachers and administrators through the teaching of management skills and strategic thinking. Their leadership model is focused on obtaining educational outcomes, managing organizational learning through the use of performance and effectiveness standards, and communicating results to the educational community, following a logic of accountability (Gestión Escolar, 2015).

The most powerful neoliberal think tank in Chile, Libertad y Desarrollo, has an important stake in the education sector, and illustrates the shift from government to governance by networks, with multiple links to other organizations and relevant actors in education. This think tank was founded to maintain previous gains toward destatization, within the context of the re-establishment of democracy after 17 years of dictatorship; it was created by Hernán Büchi, a neoliberal economist and the Minister of Finances for Pinochet from 1985 to 1989. He reconvened some of his former partners from the political right and received funding from The Atlas Economic Research Foundation (Corbalán, 2012). While the think tank declares its independence from any

political, religious, business, or governmental organization, when the right-wing coalition Alianza por Chile won the presidential election, five out of 17 ministers were Libertad y Desarrollo members (Corbalán, 2012).

Libertad y Desarrollo has participated in every consultancy commission convened on education, despite the fact that they do not include education specifically as part of their mission, employing mainly experts in law and economics (Corbalán, 2012). They promote the usual arguments for free-market policies in education: freedom for families to choose their children's schools, freedom for entrepreneurs to develop education initiatives and autonomy to run schools and freedom from state indoctrination (Corbalán, 2012).

Some of the partners of Libertad y Desarrollo include the more academic-oriented think tank CEP, the liberal think tank Expansiva, the political think tank Fundación Jaime Guzmán, and other international think tanks and Foundations, such as The Atlas Foundation; the Cato, Heritage, and Fraser Institutes; and a series of neoliberal think tanks in Latin America. The key to Libertad y Desarrollo's success has been remaining somewhat independent from right-wing parties in order to be attractive to other political sectors and the general public (Corbalán, 2012).

The Centro de Estudios Públicos (CEP) think tank published a series of public policy drafts, to share with politicians and the general public. The director and legal representative of CEP is Harald Beyer, former Minister of Education during Sebastián Piñera's conservative government, from 2011 to 2013. Beyer was impeached because of irregularities with regard to for-profit activity in higher education (24horas.cl, 2013).

In their policy brief on teaching as a career, CEP members Eyzaguirre and Ochoa (2015) propose increasing the power of principals to fire low-performing teachers and raise salaries of high-performing teachers. Teacher improvement, for CEP, is not seen as the product of working with teachers and establishing a supporting relationship with them, but as a result of attracting and selecting the right teachers and getting rid of the wrong teachers, who can then be assigned to or hired by other schools. As was the case with the New York City marketized system, these policies offer no permanent educational improvement if we consider the system as a whole.

New Professionalism and the Logic of Accountability

In Chile, NPM approaches have shaped the last 30 years of educational reforms, with an educational system now characterized by private providers, standardized assessment external to the schools, competition as incentive for improvement, and a teacher evaluation system involving assessment, professional development (PD) and financial incentives. Since 2008, this shift has resulted in an increase in the number of external educational consultants from 100 to 500, making education consultancies a \$28 million industry (Montecinos et al., 2014).

Within these NPM processes, the school principal's role has been transformed. From 2000 to 2010, three key policies have advanced decentralization and increased principals' accountability. First, the Ley de Concursabilidad de Directores (Principals' Hiring Law) standardizes and formalizes the process of selecting principals; second, the Ley de Calidad y Equidad de la Educación (Law of Quality and Equity in Education), provides new regulations for hiring public school principals, which include regulations for salary increases, performance-based bonuses, and competitive grants for professional

development; and third, the Ley de Subvención Escolar Preferencial (Preferential Subsidy Law), addresses inequity by increasing funding for subsidized schools serving a high proportion of low-income students (Montecinos et al., 2015).

Principals are required to sign a five-year contract and are directly responsible for the attainment of the predefined results specified by this contract. To achieve these results, the law specifies that principals need to focus on instructional leadership in addition to administrative tasks. But in reality, much of the principals' time is spent developing marketing strategies to attract and retain students. Instead of instructional leaders focused on student learning, reflection, and innovation, principals have become fundraisers and marketing directors. So while on paper principals have greater autonomy than before, this autonomy is limited to developing entrepreneurship to compete with other schools and to fundraise (Montecinos et al., 2015).

A study by López, Ahumada, Galdames, and Madrid (2012) showed that principals tend to work mainly on administrative matters (41 percent) over pedagogical issues (22 percent), and that most of the time they are working on urgent or very urgent tasks, and boundary spanning with the municipality (the equivalent of a US school district) occupies a disproportional amount of their time (See also Navarrete et al., 2011).

All of these studies show how NPM policies ultimately keep principals from focusing on the students, their learning, and the local needs of their communities. The relationships principals establish are strategically crafted more than authentic, which prevents them from developing a school where organizational learning is fostered. Instead, they must focus on the image the school projects and how it can compete in the market.

Based on trends in SIMCE scores, and other indicators, schools are classified to determine how much intervention they will receive from the Ministry of Education, with higher-performing schools given greater autonomy to design and implement an improvement plan. A series of policies have complemented this accountability mechanism, including the Policy Framework for Quality Assurance of School Management, implemented between 2003 and 2007 (Ministerio de Educación, 2015b), which adds additional assessments. These assessments were seen in most cases as an obligation by the administrative teams at each school, as one more program by the Ministry of Education that they had to comply with (Ahumada, Galdames, González, & Herrera, 2009). School improvement initiatives also lack the flexibility required to adapt them to local needs, especially those of rural contexts, where the specific cultural approaches to education are not considered, and where access to professional development initiatives is more difficult because of geographical isolation (Ahumada, 2010).

The reliance on external experts in the oversight of schools' improvement plans reveals a lack of trust in teachers and principals' capacity. Professional trust has been replaced by accountability, inspections, and extrinsic incentives (Montecinos et al., 2015). Much like the "new professional" described above, occupational professionalism is being replaced by organizational professionalism in Chile.

Conclusion: From Entrepreneurial to Advocacy Leadership

One might make a plausible argument for abandoning an ethos of public service and the promise of public education if we were seeing impressive achievement outcomes for low-income children and youth through privatizing and marketizing education.

But increasingly, evidence points to the failure of high-stakes and market-based reforms, not only because charter and private schools do not outperform public schools once socioeconomic factors are accounted for (Center for Research on Education Outcomes, 2009; Lubienski & Lubienski, 2006; 2014), but also because they introduce perverse incentives borrowed from other sectors that create a punitive audit culture that ultimately reduces the efficiency and effectiveness of the system. In addition, as public education is increasingly seen as a global profit center for edubusinesses such as Pearson, decisions are being made based on the bottom line over educational considerations. As a part of everyday neoliberalism, principals and superintendents are barraged daily by sales pitches from representatives of these multinational corporations.

While it is appropriate to resist the worst excesses of NPM and the neoliberal project itself, it would be a substantive and strategic blunder to call for a return to some golden age of public bureaucracies. The problem with nostalgically looking to the past is that the pre-NPM world of occupational professionalism in public education was too often incapable of effectively promoting practices that were culturally responsive, politically sophisticated, or ethically sound.

With notable exceptions, too many US education professionals from the 1950s until today have tolerated institutionalized individualism, curricula and a teaching force that failed to reflect diversity, and schools tracked by social class, segregated by race, and, especially, under-resourced urban neighborhoods. In addition, teachers and principals were not immune from society's prejudices, and often had lower expectations for low-income children and children of color than they did for middle-class children—an issue that continues to be a problem.

In 1981, 80 percent of Chileans were in public schools compared to 39.3 percent by 2011. This is clearly a setback in terms of any possibility of constructing a democratic polis or broadly shared prosperity. One has to ask, however, what the level of quality was of the teaching and learning in those public schools. Public bureaucracies had their own serious limitations that should be acknowledged. If resistance is viewed as merely looking nostalgically back to some imagined golden age of education, then resistance will not be enough. Countering the new professionalism with the old professionalism will not do. We need a new vision of professionalism capable of resisting neoliberal reforms, while also constructing a new ethos of teaching and leading.

A new professionalism that might counter NPM would be guided by what Achinstein and Ogawa (2006) call *principled resistance*, wherein principles are:

rooted in widely shared conceptions of teaching and professionalism, which align with definitions of high-quality, reflective professionals who adjust their teaching to the needs of diverse students, foster high expectations, create learning communities among students, engage in self-critical dialogue about their practice with colleagues, possess specialized expertise, and employ repertoires of instructional strategies. (p. 53)

They point out that in an environment in which teachers are expected to implement scripted instructional programs with “fidelity,” dissent is viewed as “infidelity” and punished. They describe two teachers who risked engaging in principled resistance of a mandatory literacy program because it lowered expectations, limited engagement with higher order learning, and diminished their professional autonomy and judgment.

In Chile, the resistance to the neoliberal model in education has been led by social movements. This includes an impressive display of active citizenry by youth, which contrasts with the fear-driven conformity of the older generations, which were fed both the discourse of authoritarianism of the dictatorship, and of reconciliation and consensus with the return to democracy. Groups of education professionals in alliance with students, such as 'Alto al SIMCE' ('Stop the SIMCE exam'), have also developed an emerging counter-discourse. This group started its campaign to put an end to this standardized test and its misuse in 2013, participating in creative protests appropriating the motto from *The Little Prince*, "What is essential is invisible to the SIMCE" to emphasize the limitations of these kinds of assessments. These groups of students and professionals are publishing op-ed pieces and academic documents analyzing the negative consequences of this test and the benefits of a more integral evaluation system, and organizing conferences and other venues to discuss the SIMCE (Alto al SIMCE, 2015). This is an example of how advocacy leadership can counter neoliberal common sense through solidarity with teachers, students, academics and the community, thus, recovering both public space and the media as spaces for the practice of democratic citizenship.

These groups have elevated critiques and demands, and have dared imagine a different future for the education system, one which is not ruled by money and neoliberal ideology. In Chile, students have disseminated their discourse in ways that leaders and politicians could learn from, to help validate these counter-discourses and offer some resistance to the larger media presence of neoliberal think tanks.

The Chilean government is now in the process of developing reforms that aim to strengthen public education, lessen the participation of for-profit providers in education, and foster equality in access to higher education. Their implementation has not been easy, not only because of the constitutional cover that protects previous educational policies, but because of the acceptance that the discourse of assessment, choice, accountability and effectiveness has achieved in some sectors of the general population and among some education professionals. A new kind of advocacy leadership in the Chilean educational system requires educational initiatives that are community-based, critical of the hijacking of education by transnational entities and frameworks that do not acknowledge local culture and needs, and that foster the critical consciousness of the students instead of teaching them how to answer multiple-choice items on a standardized test.

These goals will not likely be achieved by either the old or new professionalism. NPM and organizational professionalism has made resistance more difficult, as high-stakes tests penetrate the classroom. The professional associations associated with occupational professionalism have too often been timid in confronting NPM policies. Transforming education into a system that values authenticity and equality will require a professional who is in solidarity with the families and students in the communities where they teach and lead. This will require a paradigmatic shift in the profession.

Given that teachers and leaders as professionals have a long history of being in conflict with their communities (Driscoll, 1998), advocating for a more community-based notion of professionalism in education may seem unrealistic. But there are examples across the United States of educators and communities building alliances. Perhaps the most dramatic are the grassroots struggles of teachers in Chicago to reform their union

and ally themselves with their students' communities. This kind of social movement unionism could be seen as a feasible prototype of what an advocacy professional might look like.

Chile represents another example in which the educational system and the inequalities it has generated and reproduced became the core of a social movement led by students, but supported by education professionals and school communities. This new advocacy professional is emerging globally and the empirical failure of entrepreneurial leadership and market reforms along with the creation of counter-networks and counter-publics can hasten its emergence.

Note

- 1 In fact, the ideas from business that cross over into education are often out-of-date, implemented piecemeal, or are seldom used in business.

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10

The Political Economy of Leadership

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Traditionally, educational leadership has been a field of knowledge concerned with benign levels of organizational influence (in preference to power), as part of an abiding interest in leadership practice and the mechanics of its improvement. While not questioning the validity of these concerns, in this chapter we have adopted a slightly different focus. We take the political economy of leadership to be concerned with a range of wider systemic factors (i.e., policy, politics, and economics) that shape the conduct of schooling, in particular the ways in which such factors simultaneously constrain and enable school leaders' practice. As such, while three of the core areas of teaching and learning (namely, curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment) lie outside the scope of this discussion, the resourcing and decision making that might facilitate or impede this educational core are very much the focus of our interest. In this connection, we are mindful of the observation of Currie et al. (2009, p. 664) that leadership in the public sector "cannot be divorced from the system-wide social structures and processes." For almost three decades in England there has been a central governmental momentum for far-reaching structural changes in the configuration of the education system that is predicated on the assumption, shared by the political class generally and substantial segments of the press media, that "the school system is underperforming" (Woods & Simkins, 2014, p. 329). The broad trajectory of system reform in England over this three-decade period has been to enhance the power and intrusion of central government at the expense of the middle tier of local government, with a view to granting considerably more decision-making latitude than previously to increasingly autonomous schools. Here, the British state has displayed a curious duality of assertiveness and reluctance (Ball, 2012, p. 102), as part of its cycling back to or revisiting of mid- to late nineteenth-century liberal political assumptions and practices. We consider what these changes mean for educational leadership, illustrating some of our arguments with emerging research evidence, including the most recent (2013) findings of TALIS: the Teaching and Learning International Survey undertaken by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

From a political economy perspective, this combination of data offers a unique glimpse into the black box of English schooling, in particular the principal-agent angle highlighted by Brewer, Hentscke, and Eide (2010, p. 196), as headteachers and teachers seek to coordinate their activities in the performance of their work. In terms of OECD international tests of pupil achievement, England is a relatively average performer. The TALIS data, however, suggest that England is distinct in the way that it organises its

education system, both in terms of structure and agent relations. The TALIS data also enable comparisons to be made of the views of English teachers and headteachers with those of their peers in 30 countries with quite different education systems. Our discussion answers the question of what recent changes in the English educational system have meant for school leaders and their views of their roles. The argument that we make and illustrate is that the political economy of English schooling, in respect of the economics of education's "production" function (see below), relies simultaneously on three intersecting mechanisms of control: state hierarchy (through centralized policy determination and system monitoring), state-initiated quasi-markets (supply-side competitive schooling to facilitate institutional responsiveness and parental choice), and a hybrid mix of state- and local-led networking (to facilitate coordination by mid-level school clusters in the pursuit of school improvement). We show that, in addition to a series of intended outcomes sought at the middle tier, the values that both quasi-markets and networks in combination are intended to realize—i.e., competition and collaboration, respectively—exist in a state of constant tension and are producing unintended, and even potentially perverse, consequences. Foreshadowing the discussion below, what is most striking in the English education system are the rapidly evolving structural relations, the increasing diversity of the system and its structures, and the need for highly adaptable leadership. This evolving set of relations generates potential risks for the equitable distribution of quality outcomes and the efficiency of resource utilization, namely the unintended consequences that arise from some of the tensions in the system that we describe below and the question of whether or not the system is sustainable.

We begin with some brief details about the TALIS data before providing an overview summary of education in England. This is followed by an outline of recent policy developments. We then discuss school and school leader autonomy, by focusing in particular on leaders' perspectives on their roles and the constraints that they face as a result of recent school system reform, as well as leaders' attitudes to how they lead, their leadership styles, and their attitudes towards their careers (to better understand the wider issue of headteacher recruitment and retention).

TALIS

In England, the 2013 TALIS survey was administered to teachers and leaders in 154 schools. TALIS investigates teachers' and headteachers' attitudes to a range of aspects of their working lives in schools and gives readers an opportune window onto the respondents' experiences of the implementation of national and sub-national policies. TALIS provides good quality data, in that the survey response rate was very high, with around three-quarters of schools responding to the survey items, and nearly four in five teachers. The data produce information on the views of 154 leaders and around 2500 teachers. Details of the TALIS data and a full analysis in relation to England can be found in Micklewright et al. (2014). In addition to what was obtained from the 30 participating countries, in England some extra data was collected, particularly on job satisfaction and cooperation between schools. The English TALIS data were also linked to administrative data on schools, specifically the School Performance Tables (for 2012) and the records of the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted)—since 1992 the national inspection agency for schools in England. This combination permits

consideration of factors such as the type of school (e.g., community, academy, independent), the degree of each school's socioeconomic status (measured by the percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals), and the academic achievement of the pupil intake (measured by scores in national tests at age 11) and outcomes (measured by scores in national tests at age 16). This additional information facilitates a comparison of headteachers' views across different types of schools and contexts.

Political Economy

Within the overall framework of national school policies, and legislative and regulatory requirements—the evolving thrust of which is shaped not only by domestic considerations but also to some degree by international developments—political economy in education is concerned principally with decisions about resource inputs and their institutional allocation, and educational outputs. As Brewer et al. (2010, p. 193) note, economists are particularly interested in education production and distribution; that is, “how society organizes and uses scarce resources to produce various types of knowledge and skills through formal schooling, and how these types of knowledge and skills are distributed to various groups in society.” The former focuses on efficiency and how resources are used optimally to maximize the production of education, which is the focus of this chapter, while the latter issue of distribution relates to equity; that is, consideration of the factors that influence the distribution of education's outputs. These concepts are also central to two key theories in economics that have had wider influence on the field of education and hence on the ways that leaders are expected to manage their schools.

The first theory is an influential explanation in economics of the role of education in the economy. This theory, which emerged in the 1960s, is known as human capital theory (Becker, 1964). Human capital theory posits that expenditure on education, whether by a state or an individual, is an investment akin to capital investment. In other words, there is an expectation of some return or benefit accruing from the investment in education, in the form of both higher productivity (which benefits society) and labor market earnings (which benefit individuals). Human capital theory and the ideas behind it rapidly disseminated beyond the field of economics, and increasingly policy makers used (and continue to use) it as a way of justifying macro-level investments in the education system.

A second and related theory that has been influential in English education is production theory. Economists have suggested that we can theorize an education production function, whereby education is “produced” by schools from scarce resource inputs, in which case the goal of policy is to design a system that provides schools with incentives to maximize the education extracted from a given level of resource. Human capital theory draws an analogy with how firms operate in competitive markets and leads to a consideration of how schools might produce education more efficiently with optimal use of their resource inputs. These ideas of “quasi-markets” in education—quasi, because in England the degree of marketization is partial and, as we show, coexists with hierarchical control—with parallels being drawn between firms and schools, have fundamentally changed notions of accountability in education. The English accountability agenda has emphasized exactly the concepts of investment, return, production, and

efficiency that are drawn from these economic principles discussed above. Such ideas have been developed and applied to various pressing policy issues that are now more often than not seen from an economic perspective, a perspective that is by no means restricted to issues involving expenditure.

On the political side of political economy, as it were, the interest of analysts lies in the shaping and impact of public policies that are concerned with resources, and the ideologies and values that inform public policy decision making, along with the consequences (intended and unintended) that flow from policy implementation. In the United States, for example, increased political concerns about schools and their effectiveness have resulted in questioning by policy makers of “the central role of and functions of government in the allocation of educational resources” and their alternative preference for “market or market-related mechanisms” (Brewer et al., 2010, p. 195). Like other goods and services, the provision of schooling (particularly in respect of decisions about the number, cost, location, and type of schools) is subject to the pressures of supply and demand. As Payne (2010, p. 331) notes, from the point of view of economists wedded to competition as a means of achieving educational efficiency and quality learning outcomes, the traditional model of a single community offering education via a single neighborhood school produces the potentially perverse outcomes typical of monopolies: wastage of resources and denial of choice. That is, parents in such a supply-side scenario—considered in Hirschmann’s (1970) terms—can only exercise a limited form of choice through a willingness to relocate to a different neighborhood. This kind of assumption has led English policy makers to conclude that the allocation mechanism of the market, expressed through competition and choice, is more likely to promote improved pupil achievement, greater school responsiveness and enhanced international standing (via measures such as the OECD’s PISA rankings).

English Schooling

This changing political economy of English schooling has sparked criticism. Mortimore (2013, pp. 155, 200), for example, has observed that English education since the *Education Reform Act, 1988*, under governments of both Left and Right, has shifted in character and has “systematically been transformed into a market economy—as if schooling is similar to shopping or using an estate agent.” Between them, such governments have “fragmented—almost to destruction—what was once a national system, albeit one haphazardly developed and poorly funded. This system could have been built on and improved. Instead, it has been steadily undermined.” Many economists would dispute this claim, ironically not least because the quasi-market in schooling in England has been quite limited in nature, with remarkably little evidence of impact from competition between schools and greater parental choice (Cassen, McNally, and Vignoles, 2015). Mortimore and numerous other commentators, however, display a more fundamental antagonism to the conceptualization of education in market terms and a growing fear that its expression in the increased autonomy and accountability of schools may lead to the breakdown of a genuinely national system of education.

Essentially, what has been gathering pace structurally since 1988 has been a redistribution of discretionary and veto power from local to central government and from local government to schools. In England, the education system during the post-war period

until 1988 had been widely recognized as a “tripartite partnership” (Woods & Simkins, 2014, p. 325) between central government, local educational authorities, and schools (led by the teaching profession). The center–local relationship until the late 1980s had been one in which

Local authorities had run education from the beginning, since it was they who were empowered to raise the money for it through the rates. Schools were completely answerable to them, and the central government contented itself with the legislative framework.

(Smithers, 2015, p. 262)

Post-1988, however, successive Secretaries of State for Education, from the Conservatives’ Kenneth Baker onward, have sought to enable schools to opt out of local authority control as a means of giving them a greater degree of decision making autonomy—initially through grant-maintained status (Conservative), later through sponsored city academies (Labour), and finally by an acceleration of the (sponsored and conversion) academies program and the creation of free schools (Coalition). Crucially in respect of the latter initiative, according to Smithers (2015, p. 263), while the Department for Education believed that it probably had the necessary powers to progress the Coalition’s free schools–academies program, Parliament legislated to remove the previous requirement for consultation with local authorities. The relevant passage of the Education Act, 2011 (i.e., Schedule 11, 6A(1)) in this connection now requires that “If a local authority in England think a new school needs to be established in their area, they must seek proposals for the establishment of an Academy.”

This policy-driven marketization trend has been longstanding, but under the Coalition Government (2010) there was a sharp increase in the number of such academies. In November 2014, there were 4351 academies and free schools, or about 22 per cent of all mainstream state-funded schools, of which about two-thirds are converter academies, with academization occurring mostly at the secondary phase (Department for Education, 2015a). It is perhaps telling of the state of the sector that a large proportion of headteachers do not believe that failing schools should be required to join an academy chain. Only 6 per cent of school leaders of maintained schools who responded to the TALIS survey, for example, believed that this was desirable and, even in academies themselves, only one-quarter of heads thought that this should be the case (Micklewright et al., 2014, p. 65). Notwithstanding this belief, the newly elected (2015) Conservative Government, in its draft legislation (the Education and Adoption Bill, 2015–2016), supports the conversion into academies of what are deemed by the Secretary of State to be coasting maintained sector schools (with “coasting” still to be defined by regulation). The overall trend toward marketized educational provision is also relevant for state schools that are not on a path to academy conversion. The framework of accountability also influences the behavior of schools and of school leaders. The continued publication of performance tables, along with a wealth of other school details, for example, is a key accountability mechanism by which parental choices are facilitated (see the next section). Equally, some developments are closer to a “command and control” approach, as distinct from a market one. School inspections have become an even more prominent element in the accountability framework, given that the status of schools (and whether they are meant to convert to academies) is reliant on the school’s quality as judged by Ofsted.

The establishment of a quasi-market in education comes at the cost of some loss of central control over essential issues, such as the taught curriculum, with implications for the role of academy school leaders in particular. There is also concern (Cassen et al., 2015) that the fragmentation resulting from current changes may be associated with a more unequal system, whereby children on the socioeconomic margins are likely to be less well served by a decentralized system that lacks the ability to obtain an overview of complex issues or the remit to act upon that information.

Even without further changes, these developments have direct implications for headteachers' approaches to school leadership. The declared aim behind both parental choice and school autonomy is to improve the way that the system works, to increase school effectiveness, either through competition or by increased system flexibility, thereby permitting different arrangements and configurations of school leadership and organization to emerge. Headteachers are meant to be central to these processes, by leading school improvement and operating within the constraints of the market, in terms of student intake, and through centralized oversight and accountability requirements. (The implications of these developments for school leaders are explored further later in this chapter.)

A Self-Improving School System

A closer look at the specifics of the school competition and choice just referred to shows them to have been facilitated structurally by two reform measures: an increased amount of autonomy for schools and the accountability of schools for their performance, both of which were highlighted in the Coalition White Paper, *The Importance of Teaching*. In that document, the then Secretary of State argued strongly that, internationally, school autonomy was a positive driver of school effectiveness:

in a school system with good quality teachers and clearly established standards, devolving as much decision-making to school level as possible ensures that decisions are made by the professionals best able to make good choices for the children and young people they serve. Analysis of PISA data shows that the features of the strongest education systems combine autonomy (e.g., over staffing powers at school level) with accountability (e.g., systematic and external pupil-level assessments).

(Department for Education, 2010, para 5.1)

Accountability, as the Secretary of State also made clear, derived from the idea that “tax-payers have a right to expect that their money will be used effectively to educate pupils and equip them to take their place in society” (Department for Education, 2010, para 6.1). For this reason:

We will dismantle the apparatus of central control and bureaucratic compliance. We will instead make direct accountability more meaningful, making much more information about schools available in standardized formats to enable parents and others to assess and compare their performance. And, through freeing up the system, we will increase parents' choices about where to send their children to school

(Department for Education, 2010, para 6.2).

Although the Secretary of State highlighted a particular economic definition of accountability, educational accountability is not limited to economic considerations, and the recognition of the need for educational accountability is longstanding. While the opinion of the OECD (2011) partly supports the claim about autonomy—with the caveat that the types of decisions left to the discretion of schools are an important aspect of whether autonomy is beneficial—other evidence (Oates, 2010) is more critical about whether it has produced gains in school achievement levels or even that systems with greater autonomy have higher performing students in international tests.

The self-improving thrust that was envisaged for the school system by the Secretary of State (Department for Education, 2010, para 7.4) was shaped intellectually in series of think-piece papers authored by Hargreaves (2010, 2011, 2012a, 2012b) and disseminated by the National College of Teaching and Leadership (NCTL)—an arm’s-length body within the Department for Education. A self-improving school system is defined by Hargreaves (2010, p. 4) as one that becomes “the major agent of its own improvement” and does so “at a rate and to a depth that has hitherto been no more than an aspiration.” A self-improving school system comprises clusters of schools, networked in ways that, in respect of continuous school improvement, enable them to adopt local, co-constructed, collaborative solutions to shared problems. The implicit theoretical underpinnings of this self-improving school system model seem to derive from the idea of self-organizing systems that is often associated with some versions of chaos and complexity theories (Hargreaves, 2010, p. 21). Accompanying the allowance made for a loose–tight spectrum of various clustering or partnering possibilities—encompassing the likes of federations of (amalgamated) schools, faith-based groupings, multi-academy chains and trusts, and alliances headed up by nationally designated teaching (or lead) schools—is Hargreaves’s (2011, p. 17) recognition that simultaneously with this architecture of collaboration there exists a potentially “debilitating tension” between it and competition, which is the job of school leaders to resolve. Elsewhere Hargreaves (2010) suggests that cluster arrangements do not preclude competition between member schools, except that they would “combine it with cooperation” (Hargreaves, 2010, p. 7). All of this reasoning is predicated on the bypassing by central government of local authorities with the envisaged clusters replacing them as part of the newly emerging middle tier. (The potential consequences of this view are elaborated later in the chapter.)

School Autonomy

By and large, English headteachers have welcomed the Secretary of State’s promised autonomy. Sponsored academies (typically established by companies, charities, voluntary groups, or religious bodies), for example, exercise full control over their funding and organization via the larger organizations tasked with running them, and autonomy has meant (for them) both reduced oversight by local authorities, as well as freedom over the choice of course content and the removal of the requirement to adopt the National Curriculum. What is striking, however, as the TALIS data indicate, is that even in non-academy schools, English school leaders are relatively more autonomous than their counterparts in other countries, especially with regard to the types of activities that are linked to the accountability framework and the reporting of school performance.

Thus, across school types and private–state divisions, English headteachers reported having school-level control over such important matters as hiring teachers, controlling school resources (via budget allocations), course content, and pay-related issues (Micklewright et al., 2014, pp. 62–63). Almost all school leaders in England (94 percent) expressed the view that these activities were under their direct influence, sometimes alongside other members of the school’s management team or alongside teachers. This claim, however, did not exclude the possibility that state-level structures would also have a bearing on their decisions: for instance, almost a fifth of headteachers also reported that local- or national-level authorities had control of teachers’ starting pay. Further, headteachers in all types of schools reported this level of autonomy; that is, across schools with different OFSTED quality ratings, and across schools with higher and lower proportions of students living in poverty (Micklewright et al., 2014, pp. 62–63). Not only that, but a far higher proportion of headteachers referred to independence of decision making than is the case in other countries. Whereas only around 8 percent of English headteachers regard local or national authorities as involved in decisions about student assessment within the school, 62 percent of French headteachers, 54 percent of Finnish headteachers, and 36 percent of headteachers in Singapore report a shared responsibility for assessment with these bodies. In reference to within-school budgetary allocation, the situation is similar: less than 3 percent of school leaders in England report the influence of local or national authorities on how they spend their school budgets, with the proportion rising to 7 percent in France, 15 percent in Finland, and 33 percent in Sweden. On the evidence of TALIS, then, the drive for autonomy has indeed been successful in England and has permeated institutions of all profiles.

In practice, however, as Keddie (2014a) notes, autonomy “can be experienced in different ways” (p. 505). These differences were evident in her study of “Clementine Academy,” a secondary school of 1400 students that was the lead school in a 20-member Teaching School alliance of primary and secondary schools (a number of them, like Clementine, being voluntary conversion academies) in a north London borough. At the same time as the leadership staff felt “overwhelmingly positive” about their conversion to academy status, there were also negative aspects of autonomy that concerned them. These included pressures to privilege curriculum subjects with readily measurable outcomes, and to frame a school ethos and identity that was unduly shaped by performativity demands (Keddie, 2014a, p. 507).

Schools and the Middle Tier

Specifically on partnerships and collaboration, TALIS asked English headteachers about the extent of their involvement. Just under 100 per cent of academy and maintained school headteachers reported that they were voluntarily partnering with another school, and almost all agreed that such partnerships were a valuable use of time (although independent school headteachers were less affirmative). Between two-thirds and three-quarters of academy and maintained headteachers (and about half independent school headteachers) also viewed partnerships as an “important driver” of school success, although there was a very low level of support for academy conversion of schools deemed to be failing (Micklewright et al., 2014, p. 64).

Research evidence is also accumulating on the difficulties experienced by partnerships in trying to reconcile collaboration and competition. Keddie's (2014b) interviews with partner headteachers in the Clementine-led teaching alliance disclose a mixed picture. On the positive side, her informants welcomed the opportunity through school-to-school collaboration to contribute to and utilize a high quality pool of teacher skills made possible by alliance membership. Likewise, the adoption of a common language of practice, informed by an overarching moral imperative of improved learning for all students, was viewed affirmatively, and alliance members were committed to raising academic standards and quality.

There were also benefits from social networking, which was "the main reason for joining," says Keddie (2014b, p. 236), because the schools now outside the local authority might otherwise have experienced a sense of isolation (and vulnerability), and there were advantages accruing from interdependent cross-alliance leadership. On the debit side, member headteachers, particularly those in alliance schools sited in close geographic proximity to one another, were concerned about competition for market share in respect of pupil numbers and income generation. For alliance headteachers of schools located outside the borough, on the other hand, these were low priority issues. Headteachers were also uneasy about the lead school's need to prioritize income generation as part of self-funding in its dealings with member schools and the potential for moral compromise in doing so (Keddie, 2014b, pp. 239–241). Likewise, there was a clash between self-interest and altruism: the lead school's imperative to build alliance capacity (or capability) sowed doubt among some partner headteachers whose priority was to strengthen their schools before "sorting everybody else out" (Keddie, 2014b, p. 241).

In another study of two urban local authorities in the English Midlands, Smith and Abbott (2014, p. 343) found in one local authority that endorsement of competition among secondary schools predisposed a number of them to pursue voluntary academy conversion with confidence, whereas in a second authority a powerful historic sense of collaboration had the opposite effect. In the first local authority, where historically there had been strong local authority financial support for schooling, the secondary schools were now somewhat at odds with their authority, which was endeavoring to retain control of its schools, with seven of 19 secondaries going their own way by academizing. In the second local authority, by contrast, there had been a tradition since the early 2000s (in response to poor-quality local authority resource provision) of secondary of heads partnering for the purposes of improvement, independently of their local authority—a collectively induced impulse that had been strengthened in 2008 by the government's threat of forced academization (Smith & Abbott, 2014, p. 349).

Among primary schools, in another urban Midlands local authority that was under pressure from the Department for Education to lift schools' performance levels, there was a different local response. There, the local authority initiated a Primary School Improvement Group for headteachers, in order to facilitate school improvement support for colleagues in difficulties by headteachers in better performing schools (Abbott, Middlewood, & Robinson, 2014, pp. 448–449). The aim (in a period in which Teaching School alliances were not yet fully geared up) was to enable the headteachers of highly effective schools (National Leaders of Education and Local Leaders of Education) to support staff in schools facing difficulty, with the local authority adopting a commissioning and brokering role (Abbott et al., 2014, p. 448). In this instance, there was a readiness to assist headteachers in need, and those who were supported were

appreciative of the advice that they received. In each of these examples, the impetus for inter-school collaboration was a defensive reaction, taken at their own instigation or at the prompting of their local authority, on the part of schools faced by potentially hostile environments.

As well as the facilitation by authorities of school-to-school support, however, there can be antagonism on the part of headteachers, in secondary schools in particular, as Hatcher (2014) documented in Birmingham, England's largest local authority. Part of the impact of successive budget cuts from 2011–2012 (with further reductions anticipated) had seen the dismantling of the Birmingham authority's 100-strong school support team and its replacement with a dramatically scaled-down unit. The authority's attempt to establish a secondary equivalent to Smith and Abbott's Primary School Improvement Group failed (in 2012) to get off the ground. With a subsequent change of council control in Birmingham to Labour, the authority made a renewed attempt to launch a cooperative partnership initiative. A period of consultation with headteachers followed—which even included the authority's engagement of David Hargreaves (see above p. 181 and below p. 185), who on one occasion was heard to pronounce that “the notion of the middle tier is dead” (quoted in Hatcher, 2014, p. 363). With enthusiasm for the authority's proposed partnership floundering, however, a conference of 256 headteachers in late 2013 launched the Birmingham Education Partnership. The focus of this headteacher-initiated grouping was on school improvement. An immediate difficulty for it in this regard was the question of how to deal with a number of schools being deemed by Ofsted as at risk of failure (i.e., graded as unsatisfactory or requiring improvement, rather than good or outstanding), because the awareness among those in schools of the consequences of poor performance “is a powerful disincentive to devoting resources to supporting others schools” (Hatcher, 2014, p. 364). The Birmingham Education Partnership was headed up by a board of ten headteachers, with authority representation included. Its formation was an example of headteachers asserting their autonomy in two senses: both at individual school-level and collectively across a local authority, with the wider significance of this headteacher assertiveness lying in its reassertion of professional hierarchy, albeit local- rather than state-led, or “quasi-state or parastatal” (Hatcher, 2014, p. 367), and by definition exclusionary as a closed managerial network. Hatcher's case, then, provides evidence of yet another mid-level tension, this time between the cross-cutting leadership imperatives of top-down direction and lateralization.

School Leaders' Leadership

Against this backdrop of significant change and challenge, the national standards for English headteachers have recently been revised (Department for Education, 2015b). While for the purposes of formal headteacher appraisal by governing bodies these standards are not mandatory, they include expectations of headteachers in respect of school leadership lateralization, in particular, that headteachers will

Distribute leadership throughout the organisation, forging teams of colleagues who have distinct roles and responsibilities and hold each other to account for their decision-making.

Likewise, at school system level, headteachers are meant to

Model entrepreneurial and innovative approaches to school improvement, leadership and governance, confident of the vital contribution of internal and external accountability.

Finally, distributed leadership also figures prominently in Hargreaves's self-improving school system model. Whereas TALIS framed distributed leadership as a headteacher "style," Hargreaves (2012a, p. 15), by contrast, sees it as "the most important" of the 12 strands in his revised version of the self-improving school system model. Indeed, so significant for him is distributed system leadership in his discussion of what can be learned by English education from high PISA-performing Shanghai schools, that this form of leadership has to become a "cultural equivalent of Confucianism in China." Moreover, such is the extent of its desired pervasiveness for England, he maintains, that the mission of distributed system leadership ought not be confined to inter-school partnerships and alliances, but should be an instrument that extends the "moral purpose" of schooling to embrace all teachers, all students, all school governors and all parents in the system. (This attribution of morality to distributed leadership by Hargreaves is not, it should be said, a widely held view.)

Conceivably, in the quasi-marketized and evolving networked system that we have described, in which increased evidence of competitiveness is anticipated, variation in styles of, and approaches to, leadership might be expected. The TALIS evidence (which considered both distributed and instructional leadership together), however, suggests the opposite, for it points in the case of distributed leadership to similarity in leadership practice by English headteachers in local authority and academy schools. TALIS conceptualized distributed leadership as the sharing of responsibilities for determining priorities within schools, in which case English headteachers (consistent with the spirit of the national standards) might make decisions together with a senior management or leadership team and with teachers. Indeed, this was the case: English headteachers in their TALIS responses were less likely than their counterparts in a host of other countries, including Finland, Denmark, Chile, or Japan, to report making important decisions individually. In addition, a large majority of English headteachers reported feeling supported by their management teams. Only about one in five of them mentioned a lack of distributed leadership in their school as being a barrier to their effective practice (Micklewright et al., 2014, p. 70). On the basis of these data, therefore, English headteachers operate collaboratively with senior colleagues and the increasing accountability demands appear not to have resulted in a concentration of leadership in the headship position—at least not yet.

At the same time it should be noted that there is a weak empirical relationship between the type of school that a headteacher is leading and the extent to which headteachers in TALIS reported engaging in distributed leadership. Leaders in schools with a high proportion of pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds (as measured by their pupils' eligibility for free school meals), for example, exhibited higher distributed leadership scores, as did female headteachers.¹ In addition, in schools that were judged by Ofsted to be outstanding there were higher levels of distributed leadership, although it is not clear whether, despite a lack of explicit judgment criteria, such distributed leadership was one of the elements contributing to an outstanding rating.

As to the consensus around the need for distributed leadership, it is also unclear whether this will be challenged. In its mention of the coasting schools to which we referred earlier, the Conservative Party Manifesto (2015, p. 34) for the most recent UK election, for example, says that new legislation will “force” such schools to accept new leadership by the “best headteachers” backed by “expert sponsors” or high-performing neighborhood schools. Such suggestions portend an increase in the power of headteachers and a further stiffening of the accountability regime—a reversion, perhaps, to a view of school leaders as heroic figures who are presumed to possess the power to turn schools around. The foreshadowed increase in the number of academies resulting from the conversion of coasting schools, along with the independence that is associated with such academies, is conducive to an environment over time in which the headteacher role may become less collaborative (and see the discussion below of Courtney, 2015).

It is not just the manner in which headteachers lead schools that may be affected by recent marketization and networking trends, but also the focus and orientation of their practices. TALIS looked particularly at instructional leadership—a mostly North American term, but which is understood to encompass a series of practices aimed at the promotion of pupils’ learning—via an emphasis on teaching quality, professional development, and the provision of feedback to teachers. English headteachers were consistent as to the types of activities in which they engaged, regardless of the type of school that they were leading. Around 80 per cent of headteachers reported conducting observations of classroom teaching and taking actions to ensure that teachers accepted responsibility for pupils’ learning, which was a much higher proportion than the international average of all TALIS countries. In England, headteachers were also regularly involved in actions directed toward teachers taking responsibility for improving their teaching skills, although this was equally the case in most other countries. The focus on instruction was also supported by headteachers’ reports that, on average, they spent about a fifth of their time on activities relating to teaching and the curriculum, a focus that was second only to key administrative leadership duties (at around 40 per cent of their total working time). The distribution of these types of activities as part of English headteachers’ workloads was comparable to other countries, as was the fact that school leaders reported requiring very long working weeks in order to address all the above demands and other issues (Micklewright et al., 2014, pp. 63–64, 66). Indeed, workload was seen by headteachers as a difficult aspect of their jobs, a factor (and its implications) to which we turn in the next two sections.

Constraints on Headteachers

At the same time as school and school leader autonomy facilitate decision-making discretion, as in the Birmingham Education Partnership case, with autonomy come constraints on the work of both headteachers and teachers. The increased centralization to which attention has been drawn has implications for school leaders. Indeed, the most frequently cited constraint and limit on leaders’ effectiveness reported by headteachers in TALIS relates to government regulation and policy, so much so that around 95 per cent of state school headteachers were concerned about its negative impact on their practice. The heads of academies were only marginally less concerned about the impact of regulation, with 85 per cent of academy leaders reporting it as a barrier. Once again, this is a feature in which England stands out in comparison with other

OECD countries—certainly the proportion of English headteachers claiming this consideration as a major constraint is higher than the TALIS average of 69 per cent.

On the other hand, school leaders around the world were also constrained in their decision making in ways that were not necessarily related to the peculiarities of English schooling. In particular, inadequate school budgets and resources represent a further obstacle to headteachers' effectiveness in most countries. In England, however, this inadequacy was more acutely felt in maintained schools, where nine in ten head teachers reported it as a problem. Resource inadequacy was also a difficulty for academies, but to a marginally lesser extent (85 per cent of heads cited it as a major constraint). A high proportion of headteachers in other OECD countries also cite resource shortages as a major limitation on their effectiveness, with an overall average of 80 per cent of headteachers across all countries considering that their school budgets were insufficient and that this impeded their potential effectiveness (Micklewright et al., 2014, p. 68).

Curiously, as if to further compound the mixed picture emerging from the research, features of the quasi-marketization of English schooling which are intended to free up the work of headteachers may also be experienced as constraining, especially in academies. Courtney (2015), for example, investigated the impact of what he termed corporatisation which, he claimed, "re-constitutes non-economic fields [of educational activity] and relations as having the goals, practices, motivations and instincts of the private sector" (Courtney, 2015, p. 214). This phenomenon was evident, for example, in areas as diverse as the outsourcing of responsibility for school site building construction and maintenance, in the reduction of local authorities to one of a number of potential bidders for school services, in headteachers having to grapple with insufficient funding and in the seeking of corporate partners. As part of headteachers' expectations of greater autonomy, on the other hand, those whom he interviewed were "not necessarily unhappy about this" (p. 220) and they were reconstructing their professional identities along corporate lines. Courtney's point is twofold: while understandings of leadership are being broadened to encompass such corporate ways of thinking and behaving, the work of educating children itself risks becoming corporatized. In respect of school governance, there can be added corporate pressure on academy headteachers due to the presence on sponsor governing bodies of private businessmen and women and, from the perspective of recruitment (see the next section), such board membership composition potentially results in a reprofiling of preferred headteacher prototypes along CEO-type lines, as embodying corporate attributes (pp. 224–225). Even in academy chains, where such corporatized pressures were not as evident, the experience of teachers and leaders working as part of an academy trust's brand name was mixed. Thus, a number of Salokangas and Chapman's (2014) 37 interviewees in two chains reported that, while strength of loyalty to the chains was stronger among staff toward the top of the hierarchy, there was a "noticeable absence of expressions of loyalty to the sponsor and the chain in general" (p. 375), and that "chains did not operate as networks of schools" (p. 376) but as hub-and-spoke dissemination devices. Moreover, heads of chain-member schools were reported as working closely together so as to better resist micro-management by their academy chain trusts. In one instance, headteachers were especially aggrieved by the top-slicing of their budgets to fund chain head offices (pp. 377–378).

Finally, marketization and autonomization segment and stratify schools and, in survival terms, can create winners and losers. In three local authorities, Coldron et al. (2014) investigated some of these tensions in the experiences of 15 headteachers who were "well-positioned" (p. 391) (in 11 academy and 4 community schools, both primary and

secondary) to shape the emerging local order of schooling. All heads were engaged in a struggle for market recognition, prestige, and position. Clearly, there were opportunities for the more go-getting of them to capitalize on their school's (as well as their own personal) status and to do well. One enterprising school, for example, following its academization—as if to contradict our earlier point about complaints of financial shortages—economized by spending a mere £300,000 of the £833,000 allocated to it by a local authority as replacement costs for services that it had previously been provided (p. 393). Such a possibility, however, was less likely in the case of some primary headteachers with an acute sense that their schools were patronized by their secondary counterparts as lower on the educational pecking order, or where the headteachers of less well-performing schools had fewer choices open to them (because Ofsted was known to be hovering) and experienced a sense of being the weakest link or poorest relation among a group of schools. In decision making about the best interests of schools in these kinds of circumstances, “the need to balance principle and pragmatism was never far from the surface” (p. 397), and often the latter won at the expense of the former.

Recruitment and Retention

A key issue from the perspective of political economy concerns the possible impact of the developments that we have described on headteacher supply and demand. There have been ongoing concerns, for example, amongst practitioners, policy makers, and the media about headteacher shortages, a supply-side deficit potentially heightened by recent accountability measures (in which headteachers of poorly performing English schools risk dismissal) and concern about attracting high-quality leaders to schools in difficult circumstances. Some commentators (e.g., MacBeath, 2011) have even pointed to a UK headteacher recruitment and retention crisis, a claim that is influenced in part by prevailing official views, including the aforementioned expectation that headteachers can singlehandedly turn around failing schools and be held accountable if swift progress is not observed. Such heroic assumptions may detract from the role's attractiveness.

In this connection, one might also inquire whether the current culture of distributed decision making may have impacted negatively on the pool of aspirant leaders. After all, a consequence of such a distributional culture is that schools' senior management teams and teachers can exert influence without necessarily having to occupy the headteacher role with its accompanying responsibilities and accountabilities. A closely related unintended consequence may be to disincentivize teachers or deputy headteachers from aspiring for headship, particularly if they already view themselves as in authority positions that carry a smaller accountability burden. In Scotland (MacBeath et al., 2009), where there is far less marketization pressure, this possibly has been compounded by the disinclination of deputy headteachers to progress to headship when they viewed it as entailing much longer working hours and meagre additional financial recompense. These attitudes were mirrored by Scottish headteachers already in post who emphasized the high workload accompanying the job. On the other hand, a large majority of Scottish school leaders viewed headship as a privileged position that enabled them to impact positively on the lives of children, and they were generally satisfied with their jobs (MacBeath, O'Brien, & Gronn, 2012).

Likewise in TALIS, approximately 94 percent of headteachers agreed or strongly agreed that they were satisfied overall with their roles. This result aligned with the responses of headteachers across all other countries in TALIS: on average, 95 percent of the headteacher sample reported good job satisfaction (Micklewright et al., 2014, p. 71). Despite their expressed satisfaction, Scottish headteachers raised issues relating to the public exposure associated with accountability framework outcomes and the impact that job demands imposed on them and their professional–personal life balance (MacBeath et al., 2012), which is a consistent theme across a number of countries (see Pont, Nusche, & Moorman, 2008), and thus appears to be the case irrespective of the extent of marketization in the education system. TALIS also asked English headteachers about a series of issues that potentially impacted on their attitudes toward their jobs. Once again accountability was cited, with around 90 percent of school leaders reporting that its demands increased their working pressures and 80 percent citing its impact on their workloads. One of the most negative aspects of the job was reported to be workloads, with just over a third of English teachers viewing these as unmanageable (Micklewright et al., 2014, pp. 73–74).

The picture, then, is a complex one, and the interplay of these factors makes headteacher retention a pressing issue. If, for example, the demands of accountability increase and, because of their search for better student outcomes and higher Ofsted ratings schools have an incentive to replenish their leaders, then headship is likely to be viewed as an increasingly challenging profession. On the other hand, there may be some comfort to be had for recruiters in the headline points of the most recent (2011–2012) survey of advertised posts for senior leadership vacancies in schools in England and Wales conducted by John Howson (Education Data Surveys, 2012). The 2,678 advertised headteacher and deputy headteacher vacancies in 2011–2012 were slightly down from the 2733 for 2010–2011, although deputy headteacher vacancies rose (from 1725 to 1949). The average number of primary and secondary applications for headship vacancies were “slightly higher” than for the previous year, except that the average number of interviewed candidates was much the same. The good news was that while nearly 25 percent of primary school vacancies were still unfilled after advertisement, and 15 percent of secondaries, these percentages had fallen from 2010–2011, in which case schools were “experiencing less difficulty” in filling posts. About two-thirds of all headteacher vacancies were caused by retirements, a consistent trend over recent years. The changed governance status of schools, owing to academy conversion, may well have affected deputy headteachers and headteacher vacancy numbers, because “why otherwise during a period of declining pupil numbers [would there] have been an increase in Deputy Head vacancies?” Overall, the picture is one of demand for the post of headteacher being “sufficient to ensure [that] most schools that advertise at the appropriate time will be able to make an appointment” (Education Data Surveys, 2012, unnumbered pages headed “The facts” and “The issues”).

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined the relationship between a universal and a particular. That is, we have tried to illuminate some of the dimensions of a universal phenomenon—the political economy of school leadership—and their realization and interplay by

reference to a particular setting: recent developments in school education in England. Within the space available, we combined a comparative analysis (via TALIS) with a synthesis of selected recent research findings peculiar to England and we were able to indicate some of the ways in which, in relation to the marketization of schooling, the pattern of English school leadership may be diverging from that of other countries. The possibility of a more detailed comparative and in-depth historical analysis, which might take the discussion into the terrain of themes such as the degree of the path dependence of education systems, and the extent of convergence or divergence of schooling systems around, or away from, a global mean, might confirm or disconfirm our emerging picture. On the other hand, without resorting to stock-in-trade claims about change and the pace of it being the only constants, the speed of recent structural reform in England has been such that an analyst can only really describe a rapidly evolving set of circumstances.

In so far as there can plausibly be said to be an English “path,” then to the two traditional mechanisms of resource allocation and control, markets, and hierarchies, to which institutional economists resort in their explanations for the costs of contracts and transactions, we have added a third: networked clustering. We hope that we have shown that the reworking of the traditional tripartite relations of English schooling is most effectively understood as the structural interplay between markets, hierarchies, and networks. None of these three mechanisms on its own provides a sufficient explanation of developments in English school leadership, and yet all three combine to account for both deliberately intended initiatives (e.g., legislative enactments) and the hybrid array of relations that is emerging at the middle level. Beyond the characterization of those relations as broadly networked or clustered, we were reluctant to depict such activity as in some sense organic or, as Hayekian-inclined theorists might say, evidence of spontaneous order, because to do so would be to deny the intrusion of both enabling and constraining requirements originating from the national regulatory framework. Our picture manifests elements of continuity and discontinuity in respect of previous policies and practices of school leadership, and it has highlighted the tensions with which leaders wrestle in the exercise of their school improvement responsibilities. Exactly where the trajectory of the reworked middle tier relations will take English schools and their leaders cannot be definitely known. There are, of course, risks and unintended consequences associated with fragmentation, segregation, stratification, and disparities in the resources available to individual pupils and consequent disparities in their outcomes. Finally, the diversity and vibrancy of emergent leadership possibility, which includes the likely realization of both the intended and unintended consequences of policies and actions, points in respect of the black box of political economy, with which we began, to a plasticity or fluidity of relations and outcomes that defy straightforward predictability and finality.

Note

- 1 This point may seem surprising, but it is worthy of note that funding in England is compensatory. Pupils in disadvantaged areas receive higher levels of funding. Further, some deprived areas (particularly London) have seen remarkable improvements in school quality in recent years, leading to high levels of academic achievement. This success draws on effective teaching and may reflect the ability of such school systems to recruit effective teachers.

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11

Freedom to What Ends?— School Autonomy in Neoliberal Times

Richard Niesche and Pat Thomson

HEADLINES IN THE UK

Oasis Academy Hextable, in Egerton Road, Hextable, to close next year.
Kent Online, February 17, 2015

A controversial trust set up by a South London academy school is facing an official investigation into whether there has been “misconduct” or “mismanagement” of affairs
The Independent, February 18, 2015

A headteacher who was awarded a knighthood in the New Year’s Honours said he is looking forward to the challenges of the next two years, which will see a new sixth form academy open and the first inspection of Yorkshire’s biggest free school.
Yorkshire Evening Post, December 3, 2014.

Coventry’s Blue Coat School “has £1.4 million shortfall.” The head of a troubled Coventry academy “may have to go” says city council.
BBC News, March 13, 2015

HEADLINES IN AUSTRALIA

A matter of principal: repair learners or repair buildings?
Sydney Morning Herald, August 22, 2011

Principal backtracks over power shift plans
Sydney Morning Herald, May 29, 2012

Ex-principal pleads guilty to fraud
ABC News, September 29, 2014

Death of Melbourne principal highlights lack of support for school leaders, grieving son says
ABC News, December 31, 2014

The kinds of headlines shown above are now common in English and Australian newspapers. They signal the various and precarious fates of schools and their leaders. Some schools and their principals are lauded, feted and rewarded, while others are criticized, pressurized, and closed down. There is a fine line between the two.

A negative school inspection or a dramatic drop in test results can shift a school and its leader from the highest esteem to the bottom of the school approval ratings.

In this chapter, we consider the kind of school system that produces such extremes. We examine the school systems in two locations, England and Australia, and show how the same logics and many of the same discursive practices are at work in both locations, despite their apparent initial differences. We examine what has happened to school administrators in these locations. We suggest that there has been a narrowing of who can become a school leader, that there are significant shortages of applicants and significant numbers of early retirees, that the principal's role has been corporatized and largely stripped of its educational purposes, and that leadership education is now dominated by advocacy of pseudo-democratic practices such as distributed leadership. We argue that, contra policy rhetoric, principals' freedom in such contexts is actually highly curtailed. Nevertheless, there are still opportunities for leaders and their school communities to use their relative autonomy to act against the policy grain in the interests of their students.

We begin the chapter by explaining the theoretical tools that frame our analysis of the English and Australian education contexts and the discourses that perpetuate problematic notions of leadership and leaders' work. Following this, we explain our choices of the two contexts, discussing the complexities of thinking across two different policy arenas and the shared policy logics at work in both England and Australia. The next section explicitly looks at the Australian context and the implications of autonomy logics and discursive practices for educational leaders. We then move to explore the English context and how the autonomy movement has had profound effects on school heads. Finally, we draw some conclusions from the preceding analyses that show the tensions for leaders of "autonomous" schools and we outline further implications for the broader leadership and policy fields.

Foucault and Discursive Practices

In this chapter, we draw on the work of Michel Foucault, specifically his notion of discursive practices, in order to make sense of the ways that neoliberal reforms and movements in education have affected not only discourses of school leadership but also educational leaders' day-to-day practices. Foucault's work has been a rich resource for educational researchers (for example Ball 1990, 2013; McNicol-Jardine, 2005; Peters & Besley, 2007; Peters et al., 2009), as well as increasingly those in the field of educational leadership (see Gillies, 2013; Niesche, 2011, Niesche & Keddie, 2015). Foucault is well known for his historical investigations into the links between rationalization and power in a range of specific fields, such as prisons, hospitals, asylums, and sexuality. Central to much of this work is the notion of discourse, as well as more specifically, discursive practices. The difficulty of working with Foucault is that he often shifted his focus and the way he used certain terms and concepts. The notion of discourse is a slippery one that Foucault used with different meanings throughout his *oeuvre*. Broadly speaking, he used discourse to refer to the historical traces of things that are said. However, he acknowledged the various ways he used the notion of discourse throughout his writings:

Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word "discourse", I believe that I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it

sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements.

(Foucault, 2002, p. 90)

While Foucault explained the shifting meaning he ascribed to the term, in this chapter we take the term “discourse” to comprise a complex set of practices that privilege some statements and exclude others. It is not simply about language; although individual statements are important, discourse is importantly linked to both relations of power and the formation of knowledge. In order to understand discourse and analyze discursive practices, Foucault argued that they must be examined where and when they occur (2002, p. 28). This entails exploring:

- Who is speaking? That is, Who is accorded the right to draw upon and use particular forms of language?
- What are the institutional sites from which one makes their discourse and the relevant political, cultural, social factors?
- How is power exercised through certain discursive practices?

Foucault famously stated that discourses “are practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (2002, p. 54). He went on to say that discourses are more than just language and it is the “more” that one needs to reveal and describe. It is therefore in the *practices* that certain truths are inscribed and knowledge is produced. The focus is less on the explicit language or linguistic structures and more on the ensemble of discursive practices that constitute what counts as truth. To study things as they are said, Foucault described four rules of discursive formation according to: the formation of *objects* (that is the objects of discourse); *subjects* (who is speaking); *concepts*; and *strategies* (Foucault, 2002). It is through these rules of formation that Foucault was able to identify specific practices as “places as where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken for granted meet and interconnect” (Foucault, 1991, p. 75).

Throughout the *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault spent a significant amount of time writing about statements. He referred to the statement, not as a sentence, a proposition or a speech act, but rather a function of existence that works across a domain of structures in time and space (Foucault, 2002, p. 98). The statement is an important atom of discourse in that it enables certain groups of signs to exist. The statement, or usually a group of statements, must be analyzed according to their discursive formation. For example, Foucault was interested in how statements function to enable objects to appear, the development of power/knowledge specific to the fields of psychiatry, prisons, hospitals, and sexuality. He explored how particular statements function, how some discursive practices objectify and subjectify individuals, and how some statements privilege particular practices.

Our target in this chapter is to explore the discursive practices of school autonomy as they play out in England and Australia, to explore them as practices that exercise certain relations of power and form particular knowledges and subjects. In many respects, the work we do in this chapter is similar to the idea of policy as discourse (see Ball, 1993, 1994; Bacchi, 2000; Bacchi & Bonham, 2014) and also seeing the work of thinking about educational leadership as multiple forms of discourse (see Niesche, 2011; Gillies, 2013).

We aim to explore how particular statements are constitutive of certain discursive formations in relation to school autonomy, how some statements and practices work to privilege particular constructions of school reform and educational leadership. The importance of Foucault's work is that it seeks to show how knowledge is linked to power and how subjects are understood as being constituted through discourse in a way that is not pre-existing and continuous. Discourse is understood as productive, and not as top-down and oppressive. This is relevant for educational leadership in that it becomes possible to understand how leaders are constrained in their actions but also how they have possibilities and spaces for acting differently, and constitute themselves according to different purposes, such as more socially just aims (see Niesche & Keddie, 2015; Youdell, 2006).

The Logic of Reform

Our chapter specifically focuses on Australia and England, countries whose education systems are historically connected through a shared colonial history. In this section, we signal the logic which has underpinned educational reform in both locations. However, the logic to which we refer has spread much wider.

First of all, a caveat: In spelling out the logic of educational reform, we are *not* suggesting that educational reform is the same everywhere. This is clearly not the case; national and local histories and politics create different imperatives for reform, different emphases and different rates of change. However, we *are* suggesting that there are discursive commonalities legitimating and framing educational policies and practices in a range of places around the world.

We argue that, while different in different places, it is possible to recognize a globalized educational reform logic at work (cf. Sahlberg, 2012). This logic has been fostered through, for example: transnational policy-making bodies such as the OECD, European Union and World Bank and their use of a particular set of knowledges, terminologies, and technologies articulated through international reports and report cards; the actions of policy makers who, in the vast majority of nation-states, have been anxious to demonstrate their capacity and strength through participation in global reform activities; the concentration of testing and textbook production in the hands of fewer and fewer multinational edu-businesses; and the activities of globe-trotting consultants, educational advisers and philanthropic and for profit school edu-preneurs (Ball, 2007; Novoa & Lawn, 2002; Rizvi & Lingard, 2009; Waite, Rodriguez, & Wadende, 2015).

This transnational reform logic includes the following tenets:

- 1) In order to compete in the high-tech, global knowledge economy, nation states must produce a (reserve) labor force with much higher levels of education than ever before. Therefore, the basic mass level of schooling must increase, while more students are also educated to university level.
- 2) Systemic improvement is achieved when the state steps back from the direct provision of services, and focuses instead on steering via changed forms of governance—for example, central governments set policy and regulate providers through comparative performance measurements. In schooling, this involves the development of *inter alia*, national curriculum, national testing and league tables, and inspection regimes.

- 3) Local leadership is key to improvement, as local leaders know and can cater for local variations in ways in which central and regional managers cannot. This is achieved both through competition for position, and also the development of strategic alliances and confederations with other local leaders. In school reform, this plays out as school-based management, parent choice of school, the development of various school types (magnets, academies, charters, free schools), and the removal of all but safety net provision by local and regional authorities. It has also led to the valorization of leaders and leadership.

Elements of this logic can be detected in the early moves to charter schools in Canada (Barlow & Robertson, 1994; McConaghy, 1996) and the United States (Lubienski & Weitzel, 2010; Ravitch, 2014); in the shift to devolved and contracted school services in New Zealand (Kelsey, 1999; Thrupp, 1999); the development of the Australian model of the self-managing school (Caldwell & Spinks, 1998; Smyth, 1993); and more recently, the Independent Public Schools phenomenon, particularly in Western Australia and Queensland. Arguably, one of the places where this logic has been enacted most fully is in England, where a consistent school reform agenda has been in operation since the mid-1980s (Ball, 2008; Whitty, 2002). We address this in more detail later in the chapter.

School Autonomy and Leadership in the Australian Context

In a recent press release, the Australian Federal Government canvassed a range of options to yet again reform the funding of schooling in Australia (*SMH*, June 22, 2015). When questioned about the various options on the table, the Federal Minister for Education, Christopher Pyne, made the statement that “the Federal Government has a particular responsibility for independent schools that it doesn’t have for public schools” (*SMH*, June 22, 2015). Given the long history of support for public schooling in Australia, this is a phenomenal admission of intention to reduce support and funding for public schooling in Australia. While most likely a political stunt to prepare the public with a “less bad” option, it nevertheless signals an intensification of the policy discourse that is reliant on the core pillar of school autonomy in the “Students First” policy. Along with “teacher quality,” “strengthening the curriculum,” and “engaging parents in education,” school autonomy comprises a significant aim of the Australian government’s reform agenda. However, while some reports have claimed that school and principal autonomy should play a significant part of reforming education for improved student outcomes (for example see OECD 2011; World Bank, 2014), there is actually very little evidence to suggest that these wide-ranging reforms have led to increases in student achievement in Australia, or especially, improved outcomes in terms of equity and social justice for disadvantaged schools and communities. While the OECD report makes the case for school autonomy linked to student performance, research from the US and UK is much less conclusive and mixed at best (Dingerson et al., 2008; (Lubienski & Weitzel, 2010; Ravitch, 2014; Smyth, 2011).

The notion of school autonomy is intimately linked to the discursive crisis constructed around public education and the best ways to increase school effectiveness and performance. Central to these arguments is the introduction of the logics of choice and the market into education. Along with this, of course, comes new and intensive forms of

managerialism and accountability so that what counts as a good school is rewarded, and “bad” or “failing” schools fall prey to the whims of the market. During the Rudd–Gillard education revolution in Australia, we saw the intensification of Federal Government intervention through the development of the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA), the National Assessment Program—Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN), the MySchool website, National Curriculum, the laptops in schools program and the huge building infrastructure investment to stave off the Global Financial Crisis in Australia. Corresponding discourses of effectiveness, accountability, efficiency, performance, transparency, and managerialism have been used to construct a particular view of good schools, good leadership, and good teaching.

From Self-managing Schools to Independent Public Schools

The Australian Federal system designates that states and territories are responsible for education. As a result, the governance of education differs significantly between states and territories. The shifts towards self-managing schools emerged in the late 1980s with the state of Victoria being the first to embrace the system of devolution with its “Schools of the Future” policy, which resulted in the most decentralized system in Australia. The discourse at the time revolved around notions of economic rationalism, devolution, and accountability that mirrored similar education reforms in other Western countries. Other states undertook forms of decentralization to varying degrees throughout the 1990s, with the work of Caldwell and Spinks (1988) playing a key role in the formulation of particular types of leadership required to administer these schools. Caldwell and Spinks argued that the self-managing school was an administrative rather than political reform; however, what resulted was a construction of the principal as the key driver of the school reforms at all levels and in all processes. The deployed language was couched around “higher order” types of leadership required to transform schools, and the link was made to exceptionality discourses of leadership, such as transformational approaches. School principals were now required to be wholly concerned with assessing the conduct and performance of staff, students and themselves. Such discourses drew upon disciplinary regimes and practices of the self that form key aspects of governmentality (see Niesche, 2011). As the key driver of reform, the result was a re-inscribing of hierarchical approaches to leadership for the pursuit of organizational goals. A flow-on effect has also been the development of leadership standards purporting to capture the best practices that leaders exhibit to implement the move to self-managing schools. This is a classic example of how leadership discourse and school principals have been constructed as complicit in this managerial project. The discourse becomes one of monitoring and judging of principals against benchmarks and targets.

More recently, we have seen the introduction of independent public schools in Australia as an intensification of the school autonomy phenomenon, first in Western Australia in 2010 and then in Queensland from 2013 onwards (although, as stated above, Victoria still remains highly decentralized). In the Western Australian context, the formation of Independent Public Schools has operationalized neoliberalism through practices of contractualization (Gobby, 2014). Research by Thompson and Mockler (2015) shows how principals are constructed and framed through their engagement with NAPLAN (the national literacy testing regime). Discursive practices at work

through these reforms can be thought of as what Rose (1999) refers to as advanced liberalism. Advanced liberalism designates the shift in relations between government and society along economic rationalist lines: For example, calculative actions through the notions of choice (e.g., the federal government's MySchool website), and the governing of individuals and groups as forms of human capital development in which they are active in the decision-making of their own governing (self-managing schools, independent public schools). The discourse of leadership becomes one of entrepreneurialism, in which the market of the new norm for educational rationalities and the good principal embody a corporate, entrepreneurial subjectivity rather than focusing on issues of disadvantage, equity and the educational purpose of schooling. Principals are expected to innovate, problem solve, and exercise autonomy responsibly according to the demands of the market (Gobby, 2013, 2014; Savage, 2013).

Smyth's work (1993, 2011) provides a critical analysis of the self-managing school phenomenon in Australia, both at its inception and in more recent times (Smyth 1993, 2011). Smyth argued that the participatory claims of the self-managing school never eventuated and that educational leadership was complicit in co-opting a corrupted version of the self-managing school. Essentially, the self-managing school, and now the independent public school, is really about the privatization of public education in Australia. This is being achieved through shifts in the mode of governance and regulation of education and education subjects—teachers, principals, parents, and students. One of the most significant effects of these shifts has been further residualization of schooling, with an intensification of disadvantage and poverty manifesting in difficult and failing schools. Through the Rudd–Gillard years, discourses of equity were mobilized to serve the education reform agenda, with the Gonski Report articulating an equitable approach to school funding, but with the government refusing to commit to the arrangements outlined in the report. Furthermore, the current federal government walked away from any form of social justice commitment, leaving an inequitable educational system (Smyth, 2011). (The comments discussed at the start of this section are illustrative of this).

Implications for Educational Leadership

The lack of evidence of improved student performance, the work intensification for school leaders, and a shift in the day-to-day work of school principals, are significant. The rise of self-managing schools and now the Independent Public Schools has created a vastly different work environment, whereby principals are expected to run schools as businesses, negotiate the uneasy tensions between forms of de-centralization and re-centralization, liaise directly with different community stakeholders, be visionary and instructional leaders, distribute leadership activity to staff and create leadership density in schools and more. Government policy discourse provides tantalizing claims of school principals being able to hire and fire staff and make decisions that are closer to the needs of the local school community; however, the cruelest hoax may be the one perpetrated against school principals in forcing them to be complicit in these changes and, at the same time, making their lives remarkably more difficult (Smyth, 2011). Discourses of leadership have been mobilized to garner support for these reforms, yet what is being sold is a hierarchical re-inscribing of leadership

models that remain far removed from the day-to-day reality of school principals' work, and certainly what principals' work should be.

One of the ways that principals are governed is through the development of leadership standards. These leadership standards, as typified by the first national leadership standards in Australia, the Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL) National Professional Standard for Principals, are performative, disciplinary technologies aimed at suppressing difference and normalizing principals (see Anderson, 2001; English, 2006; Niesche, 2013). Standards have become a key tool in the neoliberal policy agenda for valuing leadership practices that serve to decontextualize work, often in the form of traits and behaviors, and to discursively constitute principals through highly instrumental frameworks of "what works". The use of these frameworks in performance reviews, called 360-degree reflections of practice, disciplines principals into forms of designer leadership construction, to the point that the sorts of leadership practices that fall outside of these regimes is deemed poor leadership. Therefore, leaders who advocate for disadvantaged groups (Anderson, 2009), leaders who work for social justice and equity (Niesche, 2015), and leaders who don't conform to heroic, transformational models find themselves both resisting the expected compliance to neoliberal technologies and also surreptitiously being normalized into working in particular ways that satisfy these disciplinary requirements.

As a result, in order to fulfill the requirements of these new schooling accountabilities, we are seeing an increase in the number of stories such as those reported at the start of this chapter: stories of corruption; stories of the squeezing out of subjects such as visual arts, drama, and music in order to prepare students for numeracy and literacy testing regimes; leading to the test and further marginalizing students into staying at home during tests in order that their anticipated poor performance on these tests will not drag down the school's scores—scores that are publicly available and ranked. These, and other leadership practices are the by-products of a transnational neoliberal education reform agenda in Australia.

School Autonomy in the English Context

In a speech on August 8, 2015, David Cameron, at that time the prime minister, alerted the country to his desire for every school in the country to be an academy—not just the failing schools or coasting schools, but all. The academy was a policy begun under the previous Labour government, he asserted, and one he was pleased to expand. The academy meant, he said, "giving great headteachers the freedom to run their own schools with the ability to set their own curriculum and pay their staff properly."¹ However, just three weeks before, the leader of the country's largest academy chain, Academies Enterprise Trust, which is responsible for 77 schools, stated that headteachers working in local authority schools had "more freedom and autonomy than their peers in multi-academy trusts," as there was less scrutiny of teacher's pay and pupil numbers and more external audit. But, he said, there were offsetting benefits, primarily those of working together and learning from each other.² These two contrasting views suggest that the notion of autonomy is taking another turn in England, as a further policy adjustment is made to the ways in which the school system is regulated and governed.

From Devolved Schools to Academies and Free Schools

The story of school autonomy in England is well known. Here are some chronological signposts of its evolution:

- In the 1960s and 1970s, English schools enjoyed a remarkable degree of curricular and pedagogical autonomy, but staffing and budgetary decisions were made by the local authorities. The school system was initially divided between those schools that specialized in university-oriented curriculum and those that offered vocational subjects. This division was only partly resolved by the introduction of comprehensive secondary education, which educational sociologists showed remained profoundly (re)productive of class, race and gender inequities.
- The 1980s saw a series of legislative moves initiated by the Thatcher government. These culminated in 1988, when schools were formally given responsibility for their budgets and staffing, governing bodies were mandated, a national curriculum and national assessment scheme were instituted and schools were divided between those that were locally managed or grant maintained and those that were separate from the local authority and funded directly by the government. While the rhetoric was of local autonomy and management, these changes shifted administrative power to Westminster. The system was not so much de-centralized as re-centralized.
- In the early to mid-1990s, the Major government continued this agenda, shifting the support-oriented role of the external inspectorate to one of evaluation and judgment: OfSTED (the Office for Standards in Education; now with added responsibilities for Children's Services and Skills) was born.
- When the Blair government was elected in 1997, this policy agenda was continued, but more funding was set aside for social justice initiatives (for example, early intervention, area-based initiatives to address poverty). The next decade initially saw centralized curriculum initiatives such as the Literacy Hour in primary schools, followed by some initiatives around creativity, outdoor education, and health, for instance. The National College for School Leadership developed a mandatory accreditation system for school leaders. The worst of the national stock of school buildings were replaced. Many local and central authority functions were contracted out, and schools were encouraged to become specialist, and then academies. The role of local authorities was steadily reduced to that of offering statutory services and support for schools requiring OfSTED-mandated improvement. Inspection became more and more reliant on rafts of data.
- The Coalition and the subsequent Conservative governments have brought about an intensification and speeding up of these policies. In June 2015, over half the secondary schools in England were academies. There were 4,676 in total, with many more in the pipeline. Local authorities have very little control over these schools, and regional school commissioner posts have been set up to maintain some scrutiny over their operations. There is intense political opposition to academies in some areas, while elsewhere, the shift proceeds relatively untroubled. A comparatively small number of free schools (similar to charter schools in the USA) have been established. There is considerable public debate about whether academies do in fact raise standards as the policy rhetoric asserts (Gunter, 2011; Gunter et al., 2007; Hatcher & Jones, 2011; Tomlinson, 2001; Whitty, 2002)

An alternative reading does not see this history as being about school autonomy, parent choice, and headteacher freedom. Over the 40 years that this policy settlement has been in situ and in continuous development, there has been a systematic stripping of the public from a public school system. Elected governing bodies now need to have professional and business expertise; they deal with everyday matters and determine how they will meet policy agendas determined in Westminster. Local authorities no longer have the mandate or the resources to determine local priorities: Most of their services are now privatized or contracted out. The locus of decision-making has shifted to London and to government; possible sites of opposition, for example those located in quasi-government bodies, have either been abolished or have been forced to become self-funding (the National College for School Leadership, for instance). The functions that were offered by local authorities have now largely shifted to academy chains, many of which are dominated by philanthropic and business interests (Hatcher, 2014; Thomson, 2011).

The possibility of the public having significant and/or regular input into educational matters has changed significantly. Rather than taking up complaints or questions of policy with the local authority via council members, the avenue for complaint and consultation is now to private bodies—academy trusts and regional commissioners. The central government, of course, is only amenable to change in pre-election periods every five years. The shift to academy chains provides the kind of leverage over devolved schools that local authorities used to offer, but now in a profoundly privatized, and often “commercial in confidence”, arena.

Implications for Educational Leaders

Being an educational leader in this situation is a high-risk activity (Thomson, 2009). On the one hand, there is a promise of the considerable power and salary of an executive head responsible for several sites. Free from the day-to-day exigencies of school management—this is left to site heads, business managers and contractors—the executive head is mobile and his/her word carries considerable clout. The executive head’s view of school is often data-driven, rather than influenced by face-to-face interactions with children and teachers and days of a thousand interrupted tasks. It is little wonder that some of these heads have succumbed to the indulgences of private sector chief executive life, since that is how their jobs are often described. Executive heads are well rewarded if they meet government policy agendas to improve their schools, train teachers, keep the test results rising, and avoid negative media exposure.

On the other hand, being a leader in a failing or coasting school is likely to carry significant external pressure, media opprobrium and intensive inspectorial scrutiny, with the ultimate penalty being summary dismissal. In this context, being part of an academy trust provides a measure of protection. Blame and responsibility can be shared, staff can be moved around, mentors rather than inspectors appointed, and resources deployed to provide a quick fix.

Despite the diversity and fragmentation of the school system, and despite the steady disenfranchisement of the public from public education, a transnational leadership discourse prevails (Thomson, Gunter, & Blackmore, 2013). Even though the leadership credentialing offered by the National College is no longer mandatory, it has perhaps done its job. All school leaders in England are selected on the basis of their vision, rather than their curriculum or pedagogical expertise. They are expected to read research and

data and talk about evidence. They must appoint staff, including middle-level leaders, who know enough about current curriculum standards and financial management, and who are prepared to deal with the myriad of day-to-day crises and disorderly conduct of staff and students, to keep them out of trouble. Their apparent autonomy is largely dedicated to implementation of policies determined elsewhere, and their work is directed to and by the production of tangible audit trails of students, teachers and their school's performance. Failure to perform in this system brings public shaming, as the various newspaper headlines at the start of this chapter suggest.

However, the relative autonomy offered to heads has also led to some schools and academic chains developing more progressive educational options. For example, the Cooperative Schools movement (see <http://www.co-operativeschools.coop>) is not an academy chain, but a network of schools that share a commitment to the principles of broadly shared decision-making; the "learning without limits" movement (learningwithoutlimits.educ.cam.ac.uk/) brings together schools committed to teaching and learning without ability grouping; Cambridge University has established a school which aims to put into practice the recommendations of the Cambridge Primary Review (<http://cprtrust.org.uk>); and Plymouth University Art School has set up a school based around principles of creativity and artistic practice (plymouthschoolofcreativearts.co.uk). There are numerous other examples in England of the ways in which individual schools and leaders have taken the autonomy available to them to change their pedagogies and curricula. This is small-scale change however which does not appear to have traction across the system.

Paradoxically, local progressivism embodies and further legitimates the discourse of autonomy. All schools have autonomy, so all schools could change if they and their leaders so desired. This rhetoric conveniently ignores the pertinent reality that only schools which are perceived to be successful are in a position to exercise such autonomy, as failing schools are under regular scrutiny and the conservative impact of choice policies. Despite being beneficial for particular students, changes in individual schools and small networks have little impact on the overall equity of outcomes produced by the school system. However, such local examples might provide important resources of optimism and hope, as well as fuel political resistance and opposition to the current policy discourses (see Thomson, 2014 for further explication).

Conclusion

In this chapter we have explored the changing nature of educational leadership in the English and Australian contexts. The discursive practices associated with school autonomy in both education systems have resulted in a very different role for school heads. The news headlines we selected at the start of this chapter show the varying discourses at work in terms of the changing role of the leader, the intensification of corporate responsibilities with the attendant opportunities for fraud, and corruption and the high stakes environment in which heads are now working. We suggest that school leadership has been increasingly robbed of its educative purpose and is now ruled by school effectiveness and improvement discourses of innovation, entrepreneurialism, contractualism, and pseudo-democratic leadership notions such as distributed leadership.

While it is easy to target neoliberalism and school autonomy discourses in a negative light, we are not suggesting that school autonomy per se is a bad thing. We contend that site-based management might function quite differently in education systems which are organized within a normative frame of social justice, rather than that of the market. While it is not our intent to frame or prescribe what this may look like in each education system, we do wish to highlight that notions of social justice and equity need to be at the forefront of thinking in terms of school restructuring and reform. The role of Foucault's work, as we outlined earlier in this chapter, can then be one of a more generative look at how discourses from particular educational leadership subject positions that can then, in turn, be re-fashioned to emphasize more socially just practices and aims. A socially just perspective along with a focus on the educative purposes of school leadership are core elements of the work of school leaders, rather than that work being simply compliance to reforms that have, so far, not resulted in improvements in equity and, for that matter, student outcomes.

Notes

- 1 See <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/conservative/11804367/david-ferguson-ideas-can-secure-britain.html> Accessed October 14, 2016.
- 2 See <https://www.tes.com/news/school-news/breaking-news/academies-boss-maintained-school-headteachers-have-more-freedom-those> Accessed October 14, 2016.

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12

Higher Education Leadership in Universities, Colleges, and Technical Schools Around the World

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Both P-12 and higher educational leadership are affected by globalization, market systems, government policies, accountability schemes, and the growing economic inequality within nations, but differences in higher education participation now play a large role in economic competitiveness (e.g., Friedman, 2005; Piketty, 2014). Challenges related to access to college and technical education are paramount to national economies and are appropriately understood within the contexts of arguments about global competitiveness. This chapter examines challenges facing leadership in higher and other post-secondary education in programs to educate future leaders. First, we look at how the globalization of labor influences higher education, by presenting brief cases examining how the United States, China, and Ireland have responded to the global challenges. Next, we examine the status of leadership education for the field of higher education and conclude with a discussion of challenges facing leadership education moving forward.

The Globalization Context of Higher Education Leadership

In the 1970s, national systems in developed nations were moving toward mass access to higher education, while developing nations provided limited college enrollment opportunities, a stage of development referred to as “elite” higher education (Pretorius & Xue, 2003; Trow, 1974a, 1974b). During the elite phase, university access is limited to the highest-achieving high school graduates and vocational programs are situated in high schools and the trades. In the transition to mass higher education, the percentages of students attending colleges increase rapidly and, at the same time, technical and professional education are integrated into higher education systems. The United States and Ireland followed this pattern, evident in most developed nations. While China was still a developing nation with limited college access in the 1970s, it now plays a major role in the global economy and has reached the point where it provides mass access (Rong & Chen, 2013). Below we compare the three nations in relation to contemporary patterns of higher education development, especially the movement toward university preparation and encouragement for college enrollment. This new period is characterized by increased options for technical workers and the globalization of universities.

The Demand for a Technically Educated Workforce

Over the next decade, it is anticipated that a range of challenges to current educational paradigms will be amplified. These include the information revolution enabled by technological advancement, the increased globalization of labor and higher education, the emergence of new funding models, growing inequalities, and the drive to continue expansion of access to higher education. The challenge of access for students from low-income families is especially perplexing for nations across the globe and solutions may require local action as well as financial support for these students.

The Global Access Challenge

While higher education participation rates have significantly expanded over the last few decades, there are persistent patterns of inequality of access by low-income students compared to their high-income peers. In Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, for example, high-income students are three times more likely to enter a high-status university than low-income students. Across selective institutions in the United Kingdom and the United States, low-income students account for just 1 in 20 enrollments (Jerrim, 2013). Some interesting facts: The US student debt is now \$1.2 trillion. The actual price low-income students pay for selective universities is higher in the United Kingdom than the United States (Jerrim, 2013; Milburn, 2012a). Ireland has the second highest tuition level in Europe (Cassells, 2014). Other facts that hold true across countries are that low-income college students who graduate high school with high achievement are less likely to graduate from higher education than high-income students, even those who are less academically prepared. Low-income students are worse off in employment and salary terms than low-achieving students from high-income families (Jerrim, 2013). Education prepares people to engage more fully in society and the economy. The “elite” attending the top US institutions experience perhaps the best that twenty-first-century education has to offer but, as Stiglitz (2012) observes, “the average American gets just an average education” (p. 19).

The aims of public investment in education are especially important at present, given the increasing necessity of post-secondary education for economic well-being. The historian David Labaree (1997) articulates three goals for education: (1) *democratic equality*, preparing an informed, engaged citizenry; (2) *social efficiency*, the need to create a productive and innovative workforce; and (3) *social mobility*, education as a commodity which advances individual standing in social hierarchies. The first two goals advance the public interest, while the third characterizes education as a private good. Labaree (1997) cautions against a system that inclines ever more toward this third goal, arguing for a balanced consideration of all three. The global challenges now facing higher education demand a continual rebalancing of these three goals. Applying the principles from John Rawls’s *A Theory of Justice* (1971, 1999), St. John (2003, 2006) identified three aims for higher education: (1) equal rights to access for all, based on qualifications (an individual right); (2) adjustments for fairness in access, taking into consideration prior economic or educational inequality (social/democratic); and (3) efficiency in public finance ensuring *cross-generation uplift* (economic). Since education is necessary for economic well-being, it is time to reconsider individual rights for elementary, secondary, and post-secondary educational opportunity.

While many countries are still facing the challenge of “education for all” at the level of basic provision, developed economies are struggling to determine how best to fund a high-quality education system that provides access to all through higher education. A higher education qualification has never been more important. In the United Kingdom, for instance, 83 percent of all new employment in the next decade will be in professional areas (Milburn, 2012b). The average earnings premium associated with an undergraduate degree for working-age adults is approximately 27 percent, compared to possession of two or more General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) A levels (final second-level examination) (Million+, 2013). In Ireland, labor force participation rates increase as the level of education attained increases. In 2011, those with a third-level qualification had an 87 percent likelihood of being in the labor force, while only 46 percent of those with primary-level education were employed (Central Statistics Office, 2011).

The impact of the economic crisis on millennials is stark. Almost a quarter of Europe’s youth are unemployed, rising to over 50 percent in Spain and Greece. The EU “over-education”¹ incidence averages around 30 percent (European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training, 2010). The situation is only marginally better in the United States, where the “skills gap” is reflected in the four million millennials who are un- or underemployed, alongside three million moderate to high-paying jobs that cannot be filled. A recent McKinsey report (2012) estimates there could be 23 million workers in advanced economies without the requisite skills by 2020. Global economic competition has altered the mix of skills necessary for employment in most nations. There is a strong push to emphasize technical skills within nations highly engaged in the global economy.

Yet there is disagreement about the causes and ultimately the strategies needed to contend with this problem. Some suggest that it is not a gap at all, but a power imbalance related to those with the most resources driving economic inequality. The US Chamber of Commerce contradicts this view, suggesting that education and the workforce cannot keep pace with our rapidly evolving economy, and that the answer lies in increasing degree attainment rates and developing innovative business/education partnerships (US Chamber of Commerce, 2014). Others have argued that the emergence of the skills gap is attributable to the inadequacy of public financing of higher education (Friedman, 2005; Piketty, 2014). Regardless of the reasons for the skills gap, however, it is clear that the gap between labor supply and demand disproportionately affects low-income populations. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) evidence shows that, for young people, the higher their educational attainment at the start of the economic crisis, the more likely they were to be employed throughout the Great Recession (OECD, 2013). The movement toward higher employment rates clearly involves expansion of higher education, but there are debates within nations about how much to emphasize technical versus traditional higher education. Some leading economists now question the assumption that increased technical education will solve the growing wealth inequality in developed nations, especially in the United States (Piketty, 2014; Stiglitz, 2012).

What can be unambiguously addressed is the information gap. In Ireland, recent reports from the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRC) and the Higher Education Authority (HEA) identified the need for low-income secondary-level students to receive more robust guidance, information, and mentoring at an earlier stage in their educational cycle so that they know where the jobs are today and where they

will be a decade from now (ESRC, 2011; HEA, 2014). Closing the information gap can help students navigate their college and career pathways.

Local Action

One strategy used by US colleges and universities is outreach programs, a process formalized in the Higher Education Act of 1965 through the creation of Upward Bound as part of the national student aid programs. Numerous types of outreach programs have developed over the decades in the United States and appear to have a positive association with college enrollment rates for low-income and minority students, but financial aid was higher relative to costs during the decades that followed implementation of these practices than it is now (St. John, 2003). In recent decades, when there has been a rise in the net costs of college after grant aid for low-income students, large programs like Gates Millennium Scholars and Indiana's Twenty-first Century Scholars have combined social support services based in communities with guaranteed student grants to meet financial need. These programs have proven to have statistically significant effects on college enrollment and completion, especially on elevating aspirations *and* enrollment from two-year colleges and technical programs to four-year programs in colleges and universities (St. John, Hu, & Fisher, 2011). In addition to ensuring financial access to four-year colleges, research has shown that these comprehensive programs empower students through academic capital formation and the development of skills and knowledge related to the social, human, and cultural capital essential for navigating into and through colleges in the competitive market systems now evident.

Recent studies of students in community-based programs organized by College For Every Student, a nonprofit organization and student support program developed in the United States for high school students who enroll in schools located in predominantly low-income communities, show that College For Every Student programs have been successful in helping students develop academic capital, including knowledge of how to assess the meaning of financial aid offers made by colleges (Dalton, Bigelow, & St. John, 2012; St. John et al., 2015). In addition to high achievement and development of higher college and career aspirations and college knowledge, students need practical knowledge of merit- and need-based student aid and college costs at four-year colleges. The type of community-based support provided by programs such as College For Every Student is essential to student navigation, especially given the high costs of attending colleges located away from the neighborhoods where students have attended schools and worked to help support their families.

In the early 1990s, Trinity College Dublin in Ireland partnered with College For Every Student to help students develop the "Essential Skills," including teamwork, grit, perseverance, adaptability, and other competencies that will support them and help them succeed in college and careers (Dalton & St. John, forthcoming). The College For Every Student model involves three structured core practices—Leadership Through Service, Mentoring, and Pathways to College—which focus on Academic Capital Formation through development of essential skills (Dalton et al., 2011; St. John et al., 2015). Trinity has developed the Trinity Access Programmes (TAP), which include a range of developmental outreach activities, university "foundation" courses and other alternative admissions routes, some of which now have a system-wide impact (Children's Research Centre, 2013; TAP, 2010).

Nevertheless, higher education outreach to students from low-income communities tends to focus on what higher education can do *for* the community, rather than *with* it.

In 2011, Trinity Access Programmes and College For Every Student initiated a project to explore how the College For Every Student model could be used to build capacity within such communities. The current research project involves a focused intervention using the College For Every Student model in 11 Irish schools, with a particular focus on the second-year cohort (age 14) as the inflection point at which most research identifies an educational disengagement along with self-limited subject choices (ESRC, 2011). Students in this cohort are participating in a longitudinal research project over the course of their second-level education to explore the impact of the College For Every Student intervention on the development of “Essential Skills” and future choice. The Irish-adapted College For Every Student model also includes the development of a technology-mediated, team-based model of learning—“Bridge21”—to create more active, engaging learning environments.²

These projects are a small part of wider national and European efforts to address global questions: How can young people from low-income communities be prepared to be work-ready and have relevant skills over a lifetime? What changes are required in educational institutions, corporations, and at a policy level to realize meaningful opportunities for all, including the most vulnerable, so that they become stakeholders in their society and economy? The answer to these questions lies partly in the balance of approaches we take globally to Labaree’s (1997) three goals for education—democratic equality, social efficiency, and social mobility.

The United States

In the 1970s the United States had an oversupply of educated technical labor (Carnevale, Smith, & Strohl, 2010), and college enrollment rates had equalized across racial groups (St. John, 2003). But a gap in the supply of skilled workers developed, and racial and economic disparities opened in college access, especially opportunities in four-year colleges after federal need-based grants declined in the early 1980s. At this point, the focus of access research shifted from low tuition and need-based aid programs of prior decades. A standards-driven approach to education reform emerged after the publication of *A Nation At Risk* by the US Department of Education in 1983 led to policy focused on improving academic preparation for college (e.g., Adelman, 2005, 2006, 2009; Berkner & Chavez, 1997; Pelavin & Kane, 1990). Soon this approach was intertwined with arguments about demand for science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) fields in the United States, especially math. Arguments about the need to expand the emphasis on STEM education have led to a transformation of high school education with multiple options (general, vocational, and college preparatory) to a college preparatory education for all.

The economic argument that the United States could lead the next generation of design and technological innovation by producing the STEM graduates needed to retain high-level technical work converged with the school reform rationale from more than a decade before (e.g., Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce, 2007). This focus on math and STEM preparation further diverted attention of student advocates away from growing inequality in financial access for low-income students over the previous few decades (St. John et al., 2015). Unfortunately, the net costs of attending college remain the most substantial impediment for low-income students to attain college degrees in the United States, especially because of the higher number of students

qualified to enter college after the gains in math preparation across states from decades of efforts to improve college preparation in high schools through raising requirements (St. John, Daun-Barnett, & Moronski-Chapman, 2013).

In the United States, colleges raised prices as states began to limit direct subsidies to public colleges and the federal government shifted to emphasizing loans over grants (Hearn & Holdsworth, 2004; St. John, 2003). As a result, the work and loan burden has grown for students from low-income families, often lengthening the time it takes to obtain a degree. College access programs such as GEAR UP and College For Every Student have encouraged more low-income students to prepare for and enroll in college, but such programs do not make students aware of the realities of escalating college costs (St. John et al., 2015). The United States has fallen behind most European nations in college access, largely because of the transfer of costs from state and federal governments to students and their families (Piketty, 2014) and the privatization of public universities. It is increasingly evident that preparation, encouragement, and financial support are necessary to ensure equal access in American states where fairness in preparation and access varies depending on how well states have balanced their education and education finance policies (St. John et al., 2013).

When comparing national systems, it is important to recognize that in the United States, public universities are mostly state rather than federal institutions. There are also over a thousand private nonprofit colleges and universities in the country, many of which pre-date the development of public colleges and universities in their states. Community colleges have historically provided both technical and collegiate education, but proprietary institutions that provide technical education in the trades also play a substantial role. There are coordinating agencies in most states to regulate proprietary institutions, but they often do not have direct control, in which case they are advisory to the governors and legislatures. Since the 1960s, public colleges and universities in most states have been organized into multi-campus systems (Lee & Bowen, 1971, 1975). Thus, campus administrators have substantially more autonomy than in many other nations.

In addition, the role of state coordination agencies has substantially declined in recent decades as the federal government has cut back on funding for state planning. There has also been an expansion of for-profit colleges and universities that offer technical education certificates, often along with some academic degrees: associates', bachelors', professional, and doctoral. Regulation of for-profit colleges has been a serious problem for decades both because of the large amounts of federal aid that follow students to these programs and, in some instances, poor quality programs (Goodwin, 1991; Grubb, 1996a, 1996b). The push to expand technical education, however, requires continued funding of students entering these programs because community colleges and universities have been slow to respond (Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce, 2007). Thus, the decline in state coordination has become a serious problem, because it came at a time when new competitors were responding to demand for technically skilled workers at the faster rate than public or nonprofit colleges.

China

China is not part of OECD, but from analyses on the nation's trajectory in relation to international data, it is apparent that the country has reached the stage of mass higher education (Yang, 2011). Chinese government and education leaders have carefully

studied the West as it transitioned to a global economy, with education playing a central role. China now has both a larger percentage of its working class moving up to middle-class status and an economic elite that benefits from corporatization. China has been a model for rapid national growth in college enrollment, especially in science and technology (Marginson, 2011), but the government retains substantial control over institutions, constraining students' choices more than the United States and most developed nations (Zhao, 2008). At the same time, China has become a major international competitor in the development of globally competitive universities (Wildavsky, 2009).

China emphasizes science and engineering in planning for university development and expanding college access—a narrower, more strategic concept than the American STEM pathways model. China uses testing to sort students into technical and college preparatory schools or trades near the end of their secondary education (Luo & Yang, 2013): science and engineering technical education in universities or technician education in vocational and technical colleges (Rong & Chen, 2013). Following the French–Soviet Union specialist educational model, the Chinese government built a system of technical and vocational institutions for the training of skilled technical workers, specialists, and applied engineers, with two- to three-year diplomas for 18-year-old students. Around the turn of the twenty-first century, the reform of higher education in China followed the development of the economy. This was a period during which many vocational/trade institutions turned into collegiate-level institutions, but the characteristics of the programs did not substantially change. Thus, the upgrading of the technical post-secondary system remains a challenge in China.

China has progressed rapidly from being a developing economy focused on production through low-cost labor to a more mature economy engaged in technological innovation. When China's gross domestic product (GDP) grew in the 1990s, investment in higher education and growth in college enrollment rates followed. In China, investment in higher education followed economic development rather than leading the way (Marginson, 2011). China invested in science and engineering education during its massive economic boom and has educated large numbers of engineers and scientists.

Recently, China entered a period in which its leaders reconsidered the links between high schools and colleges and tertiary-level vocational education. The key considerations were readjusting the hierarchical structure of higher education and redirecting the ways students access different levels of education. Higher education in China was traditionally a pyramid structure (Waite, 2010), which was artificially formatted through the plans and control of the central government. Because of the Matthew effect (accumulated advantage), the universities for elite education at the top of the pyramid absorbed a large share of resources from government and society and became subject to more stringent control (Waite & Allen, 2003). Although the institutions at the base of the pyramid more directly benefit economic development by producing cheap educated labor and play a more important role in social change through upward mobility on a large scale, these institutions find it much more difficult to obtain resources. This structural imbalance produces highly educated labor from the top universities in such hierarchical pyramid structures when more technically trained workers from the schools near the bottom of such pyramids are necessary.

These conditions have encouraged for-profit institutions to upgrade courses to meet demand for the labor needed by industry at the base level, which saps scarce resources

from the institutions near the bottom of the pyramid, further aggravating the structural imbalance. Because of this, the Communist Party has begun to consider strategies to guide the distribution of financial resources and students to both improve the quality of technical education and to increase the number of technical workers. At the same time, another critical issue for Chinese higher education is catching up with the world-class universities and improving the quality rankings of its institutions of higher education. Plans to resolve this issue include:

- 1) The transformation of some local universities and technical/vocational colleges which currently provide undergraduate diploma programs into Applied Technology Colleges to supply professionally qualified workers with undergraduate degrees.
- 2) The improvement of the quality of vocational education, breaking the rigid separation between general education and vocational education at secondary level.
- 3) Encouragement of movement of students between schools and all kinds of industries.
- 4) The provision of channels for students to pursue professional postgraduate degrees such as MBAs or MEds.

These plans reflect the idea that equality and democracy are beneficial to social development and justice, but their outcomes need to be monitored, including through evaluation research that feeds back into the governing process. After three decades of market-oriented reform, education in China was brought into the market economic system because it was thought to be important for resource allocation. The appeals for and realization of individual interests, rights, and freedoms have gradually improved as a result of educational competition. The planning process takes into consideration educational rights and opportunities in China compared to those in other countries engaged in the global economy.

China's hybrid system of market orientation and centralized control reflects the gradual absorption of liberal-democratic principles of justice into the structure and values of the Chinese version of socialism. The reforms undertaken have greatly weakened, but not completely changed the characteristics of government leadership and centralized control of Chinese higher education. Authoritarian control is still the basic mode for higher education governance in China, but the suggested reforms recognize the conflicts that emerge during the transformation of a socialist society into a more liberal-democratic one.

In the case of China, if the central government represented the public interest and exercised tremendous power, it could establish a balance between individual rights, freedom, and equality while avoiding corruption and the heavy handedness usually associated with authoritarianism. The intent is to take steps toward democracy within a market economy. Its hybrid system of market orientation and centralized control will, for the near future, inform a unique Chinese road for higher education leadership and governance.

Ireland in the European Context

Since 1999, the Bologna Process has coordinated work across member states towards the development of a common European Higher Education Area (EHEA). EU and national targets have been set for completion of higher education by all age cohorts (HEA, 2014). Fifty-two percent of Irish young adults now progress to higher education

following completion of the final examination, and their progression rate through the colleges averages 85 percent (HEA, 2010).

There are 36 publicly funded higher education institutions in Ireland, attended by over 210,000 students; Ireland covers 74 percent of the annual funding cost (Cassells, 2014). Over 90 percent of higher education students attend institutions mainly funded by the federal government. However, since 2008, there have been a series of increases in student contributions, and corresponding reductions in government grants. At the same time, the proportion of full-time students requiring higher education grant support to pay the increased contribution rose from 37 percent in 2008 to 51 percent in 2013 (Cassells, 2014, p. 17).

Higher education participation expanded from 15,000 in 1980 to 42,000 in 2013, a contributory factor in Ireland's economic growth from the mid-1990s until the economic crisis (Cassells, 2014, p. 19). One-quarter of higher education students are low income (Cassells, 2014, p. 14). Graduates hold almost half of all jobs, although they comprise only one third of the working-age population; their employment rate is 80 percent compared to 61 percent for the population at large (Cassells, 2014, pp. 20–22). In 2013, Ireland's 30–34-year-olds had a 52.6 percent rate of higher education attainment, the highest in the EU and third in the industrialized world (Cassells, 2014, p. 20). There is a disproportionate dividend to higher education attainment in Ireland, as graduates with an honours degree earn 100 percent more than adults with a Leaving Certificate (final state examination) or equivalent; the OECD average is 70 percent (RIA, p. 24). This individual premium extends to public finances (Cassells, 2014, p. 26); the state gets a cumulative return of 27 percent over a 40-year span on its costs of supporting a male graduate and of 17.5 percent in the case of a female graduate. In this context, it is not surprising that young people who enter higher education are much more likely than those who did not to say they have “realised their aspirations” and less likely to “regret” their choice (McCoy et al., 2014, p. 28).

Despite expansion, low-income students realized college participation rates of only 14 percent by 2013, against national targets of 31 percent. The challenge of persistent low participation rates by low-income students is particularly acute in urban centers and is exemplified by juxtaposing higher education participation rates in two Dublin postal codes, 15 percent in Dublin 15, to 99 percent in Dublin 6 (HEA, 2014). The Department of Education and Skills (DES) supports targeted provision of resources to schools in areas with low higher education progression rates, through Delivering Equality of Opportunity in Schools and the Schools Completion Programme. Furthermore, the HEA provides performance-related funding to higher education institutions based on efforts to encourage outreach programs and develop diversified admissions routes (HEA, 2010).

Although there is value in this policy approach of targeting resources, Power et al. (2013) suggest that while policy discourse focuses on liberal conceptions of equality, targets set for addressing educational disadvantage and improving higher education access are rarely met (Power et al., 2013; Tormey, 2007). This has been attributed by some to an increased marketization of education and the emergence of an ideology of “consumer choice,” locating educational policy discourse within the broader international process of “neoliberalization” (Power et al., 2013). Education is presented as a “free market,” where consumers can choose. One such example in the Irish context is the provision of approximately €81.3 million in state funding to private second-level

schools (Courtois, 2013). This combination of state and private resources means that schools can provide a lower student/teacher ratio, a comprehensive range of subject choices, and extra-curricular activities to confer even greater academic capital on advantaged young people. Outcomes for students who attend schools in this sector are significantly better than those in the public sector; for example, private schools provided 16 percent of the 2013 intake to Trinity College Dublin and University College Dublin, the country's top two universities, despite comprising only 1.4 percent of schools nationwide (TAP, 2013).

At the other end of the economic spectrum, low-income parents have fewer financial resources to invest in the education of their children and less cultural and social capital to transmit to them (Power et al., 2013). The *Growing Up In Ireland* (2011) study demonstrated that participation in cultural activities is strongly differentiated by social class; one in three children from professional backgrounds are engaged in extra-curricular activities compared to less than one in ten of the most disadvantaged children (ESRC, 2011). This is a significant finding, particularly since these types of structured activities have been found to enhance school engagement and academic performance (McCoy et al., 2014). Students in state-designated "disadvantaged" schools are also much more likely to experience a teacher-directed rather than an active, engaged model of learning. This evidence suggests that access to a full range of quality educational choices remains heavily structured by geo-code and socio-economic group.

It is arguable that since young people spend only 20 percent of their time in school, there is a limit to what school-focused interventions can do to correct wider structural imbalances. While the work of programs like Trinity Access Programmes and College For Every Student yields many examples of inspirational young people overcoming the odds, the overall numbers living in poverty and accessing meaningful higher education opportunities have not shifted significantly over recent decades. Yet, knowing that students do make it through makes it all the more imperative to consider larger-scale solutions for those who do not.

Programs in Higher Education Leadership Education

In theory, leadership programs in higher education prepare future leaders to contend with global change, but that is unlikely. Most academic leaders—department chairs, deans, provosts, and presidents—rise from the ranks of academic faculty; they only benefit from education and training in higher education when they attend workshops and leadership seminars. In the United States and Canada, there have been leadership institutes for academic administrators since the 1960s and in Australia since the 1970s (St. John & McCaig, 1982). There is a long history of leadership training for higher education administrators provided by international organizations, including the Colombo Plan Staff College formed for training leaders in technical education in the aftermath of World War II (St. John, 1986). Here, we focus on the current status of higher education leadership programs in the three nations under consideration, because these programs play a central role in the education of administrators across functions and often contribute to workshops providing training for academic leaders within and across nations.

United States

Higher education has emerged as an established field of study in the United States. Higher education leadership programs in the United States are typically situated within larger departments of educational leadership (Hyle & Goodchild, 2014), while some are located in other departments in schools of education. Less than 3 percent of US higher education programs are situated within freestanding departments.

The first doctoral program in higher education in the United States dates back to Clark University in 1894 (Goodchild, 2014). There were also early programs at Columbia University in adult education and in student affairs at Indiana University. Modern graduate programs in higher education began to rapidly increase in the 1960s as states expanded universities to meet the growing demand of the baby-boom generation of students born after World War II. Currently, there are almost 1,000 higher education leadership programs in the United States and Canada, but there is substantial variability in their content and structure (Hyle & Goodchild, 2014). The most frequently required courses in these programs include history of higher education, governance and organization, student affairs, finance, legal issues, and foundations. The fact that courses on administration, governance, and organization are among the most frequently offered and required is an artifact of the locations of most programs in departments of educational leadership. Most mature programs have several potential major specializations, such as student affairs, adult education, community colleges, or policy and finance, but since the average size of these programs is five professors, the number of specializations is usually limited. These departments are usually well prepared to offer master's programs covering the major content of the field. In contrast, programs on higher education leadership of community and technical colleges remain relatively few in number. These programs are usually located in larger departments, often that of educational administration.

The recent push to provide college preparatory education for all high school students has weakened the emphasis on technical education in the United States (Hyle & Goodchild, 2014), but there has been considerable growth in the links between STEM education and higher education as a field. Science, math, and engineering faculty sometimes focus on educational issues and may be aligned with higher education faculty. The University of Wisconsin, Purdue University, and Ohio State University are among the programs that appear to be building these links.

Comparative higher education is a specialization offered in only a few universities, including Buffalo University, Boston College, and Albany University. The international comparative study of higher education was limited through most of the twentieth century, although specializations in comparative studies have now emerged within the Association for the Study of Higher Education, indicating that global issues are emerging as important topics. In recent years, the University of Southern California has developed a strong international focus and many of the doctoral students spend time studying abroad. There has also been steady growth in the number of scholars in comparative higher education who study comparative and globalization topics, extending the analytical lenses of their specialization to address these challenges.

Many foreign students complete doctoral study in the United States, but, with the few exceptions noted, their courses focus on US higher education. When doctoral graduates return to their home countries, they often teach in the American tradition of content,

which does not always fit the learning needs of their students because of differences in the structure of higher education across nations. Over time, more nations have developed higher education programs, but the courses seldom provide information on academic administration within other national systems because comparative research on college organization, governance, and finance was limited in most countries before the early 1980s.

As stated, most academic administrators in universities rise through the academic ranks: senior professors become department chairs, chairs become deans, and deans become provosts and presidents. It is still rare for presidents to come from finance, student affairs, or other administrative specializations within academic systems, at least in universities. In contrast, community colleges in the United States have a longer history of presidents who are graduates of higher education programs, and there is a push for higher standards within this specialization (Hagedorn & Purnamasari, 2014).

China

In China, 1978 is the starting point for higher education as a discipline. Before that, the government controlled every higher education institute, and the educational research at that time focused on general education, which was dominated by teacher (normal) universities. After the Cultural Revolution, some university presidents, government officials, and scholars proposed establishing higher education as a discipline, and also proposed programs for the study of the principles and knowledge of higher education in order to promote its development. In 1978, the first institute of higher education research in China was founded in Xiamen University; over the next two years, 25 institutions of higher education research were founded in China.

In 1983, the discipline of higher education was included in the Subject Catalog charted by the Academic Degrees Committee of the State Council as a secondary branch discipline of education. In the same year, the China Higher Education Society was founded and higher education as a discipline was officially recognized by the Chinese government, and some comprehensive universities became involved in educational research. By 1987, the number of research institutions of higher education in China was nearly 800. Xiamen University was still in the leading position, establishing the first higher education program and recruiting the first master's students in 1981. The first two PhDs in higher education graduated from Xiamen University in 1990 (Li, 2005). From 1995 to 2006, the number of higher education master's and doctoral programs increased from 8 to 93 and from 3 to 16, respectively.³

Concerning the curriculum of higher education programs, institutes often provide courses at three levels. The first-level courses are foundational, including pedagogy, general psychology, educational psychology, and Chinese and Western history of education. The second level is a basic course for higher education research, including the psychology of youth, higher education administration and policy, the principles and theories of higher education, comparative higher education, and history of higher education. A difference between the United States and China is that some courses, including student affairs, finance, and legal issues, are less likely to appear on the higher education course list in China. The third level are research or seminar courses which relate to specific practical and theoretic issues in the field of higher education, and include the preparation and discussion of dissertations.

In China, some institutes have developed and emphasize specializations or branch disciplines of higher education, including administration of higher education, theory of curriculum and instruction, tertiary teacher education, higher engineering education, and higher medical education. The specialization will often cross the border of the higher education discipline into such areas as higher education policy as a specialization of education administration and policy, and student affairs as a specialization of ideological and political education.

As in the United States, university presidents in China rarely have graduate degrees from higher education doctoral programs. They often need higher education researchers as consultants to help them understand the principles and strategies used in higher education development, and they acquire some additional knowledge about higher education as a field to help them form their own ideas about pedagogy and strategy. To some extent, this self-education will promote the development of teaching and research in higher education. As higher education graduates gradually enter faculty and management positions in institutions of higher education, university administration will increasingly become more professional. Still, for Chinese higher education, the greatest influence comes from the political and government levels.

Ireland

Higher education as a field of study was slower to develop in Ireland than either in the United States or China. From a national perspective, there is a need for scholarship that explores the external and internal environment of higher education institutions, including the global landscape, the policy context, and diversified funding models. Publication of academic research in the field began in Europe during the 1970s: The international journal *Higher Education* began as a British and American journal in 1972, and OECD started publishing the *International Journal of Institutional Management in Higher Education* in 1976. However, development of academic programs in Ireland and the UK followed other nations, such as Australia.

Since higher education has experienced significant change in recent decades in response to a range of factors, including government policy, there has been an increased demand for higher education credentials, especially degrees focusing on economic development, technological innovation, and globalisation (Bolden, Petrov & Gosling, 2008; Jones et al. 2011; Joyce & O'Boyle, 2013; Skilbeck, 2001). Higher education leaders and policy makers are endeavouring to balance Labaree's (1997) three goals for education—democratic equality, social efficiency, and social mobility—against growing global inequalities, the massification of education, and pressures to shift ever more toward privately funded models of provision. In this context, it is a challenge to protect the unique role of higher education institutions as centers of independent inquiry, enlightened thought, and contributors to the public good. There is, therefore, a growing rationale for provision of such programs.

In Ireland, the National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030 (Hunt, 2011) highlighted the need for high-order, knowledge-based skills, many of which can be acquired only in higher education institutions. The strategy suggests that there is an opportunity to leverage the leadership skills of our current academic staff and to foster the leadership skills of our next generation of educators (Garvin 2012; Hunt 2011; Jones et al., 2011). However, provision of educational leadership programs in Ireland has often been

limited to modules within broader degree programs, most of which are tailored for leadership at primary and second level. Academic faculty and administrators intending to develop their professional leadership capacity typically engage in “in-house” short courses or one of a range of accredited courses in leadership, administration, and management offered by the Institute of Management Ireland or the Institute of Public Administration, which have a strong focus on development of public sector personnel. These courses do not have a specific focus on higher education management and leadership.

Similarly, in the UK, a government white paper on the future of higher education (DES, 2003, p. 76) cites the necessity of “strong leadership and management” as essential drivers for change in the sector. In 2004, the Leadership Foundation for Higher Education was established to support and develop leadership in the sector. However, key findings from Burgoyne, Mackness, and Williams (2009) suggest that 78 percent of higher education leaders are uncertain if their investment in leadership development has had an impact. Joyce and Boyle (2013) reported that senior university managers cannot find time to invest in leadership development even though they believe they cannot cope without such development. Bolden et al. (2008) observed that academic leadership is only likely to be considered important by academics to the extent to which it facilitates their ability to work autonomously.

Research emerging from the Leadership Foundation UK (Burgoyne et al., 2009) argues for an integration of leadership development at all levels in the organization to create a work climate where employees are motivated to perform at their best. However, leadership development in UK higher education institutions is largely piecemeal, focusing on a small number of individual staff rather than being a systematic approach, which is consistent with the Irish experience.

Research on higher education leadership by Fullan and Scott (2009) and Scott, Coates, and Anderson (2008) highlighted the enormous complexity of the role of university leaders in teaching and learning and in their overall contexts. These authors point to the particular impact of the widening participation (access) movements on the higher education teaching and learning environment and the related leadership challenges of managing the transition to the university of students who are the first generation in their family to attend. Widening access and participation in higher education requires a full-scale reconsideration of admissions systems and processes, financial aid packages, and efforts to create an inclusive institutional culture, including an examination of pedagogical content and process.

Devlin’s (2013) Australian study of higher education leadership and university efforts to widen access and participation found that a strategic institutional focus on excellence in teaching and learning was critical to effective university leadership and management in a widening participation context. Specifically, the findings indicate that efforts to lead and manage the improvement of teaching and learning need to be aligned with the strategic direction of the university. Devlin identified tensions between efforts to lead in the improvement of teaching and learning against workload issues, and the privileging of research over teaching and learning as a “major cultural impediment to leading teaching and learning enhancement and enabling a focus on LSES [low income students]” (p. 240).

In Ireland, there are plans to establish a National Forum for the Enhancement of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education, which will build on strengths and

innovations already established. In the absence of formalized higher education graduate or executive-type programs, one way to keep leadership in the forefront is to cultivate mechanisms that recognize innovation in the design and delivery of programs. These can include award programs, promotion criteria recognizing leadership and innovation, and research grants to showcase and validate good practice.

The nature of twenty-first-century higher education challenges is distinctive and requires informed leadership; higher education leadership demands differ, for example, from those within the corporate or K-12 contexts. Higher education institutions are charged with guardianship of our collective cultural heritage, education for social mobility and the public good, and championing the ethical advancement of new knowledge. Higher education institutions ideally exemplify the democratic principles of freedom and autonomy of action within a social, moral, and just framework, so that we can, in Amartya Sen's (1999) formulation, "live the kind of lives we value—and have reason to value" (p. 285). The failure to proactively create and incentivize leadership programs that address this unique role makes it more likely that models appropriate to different organizational forms, more focused on "dollarship than scholarship," will dominate. The philosopher Karl Popper used the analogy of "clocks and clouds" in an argument regarding determinism versus free will (as cited in Thornton, 2014). Clocks are structured, orderly systems that can be defined and evaluated; clouds, however, are irregular, dynamic, and changing. Is it wise to use instruments designed for one purpose to assess the impact and effectiveness of another? To protect the unique role inhabited by the higher education institution, it is fundamental that we have forms of leadership more appropriate to "clouds" than "clocks," and that we are the leaders in their creation.

Challenges in Leadership Education

The challenges facing leadership education in higher education are appropriately situated within the globalization of corporations and the workforce. As nations have adjusted to global economic competition, policy has focused on the supply of education labor. Unfortunately, the problem of supply is reduced to being a matter of preparation and the individual return from education is now emphasized. Whether we use Labaree or Rawls, it is clear that this narrow framing of policy issues and educational responses overlooks the financial challenges facing low-income students, a problem that must be addressed to eliminate the achievement gap. In this context, educating higher leadership in higher education policy and finance matters. The challenges nations face in meeting this aim vary across nations. While the United States has highly developed higher education leadership programs, the placement of programs in departments of educational administration and leadership may constrain their capacity to address finance and policy issues as part of the curriculum.

The alignment of K-12 and higher education programs may tacitly reinforce the pattern of focusing on academic preparation as the problem rather than public finance. Another related problem is that higher education leadership programs seldom educate the academic administrators who lead major universities; instead, they come mostly out of the academic disciplines. Even if institutions accept the proposition that the primary role of higher education leadership programs is to educate future leaders of student

affairs and other ancillary administrative services, it is still crucial to include a curriculum that informs students about the financial hardships facing undergraduates.

China's higher education system has rapidly progressed toward mass access, but it is facing new challenges related to the reform of technical education. Since higher education programs have focused primarily on teaching and pedagogy, there are not enough leadership education programs to provide the administrators needed. Yet compared to recent trends in the United States, China has been remarkably successful at promoting science and engineering education in universities. It is possible that its focus on pedagogy and placing higher education research offices within university administration has hastened this apparent success. Nevertheless, China faces challenges in providing high-quality leadership education for the nation's technical and higher education systems.

Ireland was remarkably successful economically before the global recession, but the financial challenges facing the nation impede its capacity to promote educational uplift, especially for low-income students. The Trinity College Trinity Access Programmes illustrates adaptive change that address this aspect of the challenge. But Ireland has no graduate programs in higher education leadership, so it must learn from other nations. Fortunately, being part of the EU provides access to emerging European programs. Nevertheless, Ireland faces very basic challenges in education for the next generation of higher education leaders.

Higher education leadership education has an important role to play as nations adjust to changing global economic competition. There seems to be commonality across nations in the desire to realize universal preparation and provide educated workers. Graduate programs in leadership education have a role to play in informing the period of change ahead. The challenges are situated within policy trajectories regarding the status of leadership programs, so there is no simple strategy for change that applies across nations.

Notes

- 1 Over-education refers to being educated to a higher level than is required for the job at hand.
- 2 "Bridge21" is based at Trinity College Dublin. Information on the program is available at www.bridge21.ie.
- 3 The first three doctoral programs were at Xiamen University, Beijing University, and East China Normal University.

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13

Educational Leadership for Teaching and Learning

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Introduction

The intersections among leadership, teaching, and learning deserve examination, despite the complexities involved, as the work of educational leaders continues to evolve in demanding learning environments. In this chapter, we examine educational leadership for teaching and learning, offering as backdrop the social, political, and historical trends that present often dichotomous complexities resulting from the dramatic shifts that have occurred in education from the 1980s to the present. We also forecast what we believe will be the new landscape for educators who lead to improve learning and to enhance the capacities of central office leaders, site-level administrators, and teacher leaders.

Large-scale reform agendas often lack informed voices and in-depth study from the field, obscuring the effects of policy on practice in schools (Datnow & Park, 2009; McNeill, 2000; Zepeda et al., 2014). However, federal, state, and local leaders continue to exert that leadership for learning is a critical component to advance external accountability mandates, even when legislation does not explicate clearly “the how and why of teaching and learning” (Datnow & Park, 2009, p. 210). In the current accountability climate, principals are expected to be leaders of instruction. Yet, as noted by Hallinger and Murphy (2013), if “education policymakers wish to employ instructional leadership as an engine for school improvement, more comprehensive and practical solutions must be employed that do not leave principals ‘running on empty’” (p. 6). Similarly, Honig (2013) reported that “federal and state policies place challenging demands on US school district central office[s]” (p. 1). In a review of the literature, Hallinger (2012) asserted that there were “core ... leadership practices” that included the “educational, instructional, or learning-centered” practices that could improve schools (p. 11).

The clarion calls continue with renewed urgency for principals to enact the often under-defined roles of educational leadership by being the chief academic learner (Hallinger, 2011; Hallinger & Murphy, 2013; Niesche, 2013). or by being a learning-oriented educator forming partnerships for teaching and learning while leading strong professional development in a conducive learning environment (Drago-Severson, 2012), and adaptively leading curriculum, instruction, and teaching. Moreover, principals are expected to empower others to build capacity through distributed leadership

(Bolden, 2011; Spillane, Healey, & Mesler Parise, 2009), which would, in turn, support teacher leadership (Harris, 2005; Wang & Zepeda, 2013) enacted through department chairs (Zepeda & Kruskamp, 2007), peer coaches (Zepeda, 2015), and other sources of leadership (Hallinger, 2009, 2011).

Drago-Severson (2012) suggests that principals must move beyond managerial and administrative tasks to assume work as the “primary teacher developer and architect of collaborative learning organizations” (p. 4). More recently, Mombourquette and Bedard (2014) called for “partnerships” across all levels of the organization that lead to “teaching and learning improvement” (p. 63). Mombourquette and Bedard indicated that school “districts morphed from a business and regulatory management orientation to a leadership orientation to support school-level leadership and to build capacity in the core technology of teaching and learning” (p. 63). In the context of standardized testing, Parylo, Zepeda, and Bengtson (2012) concluded that “in the high-stakes environment, being an instructional leader is linked to being accountable for student achievement” (p. 217). Tensions emerge in the ways teachers are assessed for their teaching efforts and for student learning in their classrooms, and in like fashion, the ways superintendents and other designated personnel evaluate principals based on their instructional leadership efforts (Zepeda et al., 2014).

Lovett and Andrews (2011) credited Harris et al. (2007) for their insights about how the leadership landscape has changed. Lovett and Anderson shared that “labels” that “loosely fit under the ‘leadership for learning’ umbrella ... [that] ... have emerged in response to the changing policy and professional context of schooling and to increase[d] concerns about student assessment” (p. 719). Hallinger (2011) suggested “leadership for learning describes approaches that school leaders employ to achieve important school outcomes with a particular focus on student learning” (p. 126).

Given that educational organizations are primarily geared toward “just two basic functional domains: teaching and learning, and organizing for teaching and learning” (Prestine & Nelson, 2005, p. 46), and in recognition of the benefits of teaching and learning occurring within and between all levels of school systems, we use the term *leadership for teaching and learning* to foreground the role educational leaders at all levels have in fostering and sustaining positive teaching and learning environments for all members of the school community. Further, we use this term to highlight the need to build the capacity to enhance the teaching and learning of both adults and children to take precedence over the need to satisfy shorter-term, accountability-based goals.

Organization of the Chapter

As the myriad hybrid terms related to leadership and learning evolved, they amplified the historical and political aspects that reflect the tenor of the times. In this chapter, we offer an examination and discussion of the tensions associated with leading for teaching and learning that have yielded unintended consequences for systems and schools related, for example, to an over-reliance on accountability that could, if not kept in check, lead to a focus on learning and leading as “an exercise in compliance and regulation, more than a matter of professional commitment and daily practice ... [where] educators can easily lose sight of learning goals” (Knapp et al., 2010, p. 9).

Running parallel in this chapter will be a discussion of predominant leadership trends, including perspectives about learning-centered leadership (DuFour, 2002; Knapp et al., 2010; Murphy et al., 2006), instructional leadership, and distributed leadership. The chapter begins with a discussion about prevailing thoughts regarding leadership for teaching and learning. We continue by examining the critical discourse of the instructional leadership literature and the changing role of the principalship amid increased site-level accountability (Parylo et al., 2012). The next area of discussion is grounded in the research on the central office and how efforts need to be mobilized to create sustainable learning across the system (Mombourquette & Bedard, 2014). From this research, we frame leadership for teaching and learning by examining what is needed to bi-directionally lead systems more globally, competitively, and in reciprocal ways for the future (Hallinger & Heck, 2011; Mombourquette & Bedard, 2014; Terosky, 2013; Wallace Foundation, 2012). We conclude the chapter by forecasting the future landscape of leadership for teaching and learning, specifically addressing distributed leadership, partnerships, and building personal, interpersonal, and organizational capacity (Mitchell & Sackney, 2011).

Hargreaves and Shirley (2009a, 2009b) suggested that going deeper into the messy and recursive nature of leading and learning is sidetracked by the excessive forces of accountability movements. These forces can produce counter-intuitive results which are related to measuring student achievement, with the work of leaders often shifting by state and federal policy mandates whose implementation takes time away from focusing on teaching and learning. We take comfort in digging “deeper in the weeds” to engage in the discourse necessary to examine the full spectrum of ideas, premises, and aspirations to help shape, define, and offer perspectives to ameliorate the conditions that sabotage leadership for teaching and learning. We engage in this discussion to help teachers, leaders, and the community of policy makers and researchers resolve the tensions that have typically beleaguered school systems. Without such explorations, the status quo will continue without school leaders realizing what we believe is a brighter landscape for teaching, learning, and leadership, one that can coalesce seamlessly as teachers and leaders work to improve student learning. We begin by examining leadership for teaching and learning.

Leadership for Teaching and Learning

Educational leadership for teaching and learning closely aligns with the foundational aspects outlined by Lambert (1998), who urged leaders to adapt a constructivist point of view related to leadership for learning:

The key notion ... is that leadership is about learning together, and constructing meaning and knowledge collectively and collaboratively. It involves opportunities to surface and mediate perceptions, values, beliefs, information, and assumptions through continuing conversations; to inquire about and generate ideas together; to seek to reflect upon and make sense of work in the light of shared beliefs and new information; and to create actions that grow out of these new understandings. Such is the core of leadership.

(Lambert, 1998, pp. 5–6)

The complexities of educational leadership for teaching and learning have emerged in high-stakes environments with continually changing assessments (Stecher, 2010) and external reforms that often exacerbate already inherent tensions in practice, such as in principal evaluation (Zepeda et al., 2014).

Paradoxically, MacBeath (2012) called for closer examination of the underlying meanings associated when the terms “leadership” and “learning” as a construct of “commonsense” practice were conjoined:

So common are these two big ideas—leadership and learning—that, without seeing them with new eyes we can take too much for granted and fail to perceive ways in which they interconnect. “Insight” is the term we use to denote an act of taking a new look, a new way of seeing, and a new way of knowing.

(MacBeath, 2012, p. 1)

Underlying this view of leadership and learning, numerous hybrid phrases have surfaced in the literature, including leadership for learning (Resnick & Glennan, 2002). This concept has provoked controversies and insights (MacBeath & Townsend, 2011), and has precipitated new meanings and actions of primary actors such as central office leaders (Honig, 2013; Knapp et al., 2010; Mombourquette & Bedard, 2014; Waters & Marzano, 2006), principals (Leithwood et al., 2004; Terosky, 2013; Wallace Foundation, 2012), and teacher leaders (Lovett & Andrews, 2011; Wang & Zepeda, 2013). Furthermore, the constructs of distributed leadership and capacity building have emerged to address the new demands of leadership and learning in schools (Bolden, 2011; Leithwood et al., 2006; Lovett & Andrews, 2011; Spillane, 2005; Spillane et al., 2009).

Following the effective schools movement, instructional leadership came to the fore as a way to improve the quality of school leadership and of schooling in general. Hallinger and Murphy (1985) suggested that the instructional leadership role of school leaders included establishing a mission, managing the instructional program, promoting a healthy school climate, and building a strong culture. This framework continues to have relevance today, though in more recent literature, the term instructional leadership is at times supplanted by terms emphasizing the connection between leadership, teaching, and learning, including the learning-centered principal (DuFour, 2002; Murphy et al., 2006) and learning-focused leadership (Darling-Hammond, 1997).

Hallinger (2011) offered a focused perspective on the shift in the construct of instructional leadership because “the term ‘instructional leadership’ originally focused on the role of the principal, [whereas] ‘leadership for learning’ suggests a broader conceptualization that incorporates both a wider range of leadership sources as well as additional foci for action” (p. 126). Hallinger (2009) summarized the extant literature to elaborate “four key areas in which leadership for learning adds value to the earlier conception of instructional leadership” (p. 16). According to him, the four areas are:

- Leadership for Learning as an organizing construct for school leadership, not limited to the principal as was the case with instructional leadership. It encompasses the notion of shared instructional leadership (Barth, 1990; Lambert, 1998; Marks & Printy, 2003).
- Leadership for Learning incorporates an awareness that instructional leadership practices must be adapted to the nature and needs of the school’s particular context; there is no one-size-fits-all model available for quick dissemination and implementation (Leithwood et al., 2004, 2006).

- Leadership for Learning integrates educational features grounded in conceptions of instructional leadership and selected features of transformational models such as modeling, individual focus, and capacity development (Hallinger, 2003; Leithwood et al., 2004, 2006; Robinson, Lloyd, & Rowe, 2008).
- Leadership for Learning can be viewed as a process of mutual influence in which leadership is but one key factor in a process of systemic change (Heck & Hallinger, 2009). (Hallinger, 2009, p. 16)

Concepts similar to leadership for teaching and learning have been tested empirically in schools around the globe. In their study of multiple urban schools and school systems, Knapp et al. (2010) distinguished the term learning-focused leadership—which they suggested was synonymous with learning-centered leadership and leadership for learning—from the term instructional leadership. They noted that learning-focused leadership was “much more than conventional images of instructional leadership that concentrate on individuals providing assistance or guidance to teachers, as in the school principal or literacy coach engaged in what amounts to ‘instructional coaching’ or ‘clinical supervision’” (p. 4).

Other scholars have noted that what we refer to as leadership for teaching and learning is currently used to represent a combination of leadership practices commonly associated with the teaching and learning aspects of instructional leadership and the capacity-building aspects of transformational leadership (Hallinger, 2011; Heck & Hallinger, 2014). Hallinger (2011) suggested that the transition to the more encompassing term leadership for learning reflects a broader conceptualization of who serves as leaders in schools as well as a wider range of activities that influence learning. This view is consistent with Knapp et al.’s (2010) use of the term learning-focused leadership, which they contend accounts for “the full range of activities, carried out by various educators, that offer teachers ideas, assistance, or moral support specifically directed at instruction and that urge or even compel teachers to try to improve” (p. 4).

The current context for educational leadership has heightened the need for increased levels of student performance on standardized tests. Thus, in the current environment, leading for teaching and learning is linked to being accountable for student achievement (Parylo et al., 2012). For schools to be able to resist the temptation to meet short-term achievement levels presented by this press and to be able to meet other dimensions of their missions, there must be an increased focus on developing and supporting adult as well as student learners within schools (Terosky, 2013) and central offices (Knapp et al., 2010). Drago-Severson (2012) argued that leaders have a critical role to play in adult as well as student learning, stating that they must find ways to “grow schools as learning centers that can effectively nurture and sustain the development of adults and children” (p. 3).

The corpus of research on educational leadership strongly points toward maintaining a sustained approach to increasing leader, teacher, and student learning through a focus on developing individual and organizational capacities. The need to meet the press of accountability has only increased the importance of educational leaders succeeding in this regard. This accountability press has also increased the need for educational leaders to enable others to enhance the development of leadership for teaching and learning (Dimmock, 2012; Knapp et al., 2010; MacBeath, Oduro, & Waterhouse, 2004). In the following section, we summarize the history of the accountability movement, especially in American education, underscoring the growing importance of standards and data and the changing roles of federal, state, and district authorities.

Historical Underpinnings

The Accountability Movement

Growing public scrutiny of education and debates over educational outcomes accompany ongoing educational reforms characterized by increased accountability, developing and enforcing content and performance standards, and the growing use of data by educators at the school and school system levels. Educational accountability—or assessing the success of teachers, leaders, or schools based on students' academic attainment—is a reality. At its root, the accountability movement was a response to the growing concerns of policymakers over the perceived inadequate academic achievement of students, especially those from minority groups and less affluent backgrounds (Coleman et al., 1966; Edmonds, 1979; Lezotte, 1994). As a result, student academic achievement and school improvement and reform became the foci of discussions around failing schools and the felt need for higher standards to improve them. Other accountability metrics such as graduation rates and attendance are being used in an attempt to improve education—a perennial process that has endured for over three decades.

The effective schools movement worked on numerous correlates, notably that principal leadership matters with managing the instructional program (Brookover & Lezotte, 1977; Edmonds, 1979). Barth (1990) concluded that the quality of the educational program depended on the principal; the principal was the catalyst for teachers' growth; and the principal was the most potent factor in determining school climate.

In the United States, the interest in educational standards and the rise of standards-based reforms originated from the state and national policies and initiatives of the 1980s–1990s (Hamilton, Stecher, & Yuan, 2008). The onset of the wave of accountability is usually associated with the publication in 1983 of the report *A Nation at Risk*. Following this, state and national organizations initiated educational improvement initiatives, developing content standards for different subjects. During the 1980s, the effective schools movement promoted the role of principals as *managers* of the instructional program (Brookover & Lezotte, 1977; Edmonds, 1979; Purkey & Smith, 1982). Through this role, principals could supposedly significantly influence educational attainment and increase student outcomes (Egley & Jones, 2005). However, Hallinger (2012) reported that “the effective schools movement ... focused more global attention on instructional leadership” (p. 1), that ran the gamut from trying to identify leadership behaviors (Sweeny, 1982) to the work and roles of transformational leaders (Yukl, 2002), work which began in the 1990s. These developments gave way to other models, such as distributed leadership (Bolden, 2011; Elmore, 2000; Harris et al., 2007; Spillane, 1998, 2005) and teacher leadership (Harris, 2005; Wang & Zepeda, 2013; Zepeda, Mayers, & Benson, 2003) to sustain the change needed for school improvement (Fullan, 2002, Harris, 2012).

Solidifying the doom and gloom reports primarily authored during the 1980s and moving into the 1990s, the National Council on Education Standards and Testing was formed in 1991. Policy makers and politicians welcomed national legislation to support the accountability movement as a reaction to what was described as the global and technical skills war that promoted major school reforms, including a more rigorous and relevant curriculum so that students could keep pace globally (Lezotte & McKee, 2002).

In 1994, President Clinton signed into law the Goals 2000: Educate America Act that formalized federal and state content standards and state assessments.

The Improving America's Schools Act of 1994 and the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001 emphasized the need for standards and aligned assessments, which became the centerpiece of the standards-based reform, continuing with the reform-based incentive program, Race to the Top, described as a lever to "drive states nationwide to pursue higher standards, improve teacher effectiveness, use data effectively in the classroom, and adopt new strategies to help struggling schools" (NCLB, 2001, Para. 1). In this climate, instructional leadership was often positioned as a panacea for the perceived shortcomings of public education. Hallinger (2012) aptly surmised thus: "Policy makers had found a hammer—instructional leadership—and everything related to the principalship began to look like a nail" (p. 3). Accountability reform placed special attention on educational standards and data use, and has led to the changing roles for federal, state, and school district authorities regarding teaching and learning.

Standards

The standards-based reforms focused schools and systems on six key features: (1) outlining academic expectations for students; (2) aligning the key elements of the educational system; (3) using assessments of student achievement to monitor performance; (4) decentralizing responsibilities for curricular and instructional decisions; (5) providing support and technical assistance; and (6) setting up accountability provisions (Hamilton et al., 2008). In this context, school-based accountability provided students, teachers, and leaders with incentives to perform and stakeholders with the means to assess their progress (Figlio & Loeb, 2011).

Students' achievement was measured by performance on standardized tests against predefined standards of what students of a certain age should know, understand, and be able to do (Darling-Hammond, 1997). Howard and Sanders (2006) asserted that "standards serve as guides to best practices in a variety of endeavors associated with systems of accountability" (p. 54). Although standards-based education reform has endured, practitioners and policy-makers are frequently confused by most standards (National Academy of Education, 2009). However, in spite of criticism and public scrutiny, the standards' proponents emphasize that "standards and assessments serve as an important signaling device to students, parents, teachers, employers, and colleges" (Ravitch, 1995, p. 27).

Data

Running parallel to standards-based reforms, one of the central features of the educational accountability movement is the growing focus on using data to improve teaching and learning. The calls to use data for school improvement are not new: *A Nation at Risk* emphasized the importance of using data in making educational decisions (Gordon, 2006). Using evidence to guide instructional practices and decision-making has become one of the key components of the evidence-based practice movement. The reason for this emphasis is the ever-increasing amount of data available to educators owing to NCLB requirements and Race to the Top incentives (Murray, 2013).

Recent educational reforms worldwide have emphasized the importance of collecting and managing educational data to improve student learning by providing evidence of educational achievement to monitor students' academic progress. As a result,

evidence-based practice has become a part of the educational improvement discourse that calls for the use of data to inform systemic change (Shen & Ma, 2006). In fact, evidence-informed decision making is one of the buzzwords of the educational accountability movement, having evolved from “data-based” to “data-driven” to “data-informed” educational practice (Knapp et al., 2006; Murray, 2013; Shen & Cooley, 2008; Shen et al., 2007, 2012).

While educational policies and priorities are clear, at the practitioner level the situation is more complicated. At present, educators, schools, and school districts have access to numerous sources of data (e.g., student background data; achievement data; longitudinal centralized data systems at the district, state, and national levels, etc.). Teachers, school leaders, and district leaders are expected to use data to set the improvement targets for the academic year both for individual students and for school districts, to increase achievement in a specific subject, to guide the selection of professional development for teachers and leaders, and to improve the school district overall. However, many teachers and leaders do not possess an adequate level of data literacy to retrieve, analyze, or problematize relevant data and to base instructional decisions on these data (Cosner 2011; Murray, 2013; Wayman et al., 2008). As a result, data usage differs greatly among schools and districts, and frequently these data are not used widely to improve student success or to guide school improvement efforts (Means et al., 2009). Thus, the potential of data to improve schools has not yet been fully realized.

The effects of high-stakes accountability reform in education related to data are noticeable at the school, system, state, and federal levels. First, there is the growing attention to the use of test scores to evaluate teachers (Darling-Hammond et al., 2011; Goe, 2007; Torff & Sessions, 2005), principals (Zepeda et al., 2014), and superintendents (Stronge, 2008), and the work they do to support principal leadership growth and development (Zepeda et al., 2016). Second, data have been used predominantly for accountability purposes (Shen & Cooley, 2008), and it “is a serious issue when schools and school leaders view data primarily as an accountability measure rather than as a tool to improve classroom teaching and student learning” (Murray, 2013, p. 172). Third, research about the effects of accountability is limited and inconclusive (Koretz, 2005; Skrla & Scheurich, 2004). Some studies reported greater mathematics achievement in states with higher accountability measures (Carnoy & Loeb, 2002) and indicated that accountability requirements increase student achievement on both high- and low-stakes tests (Rockoff & Turner, 2010). Yet, while standards-based education reform was implemented by reformers envisioning major changes in curriculum and assessment, its implementation is frequently narrowed down to test-based accountability (National Academy of Education, 2009). In addition, some are concerned that high-stakes testing results in teaching-to-the-test practices (Hilliard, 2000; Miller, 2002; Popham, 2001) and that it negatively impacts minority students (Stecher & Hamilton, 2002).

The Changing Role of Federal, State, and District Authorities

Overall, the high-stakes accountability reform of public education shifted the level of involvement at the federal, state, district, and school levels. Even though education in the United States is governed at the state level, federal involvement in state-level educational matters has increased significantly since the passage of the NCLB Act (Gottfried et al., 2011). This is especially noticeable in the area of school improvement, as marked by numerous federal and state initiatives (e.g., offering grants to improve

failing schools; reorganizing principal preparation and professional development; promoting principal and teacher mentoring, etc.).

The accountability era brought renewed attention to the role of school district in orchestrating educational change (Spillane, 1998, 2005). In addition, standards and accountability requirements result in various changes at district and school levels, by increasing state monitoring of education:

Contemporary accountability policies have created the added expectation that districts will differentiate support to schools on the basis of achievement results from state testing programs and other accountability measures, with particular attention to be given to schools where large numbers of students are not meeting standards of proficiency.

(Seashore Louis et al., p. 199)

The changing roles of federal, state, and school district authorities that result from accountability reforms have altered the roles and responsibilities of school-level leaders, primarily the principal.

School Leadership for Teaching and Learning

Reforms, standards, and data-generation efforts are often based on or result in mistaken assumptions as to who does what in schools—who leads, who follows, and who benefits from these efforts. Central to this work is the leadership of highly effective principals who can transform schools and student learning by focusing on the instructional program, all the while being the “educational visionary offering direction and expertise to ensure that students learn” (Hoerr, 2008, p. 84).

The focus on accountability has made the work of the principal more complex and demanding (Fink, 2010; Sorenson, 2005). Today, principals are balancing traditional responsibilities and new roles brought forth by high-stakes educational reform (Parylo & Zepeda, 2014). They are still expected to fulfill traditional responsibilities, such as hiring teachers (Hallinger & Heck, 1998; Robinson et al., 2008; Smylie & Hart, 1999), managing the buildings (Browne-Ferrigno & Muth, 2004; Cascadden, 1998), addressing teacher turnover (Conley & Cooper, 2011), and having a solid understanding of school law (Militello, Schimmel, & Eberwein, 2009). In addition to these responsibilities, principals are also required to ensure instructional quality (Hallinger & Heck, 1998; Robinson et al., 2008; Smylie & Hart, 1999), to orchestrate school change and school improvement (Haar, 2004), to integrate new digital tools to ensure technology supports personalized learning environments (McLeod & Richardson, 2011; Schiller, 2003), to offer professional learning for teachers (Zepeda, 2015), and to implement continuously evolving innovations in their schools (Hallinger, 2012; Hite et al., 2006). Essentially, principals become the leaders for teaching and learning because they are “strong educators, anchoring their work on the central issues of learning and teaching, and school improvement” (CCSO, 1996, p. 5).

Arguably, a principal’s most important contribution is as an instructional leader (Robinson et al., 2008), which includes being accountable for student achievement (Browne-Ferrigno & Muth, 2004; Cascadden, 1998; Fink, 2010; Goodwin, Cunningham, & Childress, 2003; Hess & Kelly, 2007); being the model of life-long learning, along

with teachers (Zepeda, 2013, 2015); and being able to share and distribute leadership (Harris, 2012; Spillane, 2005; Spillane et al., 2009). As instructional leaders, principals are responsible for building capacity and promoting innovation within schools (Cunningham & Cordeiro, 2009), mastering instruction to support best practices in classroom teaching (Trachtman & Cooper, 2011), and having data leadership skills—analyzing, interpreting, and learning from data (Ginsberg & Kimball, 2008).

The Nexus between Principal Leadership and Student Achievement

Principals are assessed through evaluations that are based, in part, on student achievement (Roach, Smith, & Boutin, 2011; Zepeda et al., 2014). Although principals do not affect student achievement directly, research suggests a relationship between principal practices and student learning (Gurr, Drysdale, & Mulford, 2005; Hallinger & Heck, 1998; Leithwood et al., 2004). Research since the early 2000s has sought to determine the relationship between school leadership, most often embodied by the principal, and student learning outcomes. This research highlighted the indirect role principals play in improving academic achievement by creating the conditions that support teaching and learning (Day, Jacobson, & Johansson, 2011; Hallinger, 2011; Hallinger & Heck, 1996, 1998; Leithwood, Harris, & Hopkins, 2008; Marzano, Waters, & McNulty, 2005; Robinson et al., 2008; Seashore Louis et al., 2010). Research in this area has also emphasized the need to adapt core instructional and transformational leadership practices to suit the immediate school and community contexts (Heck & Hallinger, 2014; Klar & Brewer, 2013a, 2013b; Leithwood et al., 2008; Seashore Louis et al., 2010; Zepeda et al., 2014). These core practices are: setting direction, developing people, redesigning the organization, and managing the instructional program (Harris et al., 2007; Seashore Louis et al., 2010). Of these core practices, Robinson et al. (2008) found that instructional leadership practices have a greater effect on student achievement than practices associated with transformational or other forms of leadership. Of the instructional leadership practices, leaders' support for and participation in activities that developed teachers had the largest effect size.

The relationship between principal leadership and student achievement (Gentilucci & Muto, 2007; Hallinger, 2011; Hallinger & Heck, 1998; Heck & Hallinger, 2014; Leithwood et al., 2006; Leithwood & Jantzi, 2000; Robinson et al., 2008; Supovitz, Sirinides, & May, 2010) cannot be overestimated, as “it is the principal, more than anyone else, who is in a position to ensure that excellent teaching and learning are part of every classroom” (Wallace Foundation, 2012, p. 3).

While some emphasize transformational leadership as contributing to student achievement (Griffith, 2003), others identify instructional leadership as being influential (Leithwood, Begley, & Cousins, 1994). Yet, Marks and Printy (2003) found that transformational leadership alone did not have a significant effect on student achievement; however, when transformational leadership was coupled with shared instructional leadership, “students performed at high levels on authentic measures of achievement” (p. 392). Robinson et al. (2008) concluded that “the average effect of instructional leadership on student outcomes was three to four times that of transformational leadership” (p. 635). They suggest that, under specific conditions, there is a significant effect of instructional leadership on student achievement. Research points

to the relationship between the principal, instructional leadership, and student achievement, indicating that principals and their leadership are influential in promoting gains in student achievement.

Distributed Leadership and Leading for Teaching and Learning

Principals around the world are encouraged to engage others in building organizational capacity and fostering school climates that support teacher learning and development. This may require school leaders to change their role from one of managing teachers to one of nurturing teacher development and collaborative learning through learning-oriented school climates (Drago-Severson, 2012; Drago-Severson & Blum-DeStefano, 2012). Drago-Severson (2012) identified three main practices principals use to foster a learning-oriented climate for teachers. These practices were: “(a) attending to context-specific priorities for creating and enhancing school climate, (b) cultivating shared values and flexibility, and (c) building a culture of collaboration” (p. 2).

In their study of learning-focused leadership, Knapp et al. (2010) reported that schools demonstrating growth in student achievement prioritized knowing students as learners, set a school-wide learning agenda, provided teachers with instructional support, developed systems for monitoring student progress that were aligned with their district’s systems, and established shared norms of responsibility for student progress. Many of the practices, and much of the professional development required to support them, were led by a variety of administrators and “learning-focused teacher leaders” (Knapp et al., 2010, p. 11), such as instructional coaches and assessment or data coordinators.

The role of leading for teaching and learning in schools is one that can be enhanced with the inclusion of numerous actors within schools. More than simply being a job too large for a single school leader to handle (Barnett & Aagaard, 2007; Copland & Boatright, 2006; Terosky, 2013), research findings reflect the growing emphasis on distributing leadership (Spillane & Coldren, 2011) to enhance schools’ capacities for teaching and learning (Day et al., 2011; Mulford & Silins, 2003), change (Camburn, Rowan, & Taylor, 2003; Day & Harris, 2002; Hallinger, 2011), and student achievement (Hallinger & Heck, 2010a; 2010b). Harris (2012) noted that in educational reform efforts around the world, principals are being asked to distribute leadership responsibilities to other leaders in their schools. A culture of distributed leadership is grounded in the notion of transforming schools into organizations that better use the perspectives, capabilities, and interests of other school members (Fletcher, 2004; Supovitz et al., 2010). Taking a macro view, we now examine the role of district office educational leaders in leading for teaching and learning within this context.

District Office Leadership for Teaching and Learning

As with school-level leaders, district or municipal-level educational leaders play a key role in supporting teaching and learning in schools. In a meta-analysis of studies conducted since 1970 that included 1210 districts, Waters and Marzano (2006) confirmed that, contrary to popular beliefs about district offices providing little benefit to schools,

district office leadership does indeed matter. More specifically, district leaders positively affect student achievement when they collaboratively develop and monitor progress toward achieving goals around teaching and learning, and when they provide common frameworks for improvement. District leaders exhibited what the authors referred to as “defined autonomy” (p. 13), where they set clear, non-negotiable goals for learning and instruction while providing school leadership teams with the responsibility and authority to determine how to meet those goals.

Even with the positive impact district leaders can have on student achievement, historically, these positions were not specifically developed with this responsibility in mind, and district leaders have consequently played a limited role in supporting efforts to increase learning (Honig, 2012; Honig & Copland, 2008). Honig (2012) reported that “school district central offices were originally established and have historically operated to carry out a limited range of largely regulatory and basic business functions—not to support teaching and learning improvement” (p. 735). Honig and Copland noted that educational reform policies have not included central offices, primarily focusing instead on schools. Honig (2013) stated there is often a “mismatch” (p. 1) between the traditional roles of district offices related to business and compliance matters and the key role district leaders are now required to play in meeting the press for student achievement.

Despite the mismatch that may be found in many district roles, scholars have recently begun to illustrate the practices of district offices that have focused their efforts on supporting schools. These scholars (Honig, 2012, 2013; Honig & Copland, 2008; Honig & Rainey, 2014; Knapp et al., 2010) illustrated how some district offices have been reorganized into “new performance-focused organizations that provide high-quality services to support school results” (Honig, 2013, p. 4). According to Honig and Copland (2008), these practices include facilitating the formation of “learning-focused partnership relationships” (p. 3) between central office administrators and schools, and providing administrators with the support and professional learning opportunities to become participants in reform processes related to student achievement.

These findings are similar to the results of a six-year study of the links between school, central office and state-level leadership, and improving student learning. In this study, Seashore Louis et al. (2010) found that leaders in districts with higher levels of achievement fostered a high level of collective efficacy; developed shared expectations for teaching, learning, and leadership; differentiated their support of schools implementing new practices; developed school leaders; facilitated learning to meet challenges related to teaching and learning; and coordinated units within the central office to better support schools. They also found that units within these district offices “acted more interdependently than independently in relation to district-wide and school-specific needs” (p. 210).

Seashore Louis et al. (2010) illustrated the affordances of district office leaders collaboratively concentrating their efforts on providing “common professional learning experiences for principals, focused on district expectations for instructional leadership and administration” (p. 211). These findings are consistent with other research highlighting the need for district office leaders to support principal professional learning (Bottoms & Fry, 2000; Honig, 2012, 2013; Honig & Rainey, 2014; Knapp et al., 2010; Mombourquette & Bedard, 2011; Zepeda et al., 2014).

In recent studies of central offices that transformed themselves to better support teaching and learning in schools, researchers found that leaders formed partnerships

aimed at supporting teaching and learning through the development of school-level leadership (Honig, 2012; 2013; Honig & Rainey, 2014; Knapp et al., 2010). Through these partnerships, highly positioned district office leaders became instructional leadership developers who worked to support networks of administrative and teacher leaders. Honig and Rainey (2014) examined six principal professional learning communities from one district, and reported that, through this partnership, school-level leaders received job-embedded professional development related to improving teaching and learning. The district office leaders focused discussions around meeting common problems and challenging current practices, among other practices consistent with communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Honig and Rainey (2014) illustrated the potential for district offices to transition from their traditional roles to ones focused on supporting leadership for teaching and learning in schools by, at least in part, creating learning communities for school leaders.

Thus far, we have examined the implications of leadership for teaching and learning, the historical and political landscape of standards, accountability, and increased federal involvement, the primacy of the principal's role in leading teaching and learning in their buildings, the need for distributed leadership and partnerships needed between the district office and the building level to foster the work needed to focus on educational leadership for teaching and learning. We now focus on what we envision to be the new landscape of leadership to support teaching and learning for the success of all students.

The New Landscape of Leadership for Teaching and Learning

Throughout this chapter we have used the term leadership for teaching and learning. We adopted the term to emphasize the role educational leaders have in fostering and sustaining teaching and learning environments for all members of the school community, and to highlight the need to build individual and organizational capacity to take precedence over the need to meet shorter-term, accountability-based goals.

The contexts of teaching and learning are dynamic and rapidly changing. Further, accountability demands continue to mount in the form of federal and local policies and the greater involvement of an increasing number of stakeholders in educational processes. Such an environment requires that organizations and the individuals within them develop the capacities to identify, adapt to, and deftly enact change. This level of dexterity requires more leadership involvement than individual school and district leaders can provide. To this end, many reform efforts around the world now call for the greater involvement of multiple leaders in schools and district offices (Harris, 2012), and, in the United States, both school leaders (CCSO, 2008), and educational leadership preparation programs are now being evaluated on the abilities of school leaders to distribute leadership (National Policy Board for Educational Administration, 2011).

Distributed leadership is commonly viewed both as a theoretical framework for examining how leadership is enacted in schools and as a strategy for school improvement (Robinson, 2009; Spillane & Coldren, 2011). When referred to from the normative perspective, distributed leadership is often used synonymously with shared and other forms of collaborative leadership (Hallinger & Heck, 2009; Harris et al., 2007). Distributed leadership from the latter perspective is seen as advantageous in that it has

the potential to engage more people in leadership activities, to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of organizational processes, and to build human capacity (Mayrowetz, 2008). Mayrowetz suggested that as people engage in leadership activities they learn about and develop the knowledge and skills necessary to cultivate the collective capacity to meet the challenges that confront their schools.

Though research on the specific affordances and limitations of distributed leadership is still emerging and warrants a cautious approach (Bolden, 2011; Lumby, 2013; Myung, Loeb, & Horng, 2011; Torrance, 2014), there is growing evidence of a correlation among distributed leadership, organizational capacity, and academic achievement (Hallinger, 2011; Hallinger & Heck, 2010a, 2010b, Heck & Hallinger, 2009; Leithwood & Mascall, 2008). Paradoxically, distributing leadership requires formal leaders to play a role in increasing the leadership opportunities, activities, and capabilities of others (Harris, 2012). This role positions school and central office leaders as individual and organizational capacity builders (Leithwood et al., 2004; O'Day, Goertz, & Floden, 1995; Stoll, Bolam, & Collarbone, 2002).

For the purpose of examining the roles of school and district office leaders in growing the capacities of individuals, groups, and organizations to lead for teaching and learning, in this chapter we adopted the definition of distributed leadership used in a study of high school principals who fostered the leadership capacities of other leaders in their schools (Klar et al., 2015). In this study, distributed leadership was viewed as “a purposeful approach to increasing school effectiveness through the involvement of other formal and informal school leaders in leadership activities” (p. 5). This perspective presupposes that formal leaders are willing and able to serve as leadership capacity builders, that they use a constructivist approach as advocated by Lambert (1998), and that they create learning-oriented climates that support individual and collaborative learning (Drago-Severson, 2012; Drago-Severson & Blum-DeStefano, 2012) to foster the capacity for individual, group, and organizational leadership development.

Adopting this perspective raises the question: How do school and central office leaders build the capacities for distributed leadership that increase leadership for teaching and learning? To answer this we draw on Mitchell and Sackney's (2011) framework for building learning communities. In particular, we examine school and central office leaders' roles in developing the personal, interpersonal, and organizational capacities to broaden and deepen distributed leadership to enhance teaching and learning.

Mitchell and Sackney (2011) viewed personal capacity as an individual's values, assumptions, beliefs, practices, and knowledge. School leaders are well positioned to support the development of others' personal capacities to become leaders for teaching and learning (Klar, 2012a, Mangin, 2007; Matsumura et al., 2009). Klar et al. (2015) found that high school principals can foster the development of other leaders through a complex and reciprocal process of identifying potential leaders, creating leadership opportunities, and continuously facilitating and monitoring their development as leaders. Knapp et al. (2010) and Seashore Louis et al. (2010) found that leaders of successful school districts worked closely with schools to support the development of teachers and formal leaders.

Developing the interpersonal capacities of school and central office stakeholders to lead for teaching and learning is grounded in notions of sociocultural learning, and suggests that “professional learning is most likely to lead to profound improvement when individuals work collaboratively with supportive colleagues who are also engaged

in continuous development” (Mitchell & Sackney, 2011, p. xx). Thus, the work of school and central office leaders in the new landscape will require an increase in efforts to create and sustain cultures of professional trust and respect among colleagues. While professional communities have become more common in schools and have been shown to support teacher development (Seashore Louis & Marks, 1998), they can also be used to support leadership development. Klar (2012b) highlighted the manner in which three urban high school principals transformed the leadership teams in their schools into professional communities that supported the instructional leadership development of department chairs. Central office leaders have also been shown to transform their organizations to work more interdependently with schools and within the central office units themselves (Seashore Louis et al., 2010). Leaders of other district offices have learned how to better support schools and their leaders by creating principal professional learning opportunities (Della Sala et al., 2013; Honig & Rainey, 2014).

One of Mitchell and Sackney’s (2011) three mutually reinforcing and interrelated capacities is focused on organizational conditions and the manner in which they can enhance personal and interpersonal capacity development. As noted in the examples provided, individual and interpersonal capacity development occurred when conditions, both structural and affective, supported learning.

The current context in which school and central office leaders work calls for a strong focus on what we have come to call leadership for teaching and learning. However, we contend that this environment also necessitates a focus on developing the capacities of others to join in this endeavor. Thus, we believe leading for teaching and learning in the new landscape will involve creating the organizational conditions to foster the personal and interpersonal capacities of others who can also enact leadership for learning. This refocusing of school leaders’ roles has implications for the preparation and evaluation of current and future leaders. Among other things, this refocusing will require that leaders have the personal characteristics, interpersonal skills, and abilities to lead in accordance with the context and culture of their environment (Dimmock, 2012).

While the current accountability environment has created a great number of challenges for school and central office leaders, it has also served as a catalyst to encourage educators to examine their practices with more scrutiny and to search for innovative ways to improve teaching and learning. We contend that school and central office leaders who utilize this catalyst to build the personal, interpersonal, and organizational capacities to enhance leadership for teaching and learning will be better suited to meet both current and future challenges. Though some districts may possess the capacities to support leadership for teaching and learning, other districts, particularly small and rural ones, may need to create improvement networks (Bryk, Gomez, & Grunow, 2011) or researcher–practitioner partnerships (Coburn, Penuel, & Geil, 2013; Yakimowski, 2015) to reach this goal.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined the roots of what we called leadership for teaching and learning, describing the application of this concept to current practice, and forecasting the new landscape for educational leaders. Overall, leadership for teaching and learning is not a new concept. It is grounded in the educational reforms since the

mid-1970s and has come of age in the accountability era. As described, we view leadership for teaching and learning as a broad concept that encompasses leadership at all levels, not merely at the school leader level.

Recent educational reforms have placed greater emphasis on student learning and educational outcomes. In this climate, issues related to teaching and learning have dominated the attention of all stakeholders, shifted the roles, responsibilities, and levels of involvement of leaders at all levels, and led to the emergence of new concepts.

One of the key concepts that emerged from this climate was leadership for teaching and learning, which combines the positive characteristics of instructional leadership with a broader focus that embraces leadership at all levels. Leadership for teaching and learning also reflects the changes that have occurred in leaders' roles and responsibilities, emphasizing teaching and learning for all.

We forecast that leadership for teaching and learning will continue to command the attention of educators at all levels. New developments will necessitate inevitable amendments and additions. However, current research suggests that successful leadership for teaching and learning will be premised on partnerships, learning communities, targeted and job-embedded professional development, and trust (Zepeda, 2015). We argued that this success would also require a devotion to distributing leadership in a manner that involves leaders at all levels. However, for distributed leadership to succeed, it is essential to build personal, interpersonal, and organizational leadership capacity.

In summary, it is of critical importance that schools provide students with personalized learning environments so they thrive and succeed academically. To create these environments, educational leaders at all levels must work in concert to become true leaders of learning, as we have explored in this chapter.

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14

Leading Schools Down Under: Where are the Real Decisions Made?

Tony Townsend, Cathy Wylie, and Jane Wilkinson

Decision Making in Education: an Historical Review

The past three decades have seen a world-wide movement towards various policies and practices related to school autonomy. Much of this has been a response to globalization. Many of the policies related to it are couched in terms that suggest that the movement towards forms of school autonomy (variously called school-based management or SBM, site-based decision making, site-based budgeting, self-managing/self-governing schools, charter schools and local management of schools) is an important approach to improving school practices to meet the changing expectations of various stakeholders and the high global demands for education in the twenty-first century. Alongside this expectation that self-management will lead to greater levels of performance, there is also the suggestion that having self-managing schools will somehow empower local communities.

The move towards self-managing schools is generally accepted as having started in the 1970s in the Edmonton (Alberta) school district, where a three-year trial of school-based management in seven schools was expanded in the early 1980s to the more than 200 schools in the district (Caldwell & Spinks, 2005, p. 149). The movement gained further traction in the second half of the 1980s, with the UK government's move towards Grant Maintained Schools, the New Zealand government's Tomorrow's Schools Today policy, followed in Australia with Victoria's Schools of the Future policy in the early 1990s. The Charter School movement (USA in 1991; Sweden in 1992; Alberta, Canada in 1994; New Zealand in 2013), where public funding is provided to quasi-private schools, through vouchers or other funding mechanisms, has moved the concept of self-management even further.

It could be argued that these moves may have had their genesis many years earlier, but have just taken their time to come to fruition. However, earlier arguments for school autonomy were more about school empowerment and community involvement than they were about school performance. These arguments can be tracked back as far as the 1930s, where, in the United States, the C. S. Mott Foundation started what came to be known as the Community Schools Movement in Flint, Michigan. In Australia, the Victorian Education Department in its 1934 General Course of Study made the point that "It is considered that schools will do their most satisfactory work when they function as community centers, and generally share in community life." (cited in Townsend, 1994, p. 121)

Forty years later, it was the Karmel Report, *Schools in Australia*, which favored “less rather than more centralized control over the operation of schools” (Karmel, 1973, p. 10), where the issues of equality, devolution and community involvement were first presented as part of a national educational debate. By 1975, each government school in the state of Victoria had their own school council, with limited powers over financial and facility management and the opportunity to contribute to the development of school policy and to educational programs for the wider community. By 1984, school councils were responsible for the determination of school policy for their school and since 1985 have played a role in the selection of the school principal. The Victorian Minister of Education at the time made the comment that “the real work is in the schools, where teachers, students, principals and parents need to grasp these opportunities and make the decisions that are wisest for the school” (Fordham, 1983, p. 7).

Australian governments started to use language such as “empowerment,” “ownership,” “participation,” and “involvement” for reforms touted as necessary to improve mainstream education. This language reflected the concept of subsidiarity, whereby activities able to be performed by individuals or subordinate groups should be undertaken by them and not by other more centralized authorities. The principle of subsidiarity was employed in an educational sense by Strembitsky (1973), who suggested that “whatever can best be done at the school level should be done at that level, as opposed to having those functions performed from a central location removed from the scene of the action” (p. 70). Rosenholtz (1989) concluded that the “success of any strategy for enhancing student performance depends largely on the context in which schooling occurs, an inherent part of which involves the empowerment of the people at the school site” (cited in Chapman, 1991, p. 14). Townsend (1994) talked about the “core-plus” curriculum where the “core” was that determined by the state (in which all children should participate) and the “plus” was determined by the local community (specifically aimed at what the community felt that “their” children needed, based on the local context).

Part of the reason for involving school communities in decisions about their children’s education was based on the increasingly powerful understanding that learning was contextually-bound. As the school effectiveness, and later, the educational effectiveness, movements became more influential, the role of context in student learning could no longer be denied. Creemers and Kyriakides’ (2008) theory of educational effectiveness is comprehensive in nature and looks simultaneously at the different levels of the educational system: the student, the classroom, the school, and the context in which the school exists. As Reynolds et al. (2014) argue, “over time, however, there has been increasing interest in more complex formulations of the “correlates” that reflect the possible effects of variation in the contexts in which schools are situated—the so-called “context-specific models of effectiveness” (p. 211).

So policy makers a generation ago used two connected arguments for moving towards a model of self-management in schools; the first being that it would improve student learning (make schools more effective), and the second was that local communities had a right to be involved in decision-making about their children’s education. Murphy (1992) argued that common components of the restructuring activity include four strategies: “school-based management, parental voice and choice, teacher professionalism, and teaching for meaningful understanding” (p. 98). A key means by which the restructuring activity was accomplished was through significant decentralization of responsibility for education from centralized education bureaucracies to the school site. It could

be argued, however, that of the four strategies mentioned by Murphy, the issue of choice and its companion, the market, became much more important than parental voice as a lever for change.

One common thread that emerged from this activity in the 1980s and 1990s is that greater responsibility and accountability for what happened in schools was also placed on the school communities, in some cases without their agreement or support. Fink and Stoll (1997), in their series of papers which examined moves to accountability in the late 1980s and early 1990s in the Halton School District in Canada, identified a key issue when they argued that “many current reform efforts throughout the world reflect a naive confidence in schools’ ability to effect change without support” (p. 189).

These early doubts about devolution of decision-making to the school level were reflected in many places. Devolution did occur, but not as it was envisaged by those who originally proposed it and it was not as effective as hoped for. Sharpe (1993, pp. 4–6) had argued that the extent of devolution of decision-making in schools in the UK could be roughly measured on a continuum from total external control (which has never really existed in most Western societies) to total self-management (which is unlikely to ever exist). With 1973 (the date of the Karmel Report on Australian education) as the base line, Sharpe considered the direction of change (more external control or more self-management) from that time on. His view was that, overall in Australia there had been some change towards greater self-management of schools, but not as much as some might argue. He also suggested that the decentralization movement might be a pendulum, rather than a linear progression and was a “window of opportunity” that would disappear when politicians realized that they had less control over what was happening in schools. McGaw (1994), in his keynote speech to the International Congress for School Effectiveness and Improvement, suggested that care needed to be taken that the “devolution of responsibility” did not simply become a “displacement of blame”, particularly where transfer of responsibility was accompanied by a decreasing resource base.

When the new state government in Victoria, Australia, elected in 1992, implemented a “Schools of the Future” program—the key features of which included increased responsibilities for decision-making in the areas of curriculum, financial management, staffing and policy for school councils and principals at the school site—it was thought to be a Brave New World of educational management. However, by aligning moves towards decentralization with funding cutbacks for public schooling, it could be argued that the Victorian government was making the right moves, but for all the wrong reasons.

Bell (1993) pointed out that the main thrust of the legislative changes in the United Kingdom in the late 1980s and early 1990s was to create a

centrally controlled national curriculum that gives children an entitlement to specific curriculum content and enables direct comparisons to be made between all schools through national assessment. Quality here is conceptualised in terms of specific outcomes, test results, and efficient use of resources rather than of processes or relative achievements. Choice means that parents are cast in the role of consumers who can make decisions about where their children are educated (p. 3).

Judy Coddling (1993), at the time a high school principal from California, and later Deputy Director of the National Alliance for Restructuring Education, indicated that, in

the United States, “it is now generally recognized that top-down mandates do not work” and that what was needed was “top-down support for bottom-up reform” (pp. 5–6). Such a position reflected the views of Michael Fullan (1982) when he argued that for change to occur, both pressure and support were required.

Rizvi 1994 (cited in Lingard, Hayes & Mills, 2002) made the point that the discourses of school autonomy as they were explicated in the 1973 Karmel report had drawn upon notions of democracy and the broader social good, combined with a focus on inputs from government in order to make schooling more equitable and responsive to school communities. However, there was a major shift in the 1980s and 1990s in Australia to neoliberal discourses of school autonomy, with a move away from government support systems and towards outputs (cloaked as school accountability). In sum, those in schools were asked to do more with less. Combined with this shift was a discourse that stressed education as a private good rather than as a way of promoting democracy, social justice and the public good. Educators such as Smyth (2011) suggested that although having school-based management could be seen as a positive way of giving parents and communities more involvement in the education of their children, it seemed that governments were choosing to do it for all the wrong reasons. The overlay of accountability and control were seen as becoming more important than allowing communities to make decisions about their children’s education.

One difficulty for schools involved in major, systemic changes is that political change and educational change work on different time lines. Whereas it might take anywhere up to ten to fifteen years for an education system to change (as curricula are developed, pilot-tested, evaluated and eventually implemented), politicians work on a three- to four-year cycle, that is, the time between elections. Unpalatable decisions such as cutbacks have to be implemented quickly, and early in a new term, so that people will either forget them before the next election or, if they have not, so that more electorally-positive decisions can be made to abate community displeasure. One outcome of this conflict in educational and political timelines is that many changes are replaced by others within a few months or years, suggesting that the original change has been unsuccessful, when perhaps a more accurate response to the change being that it has not yet had enough time to succeed. A second outcome of the political need for quick fixes is the apparent lack of trust that the community shows for its teachers and leaders. This has led to a more conservative, narrow and minimalist curriculum, on the one hand, and to having principals and teachers feeling untrusted, anxious and under pressure, on the other.

The issue of national context is also important when we consider educational decision making. Many of the countries identified above differ in many ways that impinge substantially on decision-making for educational improvement. Let us take one example as a means of comparison; that is, how many levels of decision making there are within an educational system, and what power each of these levels has in terms of making decisions. Let us compare the two countries under review here, Australia and New Zealand, with two other countries that it might be argued have a similar relationship, the USA and Canada. In each paired case, there is one country that has a much larger population and perhaps a dominant position within any partnership between the two countries because of its size. In the United States, there are four identifiable levels of decision making: national, state, school district and school, and in Canada, there are three: provincial, school district and school (Canada has no national department of

education). In Australia, there are three levels of decision making: national, state and school¹ and in New Zealand there are two levels: national and school. Perhaps it could be argued that as school populations get larger, more levels of decision making are needed. Not only this, but as populations get larger, schools need to be part of a larger organizational entity so as to ensure equity.

However, it is the next question that is much more important in terms of the focus of this chapter, and that is where are the most important decisions about education made? We need to consider if federal governments are becoming more interventionist (through the use of steering-at-a-distance accountability measures such as national standards, national testing, and national comparative websites of school data) and whether or not these interventions, combined with the additional impact of state and district decisions about education, leave room for school-based decisions.

In their article about the impact of the US federal government's *No Child Left Behind* program on the lives of school leaders, Townsend, et al. (2013) show how the location where decisions were made about schools and improving student learning seemed to have changed. Using data from structured focus groups of principals and school superintendents from across the United States, five findings were identified, including "that increasingly the power to make decisions locally, the foundation upon which US democracy is built, is being eroded as decisions that shape how education is implemented are taken out of the hands of schools and school districts and given to politicians" (pp. 80–81). There are now four levels of decision making in US schools, federal, state, district and school, but few decisions of any consequence are made at the school level. Both Canada and Australia have one less level of decision-making, but they are different in nature (Canada's levels are the provincial, the district and the school; Australia's include the federal, the state and the school). New Zealand only has two (national and school). Do fewer levels of decision-making make any difference as to how decisions about education are made and can this have an impact on the learning of young people? The question then becomes what does self-management mean when the curriculum, the assessment and the accountability issues are all determined outside of the school?

In this chapter, we wish to provide two very different case studies in order to consider the nature and types of decisions that are now made at different levels of educational provision—national, system-wide and school—to establish how decisions made at these different levels interact with each other; and, in turn, how these decisions affect student learning. The first case study is that of New Zealand, where self-management of schools has been a longstanding feature of the public education system since its inception in 1989. The second case is Queensland, Australia, where in 2012 a conservative state government ushered in Independent Public Schools (IPS) into what had previously been a highly bureaucratic, centralized and hierarchical public education system.

New Zealand: Reining in School Self-Management?

New Zealand has privileged the principle of subsidiarity for 26 years. Each of its 2,539 schools (serving 762,400 students) is stand-alone, with parent-elected boards of trustees legally responsible for the employment of staff, financial well-being and allocation of resources, maintaining its property, and operating within national regulations, which

include adherence to a national curriculum and annual reporting. The national Ministry of Education funds schools and allocates each school a roll-related teaching staffing component; it also operates a central payroll system for school staff, and negotiates with teacher and principal unions on national collective contracts. Schools can use their operational funding and any funds they raise themselves (often through parent donations, or in high socioeconomic areas, having international students) to employ teachers additional to their ministry-funded staffing component, and most do. All teachers must be registered. State schools are legally free of charge in New Zealand; integrated schools, mainly Roman Catholic, can charge fees to cover property costs.

Schools are accountable to their communities (usually understood as meaning those responsible for their students, primarily parents), and to the government, through the annual reporting cycle and a periodic review by the Education Review Office (ERO). The Office of the Auditor General also audits all school annual reports, focusing on the finances. This basic framework has remained largely unchanged since school self-management began in 1989. What has changed over time is the specification within the national educational regulations, the nature of school reviews, and most recently, how the Ministry of Education works locally with schools, and how schools might work with one another. Compared with the frameworks within which autonomous schools operate in Australia and England, New Zealand schools and their leaders enjoy more latitude to steer their own ships. But it is becoming a more focused latitude than schools experienced when they embarked on school self-management in 1989. And in fact this was a latitude already enjoyed in curriculum and pedagogy before schools also took on financial and other responsibilities (Wylie, 2012). Self-management has become more focused in part because schools operating on their own have not been able to improve student outcomes or address the longstanding underachievement of indigenous Māori (see Berryman & Lawrence, Chapter 18 in this volume), Pasifika, or students from low socioeconomic homes (Wylie, 2013).

The sheer breadth and size of the principal's role in an autonomous schools system is one of the major impediments to system development over time, with principals often focused more on administration or on "the contingent" (Slowley, 2013). Competition between schools for students has helped increase the socioeconomic segregation of New Zealand schools (Lubienski & Gordon, 2013; Wylie, 2013). Inter-school competition for students (and funding) has also often prevented schools working together to share and build knowledge, or share resources to make the most of government funding, which continues to lag behind both parent and government expectations of what schools can provide. But the lack of connectedness of schools with the government agencies responsible for education is also a fundamental reason why system improvement has been patchy in New Zealand (Wylie, 2012). Subsidiarity without ongoing support and challenge to keep developing capability and to ensure all schools can employ good leaders and teachers is not enough to ensure good professional decisions around learning, system-wide.

Government Approaches to Focusing School Latitude

It is only recently that the New Zealand government has become more focused on tightening accountabilities for schools, in contrast to the latitude schools previously enjoyed. The first decade of the twenty first century saw more focus on improving

professional capability, with incentives offered through well-grounded national professional development programs and additional resourcing for schools to work together. This era also saw the first national funding of (voluntary) programs for new principals, and eventually a coherent and well-accepted strategy around school leadership development, grounded in ministry-sector research—professional development joint work, anchored by a best-evidence synthesis (Robinson, Hohepa, & Lloyd, 2009; Wylie, 2011). A similar iterative process of development involving the ministry and education sector working together yielded a revision of the *New Zealand Curriculum* which has been well accepted by schools. This national curriculum was designed for the twenty-first century—its vision was based on “confident, connected, actively involved, lifelong learners” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 8). For the first time, this policy paper included a section on pedagogy, with a strong emphasis on both student and teacher inquiry. It was not a prescriptive document. School staff had to work with their communities to articulate their own emphasis. To realize the new curriculum properly also required ongoing attention, and more national support than schools had been able to access (Hipkins, 2015; Wylie & Bonne, 2014).

This era came to a somewhat abrupt end with a change of government in 2008. The conservative, National-led government’s election policies included the introduction of mandatory national standards for primary schools. These policies were vigorously contested, including by a coalition of several hundred school boards of trustees (Thrupp, 2013; Wylie, 2012, pp. 201–207). The opposition was not so much to the idea that there should be clarity around what progress through the curriculum looked like, and a consistent national framework of assessment (though that was an issue for some). Rather, opposition was for the rapid process, without a trialing of the new standards, and the processes by which teachers could make consistent judgements in relation to these standards. There was also opposition to the lack of inclusion of professional leaders and experts that schools had become accustomed to, in for instance, the development of the New Zealand Curriculum and the leadership strategy. Though New Zealand’s national standards are not a single test required of all students and schools, they do require teachers to make an “overall teacher judgement” of student performance for each student in reading, writing and mathematics against a description of the expected standard for a student’s year level. The categories used are unfortunate: “well below”, “below”, “at”, and “above”. The latitude New Zealand schools had come to expect is present in schools being able to choose their sources of evidence to feed an overall judgement, including both standardized tests and teacher observations. But this latitude came in for questioning when primary schools were also required to include student results in their annual charters and reports, and when it became clear that although the Ministry of Education would not itself compile “league tables” of schools (unlike England and Australia), the media were free to compile such comparisons. School staff raised the question of how comparable teacher judgements could be across schools, given that there was no government support for schools to work together to understand the new standards, and to moderate their judgements.

Five years on, and national standards have become accepted, or generally accommodated (Thrupp & White, 2013; Wylie & Berg, 2013), even though they are reported to have made little difference to student achievement. For some schools, they are seen as the currency of compliance only, recalling the unaccustomed pressure principals and boards felt to include them in their charters and annual reporting. It was made clear to

school leaders that schools that did not comply could not access Ministry of Education funded professional development and some discretionary resourcing. Schools could not be classed in the top category for the Education Review Office (ERO) reviews unless they could show national standards results for their students. Criteria for this top category were also tightened to include Māori students performing at the same level as others.

But while the national standards have joined secondary school qualifications within the set of Better Public Service targets for education, the national targets have not been used to discipline schools or school leaders. Low-achieving schools—usually but not always those in low socioeconomic areas—have been offered additional assistance and given priority for Ministry of Education-funded professional learning development. The Education Review Office has also provided more support for schools falling below its normal review cycle of three years, as part of the review process. But the additional ministry support is not mandatory.

While the Education Review Office is paying more attention to student achievement, Education Review Office reviews still include a mix of individual school and government foci. Its emphasis on developing the self-review,—inquiry—capability of schools has deepened. So while Education Review Office reviews certainly require documentation of school processes against regulations, they have not been simple compliance exercises. Indeed, principals' views of the Education Review Office have generally improved over the years.

A major challenge in reframing school latitude in New Zealand is that those in schools are wary of any government involvement in the way they work, and have been largely unused to it. Government involvement beyond discussions to secure resources has been associated more with schools in trouble, not with the ongoing health of schools. The government has had the legal authority to put in place a statutory intervention for any school where there are “reasonable grounds to believe that the operation of the school, or the welfare or educational performance of its students is at risk” since 1989. Usually the government appoints a limited statutory manager or commissioner (not a ministry staff member) which the school pays for from its operational funds. A number of egregious examples of costly interventions highlighted by principals' groups led to a working group of ministry and sector representatives in 2014, which produced recommendations for improvement. Statutory interventions are not frequent: there were 70 in place in October 2014, less than three percent of schools (Ministry of Education, 2014).

The Ministry of Education is currently re-forming its local presence and its work with schools, envisaging the development of closer relationships that will allow it to work constructively with schools. However, it is not well-staffed to do so.

Collaborative work among schools has been identified as a key mechanism to overcome some of the costs of self-managing schools and the tensions and lack of trust evident in school–ministry relationships. Early in 2014 (an election year), the conservative, National-led government announced an additional \$359 million for communities of schools, major new funding for education in a time of fiscal constraint. It also allowed the ministry to work with unions and sector groups to construct some of the details of this new policy, called Investing in Educational Success. Communities of schools would consist of ten schools, including primary and one secondary school, so that a focus on student progress over time and transitions across school years could be maintained. The leader of a community of schools and teachers who would work across the community of schools as well as their own were to receive quite large salary payments

to lead the community's work on its self-defined challenges, and to build and share professional knowledge to meet those challenges. Secondary teacher and principal representatives backed the new policy; primary teacher and principal representatives did not, saying that the money would be better spent on direct support for learners and on ensuring time for school leaders and teachers to work together. As of July 2015, close to 30 communities of schools are in formation, with only one confirmed. A joint initiative of the Ministry of Education and the New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI), the primary teachers' union, recently announced agreement on somewhat more flexible arrangements of resourcing to support schools' collaborative work.

One of the tensions around this innovative approach stems from the political desire to have results from "investment" within what is probably too short a time, given that schools are unused to the collaborative work envisaged, and the time needed to develop the relationships and trust between schools that will enable schools to share their data about student engagement and achievement, and test their hunches about improvement (Timperley, Kaser, & Halbert, 2014). Schools will also need access to relevant external expertise, something which is dependent on national and regional attention and beyond the ken of individual collaborations or schools.

Somewhat undermining this emphasis on collaboration is the introduction of charter schools, stemming from the National-led government's policy, one given support by the "ACT Party", a political party that promotes the libertarian views of a free society, free trade, free speech and personal and religious freedom. Charter schools are stand-alone institutions separated from mainstream state schools. Just five charter schools were funded to start in 2014 and four more started in 2015. This not a major introduction in terms of numbers, but is one that has rung alarm bells for various educational groups.

On the horizon also are changes to regulations arising from a 2014 taskforce which recommended greater clarity around school outcomes, school planning and reporting, among other things (Report of the Taskforce on Regulations Affecting School Performance, 2014). A review of school funding is under way in light of criticisms that socioeconomic decile weightings are too coarse to meet student needs. The outcomes of these reviews need to be consistent with a more collaborative approach if the New Zealand system is to realize the best of its self-managed schools.

In contrast to the examples of New Zealand and Victoria referred to above, where school self-management has been in existence for more than 20 years, let us now turn to the case of Queensland, Australia, where a movement towards school self-management has been a very recent feature of its state education system.

Independent Public Schools in Queensland, Australia: An Emerging System in a State of Flux

Australia has six states and two territories (the latter of which act as states, but are administered by the Federal Government) and each state has its own separate and distinct education system. Queensland, Australia is a geographically large state with a highly decentralized population ranging across regional, rural and remote areas, as well as metropolitan areas. Until recently, the state education system was highly centralized, bureaucratic, hierarchical and paternalistic, despite previous state government's attempts to decenter decision-making and bring it closer to schools and local communities

(Lingard, Hayes & Mills, 2002, p. 6). In contrast to other states such as Victoria and South Australia, where moves towards local school-based decision making commenced in the 1960s and 1970s, in Queensland there were very limited moves towards devolution and school-based management in the 1970s and 1980s. This move potentially provided it with time to learn from the experiences of other state departments (Hayes, Mills, Christie & Lingard, 2006).

In the 1990s, there were some attempts to move towards greater forms of school participation, associated with enhancing students' learning and encouraging greater local participation. However, under the Labor governments of the 1990s, there was also a "strong departmental commitment to social justice" (Lingard et al., 2002, p. 18), which was weakened when a new conservative government came to power in 1996. A range of strategies outlined by the conservative government including moves towards greater community and parent participation through the creation of school councils were resisted by teacher unions due to "reform fatigue" and suggestions of the "need for more staffing flexibility" (Lingard et al., p. 19).

In Queensland, the most concerted attempt to move from bureaucratic forms of educational governance to school-based autonomy, rooted in the argument that this would enhance students' learning, occurred from 2012 to 2015 when a newly elected conservative Liberal–National Party (LNP) government ushered in its signature educational policy, *Great Teachers = Great Results*. A major plank of this policy was: "Boosting school autonomy—empowering and enabling school leaders and teachers to drive outcomes for students" (DoE, 2013, p. 4).

"Boosting school autonomy" was proposed to occur through the "opportunity" for schools "to become independent over time", that is, through the creation of so-called Independent Public Schools (IPS) (DoE, 2013, p. 5). By 2016, out of 1,233 state schools in the Queensland system, 180 Independent Public Schools at primary and secondary level had been created, based on the argument that they would provide "state schools with greater autonomy in decision-making and increased capacity to work in new ways to maximize learning outcomes" (Independent Public Schools website, <http://education.qld.gov.au/schools/independent-public-schools/>). The aim was that by 2017, further expressions of interest from state schools would bring the total number of IPS in Queensland to 250, with most of these schools created as a result of an injection of \$12.88 million (AUD) into the school system between 2014 and 2017 by the conservative Federal Government, whose education policies also supported the creation of a greater number of independent public schools². Worryingly, there was no mention in the policy about equity or indigenous students, despite consistent evidence that indigenous students in rural and remote communities in Queensland in particular lag behind non-indigenous students in their formal educational outcomes (Lingard, 2014).

The necessity to shift to greater school and principal autonomy was claimed to be centered on ways to "improve student outcomes" (DoE, 2013, p. 4). This necessity was based on a range of evidence, including National Assessment Program Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) data, which revealed that Queensland students consistently underperformed in national literacy and numeracy tests compared to students in New South Wales and Victoria—the two most populous states (Masters, 2009; NAPLAN National Report, 2014). Policies aimed at greater school autonomy were accompanied by a range of accountability measures, which allowed the state government to

nonetheless steer schools at a distance. For instance, a school performance assessment framework and a School Improvement Unit were established, with the School Improvement Unit responsible for “carriage of the framework” and “assessing and monitoring the performance of all Queensland state schools, including Independent Public Schools” (*School Performance Assessment Framework: Queensland State Schools*, 2015, p. 3). The School Improvement Unit was not to assume “direct responsibility for intervention strategies, school planning or general compliance and reporting activities,” which remained the responsibility of schools, “supported by their regional office,” the latter of which would have a “coaching role” (*School Performance Assessment Framework: Queensland State Schools*, p. 3). However, the framework also noted that potential Independent Public Schools could be identified as part of the process of auditing schools if headline indicators used to “identify successful practices in schools” revealed “high performing schools ready to operate more autonomously as Independent Public Schools” (DoE, 2015, p. 8).

Leaders of the Queensland government argued that the creation of Independent Public Schools and the move towards greater school autonomy would give state schools “opportunity to become Independent Public Schools and embrace additional autonomy to enable:

- increased innovation
- stronger partnerships with industry and the community
- further tailoring of local school programs.”

(Independent Public Schools 2016 Prospectus, p. 2)

In arguing for policies and procedures to be adopted in ways that best suited individual communities, the government was recognizing that Queensland’s educational system was the most centralized and bureaucratic amongst the states, and remained “exceedingly weak” in its moves towards school councils, unlike states such as Victoria and New South Wales (Lingard, 2014). Most importantly, however, in making claims to enhance student performance and “cut red tape” through the creation of Independent Public Schools, the conservative government of Queensland was following in the steps of Western Australia, a state historically characterized by a highly centralized education system, in which there had been only “piecemeal” attempts to devolve central office responsibilities such as “policy, recruitment, school finances ... and the regulation of parental choice for schools” (Gobby, 2013, p. 274). The election of a conservative government in Western Australia heralded the launch in 2009 of an Independent Public Schools Initiative. The program promised to provide public schools with the ability to “apply for a range of authorities (‘flexibilities’) including the ability to hire staff, determine a school’s staffing profile, to manage resources and a one-line budget, and to opt out of some departmental policies” (Gobby, 2013, p. 273). For those who advocated on behalf of Independent Public Schools, there were claims that the initiative would provide them with “greater autonomy and independence from the education bureaucracy ... free from the putative ‘suffocating red tape’ of the education bureaucracy” (Department of Education [DOE], 2010; Government Media Office, 2009 as cited in Gobby, 2013, p. 273). Indeed, both the rhetoric and policies of the Queensland Independent Public Schools appear to be directly borrowed from the Western Australian initiative, with similar exhortations from departmental policy documents and media releases mentioned above.

Implications

Evidence for claims that Independent Public Schools initiatives and self-management of schools more broadly will enhance students' learning remains scarce. Research into Independent Public Schools in Western Australia and Queensland remains meagre due to the very recent nature of these reforms, particularly in Queensland. What little research that has emerged suggests that it is too soon to make claims along these lines. For instance, an evaluation of the Western Australian Independent Public Schools initiative noted that there was "little evidence of changes to students' outcomes such as enrolment or student achievement," despite principals' beliefs that "they were able to empower their teachers and better cater for students' specific needs" (Melbourne Graduate School of Education, 2013, pp. 7–8). Teachers were varied in their responses, with some welcoming the initiative as leading to greater collaboration and "support tailored to their students' specific needs' resourcing, while others voiced concerns over increased workloads and the possible impact on their career paths" (Melbourne Graduate School of Education, 2013, p. 8).

Moreover, there are concerns that students from some equity groups may be disadvantaged due to the emphasis in Independent Public Schools upon principal's autonomy, combined with a weakening of central policy initiatives focusing on disadvantaged students. In order to ward off criticisms that the initiative would result in a two-tiered system of privileged Independent Public Schools and mainly low socioeconomic status (SES) schools and to head off opposition from unions and teachers, Queensland, like Western Australia, invoked the state system as a "central discursive feature in the governance of schools" (c.f., Gobby, 2014, p. 10). It consistently stressed in policy documents and media releases that Independent Public Schools would remain part of that system.

One of the major concerns in regard to moves towards self-management is longer-term evidence of an increasing polarization between public schools in the "green, leafy suburbs" (Queensland public school principal, personal communication, June 12, 2014) that have been selected for Independent Public Schools status and schools which have not been, located primarily in less economically privileged areas. For instance, Victoria, the most devolved system in Australia, rolled out a program of self-managing schools in the early 1990s under the Schools of the Future program. This was accompanied by a corporate managerialist discourse centered on greater efficiency and effectiveness, a repudiation of equity or social justice initiatives, and major cuts to public education, including an almost 20 per cent cut in teacher numbers, 80 per cent reduction in central office staffing, the axing of school support centers and almost all regional offices (Townsend, 1997). A "ghettoization" of schooling has ensued in Victoria, it is argued, with public schools in wealthier areas being "invigorate[d]" by the reforms and low socioeconomic schools "denuded" of their best students, the latter of whom travel to other regions to attend middle and high SES schools (Lamb, 2007, cited in Smyth, 2011, p. 106). The Victorian example most dramatically illustrates how previously progressive moves towards school-centered reform encapsulated in notions of social justice, parent and community participation and funding inputs have been appropriated by free market, privatization agendas with a focus on outputs, in which parent participation is exercised through their consumer right to "choose" a school (Lingard, Hayes & Mills, 2002). This right to choose, it is argued, remains primarily the

prerogative of “savvy, upwardly mobile, middle-class educational consumers, who know how to work their schools politically to their advantage” (Smyth, 2011, p. 105).

Early indications suggest that some Queensland schools may face similar issues to those of schools in Victoria. A case study of two public high schools in Queensland which had recently moved towards Independent Public Schools status suggested mixed results when it came to student equity groups. The case study report contended that Independent Public Schools were “both enabling and constraining student equity in terms of resource distribution and school access” (Keddie, 2015, p. 1). Equally concerning, the case study claimed that the move towards Independent Public Schools was “undermining” schools’ focus on their public purpose through “imposing an excessive focus on narrow external accountability measures” (Keddie, 2015, p. 1). The author argued that these kinds of equity concerns arise when it is predominantly the *principals’* decision as to where scarce educational resources are directed, and this in turn underscores the importance of principals exercising “moral leadership within autonomous schooling environments” (Keddie, 2015, p. 1). In an environment of high-stakes testing and an outcomes-driven approach, competition where Independent Public Schools are competing for “desirable” students in order to maintain or increase their “market share,” these “regimes of accountability and competition can clearly compromise student equity and delimit schooling purposes” (Keddie, 2015, p. 1).

The “new possibilities” for autonomy, which are shaped by Independent Public Schools initiatives (Gobby, 2013, p. 273), are also accompanied by a range of new constraints such as the increased workload associated with administration duties such as hiring staff and administration of the payroll, accompanied by removal of district office support (Gobby, 2013). Indeed, in a recent study of rich modes of accountability in schooling in a poor rural area of Australia, it is suggested that the move towards Independent Public Schools in Australia is constituting a “systemless system” (Lingard, 2014, p. 1). In such a system, there is a “responsibilization of schools, principals and teachers” to enhance students’ learning, while simultaneously systems are withdrawing their support, cutting funding and services, and decontextualizing educators’ work, through a refusal to recognize the linkage between “school contexts, systemic policy, SES contexts, levels of social inequality, population diversity and funding” (Lingard, 2014, p. 1).

Discussion

The history of the movement towards school-based management demonstrates that the underlying rationale for decentralizing educational decision making from the administrative centers of education systems to schools has changed dramatically since the first part of the twentieth century. This change has become swifter and more dramatic in recent years. From the 1930s, when schools were seen to best serve their communities by becoming partners with them, to the 1980s, when it was considered that the best decisions would be made by those closest to where those decisions were implemented, the period of change was quite slow. Since the 1990s, the expressed reason for self-management became related to improving student achievement, first with a social justice component promoted by slogans such as the Bush administration’s No Child Left Behind and later by a more competitive approach, promoted by slogans such as the

Obama administration's Race to the Top. These changes are also characterized by an increasing reliance upon national standards, common curricula, national testing of literacy, numeracy and science and the public reporting of results, now well entrenched in Australia and looking increasingly so in New Zealand despite resistance from school communities around the country.

It could be argued that the role of schools has changed, as the world has moved from a Fordist economy, where there was less need for a highly knowledgeable and skilled workforce, to a knowledge-based economy, where lack of knowledge and skills in this highly technological and rapidly changing environment leads to the strong possibility of extended unemployment, underemployment, or wages that fail to generate sufficient income to take full part in this (post-) modern society. The rapidity of this change is demonstrated by the fact that, in the 1930s, only around 15 percent of the population in Australia completed high school and even by the 1970s this was still at only around 35 percent. In the last 40 years, this figure has more than doubled, but this still leaves around 15–20 percent of the population of any graduation year not having the certification needed to move into skilled employment.

However, the current focus on the school itself as the locus of improvement may not be as fair as it seemed back in the 1990s. Even those in the school effectiveness movement have recognized this, moving from using “school effectiveness” to the now regular use of “educational effectiveness”—a term which recognizes that effectiveness needs to work at many levels, including supporting the student, improving what happens at the classroom level, focusing on good decisions at the school level and the provision of what Fullan (2001) has called “pressure and support” at the system level.

But there now seems to be more pressure than support coming from the highest decision-making levels. If many decisions about education are being made by national governments, then we also need to consider the leadership being shown at that level. Townsend et al. (2013), in their report of a study involving superintendents and principals of US schools operating under No Child Left Behind, where Federal financial support came with many provisos, concluded that:

(the) Federal government tells states what they have to do to get this much-needed money. The states tell districts, school boards tell superintendents, and superintendents tell schools what has to happen. School leaders then have to implement some quite specific activities within classrooms to ensure that the school continues to receive the funding it needs to survive. The people most responsible for the learning outcomes of the US education system (the students) and the person most likely to guide, encourage and teach them (the teacher) are, ironically, the least powerful people in this chain (p. 75).

Pisapia (2009) argued the need to move from an over-reliance on command and control (vertical) skills, which worked well in the past when change was defined and stability was a preferred state, to a greater reliance on coordination and collaboration (horizontal) skills as a way to make consequential decisions about ends, ways and means at a time when globalization and rapid shifts in technology have led to a period of disruptive change. If we take his advice, then we would move from examples such as that used by Townsend et al. above, to ones where federal governments work with state governments, school districts and school communities to ensure that decisions made at

the system level are ones that will be supported by communities and are effective for teaching and learning. Furthermore, we would move to models where the school leaders would work with teachers, parents and students to make sure that the decisions were implemented in appropriate ways. Of course, two requirements for this to work successfully would be to adopt a bipartisan approach to improving education and to allow time for changes to be implemented, embedded, assessed and improved. These both require leadership at system and government levels rather than at the school level.

Conclusion

Townsend (2007) argued for a reassessment of what we might consider effectiveness to be and raised a number of issues for consideration. The first of these was “redefining the concept of effectiveness to consider contextual issues that occur at various levels of education” (p. 952). He suggested the possibility that as well as linking effectiveness with schools, we might also consider what effective students, effective classrooms and effective communities might look like. The New Zealand and Australian experiences with school self-management discussed in this chapter suggest that we need to add to the preceding list consideration of what effective school systems look like when thinking about how best to make good decisions for all students’ learning.

Notes

- 1 In some Australian states there is still a regional or district presence; but in most cases regions have very little decision-making power and act as an agent for the state.
- 2 The funding from the Federal Government to support Queensland’s initiative was part of \$70 million (AUD) allocated in the May 2014 Federal Budget to fund the creation of Independent Public Schools in order to “help move decision-making closer to the local community.” It was part of “wider reforms by the Federal Education Minister in an effort to improve teacher quality and give parents and principals more power over their school’s [sic] future.” In the same budget, “\$80 billion was cut from schools and hospitals” (*The Satellite*, 2014).

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15

Administrative Matters for African Educational Leaders: Illustrations from Women Secondary School Administrators in Tanzania and Ghana

Beverly Lindsay, Susanna Kofie, and Joyce G. Mbepera

Education is the premise of progress in every society, in every family. On its foundation rests the cornerstones of freedom, democracy and sustainable human development.

(Kofi Annan United Nations, 2010)

There is no tool for development more effective than empowerment of women.

(Kofi Annan United Nations, 2006)

The poignant comments by former United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, originally from Ghana, articulate the salience of the interrelationships between the criticality of education and the roles of women as African and other emerging countries move toward authentic national development. Indeed, such relationships are further emphasized by regional economic and geopolitical blocs in Africa, such as the East African Community (EAC) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Both blocs' treaties advocate cooperative relations among member states to create economic, sociocultural, political, and technological conditions that will foster, achieve, and sustain development (EAC, 1999; ECOWAS, 1975). The East African Community, comprising Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Burundi, and Rwanda—has nearly 150 million residents, while the Economic Community of West African States has about 340 million in 15 nations with several well-known ones such as Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Niger (EAC, 2015; ECOWAS, 2013). About 15 percent of sub-Saharanans reside in the East African Community and approximately 40 percent live in Economic Community of West African States. Hence the two blocs constitute about 65 percent of all African citizens (Biao, 2009; World Bank, 2015).

Education is a bedrock for sustainable development. The East African Community policy documents maintain that “education plays an important role in the progress of an individual’s mind in the region as a whole. Ignorance and poverty are major speed-breakers in the swift development of the region and can be overcome through education” (EAC, n.d, p. 1). Further, East African Community policy holds that a “goal is to reduce gender disparities and ensure gender equality, girls’ and women’s empowerment, from early childhood development to higher education” (African Union, 2006, p. 2). National legislations and policies should ensure equal opportunities in access to quality in pursuing women’s empowerment and development via capacity building (Ouédraogo, 2015).

In a similar vein, the Commissioner for Development and Gender of the Economic Community of West African States voiced that quality education is one tool for improving the well-being and development of states within the region—focusing on economic development buttressed by quality education for its youth (ECOWAS, 2013).

In order to explore the concreteness of such pronouncements, in this chapter we will: 1) explicate the historical and contemporary importance of African geopolitical blocs such as the East African Community and Economic Community of West African States; 2) portray select national policies and initiatives of Tanzania and Ghana, two pivotal countries in the East African Community and Economic Community of West African States in relation to education as examples of wider trends and phenomena; 3) examine the roles and challenges of Tanzanian and Ghanaian women educational leaders via empirical studies in view of select frameworks; and 4) posit policies and/or programs to foster and enhance educational leadership and administration in Tanzania and Ghana and through the region so that all African nations might continue socio-political and economic progress.

The East African Community and the Economic Community of West Africa

Both Tanzania and Ghana were, historically, in the forefront of mid-twentieth-century sub-Saharan independence from formal colonial rule. In particular, the dynamic leaders Julius Nyerere, the first President of Tanzania, and Kwame Nkrumah, the first Prime Minister, and then President of Ghana were leading figures. Nyerere advocated *Ujaama* (African socialist development in Tanzania) and Nkrumah advocated Pan-Africanism (in Ghana and elsewhere), as he proclaimed: “We face neither East nor West, we face forward,” (Nkrumah, 1967, p. 56). Both stressed cooperation as Africans. Their progressive goals for post-independence emphasized cooperative endeavors within their nations and with other African countries, thus establishing the preliminary forerunners of what became the East African Community and the Economic Community of West African States. Extensive challenges faced independent nations in escaping the yoke of colonialism, while working to build a cohesiveness among disparate ethnic and racial groups. To achieve these goals, within these decrees during eras of increased international challenges, socioeconomic blocs were established among neighboring African states.

Unsurprisingly, education was central, given that Nyerere and Nkrumah had both been heads of schools and had earned various degrees and diplomas. Nyerere earned a diploma in education and a master’s degree in economics in Scotland, being only the second African to earn a graduate degree in that field outside of Africa. Nkrumah was awarded a baccalaureate degree from an American historically black college and a master’s degree from an Ivy League university.

As noted above, the East African Community and Economic Community of West African States policies emphasized education; and leadership is integral to education and how it manifests itself in social institutions and educational venues. This is especially pertinent here, since 50 percent of Economic Community of West African States’ population is under 20 years of age and would benefit from formal education. Moreover, over 50 percent of the population are women, who are often absent from leadership

positions, whether in education and or other social institutions (Biao, 2009). Another important premise of the Economic Community of West African States policy is respect for human rights, including women, which buttresses participatory leadership (Biao, 2009).

The amended 2006 and 2007 treaty for the East African Community (Article 5) clearly articulates that one of the major objectives of the organization is to “develop policies and programmes aimed at widening and deepening cooperation among Partner states in political, economic, social and cultural fields, research and technology, defence, security, and legal and judicial affairs, for the mutual benefit” (EAC, 2007, p. 12). Standardization and quality assurance should foster modernization so that endeavors in one nation are recognized and acknowledged by others. East African Community policy maintains that education is absolutely critical to ensure vision and goals of East African Community and individual states in relation to Article 5. This Article declares that members would develop common programs at all educational levels, harmonize curriculum and training, and support the mobility of students and professionals. Further, educational institutions would cooperate and develop scientific and technological research (EAC, 2007, pp. 76–77) since such endeavors extend beyond single nations and geopolitical blocs. Finally, educational awareness programs must begin altering negative attitudes toward women.

Created in May 1975, Economic Community of West African States’ central objective was to create and maintain economic and regional cooperation among member states to accelerate development in West Africa (ECOWAS, 1975, cited in 2013). To achieve this objective, in June 2007 Economic Community of West African States published Vision 2020, emphasizing the creation of a “borderless, peaceful, prosperous and cohesive region built on good governance ...where people have access to opportunities for sustainable development and environmental preservation” (Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), 1975, p. 5). In its most recent plans, Economic Community of West African States policy stressed education as a means to viable employment for millions of youth and to help ensure cadres of professionals in an array of fields from business/economics, science and technology to human and health services (ECOWAS, 2013). Girls and women are to be integrally included with education as a mechanism to promote civil society and improve human environments.

In essence, in the early twenty-first century—amid extensive manifestations of globalization, where individual countries and regions struggle for economic, political, and social viability—East and West African nations seek regional harmonization, and integration with education playing a pivotal role.

National Policies and Initiatives of Tanzania and Ghana: Illustrative Cases

Tanzania

A 1995 government policy was revised in 2014 by the Tanzanian Ministry of Education and Vocational Training resulting in the report on the *Training Needs and Assessment of Establishment of Certificate in Educational Leadership, Management, and Administration* (MoEVT, 1995). This document asserted that

educational administrators should have knowledge and ability to be effective managers and leaders via “professional training in education management and administration from recognized institutions” (MoEVT, 1995 p. 29). Further, the ministry participates in the Big Results Now (BRN) initiative initiated by the Tanzanian president in February 2013. Big Results Now was intended to fast track improvements in the quality of educational service to “tangible improvements in student learning outcomes at primary and lower-secondary levels” (World Bank, 2014, p. 7). Big Results Now aimed to implement new approaches for delivery of progressive changes required to help facilitate quality assurance and accountability (World Bank, 2014, p. 7).

Further, an East African University Council emphasized the strategic importance of educational management and administration to help foster harmonization within Tanzania and other East African Community partners. Gender disparities within groups of pupils, teachers, and head teachers; inequities in funding; insufficient laboratory and technological equipment and resources; variances between rural and urban schools all call for sound creative leadership for harmonization. One mode to accomplish these objectives was to engage in creative and cooperative leadership at the school district and regional levels and, with colleagues in other East African Community countries and the Africa Union (comprising all 54 African nations).

The Tanzanian 2008–2017 Education Sector Development Programme (MoEVT, 2008, p. 26) acknowledged that both macro-and micro-level effective leadership, management, and governance are indispensable if schools are to function, it teaches one to instruct satisfactorily, and for pupils to perform well on standard national examinations. In particular, local leadership is critical in promoting teachers’ pedagogical development in order to further student growth in science and technology to meet national needs.

Some practical initiatives to cultivate leadership via national endeavors are observed in Vision 2025, including a Big Results Now toolkit that guides training programs for school heads. At the conclusion of 2013, approximately 3000 school heads had completed modules on school management and leadership at the Agency for Development of Education Management (World Bank, 2014, p. 42). The modules dealt with leadership theories (e.g., trait, transformational, and motivation), leadership styles, qualities of leaders, monitoring and evaluation, school financial management and expenditure issues. The flagship national University of Dar es Salaam offers undergraduate courses in Management of Education and School Administration encompassing leadership theories plus a master’s degree in educational leadership and management which prepares teachers to become leaders. Furthermore, regional sites such as University of Dodoma in Tanzania award undergraduate degrees in Education Management and Administration covering similar topics.

Ghana

The Ghanaian Ministry of Education developed an *Education Strategic Plan* originally covering 2003 to 2015 and extended to 2030 (Education Minister, 2015), emphasizing a holistic approach to education wherein partnerships with schools, homes and families, and communities would be evident. To achieve this goal, the ministry declared that objectives would encompass educational leadership and training for creative skills,

particularly those in science and technology, where the digital divide needs lessening. Regarding leadership, educational planning and management, along with substantial equal opportunities for girls and women at various educational levels and leadership positions are necessary. A Strengths–Weaknesses–Opportunities–Threats (SWOT) guideline was used in the initial phases of the Strategic Planning process and its use is also encouraged at local and district levels. For example, such planning uncovers unique opportunities in urban and rural locales. The weaknesses and threats revealed include the absence of coordination or limited participation by non-educational personnel (i.e. other stakeholders and volunteers).

The ministry maintains that mutual trust between various constituents and the absence of top-down approach should be evinced. Thus, management and leadership training, and certification processes and programs ought to focus on the empowerment of communities, on strategies to guide the process of empowerment, and on measures to boost academic performance. One initiative, a three-day School Performance Partnership (SPP) training, under the aegis of the Secondary Education Improvement Project (SEIP), conducted for each region benefited more than 700 participants comprising district directors, headmasters/mistresses and assistants headmasters/headmistresses, chairmen of school boards, accountants and PTA Chairs. The School Performance Partnership is one of the indicators of the Secondary Education Improvement Project calculated to empower educators in their decision making and in the implementation of programs to improve teaching and learning leading to increased student performance. Ultimately, School Performance Partnership would help to improve quality education in senior high schools in the government's strategy through the Secondary Education Improvement Project (Africa Statistical Year book, 2014).

A contemporary leadership trend taken up by the ministry is congruent with Appelbaum, Audet, and Miller's (2002) findings that women's styles are often effective within the context of team-based and consensus-driven organizational structures prevalent in today's African educational contexts. The current female Minister of Education doubles as the chairperson of the National Commission for UNESCO. Under her office, several initiatives are aimed at improving performance. For example, The Secondary Education Improvement Project (SEIP) began in September 2015, was designed to increase access to secondary education in underserved districts and to improve educational quality in low performing senior high schools (Ministry of Education, 2015). In this respect the government places emphasis on the supply of modern science equipment, chemicals and the training of science teachers and laboratory technicians to improve teaching and learning.

The ministry has engaged subject matter experts and practitioners from the best performing schools to develop training modules based on previous findings and recommendations to facilitate training by sharing their experiences with their counterparts from low performing schools. Further, experts and practitioners with proven records of school leadership were drawn from academia and secondary schools to develop training modules for leadership and management training.

We now turn our attention to the research literature and select conceptual frameworks in order to explicate case studies conducted in Tanzania and Ghanaian secondary schools, especially regarding the perspectives of women educational leaders. We then compare these, the viewpoints of local administrators and the policies and programs at the national and regional levels.

Portraits from the Literature

In reviewing the literature, we observed that women headmistresses encounter various leadership challenges. With special reference to the African continent, various texts on leadership barely mention women's leadership or how gender plays a considerable role in people's conceptions of leadership, the unique education challenges women face, and authenticity of women's leadership in the eyes of their constituents. Although women are powerful and have the abilities to lead (Onsongo, 2004; Kanjere, 2010), gender inequality in school leadership is conspicuous in many African countries and elsewhere due to overt and covert gender discrimination in appointments and promotion.

Relatively few women occupy leadership positions as headmistresses in African secondary schools. In Tanzania, they comprised approximately 18.7 percent in 2013 (ADEM, 2013), and 35 percent in Ghana (Regional Education Office, 2015). Such low representation is likely indicative of challenges stemming from local communities, rooted in societal and patriarchal family cultures, concerning headmistresses (Bhalalusesa & Mboya, 2003; Spillane, Halverson, & Diamond, 2004). The few women who do attain leadership positions have been found to use their knowledge and skills and the available human resources for successful achievement of educational goals (Agezo, 2010). Headmistresses face a variety of obstacles as they seek to achieve educational goals, including the disciplining of students whose behaviors have become difficult, dealing with problems that are dissimilar from previous generations (Towse, Osaki, Kirua, & David, 2002), or dealing with staff who misbehave, as headmistresses are perceived to be lacking in confidence within the frames of an entrenched patriarchy (Mwamasangula, 2006).

School leaders operate in work environments with diverse stakeholders exhibiting multiple expectations and perceptions. Rural women leaders in the Limpopo province in South Africa, for example, are disregarded by ethnic authorities who prefer male school administrators (Kanjere, 2010; Netshitangani & Msila, 2014). This is also observed in East African Community countries, where women leaders are perceived negatively and preferred less because of male dominance (Kagoda & Ezati, 2013; Makura, 2009a; Muzvidziwa, 2015; Onsongo, 2004; Waweru, 2004). In West Africa, negative perceptions and discrimination against girls and women, based on gender, still persists and this situation perpetuates the educational and leadership gap between males and females (Tuwor & Sossou, 2008; UNICEF, 2004; Wrigley-Asante, 2012).

Women are perceived to be indecisive and less competent, though they communicate differently, seeking input from both subordinates and supervisors (Agezo, 2010). In Ghana, Atakpa and Ankomah (1998) observed that female principals in urban communities communicate with teachers and students by involving them in decision making. Nevertheless, these communications were negatively assessed in this male-dominated society (Jones, 2014; Waweru, 2004).

In the Delta State of Nigeria, Duze and Rosemary (2013) observed that the challenges facing secondary school leaders were interpersonal relationship with subordinates. Insults, harassment, and verbal abuse were witnessed by these researchers. In Kenya, headmistresses faced the challenge of supervising teachers who lacked professional commitment and who had sexual relationships with female students (Waweru, 2004). However, despite the challenges headmistresses face, they were observed to be hard-working, easily accessible by staff (Agezo, 2010), interactive with others (Muzvidziwa,

2014, 2015), and were organizers and planners who built suitable relationships (Eugenia, 2010; Kagoda & Ezati, 2013; Kuumba, 2006), and had respectable communication skills (Kagoda & Sperandio, 2009).

A prominent Ghanaian study indicated that men are raised to be strong, non-emotional and to display confidence (Martin, 2011). Sandberg (2013) suggested that although there are challenges to attaining positions of authority, women need to play stronger roles in rising to the challenges, because “men still rule the world” (p.5). Other challenges women face in Ghana are a lack of effective decision-making opportunities due to discrimination and a lack of confidence (Opare, 2005). Furthermore, most Ghanaian organizations operate within “masculine environments,” although governmental policies attempt to ensure fair gender representation in bureaucracies (Adusah-Karikari & Ohemeng, 2014).

Wrigley-Asante (2012) noted that men’s interests perpetuate “patriarchy” and often conflict with the tenets of women’s empowerment. Men in Ghana believe that women should listen to them and act according to men’s ways, notwithstanding improvements in women’s economic status and skills that enable them to make personal choices and bold decisions in the workplace.

Although the Tanzanian government has local efforts meant to improve the status of women, cultural perceptions still challenge and affect women in their leadership due to persistent negative perceptions (Mollel & Tshabangu, 2014). Headmistresses are perceived as being incapable of leading, as being discriminated against, and rejected by and isolated by their colleagues and community (Mollel & Tshabangu, 2014; Omboko & Oyoo, 2011). Cultural perceptions of headmistresses affect their leadership (Mollel & Tshabangu, 2014). Staff are often uncooperative due to cultural and patriarchal biases. Headmistresses face challenges owing to there being few incentives at their disposal to motivate teachers and because they work in harsh environments with inadequate resources (Tshabangu & Msafiri, 2013).

Administrative and managerial training can go a long way in addressing headmistresses/headmasters’ challenges and helping them to improve the quality of work (Kuluchumila, 2014). Mollel and Tshabangu (2014) and Nsubuga (2008) observe that headmistresses in Tanzania lack leadership skills to overcome impediments. Studies of developing countries reveal that heads are rarely trained for leadership (Kuluchumila, 2013). Oduro and Dachi (2010) observed that 25 percent of the head teachers interviewed from Ghana had not participated in any leadership training, and 40 percent of head teachers in Tanzania had not participated. A majority of headmasters/headmistresses have inadequate administrative and organizational skills, contributing to their inability to address a myriad of challenges.

To examine current realities and explore creative options for improvement, we consider the appropriateness of transformational and distributive leadership theories as regards, especially, the conceptualization and practice of leadership in African contexts.

Conceptual Frameworks

Transformational Leadership

In Africa, transformational leaders have a responsibility to raise the awareness of employees, emphasizing among other items, commitment to the organization, and stimulating novel ways of thinking about how Africans can achieve school

organizational goals (Nguni, Slegers, & Denessen, 2006; Preece, 2003). They are responsible for engaging followers to change and develop the school organization (Muzvidziwa, 2015). In a global era, the significance of effective leadership cannot be overlooked (Mushi, 2013). Leaders attract capable followers and encourage them to best the challenges of the non-static African contexts through multi-faceted educational leadership (Mushi, 2013), as Nyerere and Nkrumah advocated.

This is the inspirational motivation that Bass and Avolio (1996) wrote of, by which leaders encourage followers and raise their awareness as to how to achieve organizational goals. Empirical studies in Africa contexts show that headmistresses are encouraging, use open discussion and social interaction, and promote understanding among teachers in nurturing, caring, and communicative styles (Agezo, 2010; Mollel & Tshabangu, 2014; Opara, Oguzor, Adebola, & Adeyemi, (2011). In Ghana, Agezo (2010) and in Tanzania, Bhalalusesa and Mboya (2003) noted that headmistresses are caring and value personal relationships with community and staff, are accepted by employees and have the ability to induce democratic changes. Women leaders using transformational leadership styles in these African contexts can contribute to teachers' job satisfaction and effectiveness (Agezo, 2010; Nguni, et al., 2006).

Idealized influence, another dimension of transformational leadership, requires leaders to affect subordinates by acting as confident role models who display skills and knowledge in professional environments (Zahide & Lale, 2013). In African contexts, headmistresses have been shown to motivate staff to look beyond their personal interests (Agezo, 2010) and seek beneficial group interests. Another dimension of transformative leadership is intellectual stimulation, which requires leaders to assist and prompt employees' creativity in discovering fresh modes of problem solving (Leithwood and Sun, 2012).

Distributive Leadership

Distributive leadership necessitates that activities and responsibilities be dispersed among multiple people and roles (Spillane, Halverson, and Diamond (2004). Harris (2002) suggested that in order to manage twenty-first-century organizational changes, new methods of involving others are needed. Empirical studies in African contexts show that distributed leaders employ their knowledge, skills, and abilities in addressing school issues through collaboration and negotiation with others (Ndiga, Mumuikha, Flora, Ngugi, & Mwalwa, 2014).

However, in a study from Tanzania and Zimbabwe, Tshabangu (2013) observed that most teachers, when promoted to leadership, isolate themselves from subordinates because school personnel will diminish their leadership, rarely listen, and scarcely become involved in school projects. Distributed leadership concerns interactions among all school personnel, not just individuals (Spillane and Orlina, 2005). Spillane and Orlina maintain that knowing what leaders do is one factor, but understanding how, why, and when they engage in actions is essential for improving leadership practices. In Africa, many leaders are still commanding others because they lack abilities to adapt (Tshabangu, 2013). In Tanzania and Zimbabwe, leadership is delineated to heads, while teachers and students are kept from realizing their potential leadership skills (Icarbord Tshabangu, 2013).

Context

Illustrative examples are employed here, based on two case studies the authors conducted—one in Tanzania and the other in Ghana.

Table 15.1 presents the contexts of these studies showing location, population, administrative structure, appointment procedures to leadership, and qualifications for appointment and training policies.

Our case studies offer detailed portraits of the lived, concrete challenges faced by headmistresses, in view of the policies of the two nations and the East African Community and Economic Community of West African States. Our discussion focuses upon the areas of leadership in relation to communication, supervision, finance, motivation, and training.¹

The Tanzanian Perspective

Communication

Our research revealed that headmistresses were misunderstood by the community, especially when they sought advice from staff and community, due to cultural prejudices and stereotypes toward women. We discovered, for example, that the community was

Table 15.1 Context.

Country	Tanzania	Ghana
Population/ culture	Approximately 45 million people, (51.3% females)/ Patriarchal	Approximately 27 million people, (51.08% females)/ Patriarchal
Administrative Structures		
Control of education	The Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT)	Ministry of Education (MOE) and the Ghana Education Service (GES)
School leadership appointments	No advertisements, applications, or interviews for the posts. Appointed by regional secretariat	Advertised for leadership posts. Qualified and interested candidates apply through their immediate superiors and are interviewed by Regional Education Office panel. Successful candidate is informed via an appointment letter.
Qualification for the posts	Bachelor degree and above, 3 years teaching experience and past leadership experience as deputy head of an institution or head of department	Bachelor degree and above, 5 years teaching experience and past leadership experiences as assistant head, housemaster/mistress or head of department.
Training policy	Every appointed head should periodically be trained in administration and management to equip them with the requisite skills (URT, 2010).	There are no training policies and no induction training of secondary heads after appointment; however, annual ad-hoc training can occur for two weeks (REO, 2015)

reluctant to advise and even accept the capacity of headmistresses to resolve school problems. One headmistress commented on the behavior of male parents:

Parents in this community do not believe in or accept female leaders... sometimes, I have to use force for things to happen... I have the challenge of parents' refusal to listen to me in parents' meetings because I am a woman. It is really an embarrassment to me... some parents who visit my office don't face me when we are talking. It is a big challenge; it needs great wisdom, skills and tolerance to deal and communicate with this community.

Headmistresses wrestle with poor communication with community members because of a deep-rooted cultural patriarchy, which negate women. Cultures steeped in patriarchal systems foster a community perception of headmistresses as being incapable. This correlates with the work of Bhalalusesa and Mboya (2003), who also found that headmistresses are perceived negatively due to cultural and patriarchal prejudices.

Some of the communication challenges (Table 15.2) we discovered were due to the population's relatively low level of formal education, coupled with the population's limited Kiswahili (national language) fluency. Many residents largely speak only one of 120 ethnic languages. This creates communication challenges for headmistresses in provincial locales. Absent language fluency, coupled with the society's stereotypes and cultural beliefs, headmistresses are cast as poor communicators and unable to lead. Hence the community perceives them as incapable and inept at problem solving. In reality, many headmistresses may have good communication skills and be adept problem solvers (Kagoda & Sperandio, 2009).

The headmistresses in our studies were accessible and interacted closely with students, staff and the District Educational Officer when dealing with different educational issues. This is congruent with findings that reported that female leaders were accessible to subordinates (Coleman, 2000; Eagly & Karau, 1991). Headmistresses demonstrated the ability to establish relationships with subordinates, a hallmark of good communication (an essential component of transformational leadership).

Supervision

We observed that headmistresses face difficulties when supervising staff and interacting with local communities that are rigid and reluctant to accept directives and new ideas from leaders, especially women leaders. For example, one headmistress with more than 30 years of experience was challenged by young and a freshly-minted bachelor degree male teacher. She declared:

Once I asked my staff to collect all their lesson plans for me to check at the end of the week. A newly employed young male teacher told me that he won't submit his lesson plan to me because I was a woman and a diploma holder, "how can a diploma woman check the lesson plans of a bachelor degree holder?"

If the academic qualifications of a leader are lower than those of subordinates, despite having more experience, supervision becomes quite challenging.

In the Tanzanian context, headmistresses/headmasters should possess degree qualifications (URT, 2010). However, in our research, 90 percent of headmistresses and

headmasters had only diplomas. The local District Educational Officer reported that if there are no qualified teachers with degrees, a diploma holder is appointed to headship without being interviewed if he/she had other qualifications (for example, being department head, working experience of three or more years, demonstration of leadership abilities, and exhibiting independence). Most degree holders in rural schools do not have adequate experience to lead schools. Many qualified degree holders reject rural posts because of poor transportation, housing, and lack of water, medical services or electricity. Instead, they opt for employment in urban private secondary schools.

In our study, headmistresses report that changing the behavior of male teachers who have sexual relationships with secondary school girls was among their most arduous challenge. The headmistresses lacked the authority to castigate male teachers who breached codes of conduct by having affairs with female students. We found that these men reacted negatively when asked by headmistresses about their inappropriate relations with students, leading to poor interactions with headmistresses. Such actions, by men, are contrary to tenets of transformational leadership that women headmistresses wish to foster. Surprisingly, headmistresses were not well supported by parents and local committees when dealing with such culprits perhaps due to the status of the male teachers and financial benefits accrued to the girls and their families (Lindsay, 2013). Attempts to counsel such teachers result in disobedience and accusations of poor leadership skills.

Finance

Regional Education Officer, District Education Officer, and headmistresses and headmasters acknowledge that lack of financial resources, inadequate buildings, and insufficient teaching materials were severe challenges for rural schools. Headmistresses and headmasters reported that funds from the government in the form of capitation grants—where the government provides funds for running schools in proportion to the number of students—were delayed and/or inadequate. Hence some activities were suspended. Headmistresses were reportedly affected more by the situation than headmasters because women ostensibly lacked lobbying skills for garnering resources. Borrowing from local businesses and using personal salaries were strategies headmistresses employed. Shortage of financial and material resources (Chisikwa, 2010; Makura, 2009b; Timilehin, 2010) and delay in releasing funds by the government (Cheruto & Kyalo, 2010) are consistent with prior research citing hindrances to effective school leadership in Tanzania and elsewhere (Oluoch, 2006).

Motivation

Headmistresses and headmasters, the Regional Educational Officers and District Educational Officers reported that school heads face problems motivating staff because some staff desire financial performance incentives. One headmistress underscored the importance of money as a motivational factor when she said:

Most of staff needs to be recognized for whatever they do in terms of money, otherwise, they are not active in their work and this is a challenge for leaders whose schools lack funds and other resources to motivate them.

Inadequate resources in harsh environments with poor social services (e.g., faulty offices, minimum teaching and learning materials, and limited electricity and sanitation

facilities) affect staff motivation. This corresponds with Bennell and Akyeampong's (2007) observation that teachers are "poorly" or "very poorly" motivated because inadequate resources contribute to tough working environment.

Training in Leadership

Previous research in African context indicates that school heads face administrative challenges due to inadequate training in management and administration (Kariuki, Majau, Mungiria & Nkonge, 2012). In our studies, we found that headmistresses/headmasters receive short induction courses through seminars and workshops after acquiring leadership positions. Bhalalusesa and Mboya (2003) recommended that women should be given training in leadership, especially in male-dominated societies.

Relevant training should be conducted soon after receiving one's appointment to headship, and for a substantial period. One headmistress voiced that:

The training is very important to us I have attended several trainings in management and leadership, but the time was too short, lasting for one week, and sometimes for only two days... repeatedly we are trained in the same thing. We have no chance to identify the skills we want to be trained in.

Training targeted at the leader's self-identified areas of weakness is more effective than simple repetition of previous training modules. Bass (1999) suggested as much, in that leaders should identify the skills which they need to solve their daily problems.

Coping and Managing Strategies

Headmistresses we studied identified these coping strategies include; sharing difficulties with more experienced heads of schools; being creative; cooperating with the community; and helping teachers find solutions for problems encountered in achieving schools goals. These strategies are akin to the intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration dimensions of transformative leadership. Leaders are to be creative and to arouse employees creativity to discover new ways of problem solving (Leithwood & Sun, 2012). The African headmistresses reported that they involve parents, students, teachers, educational officers and district council in school activities by holding regular meetings and seeking advice and support from their superiors (i.e., Regional Educational Officers and District Educational Officers). These mechanisms confirm Waweru's (2004) observations of Kenyan leaders that they conduct meetings and seek advice from their supervisors in coping with challenges (Table 15.2). These tactics are part of distributed leadership, which asks that leaders use their knowledge and abilities to collaborate and negotiate with others in solving school problems (Brady, 2014).

The Ghanaian Perspective

Communication

Communication for educational leaders differs between urban and rural communities in Ghana. Rural headmistresses indicate that communication is quite difficult with parents. A rural headmistress stated that:

I am usually frustrated as parents are not listening to my directives promptly. I use the skills I have to encourage them to be part of the school decision body

but all to no avail. I sometimes have the feeling that because I am female they don't take me seriously.

Headmistresses report that they try to encourage the community to support the school by paying school fees; however, their views and instructions are devalued or ignored by many. In contrast, headmasters are seen to be respected and listened to by community members. For example, one rural headmaster in our study needed additional funds to administer the school; so he levied extra school fees, and parents obliged without question.

Disparities between urban and rural behavior among communities arises from the diversity in urban areas and the metropolitan parents' educational attainment (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013). We observed patriarchal dominance as more prevalent in rural milieus. Because of this, attempts by rural headmistresses to encourage the community to pay school fees lack the requisite perceived legitimacy.

In communicating plans for accomplishing headmistresses' vision for effective teaching and learning, rural headmistresses indicate that their decisions are opposed constantly, and that male staff treat them differently. Furthermore, we found that assistant headmasters in such schools were uncooperative concerning means to improve students' academic performance. A rural headmistress working with an assistant head stated:

Instructions given to my assistant were mostly ignored. I try indirectly to draw his attention to the fact that with my eight years of headship I know what I talk about. I am more experienced, knowledgeable, and confident on the job than he is. I hate to display an autocratic ideology so I try to involve him in decision making... however such behavior of his makes my work difficult... Upon reflecting, I thought probably that might be because I was female and much younger.

In another vein, rural assistant headmasters believe that although women leaders possess the relevant skills, nevertheless, the males perceive headmistresses as inconsistent in their thinking and decision making (Agezo 2010; Kagoda & Sperandio, 2009). This aligns with Dine's (1993) findings that "women in developing world suffer [from] the myth which enables them to experience difficulty in exerting authority over males" (p.22).

Urban Headmistresses/Headmasters Challenges in Communication

We found that urban headmistresses encountered fewer challenges. They were more respected, appreciated, and valued and often acted as role models. Headmistresses assert that in-depth staff meetings were worthwhile, though they accounted for teachers' loss of contact hours with students. Moreover, issues of concern related to academic performance and school malpractices are addressed in such meetings. One urban headmistress stated:

I don't have many problems with communication. The assistant headmaster, I believe, is level-headed and hard working. There is a cordial relationship between us. He accords me respect. I don't compromise on issues that need to be tackled with all seriousness. I am disciplined, and much appreciated for what I do. The only challenge I face is hours of staff meetings which staff complain that they are unable to finish the syllabuses.

The urban headmistresses we observed have solid relationships with assistant heads and staff, in contrast to their rural counterparts. Probably, urban headmistresses discern that positive communication amongst them and their subordinates enhances successful educational outcomes rather than poor communication inhibiting success.

Supervision

We observed that headmistresses and assistant headmistresses in rural secondary schools experience stress when supervising male teachers. Male teachers were often absent or late for classes. One headmistress, who displayed impatience for the lack of professionalism and habitual absences, stated that:

I feel frustrated when teachers are not regular to school. It undermines my duty as the head and I take it personally. Whilst trying my possible best encouraging students to be in school on time, I have to deal with unprofessional adult male teachers.

Supervising male staff is a herculean task for headmistresses. Several reasons are cited. First, male staff arrive late to school or are absent because they disrespect the headmistress. Second, female assistant heads indicate that male staff perceives supervision as punitive. Third, teachers sometimes have ongoing business endeavors trying to earn additional income. Headmistresses and assistant headmistresses are of the opinion that supervision is one of their least satisfactory duties.

Women administrators in urban and rural secondary schools share the need to prove their worth because of gender issues. They indicate that they work assiduously towards perfection by attending to the needs of staff and students. Furthermore, women leaders feel quite exhausted as they leave for home and realize that domestic family work still awaits them after many hours of administrative work and counselling students. In contrast, male educational leaders in rural and urban schools face fewer challenges with supervision and family life. They acknowledge that when portraying confident and forceful personalities, staff are cooperative and rarely underrate them. This is congruent with Jogulu and Wood's (2006) claim that male leaders are associated with such characteristics as assertiveness and aggressiveness, which contribute to success, whilst women were associated with nurturing which is time-consuming.

Finances

Education policy in Ghana espouses equal opportunities for educating every individual to develop his or her capabilities. Funds need to be available to the schools to achieve this objective. In our research, we found that both women and men educational leaders face various challenges in acquiring government funds. Many urban schools face more limited challenges, as informal Old Girls and Boys Associations contribute toward the development of their former schools. Headmistresses indicate that they levy parents during PTA meetings to meet their base budget. One headmistress voiced:

When there were concerns about students' performances in science, my investigations found a deficiency of science equipment as the problem. When I pleaded with parents to pay extra money to purchase equipment, they obliged. The Old Girls Association helps with bigger projects for the school.

Another challenge headmistresses faced was with male accountants who decided what material and products to purchase with limited funds, causing conflicts with the headmistresses, who had other priorities.

Motivation

One rural headmistress narrated her encounter with new recruits:

I thought to organize fund raising this year to motivate my staff, as teachers' salaries were nothing to write home about. I was surprised to observe a corresponding improvement in academic performances of students this year. Lobbying for money comes with its own challenges, however motivation is beneficial.

Teachers in the regions we studied were less motivated when incentives and benefits are absent. Although teachers lack financial incentives to motivate them, headmistresses found different ways of motivating via "get together" parties outside the campus on special occasions, such as the Speech and Prize day, fundraising, and occasions for words of encouragement and appreciation. This underscores the need for inspirational motivation, as rural headmistresses work to motivate staff and improve academic performance. Furthermore, this is congruent with Felfe and Schyns (2002) and Sarros and Santora (2001), who document that school effectiveness and success derive from motivating staff.

A majority of rural African headmasters complained about the presence of few women teachers and leaders who act as role models who could address female issues in the school environment. A rural headmaster stated:

The absence of women in my school has had negative effects on the girls' attitudes to learning. The girls are not exposed to educated female role models in the rural community. They are not serious academically. They have the impression that it's not worth studying.

Educated women are not very motivated to work in rural areas. They would rather teach in urban communities. This is congruent with the Ghana Education Office Headquarters' data showing that rural schools in the Western Region have less than 40 percent headmistresses, contrasted with nearly 62 percent in urban schools. Furthermore, the Central Region shows about 40 percent of headmistresses in the rural sites and approximately 57 percent in urban schools (Education Management Information System (EMIS), 2014).

Coping and Managing Strategies

Female African administrators' coping strategies include: ignoring prejudices, lobbying to motivate staff, and resolving parents' inability to understand students' affairs in subtle ways.

The headmistresses we studied display feelings of success and achievement, and often ignore discrimination and prejudices. They are positive about their careers and optimistic in displaying solid leadership skills to foster student performance. This coincides with Zahide and Lale's (2013) views on idealized influence, where leaders need to act as

Table 15.2 Summary of challenges faced by headmistresses in Ghana and Tanzania.

Tanzania	Ghana
Communication	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Misunderstanding by parents of headmistresses due to cultural and patriarchy ● Poor communication due to language barrier (Kiswahili) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Most parents in the rural communities are not supportive due to lack of understanding school management ● Urban communities, from varying cultures respect and communicate well with headmistresses
Supervision	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Staff rigidity and reluctance to accept directives and new ideas from headmistresses ● Challenge to supervise male teachers involved in sexual relationships with female students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Male staff perceives supervision as punitive, while they lack professionalism and are habitually absent
Financial	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Inadequate funds from government ● Lack of training in managing funds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Challenges in acquiring government funds ● Many urban schools face fewer challenges than rural schools
Motivation	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Working in harsh environment with few incentives to motivate staff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Teachers not motivated enough to provide best efforts ● Absence of women role models in rural schools
Training	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Trained in short timeframes at Agency for Development of Education Management (ADEM) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Ad hoc training of school administrators

confident role models and display their skills. Working in senior leadership positions boosts headmistress's self-esteem since they feel valued in their contributions to schools.

Headmistresses use words of encouragement, gifts from the Parents and Teachers Association, and other external incentives for staff motivation. In addition, diligent female teachers and assistant heads are nominated by headmistresses to participate in the National Best Teacher's Competition. Further, most headmistresses and assistant headmistresses kept an open door policy to invite voluntary dialogue.

Headmistresses in our study believe that parents will be supportive and understand student matters only when parents observe appreciable positive changes in students' academic performance. As such, headmistresses adopt a strategy of monitoring and evaluation, and encourage all teachers to work hard to improve academic performance. This aligns with precepts of distributed leadership, wherein leaders solve school problems through collaboration and negotiation with others in the school (Harris, 2002).

The Ghanaian Women Social Leadership Program (GWSLP) was instituted recently to help motivate women, enhance their leadership capabilities, and prepare them for higher-level leadership roles in various organizations (GWSLP, 2016). Another motivational organization, founded to increase the representation of women in the science and technology pipeline, is the Science Technology and Mathematics Education (STME) clinic. The Science Technology and Mathematics Education clinic was instituted by the Ghana Education Service to offer opportunities for girls to interact with female leaders in science, to counter the myths surrounding female scientists and women leaders, and to pave the way to improve the retention, access, and performance of girls in these key academic fields.

In summary, Ghanaian woman leaders in rural and urban communities possess expertise and management experiences (though perhaps being unaware of such positive features) which could be drawn upon for the common good. These women, who excel in running their homes and domestic resources, have management and negotiation skills beneficial to their schools such as resource mobilization and fundraising, skills needed to garner resources beyond a simple dependence on government allocations.

Despite the odds, the few Ghanaian and Tanzanian women educationists we have studied who have attained management positions serve as role models and motivate young women and female students. Women educational leaders achieve their potential by overcoming the beliefs that women have less influence, are emotional or lack decisiveness, and that competent management is a strictly male enterprise. Headmistresses portray transformative and distributive leadership talent.

Elucidations via EAC and ECOWAS for African Nations

We began our chapter by citing the East African Community and Economic Community of West African States treaties concerning the importance of education for democratic developing nations, along with articulations by former United Nations Secretary Kofi Annan portending education's increased role for the African continent. Exemplary educational leadership that includes professionals from various demographic backgrounds—particularly women—is indispensable for moving nations forward. During the latter part of the twentieth century, international bodies such as the World Bank concentrated notable resources on primary or basic education. Primary education, however, is only a rudimentary beginning in the nations' progress. Secondary and post-secondary education are absolute necessities. Indeed, in 1990, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and the World Bank outlined international goals from early childhood to adult education, or that is Education for All (EFA) (Africa Statistical Year). These goals were to be accomplished by 2015 and altered iterations now extend to 2030. Secondary education is a bridge to viable vocational options and/or postsecondary institutions for graduates to become top-level professionals who foster comprehensive features of cultural, socioeconomic, and political infrastructures.

Quality secondary education in Africa and elsewhere can only be accomplished via sound headmistresses/headmasters with keen administrative skills who contribute substantially to the public good as the largest groups in societies—girls and women—are

valued and their individual progress is assured. Our illustrations from research in Ghana and Tanzania enumerated select programs involving women administrators, to encourage girls to continue their education, especially in vital Science Technology and Mathematics Education fields. While positive examples were expounded for dedicated headmistresses, challenges abound for secondary Tanzanian and Ghanaian headmistresses that could be addressed via transformative and distributive leadership by educational leaders as/if endeavors are buttressed by Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) and Ministry of Education (MOE). Hence we posit recommendations meshing school and local community projects and workshops with policies and programs implemented cooperatively from central government agencies and parliament.

To stress in a succinct fashion, our study our study ascertains that, within both Tanzania and Ghana—likely throughout the regions and the continent, necessity advocates enhanced and sustained government policies for educational leadership training to include current and/or aspiring administrative leaders. Professional and in-service training and workshops for career advancement and for developing women's skills are paramount. Professional training in finance, motivation, effective leadership, cultural and gender issues, lobbying, networking and negotiation skills to deal with patriarchal society is recommended. The training should be accomplished before and during postings and headmistresses should be involved in identifying desired skills for training. Parallel training should be given to local communities and leaders to enhance communication among them, and to eschew negative stereotypes. This should be accomplished through operations such as workshops, seminars, and the media, which may reach the majority of rural dwellers.

In Tanzania and Ghana, the government should improve rural conditions by providing social services to motivate teachers and heads of schools. Rural heads of schools need to implement plans and evaluate subsequent programs in conjunction with the Ghana Education Service for motivating women to be on the staff and to help promote girl's education. Rural environments in both countries should be improved by providing incentives and continuous working infrastructures and services to motivate teachers.

The circuit supervisors of the Ghana Education Service need to organize more frequent supervision checks in the rural schools in particular to ascertain what is actually happening in the schools and to help address the challenges headmistresses face. This would help enhance headmistresses' transformative and distributive leadership abilities.

In Tanzania the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training and parliament should enforce regulations on sexual harassment to discipline teachers who engage inappropriate behavior with students.

Such programs and policies would need to be integrated with those of the larger geopolitical blocs of East African Community and Economic Community of West African States, thereby helping to cultivate harmonization within and between nations. In essence, mutual collaborations among headmistresses, school personnel, parents, local communities and regional and national legislative and bureaucratic organizations could blend seamless networks to produce and sustain transformative and distributive leadership for the benefits of all. Collaborative trust, respect, and vision are *sine qua*.

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Note

- 1 Our analysis is based on in-depth interviews with 20 headmistresses and headmasters, Regional Education Officers, and District Education Officers in each country as part of our research carried out via the research protocols of the University College London, Institute of Education and the Ministries in Tanzania and Ghana, in substantial part by external funding agencies.

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16

Privatizing Leadership in Education in England: The Multiple Meanings of School Principal Agency

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The privatization of public education from the 1980s means that currently there are at least 70 different types of schools in England (Courtney, 2015a). The enduring archetypal model is that of the independent school with status through parental choice, provision through private interests, and a trend towards private funding, with subsidy from the taxpayer (Gunter, 2011). Schools are increasingly owned and run by private individuals and consortia which profit from services rendered to and through the school; the curriculum and pedagogy are increasingly determined and controlled by private interests; private business models dominate the training and performance of school principals as leaders; those who undertake teaching and assessment are being appointed according to the requirements of those private interests; and access to quality education is based more and more on private interests and income, with the emergence of discourses about residual provision and subsidy (e.g., through vouchers) in regard to basic skills. This privatization agenda has been sustained across different parties in successive UK governments from the 1980s, but policies have not always been coherent, linear, or successful. Claims that responsibility and accountability need to operate through non-educational processes such as vision and mission, planning and targets, data and measurement have dominated policy texts and rhetoric (Courtney & Gunter, 2015). Major shifts are taking place in the composition, training and identities of the workforce, where professionalism is being disconnected from thinking, evidence and educational theory towards technical implementation and delivery in the interests of private elites (Gunter, 2016, Gunter et al., 2016). It seems that those who head up the new types of schools have worked and been trained in an education system that no longer exists, and so it is vital that we make this transparent, and consider how claims to and about agency are being structured.

Our research program is called *Critical Education Policy and Leadership Studies* (CEPaLS) where, from a profound concern for education for the public good, we chart and critically examine the issues generated by privatization for children, families and professionals, and how explanations can be developed through the interplay of data and theories of power. In this chapter, we report on research regarding the experiences of school principals in the emerging new school types and how such professionals, formed in what we might call the public era, have come to occupy increasingly privatized roles (Courtney, 2015b). Indeed, we use the label “school principal” as a signifier of how the use of “headteacher” is being replaced by a title that disconnects the person in the top job from teaching. We present and interrogate biographical narratives through deploying

Bourdieu's (2000) thinking tools, in order to critically read claims about agency within and for practice. Through this, we examine how privatization is operating as a form of depoliticization, where issues that used to be public matters are increasingly private.

Privatizing School Leaders

According to Goddard (2014), he has *The Best Job in the World*:

Working with young people is just the most fantastic career. I love encouraging children by saying things like, "I want you to have a job like mine so you can wake up each day and look forward to enjoying it." It's wonderful to know that you can make an impact on their lives. (p. 1)

This display of agency is combined with a distillation of key messages about school leadership (the five Ps of Personality, Passion, Purpose, Perseverance, and Pride). This is similar to other victory narratives in general (e.g., Guiliani, 2002) and in education (e.g., Clark, 1998; Daniels, 2011; McNulty, 2005; Stubbs, 2003), particularly by those who promote entrepreneurial principalship (e.g., Astle & Ryan, 2008). What is integral to such accounts is a promotion of agency that fits with how professionals have come to locate themselves within context.

Texts constructed in partnerships with researchers show a more complex approach to agency; Arrowsmith (2001), for instance, shows his relentless negotiation with an often incoherent reform agenda. There is a sense that principals are told they have agency, but at most they mediate through tactical adjustments. Agency as a form of externally structured positioning is evident in interviews (e.g., Ribbins, 1997) and through research accounts (e.g., Gunter, 2012; Thomson, 2009). More recently, Lepkowska (2014) tells the story of "Stephen Lewis" (anonymized name), who has found himself without a job. His school was put into special measures as a result of student data that suggested a problem, and instead of enabling the principal to work on this, he was removed. It seems that there is a growing culture of principal removal, whereby "Local Authorities wanted to be seen taking tough action in tackling underachievement" (2014: np). Underpinning such accounts is a sense of professional agency that is out of synch with the demands for speedy improvement, and so who the principals are, how they see the job and how they locate themselves is defined as the problem — soluble only through contract termination.

We are proposing here that agency is being constructed by and within the processes of privatization. Privatization is multilayered, and is more than the outsourcing of public education from the state to private interests (e.g., faith, philanthropy, and business) with new types of provision, ownership, and purposes. Following Wood and Flinders (2014), we identify three major trends in depoliticization: the first concerns "governmental depoliticization," or how educational issues are no longer a site of political debate, but are solved through the application of technical templates in the form of the Ofsted inspection framework, lists of national standards, and guidance on how to teach literacy and numeracy, with management procedures and conformist discipline technologies through leadership visioning. Second, education is now more of a private than a shared matter regarding choice and data-determined assessments of quality in the

market place, and so “societal depoliticisation” is about “individualised responses to collective social challenges” (p. 165). Third, if individuals and families do not raise educational concerns, what arises is “discursive depoliticisation” through “the transfer of issues from the private realm to the “realm of necessity” in which “things just happen” and contingency is absent” (p. 165). In this sense, agency is a form of privatization in the way in which a person as an agent develops a sense of control within and over activity, at a time when the answers are managed away or issues are now outside of the public domain. Particularly challenging is how this is emerging in ways that are not necessarily coherent, and how the agency that school principals espouse has been constructed through training and experience in the politicized education system of the 1980s and 1990s, where current principals are having to use skills developed in a different context to make the present one work. Some, like Goddard (2014), misrecognize the emergence and impact of depoliticization. Some, like “Stephen Lewis,” experience increasingly brutal practicalities (Lepkowska, 2014, p. 38).

We want to examine this by taking “the puzzle” (p. 12) outlined by Thomson (2010) as our starting point, and using it to think through our data. Drawing on Bourdieu’s (1990) thinking tools of *field*, *habitus* and *capitals*, we open up for scrutiny how school principals reveal their *habitus* or dispositions, and so through talking about who they are, what they do and how they have achieved their professional role, they illuminate their understanding and approach to agency. Integral to this is the staking of *capitals* for distinction, whereby, through claims regarding how they position themselves in regard to the *doxa* or self-evident truths of privatization, they demonstrate *symbolic capital* through what they say, how they say it and how they embody the *game* in play. In England, the game is depoliticized privatization, with the independent school outside of democratic systems as the preferred model for delivering excellence. School principals are positioned within the game as players who need to demonstrate entrepreneurial, charismatic and risk-taking dispositions to enable the school to operate within a market place.

Thomson’s (2010) work enables investigations into how principals position themselves by focusing on: first, an examination of what principals do, from being “individually power hungry” towards “an explanation which foregrounds the ways in which the position requires its occupants to act in the interests of retaining power and attempting to gain more” (p. 12); and second, an examination of the relationship between power and autonomy, or “acting to gain more power for the position and to create further autonomies.” Refocusing is required “to ask about the purposes of this practice” and “in whose interests does it work (defining interests as also socially reproduced)?” (p. 12). In recognizing how the field of education has been breached by the fields of power and the economy, Thomson (2005) is able to develop understandings of school principals as agents who exercise agency in regard to and alongside the structuring impact of powerful interests in business, media and government. The reworking of public education through the independent school exemplifies how business has generated new markets in ways that speak to the potential for principals’ agency outside of public accountability systems such as local authorities. The privatization game means obtaining more power for principals through meeting the interests of dominant groups, and it can be played through more congenial games such as leadership. Embracing an identity that is about being a leader, doing leading and exercising leadership means that agency is focused on the activity necessary to make the organization effective in the

market place, where educational provision can be realized through site-based delivery that can be measured and rewarded. The risks involved are exciting and fear-inducing, but generate forms of agency that demand more power and autonomy.

Thomson (2010) takes this forward by arguing, first, that such agency is logical; “the ever present sense – of wanting to be left alone and us against them – is not about the acquisition of power for its own sake but is rather both a product and a producer of the game of educational distinction” (p. 16), and playing does not necessarily mean conformity; and second, that such agency is integral to the game; “what they do – their agency – is always framed by a decision about whether they are prepared to play to their own positional detriment,” and this is brought sharply into relief through how new types of schools both prevent collective identities and action, and generate it through new forms of association as “chains” and “brands” (p. 17). Thomson (2010) raises questions about this analysis, not least that the relationship between principal agency and the game in play is problematic, as control over the game may be beyond agents; and significantly, the interplay between agency and structure, in ways that “incite headteachers’ drive for autonomy” and “frame the ways in which this is negotiated with other actors” (p. 17), is pertinent to how researchers move forward. Indeed, Thomson (2010) is clear that empirical work is needed, and while we are working on this already (e.g., Courtney & Gunter 2015; Gunter, 2012), we are aware that this is a huge agenda.

We do not intend presenting a full response to Thomson’s (2010) puzzling, but we do intend reading and examining one aspect. Specifically, we examine agency as a form of power exercised for and on behalf of private interests within the context of societal and discursive depoliticization. In doing so, we examine how game formulation and generation takes place through the logic of principal practice, and how agency is scripted in relation to imaginings about how advantage and disadvantage operate. Importantly, we note how the principals have learned agency within and for a politicized public system, and how their rejection of the public system is necessary for employing agency within and for a privatized system.

Depoliticized Privatization

The politicization of education as a public matter intensified in the post-war years in England, with an emphasis on developing a national system that was administered locally through local education authorities (LEAs). In addition, an accredited graduate profession was created and trained within and for a civil society where education was regarded as a public good. In this context, agency was located within professional structures and norms regarding pedagogy and the curriculum, along with professional judgments about quality and outputs. Importantly, principals espoused a focus on values, where philosophical matters are lived within everyday practice and decision-making (e.g., Evans, 1999; Winkley, 2002). Within CEPaLS, we have an empirical database and experience of thinking critically that enables us to engage productively about what is happening and what it means (e.g., Courtney 2015c; Gunter, 2012, 2014). Here, we draw on evidence from the *Leadership and School-Type Diversification* (LASTD) project, and in Table 16.1 we present the principals who worked with Courtney in the production of professional biographies (Courtney, 2015b. For descriptions of the school types, see Courtney, 2015a; Gunter, 2011).

Table 16.1 Principals of new school types.

School type	Principal (alias)	Key information
University Technical College	Will	Focus on technical education with university and industry partners
Academy	Jane	Sponsored academy in a chain
Free School	Paul	New parent-led Academy rather than a replacement for a failing school
Pupil Referral Unit	Ellen	Pupils excluded from mainstream schooling
Studio School	Rod	Vocational education for pupils 14–18 years
Voluntary Aided Catholic School	Bridget	Has Teaching-School status i.e. recognized as “excellent” with responsibility for co-ordinating local systemic improvement
Federation	Les	One governing body for multiple schools within local authority, here for pupils with special educational needs
Community comprehensive	Hazel	Open entry with science specialism
Academy	Phil	Selective grammar school that converted to an Academy

Within our data, we have evidence of residual elements regarding attachments to these educational professional identities within such a welfarist system. For example, Ellen recognizes the improvements to the curriculum, pedagogy, and student outputs through sharing staff and expertise with other local-authority schools. The location of the school within a state administrative system such as the local authority is also acknowledged, where Hazel notes that while there is a financial cost of the local authority “top slicing” the budget for central services, she states clearly: “the benefits are security from running into severe debt.” She goes on to say, “I think it’s pretty tough for Academy colleagues who go into deficit and have to get themselves out and go through their own bank loans and so on.” Such securities could be found in how Academies can group into chains under one sponsor, and there is increased realization that the “freedoms” associated with independence are being lost through new forms of private control. For example, Hazel states, “a colleague who’s not a head said to me recently that they applied for a job in an Academy chain, and were given the impression that unless you’re already in that chain, it’s unlikely that you would then be given the role because there is such a sense of growing their own... it’s almost beginning to be a local authority by another name.”

What our data show is that the sense of local government, with publicly agreed procedures and standards, does remain in some of the narratives, and in spite of the increase in unqualified teachers, there is a strong commitment to training and accreditation known as Qualified Teacher Status. For example, Les states: “I think what Qualified Teacher Status gives you is a theoretical background to teaching and how children learn, and I think that’s important.” When faced with the replacement of educational with corporate values, Jane rejects the latter: “so every now and again we get a glossy brochure and I just stick it in a drawer. I pay no attention to it. And I really don’t. They send out, ‘these are our corporate values; how are you contributing to them?’ Well, there’s

one corporate value, which is improving educational outcomes for children. I don't care about the other stuff." Importantly, Jane left her post not long after the data collection finished.

While there is a residualization of public education, our data show that public education staffed by accredited educational professionals has been challenged and is being dismantled through different forms of agency. We illuminate this by focusing on biographical accounts of three of the principals:

Paul's background in private *and* public sector schools means that he is located within the field *created by policy* for free schools, which look to the independent sector and privilege entrepreneurialism. He may, indeed *must* draw extensively on his private-sector experience, assumptions and lack of any profound attachment to state schooling – his *habitus* – to embody this new form of leadership, which constitutes a new *doxa* within the state system. For example, he is disposed to be anti-union. He overcame initial barriers to achieve success by assuming individual responsibility and demonstrating drive. He dislikes bureaucracy. He is competitive and he values autonomy, never working in anything more “controlled” than a Voluntary-Aided school. He admits that he is “heavily ambitious.” After all, ambition in a Bourdieusian sense is merely a desire to possess more capital relative to others in your field. Only Paul attaches particular significance to earning a Master's degree in his narrative (though all chose to mention it), completing his to regain positional advantage over a group of intelligent teachers who challenged his authority. Since the grounds of the challenge were intellectual, the basis of his response had also to be. The Master's was concretized educational capital earned in order to be exchanged for symbolic capital; recognition by teachers of Paul's authority. Paul's notions about leadership are individualistic and autocratic. He was ready for headship not when he had acquired sufficient skills and experience, but when he could no longer tolerate another's authority over him. This is underlined by how he had to move on twice because he disliked his headteacher. Key words in this respect are “constrained,” “frustrated,” and “brake.” He *had* to lead in a school where he was free to do largely as he pleases. The development of his leadership is conceptualized, again, not as enhanced skill, but as *its extension* over increasingly wider arenas, and in the future perhaps *into other fields*; he will “shake up the system.” Leadership, then, is not influence, but power-as-authority; a form of symbolic capital which has accrued to him because he has *played the game* successfully. It is also gendered; he got one job because he “had the guts to argue with the headteacher,” which appears to be analogous in leadership career terms to taking on the troop's current alpha silverback.

Jane was trained in and benefited greatly from the local-authority system. However, she moved into a sponsored academy, which represents a rise in her position relative to others in the leadership field. Sponsored academies are discursively and financially privileged; she got a new building, for instance. Theorizing Jane's story using Bourdieu's thinking tools helps to explain some of the inconsistencies within concerning her attitude to local authorities. Her attacks on them, the system they represent and their personnel might, following Bourdieu, be conceptualized as symbolic violence; she is maintaining her newly

found position through normalizing the supremacy of her adopted school type. As her position, elevated discursively above local authorities, is new, so is this attitude towards them. Before, belonging to that part of the field they occupy, she had no interest in vilifying it. Her history is one of proactively learning the skills required to take her to the next level; we may suggest that her active adoption of the behaviors and attitudes associated with a new type of leadership is a continuation of this tendency. Jane uses the discourse of Academy leadership to explain retrospectively her preference for a further education college, where she had “more autonomy.” She describes her leadership in hierarchical terms; she is “the king,” the “one-of-one.” Jane is what Bourdieu (1990) would call a *virtuosa*: having “rule, adversaries and game at [her] fingertips” (p. 78). To embody this code so effectively from her working-class beginnings, she has had to demonstrate “cultural mastery ... able to play the game up to the limits” (p. 78).

Will speaks of gaining experiences in a wide range of circumstances and roles, but in comparison to other leaders interviewed, his career has ploughed a markedly narrow furrow from classroom teacher to principal. It has been focused throughout on technical education, and whereas in the recent past, such a curricular specialism could take one only so far as head of faculty, the present diversification in school types to include Technical Academies means that one can progress all the way to the top job whilst remaining in that field. Conceptually, the senior leadership field has been extended through policy to include competencies and forms of knowledge previously limited to middle leadership; this sets up a series of paradoxes and contradictions. For example, as an Academy Principal, Will’s leadership is discursively privileged, but as the advocate of vocational education, he is positioned beneath more “academic” routes and institutions. His preference for the term “technical” over “vocational” may reflect this. His own self-positioning is therefore significant; he, more than any other leader, describes his leadership in terms of his growing confidence in light of his successes, and a reliance on experience that objectively he simply doesn’t have. On both measures, his identity as a leader is precarious, susceptible to fracture should the successes cease, or should he encounter a situation outside his experience. The codes which we are suggesting here have coalesced around leadership do not necessarily benefit Will, whose technical curricular provenance *limits* as well as *permits* his senior leadership, and so it is likely that he will have to draw more heavily on those codes available to him and *which he shares with other leaders of new types*, rather than on those which expose him to the diacritical eye of his competitors.

What these short accounts of the three principals’ background illuminate is how school principal identity is a structured role that structures principals’ practice, and how the *doxa* of entrepreneurial leadership as a chief executive speaks to the dispositions that professionals bring to such a role.

We suggest that what we are witnessing in these three accounts is a process of *codification* in the field of educational leadership. Bourdieu (1990) writes that “to codify means to formalize and to adopt formal behavior. There is *a virtue proper to the form*” (p. 78, *italics in original*). He is referring to formal in the sense of “having a form,” producing behaviors, or *virtues*, which invoke and reproduce that form. Here,

codification simplifies and hierarchizes leadership, promoting and facilitating “diacrisis, a judgement which separates” (p. 79). School principals who are “controlled” by the local authority are deprived; the new entrepreneurial, autonomous form is created in abjection of the former’s communitarian, public and bureaucratic ontological foundations. These principals promote or embody this form to improve their position in the field, since “codification is an operation of symbolic ordering” (p. 80), and, because it “minimizes ambiguity and vagueness” (p. 80), to create an illusion of clarity to strengthen the impression of enacting “*their*” vision for the school. In fact, this vision belongs to the form it invokes and of which it is a product. Consequently, we are witnessing a game being played that is out of reach but brought into reach through forms of agency that are logical within this game. There is seemingly no other game to play, and they fit or do not fit in regard to how the game is conducted by those who construct it to be within their reach.

This codification is based on dominated agentic freedom and is located within emerging depoliticized privatization. We now examine this through themes from our data, drawing on a wider range of principal respondents.

Depoliticization is evident through a number of trends regarding schools as independent businesses:

Changes to National Terms and Conditions of Service for Employees

New types of schools need not accept nationally agreed pay scales, workload, or contracts. For example, Jane talks about how staff in middle-leader positions (e.g., head of department) were moved off the teacher pay scale onto the leadership scale, meaning that contractually their workload was no longer fixed at 1265 hours per year so more could be demanded of them. Another example comes from Will, who identifies how local conditions work in regard to annual pay increments: “Our staff are not employed with an understanding that they have an absolute right to progress onto the next point on the scale. So we haven’t had to go to unions and have that consultation.” The principals are aware that this new world is shocking for some teachers. Jane talks about how: “I think a lot of people who’ve only ever worked in schools do expect that paternalistic kind of care from their employer.” Will makes it clear that the contracts are different, so employees who used to be teachers in local-authority schools can find themselves in a difficult position if they do not read the small print.

Expansion of Market Provision

Schools can be expanded and/or new types of schools can be opened in response to entrepreneurial strategies. For example, Ellen talks about how there are now more exclusions from local schools due to there being more Academies. The Pupil Referral Unit is not big enough to take these children: “what I’m aiming to do is to look at academizing to become an Alternative Provider Academy. As a result of [new Academies opening locally], exclusions have gone up by about 60 percent, but it’s only a 70-place Pupil Referral Unit. So for me, that’s why I probably want to become an Alternative Provider Academy and ... expand. I can do the work that I want to do.”

Contracting Directly for Services

Schools can arrange service contracts, quality and pricing. For example, Rodney states: “so then you have that freedom to say, ‘we’re happy with the service and we’ll carry on’

or ‘we’re not happy and we’ll move elsewhere.’ So the services are a lot better. They’re not necessarily any cheaper. In fact, for the personnel service, we pay more than we did. But as an autonomous employer, you need the best quality personnel advice.” This idea of switching rather than relying on the local authority is a feature, where Phil says: “We’ve changed our auditors. We’ve got perhaps a more switched-on company doing the financial returns, and that seems to have gone better this year. All that costs time really, but actually you do feel a bit more secure because you do know the detail of what your school is doing.”

Identification and Sustaining of Income Streams

From the 1988 Education Reform Act, schools were not only funded on the basis of the exercise of parental preference for their child to go to a particular school, but also combined with bidding for forms of investment. For example, Bridget states: “We’ve always, I think, since grant-maintained days, had a culture of bringing money into the school. And being very entrepreneurial in that way, I think that’s always been a strong characteristic of the school. So I think it’s not looking at the limitations of the budget that you’ve got, but making sure you’re able to bring in the money you need to do the things that you want.” However, while the principals are very concerned that they have to stand alone as a business, there are some that have back-up that others do not, where Will states: “we haven’t had enough money. So, our current predicament is being supported by our Chairman. We’re fortunate: because of who he is, he’s in a position whereby he’s got a charitable foundation and if we needed a six-figure donation, he could quite easily do that, a seven-figure donation if he had to. Hopefully, it doesn’t come to that.” There is also support “in kind,” where “some of our employer sponsors have been very generous as well, ensuring the students get access to the very best equipment, we’ve had employers who have invested tens of thousands of pounds worth of equipment and sponsored even things like the overalls and stuff like that.”

Development and use of Commercial Processes

Schools not only had to attract parents and children but also staff, and in ways where prospective staff could know about and engage with the distinctive brand. For example, Paul talks about how teachers are recruited to the school as a product as distinct from a profession: “Just before Easter, we did our next round of teacher recruitment for September. I created a 40-page document that outlined the commitment; this is what you are buying into if you want to work at this school. There are expectations that they teach in a certain way, and that’s explained in the documentation. And they have an ethos and a vision for education that’s explained in the documentation.”

Accessing Commercial Support

Schools had to run their own budgets from 1988 onwards, and hence they needed non-educational expertise. For example, this can be in regard to the governing body, where legal and corporate know-how is valued. Phil says, “probably [I’m looking for] just business. I think somebody out there who’s in the enterprise world would be interesting. Maybe someone legal: always useful to have somebody with that kind of background.” In addition, it can be the purchasing of advice, as Ellen states: “I’ve got an external consultant to come in and look at the teaching and learning.”

Corporatizing the Curriculum

The purposes of the curriculum, particularly what is taught and how it is to be taught are undergoing rapid changes. For example, learning within commercial organizations and cultures, learning to be work-ready, and being taught by people who are not teachers but are imparting skills for work has been normalized. As Jane states: “I am completely reviewing Art, Design and Technology, and Computing. The national curriculum is so backward, so boring, has no link whatsoever to the labor market or industry needs.” A number of principals talk in detail about partnerships with companies and individuals, and how they are networked in ways that mean members of the Royal Family come to open the new school or they attend conferences where famous international speakers attend. It all seems more upbeat than being a head of an ordinary school in an ordinary town. It seems as if basic learning can take place only within business partnerships, real-life work situations, and commercial exchange relationships. For example, Rodney says, “[Company name is] going to set real, real-life challenges, problems that they have for our kids to seek and to resolve to the point where in the sixth form, the kids will effectively be working for them, and they’ll be paid to do it.”

The removal of public local administration from oversight, funding and regulation means that the school principals experience depoliticization through the relocation of educational issues to identified ways of working that are known of as being approved by those external to the school (government regulators, new school owners/managers) who structure their agency. For example, Will talks about how “we don’t tend to use effort grades in the same way as perhaps other educational institutions do. We have what we call ‘professional conduct’ ... and if it’s below a seven, then they’re not quite at the point where we would say, ‘well, you’re employable now’. And you get some students who are sevens now and you could say ‘you could get a job now, if you went out, you’d get one.’”

The dominance of accountability evidenced in templated thinking is very strong in the data. Here a template or list of what is required is used to design, deliver and audit teaching and learning. This scripts practice, and so there is no space for discretion or judgment that may link to wider public matters such as equity. For example, Ellen states: “we’ve been really, really rigorous in terms of the target-setting for students, introducing a policy around teaching and learning, introducing a standard marking system, introducing learning walks.” Exclusion is therefore clear-cut, where Will talks about how teachers can be removed if they are not good enough: “from the industrial side of things, the measures of success are slightly different, and there’s obviously lots of different factors, it’s a bit more clear-cut when you’ve got a subject to deliver and there’s a structure in place from a curricular point of view, and they have to make progress, and it’s defined. It’s more self-evident when a student’s off-task, and you can measure it by the engagement of the students as well.” Principals must implement templates, and check through data and classroom observation, or their jobs are in jeopardy. This seems to be relentless, as Jane states: “we thought we’d be able to roll back some of those tightly focused quality-assurance processes, but we couldn’t.” She knows the situation regarding her new employers: “I don’t expect any loyalty from anybody that I work for. They’ve got their agenda; this is football-manager syndrome, and I am judged on my results. And if my results are not good, I’ll be out of a job. And I know that, it’s no good pretending.”

Phil states:

I think heads are probably more vulnerable in this new world of autonomy, and I think that's the other thing that keeps some people awake, certainly in some situations, because it is again like football managers; if results are not going your way, say goodbye. And that's happening more. Heads just disappear. And then somebody else is parachuted in and I wouldn't claim that headteacher job security is probably at its highest level in this new world that we work in, but you know, it's not if you're the CEO of a company, really, is it? That's the world that people work in.

This way of thinking is also extended to the children, where through business cultures they learn about losing your job if you don't deliver. Will says: "so from a standards point of view, the students sometimes say 'oh, it's a bit too much like school here', but actually I would say it's worse than that, because business is black and white and less accepting of, if you turn up late or you're not on time, well, you haven't got a job any more." Indeed, Will goes on to say:

I would hope that there's a number of attributes that our young people would have that you wouldn't find in a student from another institution: an awareness of what the real world's like from a commercial perspective. An awareness of expectations and standards in a commercial environment ... Some of them will be very commercially astute from a business perspective, because they will have run and operated their own businesses and know that this is where their strengths lie, you know. They might decide, actually, "I want to go into technical sales; I'm really good at sales," because they would have conditioned themselves here and developed that confidence and that awareness, you know.

Commercialization and privatization are permeating professional identities. Hazel states: "I probably am linking more to business than I have over the last few years, and certainly am exploring now what I can do about enterprise education." Indeed, there is a strong link with communication as commercial marketing, with cultural references about how to locate the school in ways that impact on choice:

Again, the type of school we are, we probably don't market in the same way that other schools need to. My mantra is "think Mercedes." We did this thing about, if we were a car, what kind of car would we be? And when you walk into a Mercedes garage, you don't see lots of banners about this week's special offers, you just see a Mercedes sign and you see Mercedes and you know exactly what you're getting. We're not Rolls Royce. We're not Bentley. We're not that kind of grammar school, you know. We're a bit more than BMW. We had that kind of discussion. I quite fancy Jaguars, but that was a bit old-fashioned apparently, it was that tradition of innovation. Mercedes are known for being technically quite innovative as well, you know so we ended up on Mercedes. And they advertise, but their advertising is a bit subtle. (Phil)

So parents understand who they are and how they and their children fit the templated brand image.

What we are illustrating here is how educational matters are not only technicized through commercial processes, but also leave the public domain, and so become “little more as elements of fate” (Wood and Flinders, 2014, p. 165). Hence the data do not contain views about the purposes of education beyond a default invocation of employability, and what this means for structures, cultures, and practices such as pedagogy, or how these are public matters. It seems that these are now left to the case of “if” and “when” it happens or not. However, there are some glimpses to the challenges this brings to principals, where Bridget argues for the importance of faith as having a place in public education. Another example comes from Will, who argues that compared to business, those in education have to evidence their decisions for Ofsted:

Really we could have come to the conclusion through our professional experience, because “that kid is like that because we know that, because he does this,” and so on. We don’t have to spend 12 hours generating data profiles on him in order to tell us that in the first place. I could have just told you. But Ofsted would expect that level of tracking.

The irony is that the agency that Will is seeking here was available to principals and teachers to exercise before the business-management template was introduced from 1988.

In the main, our data show that agency is articulated, in Thomson’s (2010) terms, as integral to the game, where these principals are positioned to seek distinction in line with the corporate interests which now structure purposes and practices. As Thomson (2010) notes, the game is out of their reach, they have glimpses of it through their association with sponsors and through the excitement of working with new partners in business, but in reality their agency is structured through templated certainties and data, while education as a public service is threatened through societal and discursive forms of privatization. So, much energy and urgency is put into the following:

Principals restructure the school:

I also carried out a staff restructure just to sharpen the focus. There was a quarter of a million deficit. Had some staff redundancies, had to clear up all the staffing issues. (Les)

I restructured the school two years ago, and put in the roles at middle leadership that I really know can drive things forward and created people to lead learning. (Hazel)

I’m just going through the restructure where I’ve got people who’ve lost their jobs. (Ellen)

Principals restructure the workforce:

What we didn’t deal with in either of those places deal with inadequate teaching. We just let those people go on and on and on. And I’m very intolerant of inadequate teaching because the children suffer. So, I’m now very *intolerant* of it. (Les)

It's all about the type of people, the right people, and chucking out what wasn't needed and getting in what was. And in any school, if you ask any Head if they could change 10 percent of their staff, they could make an impact somewhere. And it's like football ... if you buy the best players, you get some success. And if you don't get some success, the manager gets sacked. And I think a lot of what happens in schools is a bit like that. (Phil)

Principals solve problems:

But what I can do, and I think it's been particularly good for the Federation, is to think strategically and creatively around the issues that we have. (Les)

I'm an enthusiast, so I, I don't necessarily dwell on problems, I'll more be focusing on the solution and how we're going to solve the problem, and so I don't ever say, "Oh, we can't do that. I'll just think about doing it, and then worry about how we're going to do it later on." (Will)

Principals reproduce neoliberal discourses stigmatizing local authorities:

The quality of people working at local authorities in general is poor, in my experience ... There's just a mentality about working there. People tend to end up there when they've not done very well somewhere else! And certainly in education. So you would get failed headteachers who suddenly become, you know, local authority improvement advisors. (Jane)

Now, I'm perfectly happy to exploit autonomy, I'm very happy with the school being an Academy, because there's just so many restrictions as a local authority school that it holds you back, it impairs your capacity to respond quickly, to be flexible, to be dynamic. A lot of what we're doing as a Studio School, we couldn't do as a local authority school because there's just too many, sort of bureaucratic restrictions. (Rodney)

Agency as a form of local delivery of private interests is underpinned by what is called "vision," which is a combination of the received vision from regulations, those who own, control and manage the school, and those principals who have bought into and developed it:

You find everything that we do is preceded by a statement of purpose, which I find is really important, because unless you coalesce around a clear purpose for what you're doing, you just go all over the place. (Rodney)

My job was to take their vision, which was a very strong vision, and put it into reality. And if you're doing that, there are going to be times when the people who had the original vision are going to look and go, "well, that's not how I saw it working." (Paul)

Such visioning can be all-encompassing:

"This is my vision, this is what I'm passionate about. If you don't like it, come and talk to me about it, let's talk about that." But I know what it feels like to be in a

school where your values don't match those of the organization. And, I got out, so my challenge would be, this is what this school is about. (Paul)

Such visioning can be brutal (see Courtney & Gunter, 2015):

This is how it's gonna be. You're either on the bus or you're off the bus. And if you're on the bus, then we'll do everything we can to help and support you. But if you're not, then you're off the bus. And that's either through redundancy, through a restructure, through a change in roles, through a capability, through, "Do you know, what? This isn't the job for me, I'm applying elsewhere." (Jane)

In summary, our analysis shows how agency is deployed on technical matters, where major political issues about the purposes of public education have been technicized or displaced to the happenstance of the private world where they may or may not come up for debate and action. While there are over 70 different types of schools, and the number is growing, the claims for and about distinctive leader, leading and leadership agency are problematic. Principals are speaking and doing forms of depoliticization that are evident no matter who or what controls the school, and while they are struggling with the sediments of local, universally provided access and services, they are also embracing the new corporate identity that underpins but elides claims about diversity and choice.

Conclusion

Our research reported in this chapter makes two main contributions to knowledge concerning school principals as leaders, who lead and exercise leadership. First, we have captured and collected the narratives of school principals at a moment where major privatization is taking place in education in England; and second, we have subjected those data to a critical reading regarding how agency is located within and enables depoliticization. The call for and to agency is a necessary logic in the privatization game in play, where the codification of leadership through a *doxa* of templated solutions speaks to those who are attracted by the *illusio* of effectiveness through private ownership. The context is one of corporatized work, imaginings and dispositions that are shared by these respondents, where agency is evident in organizational tasks such as restructuring and removing teachers. While there are residues of politicization, the silences regarding values and the purposes of education as inclusive are very loud. It seems that what used to be a matter of public debate is now a private matter, and so may or may not be an issue.

We have presented three biographies to reveal how principals of some new types of school came to occupy their role. We have thought about this by undertaking a Bourdieusian analysis to discuss what this means for the field and for practice, showing that within biographies there is an interplay between the structuring context of education and the opportunity to reveal a prospective leader's habitus. This may be seen in Paul's and Will's stories, in which their experience, respectively, in the private sector and in vocational education illustrates why the job of a principal of a University Technical College or a Free School was not so much an unknown quantity as a structural opportunity to reveal the dispositions structured in their past into a new part of

the field of educational leadership. Jane's story, however, demonstrates that it is not even necessary to have that "bridge" to the new created by habitus; provided the new position represents sufficient advantage over others in the field, then histories can be re-narrated through the acquired dispositions of the new field position. This is the product of what Bourdieu (1990) calls "struggles for recognition," in which "what is at stake ... is the accumulation of a particular form of capital, honour in the sense of reputation and prestige" (p. 22). Jane's pursuit of leadership roles, and then *more privileged leadership positions*, exemplifies the *strategy* which is an effect of playing "that particular game" (p. 22).

Moving beyond the three stories to examining key themes in our data, we see how the principals of a range of new school types have shared practices through dispositions to remove teachers, contract with private providers, and develop corporate approaches to the curriculum and the membership of the workforce. The privatization game is brought into reach through such practices, and controlled through visioning as disciplined talk and a template for control. Our Bourdieusian analysis of principal agentic positioning in a privatized landscape suggests that new roles in new structures create the *illusio* that is attractive to people who are either *pre-disposed* to, or *who have a strategic interest* in playing, regardless of the inadequacy or irrelevance of formal training mechanisms (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 11). Furthermore, while residual elements of public education remain, we note the *misrecognition* of these principals to the game that is in play, particularly the commitment to children's learning at a time when the approved emphasis is outcomes. The opportunity exists for education-policy researchers to subject the modernization of professional practice not only to sociological theories of power through thinking tools such as those provided by Bourdieu, but also to interconnect this to thinking from political science through forms of inter-related politicization, depoliticization and repoliticization. Principal agency could be deployed to redesign the game as a form of repoliticization, where through their practice, the public purposes of education could feature in how they approach curriculum, workforce and pedagogic matters.

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From Welfarism to Neo-Liberalism: Conceptualizing the Diversity of Leadership Models in Europe

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During the last few decades, policy-focused attempts to modernize and restructure the provision of education in countries in the Western world have been strongly associated with ideas travelling rapidly across national boundaries (Ozga & Jones, 2006). This process has been led by agencies such as the European Union (EU), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation (OECD), and the World Bank, and has been designed in alignment with New Public Management (NPM) doctrines that draw upon economic and business management theory to co-ordinate the provision of public services (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011). Simultaneously in the field of education, school leadership has been singled out as one of the main levers of educational change (Gunter, 2011). This chapter examines leadership in education within this broader transnational policy context, but it does so by reference to the recontextualization and retranslation of policy in differing European national contexts revealing and reflecting upon the diversity of leadership models in this continent.

The geographically mobile and travelling education policies referred to above have generally aimed to reduce public expenditure and bureaucratic structure by fostering competition and marketization of public services, monitoring efficiency and effectiveness by measuring outcomes and staff performance and attempting to change the cultures of public institutions to resemble more closely those found in for-profit businesses (Christensen & Lægheid, 2011). Politicians and administrators across countries have regarded these traits as vital ingredients in the renewal of the public sector in general. The theoretical origins of these changes and of New Public Management itself can be traced to a variety of theoretical perspectives, with a connection to economic models, such as: public-choice theory, with its focus on marketization, decentralization, and contracting out; agency theory, which focuses on setting standards and performance regulation, and putting them into effect with sanctions and incentives; and managerialism, which supports horizontal management structures, accountability, and private networks (Gruening, 2001). As such, and owing to a mix of theoretical roots, the policies supported by New Public Management have a tendency, as we will demonstrate later in this chapter, to generate paradoxes.

Although these policies are mobile and transnational, with seemingly universalistic ambitions, and are assumed frequently to originate from a single source of neoliberalist trends, studies have shown how they have taken various shapes in different countries due to different processes of contextual adaptation (Christensen & Lægheid, 2011; Hood, 2007). Through these processes, the policies are reinterpreted, reinflected, and

reassembled repeatedly, which means that we must pay attention to the local setting in which the ideas and accompanying instruments are received, translated, mediated, and adapted into new practices (Clarke & Newman, 2009). It is to these local, national, settings that this chapter attends.

In order to examine similarities and differences across national contexts, in this chapter we focus upon four national cases located within four main respective states: the Federal State (Austria), the Liberal State (England), the Mediterranean-Napoleonic State (Italy), and the Nordic Social Democratic State (Norway). The use of these four state types, we believe, captures the diversity of the governmental and policy contexts within Europe as a basis for examining the diversity of leadership models. The further focus upon four countries within these state types enables a more in-depth analysis of each national context located within the theoretical framework described below. Of course, in discussing and analyzing the diversity of European leadership models, it is not possible to offer a complete account. In particular not all states are included, so, for example, no post-communist states are discussed here, and it goes beyond our aims to capture the entire range of diversity within the different types of states, so that differences between say Sweden, Finland, and Norway within the Nordic Social Democratic state type are left largely unexamined.

Undertaking cross national comparisons reminds us that theory and practice in educational leadership and management is socially constructed and contextually bound, creating significant differences, not least at a national level. The difference is even greater when the countries compared do not share a common cultural heritage and a common language (Møller & Schratz, 2008). In leadership research, in projects initiated by the OECD and the European Union, and in networking amongst national agencies, English has become the dominant language. Consequently, the English-speaking world will probably, to a large degree, influence the global discourse about school leadership. The dominating perspectives on educational leadership have discursive power and set an agenda for the educational discussion. Language is more than a description of reality. It is something we do; we take part in discursive practices that define what can be seen, known, and done (Møller, 2007). This is one of the reasons, in addition to those referred to above, for choosing England as one of our main cases.

Theoretical Framework

Drawing from the analytic framework proposed by Newman (2001), we distinguish four frames of governance, derived from the intersection between two heuristic dimensions and continuums, centralization/decentralization, and whether the drivers of educational change are principally endogenous or exogenous.

In our comparative exercise, we wanted to attend both to particularities and to general patterns and commonalities or convergence across localities (Ball, 1998). At the same time, we tried to avoid over-simplifying dualisms and to explore “what happens when different elements of new and old are packaged and repackaged” (Newman, 2001, p. 4) as different policies concerning educational leadership are overlaid upon one another. This is why we opted for a theoretical framework that enables us to outline tensions between enabling and controlling strategies, clashing professional models and

dilemmas emerging from the formation of divergent subjectivities and the overlaying of different sets of norms and assumptions upon each other.

To accomplish this task, we employ the analytic framework proposed by Newman (2001) in her analysis of the modernization of the English education system under New Labour in the 1990s. Newman proposed a matrix to map policy change (p. 33–34), which was the outcome of an intersection between two heuristic dimensions:

- 1) *the vertical axis*, that represents “the degree to which power is centralised or decentralized”, where high centralization corresponds to “structural integration of governance” and decentralization exploits the differentiation of governance arrangements;
- 2) *the horizontal axis*, that represents the orientation towards change, where “governance arrangements may be oriented towards the creation of continuity, order, stability and sustainability or towards bringing about innovation, in order to respond to new economic pressures or shifting public expectations” (p. 33).

This intersection allowed Newman (2001) to outline a space that represents policy tensions within four models of governance:

- 1) the *hierarchical model*, that is “oriented towards predictability, control and accountability in which the State exerts direct control over policy development and implementation through bureaucratic hierarchies” (p. 33);
- 2) the *rational goal model*, that is grounded on the attempt to maximize outputs and is characterized by managerial, rather than bureaucratic, power and a dispersal of authority and agencies. Nonetheless, as Newman argues, “despite this apparent devolution, this model of governance reflects a centralised approach with goals and targets cascading from government on the assumption that organisations will behave as rational actors” (p. 34) fostering competition between each other;
- 3) the *open system model*, that is oriented towards “network forms of interaction and iterative processes of adaptation,” where “power is dispersed and fluid, based on interdependence of actors on the resources of others to pursue their goals” (p. 35) and government devolves its power and looses ties of control;
- 4) the *self-governance model*, that focuses on “building sustainability by fostering relationships of interdependence and reciprocity” and on processes of empowerment by promoting participation in decision making. Government devolves power “by developing the capacity of [professional or social] communities to solve their own problems” (p. 36).

Figure 17.1 graphically shows the matrix used here as a heuristic device to map changes and tensions in educational leadership and mainly refers to the professional governance model. In order to adapt the matrix to our matter of concern, we have changed the meaning of the horizontal axis in comparison with Newman’s (2001) original matrix. Recalling her invitation to problematize the dynamics of change, we have opted for a somewhat different conceptual continuum, focusing on the nature of change and, more precisely, on the endogenous or exogenous dynamics fostering change itself (internal vs. external accountability).

The arguments developed in this chapter are based on the authors’ research in the field of educational leadership policy analysis. They draw on different data sources,

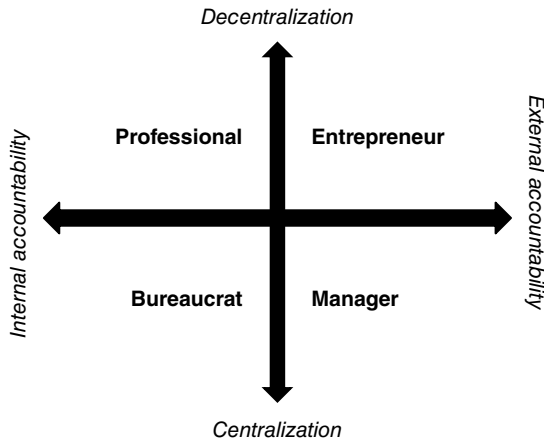


Figure 17.1 The analytical matrix to interpret leadership and policy change.
Source: Adapted from Newman, 2001.

including policy texts and documents (government papers and reports; ministerial speeches and press articles; policy advisors' speeches and presentations), literature focusing on the processes of education leadership policy enactment, in-depth interviews carried out with key informants, and policy actors such as teachers, school leaders, politicians, administrators, and non-educational actors intervening in the field, and professionals.

Austria

Legacies

After the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (ca. 1918), the Austrian Republic went through several political phases until it became what is now known as the Second Austrian Republic (1955–present). During this period, Austria changed from being a multiethnic empire to a small country trying to construct a new identity in the wake of its imperial past.

Austria's welfare system, leading to social and economic growth, was built on dependable social partnership structures influenced by partisan politics and the (teacher) union and teacher representatives; whereas parents, students, researchers, and other (less formally organized) actors have had little voice (Schmid et al., 2007). Monarchic welfare was replaced by parliamentary welfare, with similar effects on the school system, which has historically been characterized as highly bureaucratic, strongly regulated in detail, hierarchically organized, and with little output orientation. The penetration of a centralized regime has outlived two World Wars and still influences educational policy making today.

In the thicket of competing influences and interests of federalist dynamics and the multilevel system, policy decisions can neither solely be made on the national nor on the provincial (*Länder*) level. This complexity often leads to tensions or even confrontations between the ministry and the nine provinces. System changes are highly dependent on a balancing act between center and periphery, with the actors involved at either end vying to gain more political weight and protect their interests. These endemic

tensions resulted in an historical propensity to adopt a “muddling-through” attitude, which, in Austrian terms, “symbolized the opposite of Prussian efficiency, offering at once a source of strength and weakness” (Johnston, 1984, p. 22). “When Victor Adler called Austria’s government *‘ein durch Schlamperei gemilderter Absolutismus’* [Absolutism mitigated by laxity], he meant to praise the humanizing impact of anti-Prussian *laissez-vivre*” (p. 23).

When the growing influence of global (e.g., OECD) and European players started gaining momentum through the introduction of large scale assessments (e.g., PISA) and standardized procedures (European Union), which brought with them neoliberal policies and forms of New Public Management, they were somehow mellowed by the attitude described in the quote above. So, although this movement has brought a shift toward more decentralization and deregulation (Schratz & Hartmann, 2009, p. 105), it has remained more as a rhetorical discourse and led to a “softer” implementation of New Public Management (Ferlie & Geraghty, 2005). Consequently, reliance upon evidence-based governance is not found extensively in the Austrian school system, not least because standardization and national testing have only recently been instituted (Bruneforth & Lassnig, 2012, p. 124).

Leadership Models

In German-speaking countries, for quite some time, the relationship between “leaders” and “followers” could not be dealt with productively because of the negative connotations of the German word *Führung*. Moreover, the organizational structure of schools is still characterized by a very flat hierarchy that has often been associated with a kind of “myth of equality” among the teaching staff—one that masked the inner hierarchy and made the distribution of leadership much more complicated. As a consequence, school leaders were often regarded as being “*primus inter pares*” (first among equals) (Schratz, 2003). The development of leadership models in German-speaking countries can be traced in Figure 17.2 (Lohmann, 2013).

There was little literature and even less research on school leaders until the 1990s, when the dominant model was the school leader as “*primus inter pares*” and senior teachers were appointed to lead the school, very often only a few years before their retirement. This model was mainly hierarchically based on pervasive formalism, and no professional education or training was in place. Consultation worked through meetings with superiors (i.e., inspectors), which in turn fulfilled the policy implementation of the centralized system. With decentralization processes on the macro level of the school system and the movement towards more autonomous schools on the micro level, publications concerning the new role of school leaders began in Austria (Fischer & Schratz, 1993), Germany (Rosenbusch, 2005), and Switzerland (Dubs, 1994). These initial advancements towards more autonomous schools brought with them a new role for the school leader, a professional who had to develop the teachers’ collegial body. They also marked the promotion of research into this new profession and experimentation with new forms of leading a school.

The foundation of national agencies for quality control and the introduction of standardized testing provided policy makers with information, data, and analysis, which also called for a new role for school leaders, who suddenly had to manage data and respond to external interventions. Accountability has become a buzz word in the system,

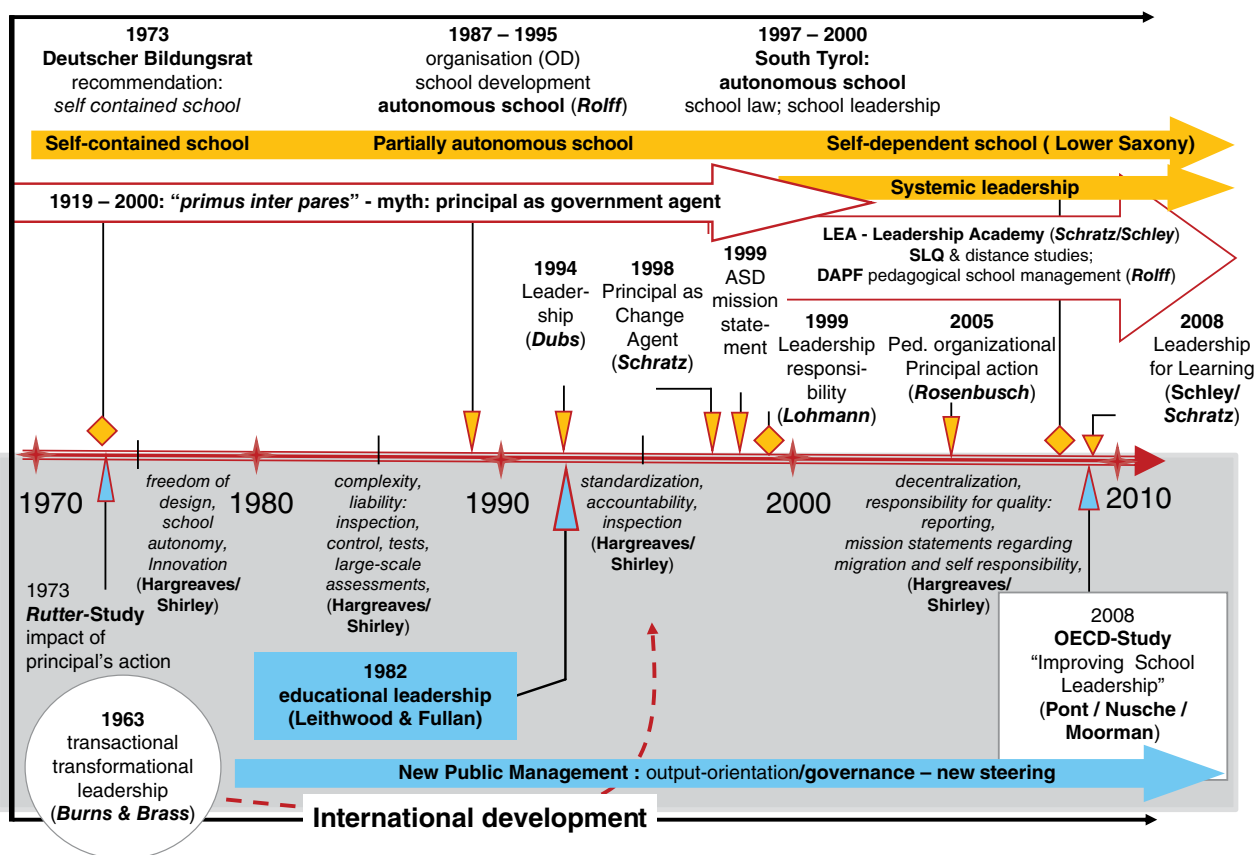


Figure 17.2 The development of leadership models in German-speaking countries. Source: Lohmann, 2013, p. 21. Reproduced with permission of Köln: Wolters Kluwer.

safeguarded by the introduction of a nation-wide quality assurance regime built on management by objectives which has begun to be implemented on all levels of the system (known as Quality in Schools [QIS] and Quality Initiative in Vocational Education [QIBB]).

The Relationship Between Leadership and Modes of Professionalism

Since a national testing regime has not had as much of an influence in Austria as it has in other countries (the first nationally executed final exam at upper secondary school-leaving age in partly standardized form was not introduced until 2015), links between New Public Management and the possible emergence of a new and different form of professionalism (Evetts, 2011) has not yet taken hold. In their analysis of TALIS data, Schmich and Breit (2009) indicate that Austrian school leaders focus more on school leadership than on the development of students' learning. Instead of leading through objectives by setting long-term goals, Austrian school leaders seem to interpret their work more from a trouble-shooting perspective. This means that they focus more on specific activities influencing individual teachers' work and responsibilities rather than planning strategically. Activities influencing teaching and learning are more focused on the individual teacher than on the school as a whole. Austrian school leaders still seem to strongly identify with the teaching profession and adhere more to collegial authority and relational trust (*occupational professionalism*) than to standardized work procedures and hierarchical structures of accountability (*organizational professionalism*).

A relative lack of attention to setting objectives and giving direction can be explained by the fact that, in Austria, most schools lack mandatory steering instruments (e.g., school programs, improvement plans) or standardized instruments to monitor student outcomes (e.g., comparative assessment and national tests). Thus, managerial activities such as setting learning objectives based on student outcome results occur less frequently than in other countries and it has been asserted that the consequent lack of data does not allow school leaders to base decisions on evidence and focus on common objectives for improving organizational effectiveness and facilitating teacher effectiveness (Devos & Schratz, 2012).

Leadership and Regulation/Accountability Regimes

The transformation of school governance is presently a major focus of educational debate and reform throughout the Austrian school system. Several investigations have recently been undertaken to explore and evaluate various national strategies of school governance with respect to their power to improve the overall quality of the school system (e.g., Altrichter, Kemethofer, & Leitgöb, 2012a; Altrichter, Kemethofer, & Schmiedinger, 2013). Findings from a survey administered at national level, in addition to PISA 2009 (Altrichter et al., 2012b), show that school leaders regard quality development instruments for the improvement of the individual school positively. The core instruments of the new, evidence-based governance regime, however, are not evidenced in the assessment of instruments for quality development on the system level, such as national education reports and annual management by objectives agreements between school leaders and the regional school administration.

Ehren et al. (2013), who investigated the work of school inspection as part of an accountability regime, argue "that inspection regimes which include standards on

teaching and learning, derived from school effectiveness research, will be the most effective” (p. 26). Since Austria has not had a tradition of standardized testing, those in schools find it difficult to compare achievement results on a broad level or use them as a baseline for school improvement. On the other hand, the present centralized policy culture leaves school leaders with little room to maneuver (especially regarding budget and personnel) (Schratz, 2012):

Austrian schools have little decision making competences regarding personnel or budget decisions. In contrast, however, Austrian schools are rather independent with regard to implementing the curriculum and student policies. It is conspicuous that in no other OECD/EU country decision-making in matters of personnel is as limited as in Austria (Suchan et al., 2009, p. 26).

Lassnig et al. (2007) point to the improvements needed to improve internal efficiency, referring to autonomy regarding curricular freedom at the individual school, in lesson plans and the distribution of teaching and learning time, the organization of school life and support services personnel (employment of teachers and school leaders), and staffing, as well as in financial resource allocation (global budgets).

England

Legacies

From the mid-1940s to the mid-1970s, British politics was largely founded upon a consensus between the two main and dominant political parties, Labour and Conservative, frequently referred to as Butskellism.¹ This consensus was linked to a welfarist settlement in which the state assumed responsibility via interventionist policies for the welfare of its citizens in key areas, in particular health, education, and social security. In England, following the Education Act of 1944, which sought to universalize educational provision for young people up to the age of 15, what emerged was a tripartite education system.² This was based upon academically selective “grammar schools” and technical schools and secondary modern schools for those who failed, via a test termed the 11+, to secure a place at a grammar school. This tripartite system came gradually to be replaced, from the late 1950s, by the comprehensive school, a common institution that was intended to combine the roles performed by the previously separate tripartite institutions into single schools. It was a highly decentralized system that was largely administered by democratically elected local authorities who were provided with extensive powers over the funding and governance of schools. Within this locally administered system, headteachers (or principals as they are termed in post-16 colleges and some schools) emerged with a key, pivotal, and legally defined role within their individual institutions, whether primary (Hall & Southworth, 1997), secondary (Torrington & Weightman, 1989), or post-16 (Ainley & Bailey, 1997).

The subsequent decline of welfarism in the UK, linked to a wider crisis of social democracy and the emergence and subsequent political ascendance of the New Right, affected the education sector in England from the 1980s. During this period, a series of reforms, culminating in the Education Reform Act of 1988, marked the beginning of

a new post-welfarist approach to education (Ball, 1997). This was based, at least in part, upon a new political consensus emerging within the Conservative Party and sectors of the Labour Party that was focused upon the need to modernize educational institutions so that they would become more aligned with and responsive to the perceived needs of the economy in general and private sector business activity more specifically.

Since 1988, the Education Reform Act has offered a remarkably resilient political basis for concretizing and extending reforms (Hall & Gunter, 2016) by subsequent Conservative, New Labour, and coalition governments. This has resulted in the creation of a centralized educational system in which hitherto unforeseen powers have been captured by central government, predominantly in terms of curriculum and assessment, but also by assertively amending the types of state-funded schools available within local education markets.³ This hard version of New Public Management (Ferlie & Geraghty, 2005), accompanied by a shift to private sector styles of management, has been linked to an emphasis upon making education a legible (Scott, 1990) activity for both managers and consumers through the creation of explicit standards and measures of performance (Osborne, 2006) in order that employees could be performance-managed. Simultaneously, there has been a decentralization process (Hall, 2013) in which schools operating as business units within local educational markets have competed for parents and students as customers, enabling them to gain enhanced powers in relation to both their finances and their promotional activities. This softer version of New Public Management (Ferlie & Geraghty, 2005), in which the flexibility and innovatory responses of public sector organizations have been foregrounded, has been most evident to those in school leadership positions responsible for the market positioning of their institutions.

Leadership Models

One of the key aspects of the reform process in England has been a focus upon leadership as a practical means of securing reform within educational institutions (Hall, 2013). Following the 1988 Act, and subsequent educational reforms in England, the New Public Management came to colonize schools in England, initially via an enthusiastic cadre of headteacher-managers (Grace, 1995) who embraced the personal and professional opportunities presented by this new managerialist regime. During this foundational stage (Hall & Gunter, 2016) of New Public Management, it was headteachers, based upon their unique and historically dominant position, who were largely charged as the imagined single leaders of schools, with the task of locally implementing reforms. This early phase of reform was also strongly marked by both headteacher resisters and professionals (Grace, 1995) who variously refuted, challenged, ignored, or sidestepped the reform process. Increasingly, however, as the 1980s' educational reforms were cemented by a New Labour government whose much-trumpeted Third Way hybridization became increasingly compromised by a dominant neoliberalism (Hall, 2003), educational management came to be marked by managerialism (Gewirtz, 2002) or, more specifically, headteacher managerialism (Hatcher, 2005), in which active resistance was frequently followed by early retirement or resignation, not least amongst headteachers themselves (Yarker, 2005).

During New Labour's concretizing phase of educational reform in England, the hero-head emerged as the totemic symbol of successful modernization, representing the

discursive ascendancy of a transformational leadership model of educational change (Leithwood et al., 1999), but also signaling a shift in the representation of localized reform away from management and towards leadership. Retrospectively, this can be viewed as an audacious shift, given that it took place during a moment when the screws of educational reform were being tightened on both teachers and headteachers, not only through the diminution of autonomy over curriculum and assessment, the implementation of performance management, and the use of OFSTED reports to publicly shame schools demonstrating insufficient enthusiasm for and understanding of the reform process, but at a time when pedagogical prescription was reaching previously unrealized heights through the implementation of national teaching strategies. So this discursive shift to leadership in England and a consequent elevation of the agential dimensions of the role of headteachers (as represented institutionally in the formation of a National College of School Leadership) took place just as headteacher managerialism was reaching its apogee and when the centralizing and directive aspects of educational reform were at their most prominent.

A reinforcement of previous trends towards educational privatization occurred under the Conservative/Liberal Democrat Coalition Government (2010–2015). This took the form of the removal from local authority control of over half of all secondary schools during the Coalition government of 2010 to 2015 and their replacement with academies, often controlled by private interests, including prominent business figures and religious organizations. Less visible was the continued discursive shift of education from its position as a public good, for benefit to wider society, to its current status as a private good, enabling the competitive advancement of individuals and families. The introduction of tuition fees for university undergraduates and the repositioning of teachers from trusted public servants to performance-managed human resources are two particular examples of this development. Taken together, these reforms have enabled the more recent development of a privatizing entrepreneurial mode of leadership to emerge in schooling in England. A particular development of note has been the elevation of an elite cadre of headteachers to the position of executive headteachers, where they are made responsible for the performance and development of a group of schools (mostly as Academy Trusts) rather than individual institutions (Hall & Gunter, 2016).

The Relationship Between Leadership, Modes of Professionalism, and Regulation/Accountability Regimes

The shift away from transformational leadership (Hall et al., 2013) that occurred later in New Labour's educational reform program was a shift that recognized both the conceptual limitations of single leadership and the failure of hero-heads (Crawford, 2002) to transform schools on a single-handed basis. The subsequent replacement of transformational leadership with distributed leadership was, if anything, even more startling, on account of stark contradictions between the directive aspects of a highly assertive and educationally interventionist New Labour government that sought to restrict the agency of educational actors within schools and a discourse of distributed leadership that simultaneously emphasized their agency. The propagation of this discourse of distributed leadership from headteachers to the entire educational workforce within the context of unprecedented levels of central government intervention served to intensify this contradiction. Based upon research with educational practitioners (Hall, 2013) it

has been asserted that this shift to distributed leadership in England should be viewed as a discursive veil masking a marked managerialism within schools and other educational institutions where requirements to perform to New Public Management-inspired edicts has resulted in widespread and thin performances of “leadership.” So, whilst the shift to distributed leadership during New Labour’s reign might be interpreted as a reassertion of an occupational professionalism (Evetts, 2011) for teachers in England, organizational professionalism (Evetts, 2011) continued to dominate, as the harder forms of New Public Management (Ferlie & Geraghty, 2005) remained dominant in teachers’ working lives as the accountability regime continued to exert extensive pressures via individual and institutional performance management, and OFSTED inspections were used in the careful policing of conduct of schools, teachers, and young people in relation to the reform program.

The scope of New Public Management-inspired reform in this context has occurred to the point where the term post-New Public Management is now a more accurate description (Hall et al., 2016). Whilst the centralizing dimensions of educational reform might suggest the ascendance or maintenance of a strong public dimension to policy change, this would be a misreading of the direction of policy travel. Instead, the centralizing, directive, and controlling aspects of educational reform relating primarily to curriculum, pedagogy, and school structures have been continually reformed to enable the aforementioned neoliberally inspired marketization of education, allowing for the gradual, but cumulatively significant development of private interests within the education sector.

In this newly privatized educational environment, schools are led so as to compete fiercely with competitor institutions and to survive in a local educational market that operates as if the principal purpose of education were to generate high test scores. Freedom and autonomy in this environment is enjoyed primarily by those, mainly in managerial positions (yet officially described as leadership), seeking to gain localized market advantage through a repositioning of their institutions. Prescription and control, on the other hand, is linked mainly to teaching and learning in ways that act as a pedagogic straitjacket for young people and teachers. Thus, the contradictions of policy remain prominent for educational managers and the Conservative administration, newly elected in 2015, have promised to “resolve” them through further privatization. This move would enable central government to imagine a distancing and insulation from those directly negative, and sometimes unintended, consequences of neoliberal reform, whilst simultaneously claiming success for wider educational reform.

Italy

Legacy

Analyzing the Italian education system and applying Newman’s (2001) conceptual framework to the dimensions of governance, curriculum, headship, and evaluation, we have elsewhere noted how the Italian case represents a peculiar hybrid form of *centralized decentralization* (Grimaldi & Serpieri, 2014). The state here still exerts a strong and pervasive influence on schools through the definition of the national curriculum, the control of human and financial resources, and the exercise of its general regulative

powers. However, despite the still dominant role exerted by state bureaucracy, divergent trends and pressures are recognizable in the shifting scenario of educational governance.

Here we want to focus on some central features of the complex processes of hybridization to frame our analysis on the headship issue. On the one hand, we want to highlight the paradoxical co-existence between the permanence of a still hierarchical mechanism of control on the key actors and processes of education and the increasing establishment of school and system performance evaluation based on *contractualism* (Grimaldi & Serpieri, 2013). To put briefly in context the new profile of the headteacher, we recall here a short description of the historical turn that the 1997 School Autonomy Reform implied for the headship (Serpieri, 2009). With the advent of the Republic (ca. 1948) the principle of open competition was introduced for select civil servants, including educational staff. Since then, headteachers have to be qualified teachers and to succeed in a selective competition held in Rome (now held in the regional offices). The 1974 regulations created the model of today's school governance. The principles of democratic and professional participation were introduced and two major collegial bodies were created: the school board, made up of the headteacher and the representatives of both staff and parents/students and chaired by a parent; and the Teachers Assembly, composed of the whole teaching staff and chaired by the headteacher, interpreted as a sort of *primus inter pares* and a lever for a bureaucratic hierarchy. With the shift that occurred after the 1997 reform, headteachers were upgraded from the level of middle management to that of higher-ranking civil servants. In short, in the pre-autonomy system, political and administrative groups designed the role of the headteacher, inspired by a welfarist (bureaucratic and professional) discourse.

Leadership Models

Figure 17.3 maps the tensions and shifts that occurred in the process of redesigning the Italian headship, showing how the historical heritage of a welfarist bureau-professional hybrid (the left quadrants), and its relative prevalence, co-exists with moves towards external accountability, and pressures the head to act as an efficient manager, while it promulgates entrepreneurship and quasi-markets (the right quadrants).

In a similar vein to what happened in other education systems, with the autonomy turn, the headship has become a policy device (Serpieri & Grimaldi, 2015) for a wider process of devolution to the school level of the responsibility for quality and performance improvement and a push toward leadership for learning (centralization and external accountability). Nonetheless, school financial autonomy and staff management have continued to be heavily constrained by central regulation, limiting the head's room for maneuver to some minor organizational arrangements and negotiations. School governance, as well, designed during the 1970s on the basis of the principles of professional and democratic participation, has remained largely untouched by the reforms, implying the need for the headteacher to continuously negotiate the internal decision making. Entrepreneurship (decentralization and external accountability), finally, represents a central value that has inspired attempts to reframe the external role of the headship, in so far as headteachers have been identified as key actors in the newly devolved local educational arenas designed through the reform. Headteachers are required to establish relations and a positive climate with local governments, to be accountable to

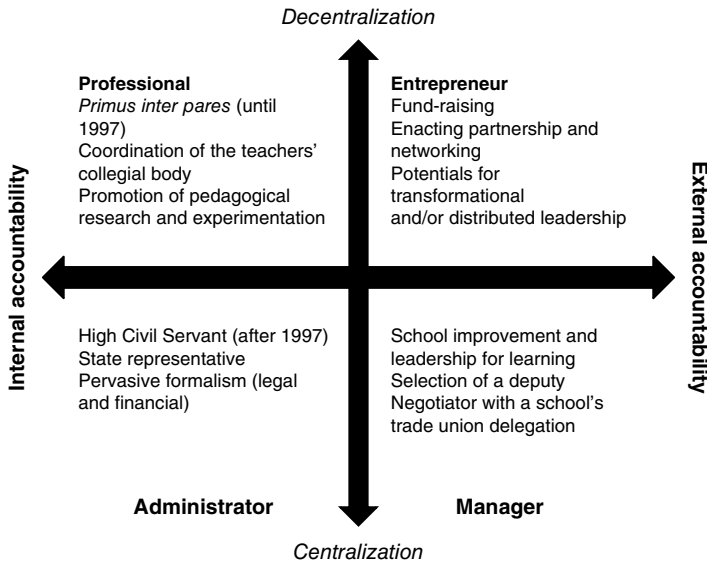


Figure 17.3 The New Headship in Italy.

peripheral bureaucracies, and to explore and exploit partnerships and collaboration with institutional, cultural, social, and economic groups existing in the local school area. The new headteacher potentially became an entrepreneur, with several imperatives. In order to maintain a sufficient number of pupils, he/she has to make his/her school attractive for students, but mainly for their parents. A loss of students means fewer teachers and the risk of losing the school's autonomous status. To avoid this, the headteacher must seek to enrich the educational provision of the school by getting additional funding for extra-curricular activities. As a consequence, he/she must dedicate a considerable amount of time to promoting external relations with local authorities and other public and private actors. In such a context, entrepreneurial skills become a necessity, while competition and a customer-oriented ethos become new implicit values (Whitty, 2002). At the same time, the condition of decentralization, combined with external accountabilities, opens spaces of configurations (Gronn, 2010) for transformational and distributed leadership. There exist scarcely explored interstices where a democratic discourse can establish a new moral climate, where the aims of social justice and democratic citizenship should and could be pursued within the contexts of the increasing intercultural educational needs in present day Italy.

The Relationship between Leadership and Modes of Professionalism/Regulation and Accountability

Reading the formation of the new headship through the lenses of Newman's (2001) governance models allows us to see how the position of the Italian head stands out as the most hybridized figure within the processes of change enacted by the School Autonomy Reform. Italian headship has been part of this global process to find out "policy solutions to educational problems" (Rizvi, 2006, p. 200) as a convergence as well as a "translation" of actors, artifacts, imageries, and policy ideas, ascribable to the

establishment of transnational policy networks around a particular neoliberal conception of education. The history of Italian headteachers' evaluation is more emblematic in this respect and makes visible the on-going processes of hybridization generated by the struggle between different and conflicting discourses. It has been more than a dozen years since attempts to introduce new managerialist devices of accountability (performance management, management by objectives) along with the legal-financial control typical of the bureaucratic system failure. In the meanwhile, trust in educational professionals has progressively declined, as a consequence of attacks coming from the champions of the neoliberal and managerialist culture. Within this scenario, headteachers have been increasingly requested to behave like managers rather than educational leaders. This has happened within paradoxical discourses: on the one hand, heads are asked to manage teachers as human resources, such as distributing career and salary incentives; on the other hand, Italian heads are pressured to serve as levers in the chain of command that the Centre intends to (re)establish for a more efficient enactment of the organizational and performance improvements policies. Another paradox of the educational accountability regime in Italy is still in play: national standards tests have been introduced during the last five years, along with some initial pilot programs for evaluating heads, teachers, and schools (Barzanò & Grimaldi, 2013). These have made their appearance on the scene, but have not become established or successful, in a managerialist vein.

Norway

Legacies

The ideology predominant in the Nordic education model considers education as crucial for cultural and political citizenship, built upon an assumption of mutual positive relationships between providing equal opportunities to education regardless of social background and economic growth. A common tenant of this predominant ideology is that the state carries the responsibility for organizing and financing the welfare state, which implies efforts to equalize the living conditions for individuals and families (Ahonen & Rantala, 2001; Antikainen, 2006; Telhaug et al., 2006). Educational equality is meant to refer to equal opportunities, but not in the sense of identical support for every single student irrespective of resources, as this would introduce reproduction of inequalities; instead, positive discrimination has been, and still is, accepted, which means supporting those in need (Uljens et al., 2013).

During the late 1980s and 1990s, strategies to renew the public sector were promoted as part of a New Public Management (NPM) agenda (Christensen & Læg Reid, 2011). The argument was that the welfare-state project had turned local authorities into unresponsive, bureaucratic organizations. The stated aim of restructuring was to increase local autonomy, introduce structural devolution and horizontal specialization and thereby flatten municipal hierarchies and develop more individualized and efficient public service delivery (Hansen, 2011). This agenda did not directly challenge the established tradition of schooling, since a New Public Management approach produced consequences for the restructuring of the local school administration at the municipal level in terms of deregulation, horizontal specialization, and management by objectives (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013).

However, the launch of the first PISA report in 2001 accelerated the move to a policy influenced by neoliberalism and a shift from more input-oriented policy instruments towards a more output-oriented policy (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). The PISA results have been used to legitimate new forms of bureaucracy in continuous documentation, monitoring of work, and a shift in how trust in education is communicated.⁴ New assessment policies with an emphasis on performance measurement, expectations about data use to improve school quality, and emerging accountability practices characterize the transition processes over the last decade (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). Accountability and school leadership have become key issues in the public discourse. Prior to the reforms, the public and parents had trust in professionals above all, but now attention is increasingly directed toward trusting what can be measured by results. The municipalities are portrayed as “the owners” of the public schools: they finance their schools and they are the employers of teachers and principals. Marketization as a principle has been less embraced in the Norwegian context, probably because the market of school choice for students and parents is only possible in larger cities. The population in Norway is widely dispersed, and decentralized settlement is still a desirable aim for most political parties. Moreover, the comprehensive educational system is still strongly rooted in traditional ideologies.

Leadership Models—Leadership as a Catalyst for the Modernization Process

Until the 1990s, trust in teachers’ work was a tacit dimension of the principals’ approach to leadership, establishing accepted zones of influence (Berg, 2000). This implied that the school leader was “*primus inter pares*” and suggested a flat organizational structure for the school. This was mirrored in the title of the formal leadership positions in schools. For instance, through the late 1960s, the title *overlærer* (headteacher) was used in Norway for the person in charge of leading compulsory schools. Teachers did not welcome a leadership that would usurp their control over classroom activities (Tjeldvoll et al., 2005), and the dominant teacher unions strongly contested the need for formal, university-based preparation programs for school leaders up until the late 1990s (Møller & Schratz, 2008).

However, during the 1990s, established zones of control were challenged, as both parents and people outside schools questioned the individual autonomy each teacher had in his or her classroom (Møller & Schratz, 2008). The interest in school leadership in Norway began to gather momentum in the 1990s, strongly influenced by the New Public Management discourse, with its focus on strong leaders and entrepreneurs as a vehicle for the modernization project in education, and leadership is one of those big ideas that have travelled across continents. New titles were created for managers at the municipal level, and these people were trained and accredited as managers using business models. Increasingly, school principals were trained as managers and they may or may not have an educational background. Master programs in educational leadership and management at the university level were first launched at the beginning of the new millennium and a national program for newly appointed principals which contains key elements of New Public Management was introduced in 2009, mainly as a consequence of the country’s participation in OECD’s “improving school leadership” (Møller & Ottesen, 2011).

The Norwegian development of leadership models incorporates managerial elements such as a combination of performance measurement, quality indicators, target setting, accountability, and the use of incentives and sanctions. The intention is to mobilize

educators' work efforts to improve student outcomes. A great deal of faith is put in assessment tools that provide data and information to improve practice. Results from national testing are used locally for benchmarking purposes, where many schools aim to perform better than the municipal average (Skedsmo, 2011). Leaders at the municipal level increasingly define their role to include the purchase of services that may be offered by either public or private providers.

A more recent feature of the Norwegian model, as a consequence of the restructuring of municipal governing of school, is the fact that many principals today co-ordinate various functions that earlier were taken care of at municipal level. As a result, school principals are increasingly experiencing a work environment in which benchmarking and test scores are at the forefront and where economic interests or efficiency demands overshadow professional interests. It is assumed that the way the school principals respond to this shift in context and demands is dependent on their capacity for acting as professional "hands-on" managers.

The Relationship between Leadership and Modes of Professionalism

The logic of contractualism seems to have been successfully institutionalized in the larger cities in Norway. The use of new evaluation technologies both by managers at the municipal level and principals to monitor student outcomes can be read as a shift toward what has been termed "organizational professionalism," which incorporates standardized work procedures and relies on external regulation and accountability measures (Evetts, 2011). It echoes the management discourse promoted by the OECD, where a performance orientation is one of the main pillars, closely connected to output control. New expectations of public reporting and external accountability create both challenges and possibilities for school leaders, but exactly how these affect the work of school leaders depends on the local organizational work contexts. There still are present constructions related to classical professional ideals, but teachers have also become more proactive in terms of creating legitimacy for their work and are currently redefining their understanding of professionalism under this new governing regime (Mausethagen, 2013).

Leadership and Regulation: Accountability Regimes

The emergence and distribution of managerial accountability models are hallmarks of a transition towards neoliberalism. The focus has shifted to more or less well-defined expectations of what has to be achieved by whom, and the increasing amount of external public evaluation of the quality of the services provided represents a drift from management of places to management of expectations (Hopmann, 2007). In some of the larger cities, merit pay for both teachers and principals has been introduced, but so far it has been tricky to measure any effect. It is argued that competition among schools will promote school improvement and that parental choice is a guarantor of democracy. So far, such managerial elements have been contested in a Norwegian context. The line of reasoning is that vouchers and choice will give everyone a right to choose the schools that best serve their interests, regardless of social class, gender, and ethnicity. Others argue that a market model will work for some parents and schools, but will work to the disadvantage of other parents and schools. As such, a market model would not promote

equality of educational opportunity. But by and large, the dominant discourse of learning and leadership at a policy level has allowed for a reinterpretation of the educational process in terms of an economic transaction (Møller, 2007).

Discussion

In this section we turn to some of the tensions and paradoxes experienced within these different national contexts as a means of attempting to better understand the current contexts and to speculate upon similarities and differences in emerging patterns of leadership.

In Austria, school leaders are confronted with conflicting messages from the federal (Ministry) and regional (Länder) levels and often experience an overload of disconnected policies, leading to a sense of confusion and uncertainty experienced at the different levels of the school system (regional, district, local levels). This in turn can lead to the de-energizing effects of fragmentation, creating leadership dilemmas and pulling school leaders in different directions (Schratz, 2003). Although there has been a shift towards more school-based innovation through a slow movement towards more decentralization and deregulation (Schratz & Hartmann, 2009), local school governance and leadership are characterized by a flat hierarchical structure, with one school leader and a varying number of teachers; due to a strong focus on one person, leadership is usually not shared. This description of leadership in Austrian schools reflects tensions between the federal and regional administration of schooling in a still largely unreformed system. In this context, school leaders remain attached to forms of occupational professionalism in a wider environment, where national testing and other instruments of a harder form of NPM linked to performance management remain in their infancy.

In both Italy and Norway, concerted reform attempts have been underway for a number of years. In Italy, this has resulted in a hybrid role for headteachers, where they have been caught between managerialist discourses linked to New Public Management, quasi-markets, and privatization (Grimaldi, 2013), and the democratic and participative potential of the Italian school, as embodied in the corporatist welfarist alliance and teacher professionalism. The outcome of this discursive struggle remains uncertain and likely will depend upon the outcome of struggles and frictions between discourses, political cycles and the increasing capacity of New Public Management and managerialism in the system. Many questions remain: Will the managerialist discourse succeed? Will education professionals and the welfarist discourse be able to resist and answer to the demands of further democratization of education as “commonwealth”? Will local communities and non-organized subjectivities find a way to express themselves and resist attempts to appropriate/privatize education policy and institutions? Headship in Italy, in this respect, is and will be more and more a *dilemmatic dispositif* of power and government.

In Norway, where a New Public Management-inspired reform process has been underway at least since the national shock of a relatively poor national PISA performance, there are tensions and contradictions connected to the way school leadership is being conceptualized (Møller, 2007). On the one hand, the doctrine of exceptionalism is a dominant conception of leadership amongst policy makers. Policy documents

indicate that strong and visible leadership is needed in order to transform schools into learning organizations. There are pressures to transform the governing of schools towards business models of management. On the other hand, there are quite a few studies which demonstrate leadership as a relational practice that takes place through the interactions of people and their situations (Johansson, 2004; Moos & Møller, 2003; Møller, 1996; 2006). This implies that school leadership is not necessarily synonymous with a particular position; it may come from school principals, teachers, or others. Simultaneously, there is a growing consciousness of the need for trust within schools in order to improve teaching and learning (Helstad & Møller, 2013). Thus, significant tensions remain in a system where both hard and soft versions of New Public Management vie for prominence and in which professional attachments to welfarism remain strong.

In England, an unrelenting and determined 30-years' permanent revolution of educational reform has had dramatic implications for educational leadership in a context marked by harder regulatory and performance-managed forms of New Public Management. Here, tensions are evident less between attachments to welfarism and hybrid forms of leadership and more between the required and inscribed practices of school leaders and officially endorsed models of leadership that continue to foreground the agential aspects of educational governance.

Although England adopted New Public Management reforms at an early stage and with an intensity that in some ways sets it apart from other countries included in this chapter, it displays in common with Italy and Norway—both countries that have to varying degrees embraced New Public Management-style reforms—several paradoxes relating to their education systems. Through their recent educational reforms, all three countries have sought to reduce bureaucracy and make governing more effective and efficient, seeking to replace a discursively-outmoded educational administration with educational management and leadership. Simultaneously, the experience of those who work in the education sector, perhaps most especially those of designated school leaders, both at the school and regional/local levels, has all too often been of a dramatic increase in the volume of bureaucratic tasks, mostly linked to attempts to performance manage systems, institutions, and individuals, whether professionals or young people.

While international PISA scores have frequently been used as a justification for the introduction or ratcheting up of New Public Management reforms in these contexts, there is often a loose relationship between international performance measures and the intensity of New Public Management reforms. For example, despite the scale of reform, England's national performance in PISA results can best be described as mixed, whilst more famously Finland, a country marked by an unwillingness to introduce such reforms, continues to perform admirably. Similarly, although Norway has a relatively low international ranking in reading, science, and mathematics on the international PISA tests, there are other factors that suggest that Norway is doing quite well in education. For instance, Norwegian students have high scores on the international CIVIC study, and the schools are less segregated than those in many other countries. Also, adult literacy rates and measures of health and well-being are quite high in Norway (OECD, 2014).

Finally, a strong justificatory association between the need for reform and securing international economic competitiveness has been central to the introduction of reforms

in all three countries, yet the relationship between PISA performance and economic growth frequently remains weak. This is none more so the case than in Norway, where in spite of relatively low PISA scores, the country's economy is one of the strongest in the world.

Whilst recognizing tensions and paradoxes for school leadership in the English, Italian, and Norwegian systems, largely connected to New Public Management inspired reform programs, it is important to recall that the largely unreformed system in Austria remains bedeviled by a series of problems that largely pre-date New Public Management and which continue to restrict the agency of educational leaders in this context. In common with the other countries in this chapter this state of affairs may at least in part be connected to particular historical and cultural legacies. However, this does not preclude the possibility that Austrian reformers might beneficially learn from the reform experiences of other European countries and enable forms of educational leadership that take account of the particularities of this context. This might involve a contextually sensitive imagining of an educational post-welfarism linked less to the forms of managerialism, performance management, and standardization of New Public Management and more to the needs of children, young people, and their communities (Hall et al., 2015).

Notes

- 1 The term Butskellism emerged during the 1950s and was derived from a combination of the names of the respective Chancellors of the Exchequer of the Conservative and Labour parties of that era: Rab Butler and Hugh Gaitskell.
- 2 Education is a devolved power in the UK, with separate legislative arrangements for Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.
- 3 Central government has been active in variously promoting, cajoling, and imposing new, centrally-approved, and vigorously recommended school types, whether City Technology Colleges (Conservatives), City Academies (New Labour), Academies (Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition), or Free Schools (Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition).
- 4 Interestingly, Finland did not experience the same pressure to modernize its education system due to its high-scores on PISA. It is often framed as "PISA saved Finland from PISA" (cf. Sahlberg, 2011).

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18

The Importance of Leaders' Discursive Positioning in Neocolonial Education Reform Aimed at Closing the Disparities for Indigenous Peoples

Mere Berryman and Dawn Lawrence

Introduction

In countries around the world, many indigenous students are faced with seemingly immutable educational disparities. Though these countries may have different historical and geo-political realities, a common experience they share is the negative impact, through education, of colonial policies and schooling practices. For students, many of whom have suffered traditional language and cultural erasure, educational disparities perpetuate a cycle of unemployment or underemployment, further perpetuating lower levels of health, housing, and well-being, along with higher levels of incarceration, poor health, and suicide.

In New Zealand, for example, educational disparities that were first statistically identified by Hunn (1960) between the indigenous Māori population and the non-Māori, Pākehā majority are stark and, despite multiple attempts to address them, continue unabated. Such disparities perpetuate an on-going pathology of Māori underachievement that is reflected in, and reinforced by, the discourses of wider mainstream New Zealand society. Principles of social justice pertaining to the inequitable distribution of wealth and well-being, and the political imperatives for the wider nation concerning the detrimental impact of economically non-engaged segments of the population, make this an issue that policy makers and educators in general should be critically conscious of and actively resist.

In this chapter we consider how the educational experiences and achievement of Māori students in a number of mainstream secondary schools have been vastly improved through a process of theory-based, school-wide reform. While we acknowledge the likely reasons for the disparities of indigenous peoples' experiences around the world, we also highlight school-leadership experiences, together with Māori student data, to illustrate and understand the importance of decolonization and the dynamics of disparity as responses.

International Marginalization

The historical ramifications of colonial education systems continue to affect indigenous populations internationally, through both overt and covert policies and praxis that go on to plague many indigenous students throughout their lives. Shields, Bishop, and

Mazawi (2005) used the term *minoritized* in their discussion of the pathologizing of indigenous students in different parts of the world who continue to suffer at the hands of an education system perpetuated by the dominant colonizer. They argue that one does not need to be in the numerical minority to be minoritized, only to be treated as if one's position and perspectives are of less worth so that their indigenous student voice is belittled, silenced, or marginalized. Increasingly included in this category are a number of migrant students, students of colour, those living in poverty, or those with different abilities, or religious or sexual orientations (Berryman et al., 2015). For these students, many of whom have suffered suppressive language and cultural policies, educational inequalities, further cycles of unemployment, and underemployment relegate them to perpetual underclass status in the areas of health, housing, and well-being. This trend continues unabated despite international resistance movements and active self-determination.

Movements of Resistance and Revitalization

Movements of resistance to the dominant colonialisms and the simultaneous revitalization of ethnic and cultural theorizing and practices emerged in the 1960s and 1970s in many parts of the world, including the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Previously unheard voices began to challenge the prevailing discourses of assimilation and integration in a collective call by members of marginalized groups for greater self-determination. By and large, these voices were from people of colour who not only wanted self-determination for their own cultural communities, but also wanted to be able to maintain their own languages and cultural practices.

Educators have begun to question their own traditional praxis rather than continue to pathologize these students and their families. For example, Shields et al. challenged educators “to find ways to overcome the persistent and socially constructed disparities that exist between dominant and minoritized populations” (2005, pp. 21–22). In regards to indigenous groups, Māori scholar Penetito (2010) contended that while Māori “do have remedies for this problem the system has continually set out to address the problem of disparity between Māori and non-Māori academic performance rather than explain the marginalization of Māori knowledge, history and custom within the system” (p. 58). Or, as Sleeter (2011) noted, “the dominant society tries to maintain control by addressing minoritized students’ underachievement itself, rather than turning to and learning directly from minoritized communities” (p. 11).

Critical Theories

Critical theories provide a theoretical framework to challenge the inequity and social injustices created and maintained by the location of authority and power in the hands of those privileged enough to have it. Scholars in this tradition (e.g., Berryman et al., 2015; Freire, 1972; 1998), challenged the oppressive and hegemonic effects of the power that privileged individuals and groups exerted over the lives and well-being of less privileged individuals and groups. Critical theorists believe that just as conditions of inequality and injustice have been socially and politically constructed, so too can these

conditions be deconstructed, and hegemony overcome in ways that might transform the relationships between the dominant privileged and the less privileged and marginalized individuals and groups (Freire, 1998). Within education there are many contexts that continue to promote inequality that must first be understood before they can be deconstructed. One such context is that of the hidden curriculum.

The Hidden Curriculum

One way that education continues to marginalize and minoritize students at all levels, from pre-school through to the tertiary level, is through the hidden curriculum. Sleeter (2005) suggested the hidden curriculum is a *de facto* curriculum that “includes not what teachers plan, but rather what students learn, often unconsciously by how they experience the school and the classroom” (p. 10). In this way, generations of school children learn who counts and who does not and where they fit within this system. For example, without being explicitly told, students entering school and beginning their reading instruction soon work out in which groups the best readers and the most needy readers are, and where they sit in relation to these two groups. In many classrooms this is further reinforced through the use of achievement ladders, making it even easier to differentiate the haves and the have-nots. Thus, the hidden curriculum begins to perpetuate hegemony through the unquestioning acceptance of classroom practices and, in turn, societal goals (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004; Kidman, Yen, & Abrams, 2013).

Mouffe (1979) discussed hegemony as “the power of one class to articulate the interest of the other social groups” (p. 183). Gramsci (1971) suggested that this dominance is felt by the oppressed as the natural order of the universe. Decades ago, Durkheim (1965) and Bourdieu (1977) maintained that schools reproduced the existing social order rather than changing or reducing class-based discrepancies. Oakes (1985) attributed social reproduction to tracking or the sorting of students into ability groups. Deil-Amen and DeLuca (2010) indicted school systems of perpetuating an educational underclass by providing a “structured lack of opportunities” (p. 29) for minority students. McLaren (1989) defined the hidden curriculum as “the unintended outcomes of the schooling process” (p. 183) where someone benefits while others are disenfranchised. Or, according to Bigelow (1995), this is where we learn that “some of you are better than others” (p. 165).

The hidden curriculum runs parallel to the official curriculum, maintaining an invisible and powerful presence in schooling. It includes codes of conduct, classroom organization, grouping practices, uniforms, preferred teaching practices, and learning styles. Indigenous students, for example, have long been portrayed as those with shorter attention spans who need to have hands-on pedagogies. Despite little supporting evidence, these discourses are heard in the staffroom and on the playground. The hidden curriculum may also include what is intentionally omitted from the curriculum—essentially everything outside of the official course materials—policies, structures, and practices that alienate students from their own authentic ways of knowing, relating, and being. It is the curriculum that “no teacher explicitly teaches but that all students learn” (Banks, 2002, p. 20). The hidden curriculum is in the iconography that continues to support, reinforce, and reify the culture of the dominant group in regular education settings and in so doing continues to marginalize and minoritize students that are not a part of this group.

A Social Justice Response

A social justice response presents an obligation to expose the hidden curriculum, to deconstruct, question, and interrogate it, if we are to address the discrepancies between espoused policy and lived practices. To not question or challenge is not a position of neutrality (Cadiero-Kaplan, 2004), but is complicit in maintaining the current socialization practices in schools, allowing one to abrogate responsibility to promote social justice through greater equity. SooHoo (2004) argued that bystanders may no longer hide behind a cloak of innocence or apathy and that “in order to confront abuses of authority, one must be well prepared to counter opposition – often powerful forces – while maintaining one’s own moral ground” (p. 206). Critical self-reflection and collectively naming the injustices readies us to resist hegemonic discourses, creating the potential to act in more emancipatory ways.

Positioning: Implications of Our Own Conscientization

In their advocacy of culturally responsive and relational-based pedagogies in response to closing the education disparity gap for Māori students in New Zealand, Bishop and Berryman (2006) identified the need for educators to free themselves from deficit discourses and pathologizing practices. They contended that:

if the imagery held of Māori children (or indeed any other children) and the resulting interaction patterns stem from deficits and pathologies, then teachers’ principles and practices will reflect this, and the educational crisis for Māori students will be perpetuated. (p. 263)

It is not simply a matter of changing one’s practices or solely critically reflecting on one’s practices, educators must reflect on the metaphors and theories that guide their practices, and if positioned within deficit discourses, reposition themselves within discourses that realize their own agency to make a difference. Bishop and Berryman suggested that in spite of the challenges of operating from within new discursive positions, “when educators take on this personal and professional responsibility, they will find that not only their students, but also they themselves, will experience the power and freedom of self-determination” (2006, p. 275).

As educators taking up this same education reform program, we have learned that discursive positioning on a pathway towards more transformative and socially just praxis (Freire, 1972) begins with our own conscientization and openness to unlearning and relearning (Wink, 2011). This involves constructing new intellectual spaces where it is possible to create new discourse frames that resist, rather than privilege, the beliefs, values, practices, and worldview of the powerful and privileged.

In his work on cultural synthesis, Freire (1998) suggested that dialogical action has the capacity to “confront culture and structures that are oppressive and invasive, where people impose their will over the people” (p. 180). He proposed emancipatory spaces, where co-creation and mutual engagement can be achieved through a dialogic framework of relationships, where “there are no spectators” (p. 180). Applying Freire’s work to the relationship between the educator and the student reframes the educator’s stance as expert.

Responding to Diversity

Demands such as these have led educators to reject the on-going pathologizing of indigent and other diverse students in education and to research ways to improve their participation and engagement. Artiles (2011) contended that, “researchers, policy makers, and practitioners have worked for generations to understand and change educational inequities” (p. 431). While this work has reflected a range of theories and practices, Sleeter (2011) proposed that the means by which mainstream educators have endeavoured to address educational disparities between students from the dominant group and culturally diverse students can be classified into three distinct categories:

- Deficit-oriented approaches;
- Structural approaches;
- Emancipatory approaches.

Deficit-Oriented Approaches

According to Sleeter (2011), while deficit-orientated approaches are still the most common response to understanding and addressing disparities, they are the least helpful. Deficit-oriented approaches absolve the system and the practices of those who work within it from scrutiny. Instead, the problem of inequity is located within the cultural characteristics of students and their families. Such approaches emphasize the need to fix the student and family, and in doing so marginalizing their culture so that they may assimilate into the dominant cultural group. Sleeter (2011) enumerated a range of deficit-oriented responses, including: remedial basic skill programs (Woolfolk, 2001); transition bilingual programs which focus on students gaining the dominant language as quickly as possible (Billings, Martin-Beltran, & Hernandez, 2010); and supplementary schooling for minority students so that they might catch up to the dominant group.

Sleeter (2011) conceded that deficit-oriented responses still persist in education despite their rejection by those in marginalized communities. She contended that “the small successes of some compensatory programs” (p. 6) may provide some justification for them but suggested that perhaps the most compelling explanation as to why deficit-oriented approaches to mediating educational inequities remain prevalent is because “such approaches suggest that dominant communities have no culpability for the existence of disparities” (p. 6). Deficit-oriented theorizing therefore is “normalized in the minds of many educators and in the routinized ways schooling is done, [and] is bound up with the politics of who gets to exercise control” (p. 7). Such approaches inadvertently (or not) sustain the hidden curriculum.

Structural Approaches

Structural approaches are those that focus on equalizing access by analyzing and modifying systemic infrastructures, such as resources and programs. Sleeter (2011) provided a comprehensive explanation of structural approaches as pointing towards:

systemic changes that could be made, such as reducing or eliminating tracking/streaming, ensuring that students who need excellent teachers the most get them,

ensuring that all students have access to an academically challenging curriculum, reducing or eliminating segregation, ensuring that assessment systems are culturally fair, and so forth. (p. 8)

The decile rating system in New Zealand is an example of a structural approach to addressing disparities. Schools are allocated a decile rating between 1 and 10 that reflects the socioeconomic status of the students who constitute their school roll and who live in the surrounding geographic area. Funding is apportioned to schools based on their decile rating. Schools with low decile ratings receive more money than schools with a high decile rating. Kearney and Kane (2006) contended that this model of funding is based on the premise that students from economically disadvantaged circumstances are more likely to experience difficulties and disadvantage at school, and shows:

some recognition of the part played by social and cultural forces in defining disability and special needs, that those students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds are disabled or have special needs because of that disadvantage, not because of any inherent deficit. (p. 208)

In the United States, structural attempts have included innovations such as magnet schools, which allow students from other neighborhoods to enrol in these schools because of interests and/or talents. For socioeconomically deprived neighborhoods, extra financial resources are provided from federal and state funds to pay for tutorials and instructional aides in classrooms. However, these structural changes have not addressed the fundamental lack of responsiveness on the part of leadership and instructional staff to consider the resources available within the sociocultural context of these communities.

Emancipatory Approaches

Emancipatory approaches “locate both how the problem is defined and why it continues to exist in unequal power relationships in schools as well as the broader society” (Sleeter, 2011, p. 9). According to Sleeter (2011), supporters of this perspective draw on institutionalized practices that evolve out of the dominant cultural discourse as a means of explaining educational disparities and advocate that those who have experience of the disparities—members of the minority communities themselves, are in the best position to define both the problem and the solution.

This emancipatory position described by Sleeter (2011) resonates with O’Hanlon’s (2003) interpretation of inclusive education. O’Hanlon proposed that it is the responsibility of every educational professional to influence inclusive practice and emphasized the need for people in these roles to challenge deficit discourses and work to empower marginalized students. She suggested that if educators aspire to define their schools as inclusive institutions and themselves as inclusive practitioners, they should provide a forum for the voices of these students and their families to be heard. She held that:

Inclusive practice should evaluate the current experiences of pupils on the margins. We should ensure that the educational experiences of all pupils are of high quality, regardless of whether they are located in special or mainstream schools.

We need to ask parents and pupils about how they view schooling and whether it meets their definitions and standards for inclusive practice. (pp. 113–114)

Much research in this vein has emphasized the importance of transforming teaching practices and school cultures so as to be inclusive of or responsive to students' cultural experiences, languages, and values. People who want to achieve social justice in education must recognize, respect, and be inclusive of the diversity of all students. While we recognize that some students come to school from unequal situations and opportunities, and that schools need to provide support because of this, we must recognize what we can learn from them. Social justice is about valuing and including all children for what they bring and for the families that stand beside them, not only for what we might mould them into. Recognizing, valuing, and being responsive to the child or young person's diversity, whatever that diversity, is paramount, whether that diversity be one of ethnicity, culture, language, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or other. Social justice is about recognizing, valuing, and being respectful of what makes our students who they are. In so doing, students are more likely to feel good about their own identity. Leaders who recognize and respect the diversity of students are establishing the basis for a more equitable and collaborative learning relationship going forward, where the power to learn is open to everyone.

Pedagogical and Leadership Approaches

A focus on improving the participation and engagement of indigenous and diverse students in education and addressing the on-going issue of educational disparities has produced a range of pedagogical, policy, and leadership initiatives from across the world. A number of these include:

- Indigenous teacher training initiatives to change who the educational leaders are (Lipka et al., 1998);
- Altering school decision making and reforming school structures (Bishop, O'Sullivan, & Berryman, 2010);
- Ensuring authentic cultural content has been infused into school policies, curriculum, and classrooms (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; Demmert & Towner, 2003);
- Establishing and strengthening teacher–student relationships through the use of culturally responsive and culturally relevant classroom pedagogies (Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1995);
- Making schools more affirming of indigenous cultures through community engagement efforts (Sarra, 2011); and
- Affirming indigenous cultures by focusing on “sovereignty and self-determination, racism, and Indigenous epistemologies” (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008, p. 941).

The New Zealand Situation

The historical signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 still influences, to varying degrees, the lives of all contemporary New Zealanders. While the Treaty promised power sharing and self-determination for both Pākehā and Māori, relations between these groups have “been one of political, social and economic domination by the Pākehā

majority, and marginalisation of the Māori people” (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 50). For Māori, the result of this oppressive power dynamic continues to result in their receiving an inequitable share of the resources that New Zealand has to offer, and, at the same time, it perpetuates the oppression of indigenous knowledge, language, and culture. This erasure of indigenous knowledge and the contexts that maintain these oppressive power dynamics lead to the perpetuation of cultural deficit explanations for Māori low performance in educational settings which, in turn, maintain mainstream discourses about the indigenous or cultural minority situation, maintaining Pākehā power over pedagogy and knowledge used in classrooms (Bishop & Berryman, 2006).

In comparison to Pākehā students, the overall academic achievement and participation levels of Māori students are low. For example, in 2013, on the secondary school National Certificate of Educational Achievement¹ (NCEA), 27.2 percent of Māori students achieved a Level 3 qualification, compared to 53.8 percent for their Pākehā counterparts. Māori are more likely than other students to be over-represented in low-stream education classes, found in vocational curriculum streams, or leaving school earlier with less formal qualifications and enrolling in tertiary education in lower proportions. For example, in 2014, Māori boys were nearly three times more likely to leave school at the age of 15 (17.8 per 1,000) than Pākehā male students (6.8 per 1,000) and the retention rate to age 17 was 69.1 percent for Māori, compared to 84.9 percent of Pākehā. Furthermore, the rate of Māori suspension from school for discipline or other infractions was more than three times higher than that of Pākehā, with Māori students also being over-represented in special education programs for behavioural issues (Education Counts, 2015a).

While these outcomes are most clearly exhibited in secondary schools, the foundations for these problems have already been laid in pre-school. In 2013, for example, while 92.3 percent of Māori new entrants had attended pre-school programs, 98.2 percent of Pākehā new entrants had done so (Education Counts, 2015a). This trend continues throughout the primary school years. Indeed, there are indications (Crooks, Hamilton, & Caygill, 2000; Wylie, Thompson, & Lythe, 1999) that while there are achievement differentials evident for children entering primary school, it is by Years 4 and 5 that these achievement differentials begin to stand out starkly. A further complexity to these disparities is the dominance of non-Māori teachers within the education system, which mirrors what Villegas and Lucas (2002) identified in the United States between Anglo teachers and students of color. That is, in New Zealand in 2014, 90 percent of teachers were non-Māori, whereas 24 percent of the primary and secondary student populations are Māori (Education Counts, 2015b). This creates a cultural mismatch between the majority of teachers and their Māori students.

A Policy Response

A number of government initiatives and policies have focused on reducing the “achievement gap” between Māori and non-Māori, Pākehā students. The Ministry of Education launched a strategic example of their intentions in 2008 with *Ka Hikitia—Managing for Success: Māori Education Strategy 2008–2012* (Ministry of Education, 2008). This strategy challenged educators to collaboratively focus on ensuring that Māori students “in their early years and first years of secondary school are present, engaged and achieving” (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 5). *Ka Hikitia* means to “step up, ‘lift up,’ or lengthen

one's stride" (p. 10), drawing upon this Māori metaphor to position the strategy as "a call to action" (p. 11) in order to step up "the performance of the education system" (p. 10). The Ministry revised and refreshed the strategy in 2013 with *Ka Hikitia—Accelerating Success 2013–2017* (Ministry of Education, 2013).

As a mandated Ministry strategy, all school leaders and teachers are expected to understand the principles that underpin *Ka Hikitia* and work to address the central vision of the strategy: "Maori enjoying and achieving education success as Māori" (Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 10). This policy emerged alongside research findings from an iterative research and development program called *Te Kotahitanga* (unity of purpose).

Te Kotahitanga

The Te Kotahitanga program sought to address the enduring social, economic, and political disparities between Māori and Pākehā that were perpetuated through education. By listening to the educational experiences of Māori students and those directly involved with their education, a process of theory-based, school-wide reform began in 2001. In most schools, the reform effort meant disrupting pervasive deficit beliefs about the attitude and ability of Māori students and the merit of traditional pedagogies and discourses which perpetuated epistemologies of learning as the acquisition of prescribed knowledge through top-down transmission practices. In monologic contexts such as those in place throughout New Zealand secondary school settings, the teacher is the expert and testing of content reinforces and perpetuates this. More responsive and dialogic pedagogies (Lyle, 2008) require individual conscientization if new agentic beliefs are to take hold. Such agentic epistemologies focus on what teachers can do to support classroom learning and include the belief that knowledge can be actively and dialogically constructed. Te Kotahitanga schools benefited from having the support to evoke both the will (conscientization and agentic positioning) and the way (a culturally responsive pedagogy of relations) to make this happen.

Phases 1 and 2 of this reform provided opportunities to listen to Māori students and understand what would engage them in learning and how these changes might begin to be implemented by teachers in their classrooms (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). Phases 3 and 4 showed that changes to classroom pedagogy were insufficient to close the achievement gap between Māori and Pākehā students. School leaders had an important contribution if the reform was to be spread and be owned across all school institutions (Bishop, O'Sullivan, & Berryman, 2010). Phase 3 and 4 resulted in differential implementation across the schools, with some schools achieving a high level of implementation, and others not (Bishop, Berryman, & Wearmouth, 2014).

Te Kotahitanga Phase 5

After three years of the Te Kotahitanga reform, evidence from teachers and school leaders in Phase 5 showed them developing contexts for learning that were relational and culturally responsive. Culturally responsive pedagogy includes honoring the learner's own prior knowledge and experiences as the basis for constructing new understandings within sociocultural contexts for learning. In these contexts, relationships of interdependence between teachers and learners and among learners promote dialogic pedagogies responsive to the students' cultural prior knowledge and experiences, and where

the students' own culturally appropriate language, knowledge, iconography, and pedagogy are respected. In such contexts, learners can engage in the construction of new knowledge through dialogic pedagogies. In contexts such as these learners are more likely to feel connected to the curriculum through a common vision of reciprocal responsibility, where power is shared and where they can be more self-determining.

These components operate inter-dependently and in synergy. In this way, a theory-based reform was used to build understandings, ownership, and adaptive expertise. A range of evidence, including Māori student voice and national and school participation and achievement data, drove the relational and culturally responsive change process, from the classroom pedagogy to the schools' leadership and through them to the school community as a whole. Teachers and leaders alike were challenged to position themselves within agentic discourses and were supported in order that they might focus on what they could do within their own sphere of influence to make the difference. Improved evidence of Māori students' participation and achievement reinforced both the practices and the new theorizing that were making the difference. This, in turn, worked towards creating the tipping point needed for deep change across the school. Te Kotahitanga has now been implemented in 48 secondary schools over five separate phases (Alton-Lee, 2015).

In Phase 5, we saw that if the disruption to the status quo is to be effectively taken up by schools, it must be facilitated with a high level of understanding and expertise or the current belief systems will retain their power, be further reinforced, and become even more deeply entrenched. Those people who maintain these deficit ideologies and their deficit-based knowledge pedagogies are able to do so because these beliefs are firmly entrenched within the very fabric of New Zealand society. Thus, to begin this process of disruption, and to accelerate the theory-based reform required for the goals and aspirations of Ka Hikitia or Te Kotahitanga to be realized, each school must begin with a team of facilitators who have been prepared specifically for this purpose. This approach ensures that in each school, Māori and non-Māori facilitators were able to build capability and expertise to work with their teacher colleagues through a structured and supported process of professional learning and development. Together they have been supported to work with teachers to improve the range of pedagogical practices being offered and Māori students' educational experiences have subsequently improved. This would not have happened by merely asserting, from a policy perspective, that it must happen.

Once each teacher cohort received the term-by-term professional development support for up to two years (while some may need less time, others may need specialist retraining support), we learned how, with transformative leadership, a more strategic team from across the school was able to take over the role of owning and sustaining the reform so that it could become "just the way we do things now," or a new business as usual. While there was far less resistance in Phase 5 schools because the principles and practices had received much more system-level professional credibility over ensuing phases, resistance was still present in every school and in some schools markedly so.

Transformative Leadership

This perspective on leadership takes seriously the personal and the public responsibility to use power, privilege, and position in the context to promote social justice and enlightenment for the benefit, not only of individuals, but of society as a whole (Shields, 2010).

Such leadership attends to the needs and aspirations of the wider community in which one serves. As a result of a deeper understanding of the differing power relations within which we all live, transformative leadership seeks to engage with change.

From the reactivated schools, all of which have previously engaged with Te Kotahitanga, we have also learned how this process of working directly with a strategic change team, led by the principal over one year, was able to accelerate the work of Ka Hikitia in these schools. Undoubtedly, this was because of the pedagogical groundwork already in place, and because of new critical understandings of transformative leadership incorporated into the professional development but also emerging from some school principals.

Two Case Studies

Through the voices and actions of transformative leaders, we now consider the educational experiences and achievement of Māori students in two mainstream secondary schools, the first a Phase 5 school and the second a Phase 4 reactivated school.

Case Study 1

School 1 is a co-educational, secondary school for Years 7 to 13 students. It is situated in a low socioeconomic inner-city area of New Zealand. In 2015, this school had an enrolment of just over 400 students, of whom 62 percent were Māori. School 1 joined Te Kotahitanga as a Phase 5 school. These are the reflections of the newly appointed first-time principal:

I joined [School 1] at the beginning of 2009. I was attracted to the school primarily because of the positive reputation of the staff and their willingness to go the extra mile to get the best out of students.

Despite this attitude on the part of the staff, Māori students in this school were not succeeding. This principal discussed the first steps he took in understanding what was happening and subsequently what he would need to do in response. His conscientization began by:

Looking at the evidence of the school, I could see what the gaps were. The school's ERO [Education Review Office] report identified the biggest issue was around the lack of Māori leadership within the school, leadership for Māori students and the lack of achievement for Māori students; the lack of development of cultural identity by the school for Māori students. I started asking staff questions to start investigating what that actually meant.

Using evidence to challenge what had been happening and change to more effective practices was the next step. The principal said:

I started a voluntary Māori focus group, a group of all the teachers that felt that they wanted to contribute to Māori achievement and Māori leadership in the school. That was the driving group to start creating positive change, really, and there were many challenges along the way.

One of the challenges he recalled, was identifying just who the Māori students were:

That group enabled a lot of teachers to play a part in identifying Māori and having their voice heard. This group had a voice and a place where they could make some changes. In the past, one person had dominated it [Māori leadership].

The beginnings of Te Kotahitanga provided opportunities for school leaders to understand why some practices that had been marginalizing groups in the school needed to be resisted and replaced with more responsive and dialogic practices. The principal said:

Te Kotahitanga helped our senior leaders to completely understand what could work for our Māori students and to buy in to these practices. We developed a strong team right from the beginning. The Māori focus group identified people in influential leadership positions to lead Te Kotahitanga in our school: a deputy principal and head of the middle school, a head of middle school curriculum and a very good teacher practitioner who was well respected and very reflective. We could see that she was going to be the right person for that position.

As a leader, the principal appreciated the importance of leaders who understood both the theory and the practice:

In the first year of Te Kotahitanga, I taught. I think it's something simple that I needed to do as a principal for the rest of my time of being a principal. I need to be teaching a class. I'd go to principal meetings and they wouldn't be talking about teaching and learning. They'd be talking about property, finances, Ministry of Education, which is so removed from what's actually happening in the classroom. This is such a big change, and I wanted it to work, so I needed to teach a class and be involved in the co-construction meetings, so that was a driver for me to do that.

The co-construction meetings were part of the cycle of professional development where in-school facilitators worked with participating teachers in the following four new institutions:

- 1) Classroom observations;
- 2) Feedback on the pedagogy observed and teacher goal-setting;
- 3) Co-construction, meetings amongst groups of teachers to discuss student evidence and how their focus on pedagogy was improving students' outcomes; and,
- 4) Shadow coaching to achieve set goals.

In his recollection of this cycle he said:

It was really good to get those observations and that feedback on my teaching. It really made me accountable and it made me really think about what I was doing in the classroom. We were sharing information and, I suppose, initially soft evidence around student achievement at those co-construction meetings. Putting it [their evidence] on the table, sharing it and everyone discussing the actual Māori student achievement evidence they had brought, and then coming up with a shared goal, and then going away and working on the goal. Sometimes you'd

sort of forget the goal, or put it aside and then it wasn't until you had your observation again, you'd sort of go, "Okay I've got to remember that goal again." But it's a bit like a dripping tap, over time it becomes part of your practice.

Understanding the implications of taken-for-granted traditional school practices that could be more effective was a part of this principal's leadership learning. He commented:

The co-construction meetings highlighted the fact that school, department and staff meetings used a traditional top-down approach. These meetings become less and less engaging and we were getting less and less out of them; you know, the staff meeting on a Monday afternoon where you're given information or you show a Power Point about something. We have an agenda and you pretty much just decide on some logistics.

The co-construction meetings highlighted the lack of information sharing and a lack of robust constructive problem talk. As leaders, that got us thinking around our lack of "walking the talk." We needed to bring what we're expecting teachers to do in co-construction meetings into all these other meeting forums.

The principal talked about what bringing evidence to co-construction meetings meant for meetings held by the school's senior leadership team. He said:

We decided as a senior leadership team we all had areas of responsibility and that we needed to collect and share data. Within that first meeting we very quickly identified that there were big gaps in our data and that there were also gaps in the ability of the people within the team to access data, and to understand why we were collecting data. So lots and lots of questions came out of that first senior leadership team meeting. But everyone had an opportunity to share their data, talk about it, and identify issues from their data. It's quite empowering to feel that they have a leadership role, which is quite distinct from everyone else, but you are part of the big picture, as opposed to working in isolation, which I think many of them did feel before.

Embedding culturally responsive and relational pedagogy into all levels of the school and incorporating more dialogic strategies is now high on the priority list for leaders and staff at this school. The principal commented that:

Breaking down deficit theorizing has enabled people to see that people's values are important and it's not just about systems and structures. Through Te Kotahitanga, we have been able to accept that there are different values in the class and accept that learning relationships and being culturally responsive in class are important and make a difference.

Transformative praxis at all levels of the school was developing a new school culture. The principal reflected:

We're trying to get more constructive problem talk happening across all levels in the school. That's really what it's about: Trying to get teachers to be more reflective about what they're doing, both at the classroom level but also at the

department level, and also their role in the school. If we can get them to be more effective, we're building leadership potential within every person within the school, then they're taking personal ownership for what's going on.

The language of both teachers and students has changed quite significantly, a lot of that shifting in attitudes has already taken place and already we have the vast majority of staff on board. So that fits within the culture of what we do here. It's ensuring you've got a culture within your school and your staff, that they can be responsive and that the structures can be responsive to what needs to be done to make the difference for all students, including those who are not succeeding in our system. At some schools, that could be very difficult, because they are very traditional in their practices, and to change anything, just about turns the apple cart upside down.

I feel confident that these changes are positive, it is for improvement, and not change for change's sake. I think that if the staff can feel they can contribute to that change, then they can become responsive.

Case Study 2

School 2 is a single-sex secondary school for students from years 9 to 13. It is located in an urban, multicultural area. In 2015, this school had a roll of over 560 students, of whom 15.8 percent were Māori. School 2 joined Te Kotahitanga as a Phase 4 school from 2009 to 2012; it then participated as a reactivated school in 2013. In the initial stages of the school's engagement with this program, the reform was understood by the principal to be classroom focused. She recalled:

The message I got was that this is about teachers, and principals should step back and let them [in-school facilitators] get on with it. I took a back seat. I certainly supported the facilitators and I had some very strong conversations with one or two middle leaders who continued to be really, really obstructive in their behaviour. I did feel that the facilitators were the experts.

However, the principal was aware of continued resistance:

I have heard teachers and middle leaders say, "Why should we focus on Māori. I focus on every student in the classroom."

In 2012, the principal went on sabbatical and the focus of the senior leadership team moved from Māori students to other competing priorities. The principal said:

We had said at Senior Leadership we were going to do this whole mentoring of the students; that the counselling was going to happen intensively for Māori students. It didn't happen that year and they did really poorly [in the NCEA results].

This prompted the principal to further reflect on her role as a leader within the school and the importance of evidence to create contexts in which deficit discourses could be surfaced and respectfully challenged. She commented that:

It made me realize that they didn't know what to do or how to drive the process and so it was put in the "too-hard basket." Some of the senior managers were not

convinced, and neither were some of the middle leaders. They unwittingly handed me a great piece of evidence. The academic counseling and walk-throughs that were to focus on Māori students and their teachers did not happen in 2012 and the NCEA results were stunningly bad. Therefore, I was able to say every time someone objected, “the evidence is, we got lousy results in 2012; until you have evidence to say that what we are doing in 2013 has produced bad outcomes you will stay on this path. Let’s see what the evidence reveals for NCEA 2013.” At the State of the Nation address at the start of 2014 that I delivered, no one argued against what we had done.

In February 2013, the school undertook Rongohia te Hau, a formal process of walkthrough observations together with teacher and student surveys to determine the proficiency of teachers in relational and culturally responsive pedagogies (Berryman, 2013). Believing that the pedagogical leadership of middle leaders was key, the walk-through observations were done using a purposive sample that included all middle leaders across all curriculum areas. To develop her own understanding of the process and to visibly demonstrate leadership of this work, the principal was one of the observers.

The results showed that 16 of the teachers in the sample were still developing relational and culturally responsive pedagogies and only two were moving towards full implementation. The response was two-fold: professional development for the senior leadership team around a culturally responsive pedagogy of relations was initiated; and co-construction meetings using evidence-based problem solving were conducted at the departmental level. A senior leader, in a shadow-coaching role, supported these meetings. The principal related how:

The person I was working with said, “You know this is ridiculous. You observing me, giving me feedback on how to run a meeting, I have been doing meetings forever.” That was quite challenging.

Through this work, the principal recognized how collaborative interrogation of evidence could open up a critically reflective, problem-posing conversation. She said:

One of the most powerful pieces of evidence I used last year was the asTTle² data for literacy particularly for Māori students. For Year 11s I went back to their Year 9 and 10 years. They entered [the school] at the national level or above and so I kept saying to the teachers, “How can you say that they aren’t capable of doing this, when they came in at that level? What is going on here? Why has this come about and what are you going to do about it?”

In August of the same year, the school leadership team repeated the observation and survey process using a matched-pair comparison sample to determine the effects of their shadow-coaching. This time, seven teachers in the observation sample were found to be moving towards full implementation of culturally responsive and relational pedagogy in their classrooms. The principal said:

There had definitely been a shift in pedagogy with those people who were leading learning in our school, which was a great thing.

Maintaining the connection between effective pedagogical leadership and valued outcomes for students continues in this school. She commented:

I could see those faculties that have consistent high implementers as their leaders, had shifted more than other faculties. Which was great to see.

The principal, convinced of the use of evidence as instrumental in informing efforts to develop transformative praxis across the school, said:

If it [evidence] wasn't there, it would have been just a bit of a cat-fight, I think. But now I have got my evidence. It has to be data-driven. Not just conversations, but very much referencing data.

The challenge this year has been to stay on track. I think there are reflections to be had. There are things we could do better for our Māori students. I don't think there is any argument now with the staff about getting data for Māori and analysing it, they know this is what they have to do.

She is also clear that each individual within the school staff has a role to play and that everyone should seek to realize their own agency. She recalled:

I said to the Senior Leaders yesterday, "You are not there to fix other people's problems. When someone comes to you with a problem you say, 'what do you think should be done about it?' You put it back on them. Get them to think about it and then you can steer them in the right direction if they are heading right off the track." Until we get that happening, it doesn't matter how wonderful the initiative is, it is never, ever going to work well if we are still acting like mummy after kids.

Overall Results

In the time that these two schools have been associated with Te Kotahitanga, their results for Māori students, including NCEA, continue to show on-going improvement. Importantly, any variance over a year as discussed in Case Study 2 is now being quickly dealt with. Both schools are also retaining more Māori students at higher levels of engagement, with teachers who are getting professional satisfaction from seeing their improved skills leading to improved Māori student participation and success as Māori.

Conclusion

Inter-generational evidence shows that the current education system in New Zealand has perpetuated Māori underachievement (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). However, successive phases of Te Kotahitanga have shown that these disparities are not immutable; they can be improved upon (Alton-Lee, 2015). Throughout Te Kotahitanga, the merits of distributed leadership and pedagogical leadership across the reform were constantly reinforced, with priority given to support capacity building for school leadership and teachers, and greater collaboration with governance. Although all these foci remain important, what became clearer in Phase 5 was the importance of there being

transformative leaders who understand the need for deep change because of the inequitable social conditions faced by the range of student groups in their schools. Understanding these issues helped leaders and other school staff take-up and further the reform.

In Phase 5, we learned from transformative school leaders who fully understood the critical nature of the social change required, and we saw that Māori student underachievement could be disrupted and changed in as little as three years. These leaders began to question what it was they were doing and how what they were doing might be either contributing to or dismantling the current hegemony in our nation. As leaders, they developed a deep understanding of what worked, and they began to make decisions about where to focus their energies—culturally, socially, and politically. With this newfound clarity of social and cultural self-determination, they were able to engage in dialogue that led to transformative praxis towards social good and equity. This is the response required of schools if they are to achieve the aspirations that we as educators have all been tasked with.

Notes

- 1 NCEA has three levels corresponding to the respective levels on the National Qualifications Framework. Generally, each level is studied in each of the final three years of secondary, although students may study across multiple levels. Credits are awarded for unit standards or achievement standards with each subject made up of multiple standards. All standards employ criterion-based marking, which means that students need to meet the specified criteria for each grade level to achieve at that level. Unit standards use a simple pass/fail system. Achievement standards use a four-grade scale: Not Achieved (N), Achieved (A), Merit (M), and Excellence (E), with each standard being assigned a particular credit value.
- 2 asTTle is a set of New Zealand developed assessment tools for assessing students' achievement and progress in reading, mathematics, and writing, in English and in Māori. The reading and mathematics assessments were developed primarily for students in years 5 to 10, or curriculum levels 2 to 6. An e-asTTle version is also now available.

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19

The Characteristics of Educational Leadership in the Middle East: A Comparative Analysis of Three Nation-States

Khalid Arar, Selahattin Turan, Maysaa Barakat, and Izhar Oplatka

Introduction

As globalization of the world economy continues unabated, a corollary growth in the globalization of knowledge is also taking place (Brooks & Normore, 2010). This trend is blurring the boundaries of the knowledge of what used to be discrete at local or national levels of educational systems (Arnova, Torres, & Franz, 2013; Waite, Rodríguez, & Wadende, 2015). In particular, the globalization of education is having a tremendous impact on what is taught and tested in less developed countries and on organizational forms of schooling (Mazawi & Sultana, 2010; Moloji, Gravett, & Petersen, 2009; Waite, 2010). Many scholars discuss the effects of globalization on education. Some have lauded its benefits as a means of promoting understanding and learning within a world community, while others have warned against intellectual and cultural colonization and the potential commodification of education (Darling-Hammond & Lieberman, 2012; Giroux, 2005; Kelly, 2009; McLaren, 2007; Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004; Waite et al., 2005).

These macro processes radiate onto education systems in different world states either directly, in states that take an active part in the formation of globalization, or indirectly and passively, in states influenced at different levels by these global processes. The significance of these processes is examined here. The purpose of this chapter is twofold: (1) to consider how educational leadership is constructed in the context of three Middle Eastern countries—Egypt, Turkey, and Israel—by describing and comparing the different national education systems of these three countries; and (2) to examine how educational leadership tries to close the gap between national and global values or contested political projects, with a concern for social justice, equity, and political inclusion. These countries were chosen because each one of them represents a distinctive aspect of the Middle East—Egypt is the biggest Arab country with an ancient culture, Turkey is a Muslim country yet is not part of the Arab tradition but rather of the Ottoman Empire, and Israel is mainly a Jewish country with large Arab minority. Thus, this chapter deals with the way the educational leaders cope with the challenges they face in the sociopolitical contexts of their country, and how they cope with national, as opposed to global, values.

We begin with a brief description of the context in the Middle East, including an historical definition of the region and its sociocultural character. We then go on to

outline the historical and organizational characteristics of each studied country's public education system. We discuss what is known about educational leadership within each system, and highlight the trends, the research questions, and the political and aesthetic forces that circulate within and about the local educational system. We conclude with some comparisons.

The Middle East: Definitions and its Sociopolitical Character

The term "Middle East" is used to denote a large area spanning the regions between Africa and Asia. In the Middle East there are many and diverse ethnic groups, religions, and cultures including Arabs, Persians, Turks, Kurds, Azeris, Copts, Muslims, Marronites, Jews, and Druze, and so on. The educational systems in these lands were formed out of this colorful and multitudinous context. As a result, educational leaders in these countries face serious challenges in responding to the diverse populations they serve. These challenges are inevitably attenuated during the political and social upheavals which rock the Middle East periodically, especially over the last two decades (Korany, 2011).

Historically, during the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, most countries of the region were under European colonization and that of the Ottoman Empire. Though the colonizing authorities were the first to introduce compulsory education, access to modern (European-style) education was restricted to elite groups. Colonial education in many ways was designed to shape local intellectual development and to limit the ability of local actors in challenging the colonizers' political control, while enhancing the influence of Western culture. Its purpose was to support the colonizer's major interest to advance a dominant and superior Western culture, while annexing further territories in the Middle East and imposing restrictions on national movements (Arnova et al., 2013; Heyneman, 1997). Often, "Western" initiatives to promote education have ignored the particular realities (Arnova et al., 2013; Toronto, 1992).

During the postcolonial era, education spread as a result of significant social changes and the rise of indigenous elites as ruling powers (Mazawi & Sultana, 2010). The willingness of national governments to build a strong nation made the acquisition of literacy a necessity for maximizing human capital. Most scholars and policy makers in the region have stressed the importance of investing in education in order to promote sustained economic development. Despite significant expansion of educational services, unemployment remains high (Abdeljalil, 2004; Heyneman, 1997; Sari & Soytaş, 2006; Tansel & Bircan, 2006). Free education was promoted by many leaders, including Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, as a critical aspect of nation building. However, this dream has not been fulfilled. Even while the numbers of pupils studying in schools have increased, illiteracy rates are still high and unemployment continues to rise (Caldwell, 2012).

In light of popular notions of globalization, the Middle East has always been a place where the informal "soft" inter-cultural exchange of knowledge has taken place. Thus, the educational systems of Middle Eastern countries, including the three countries discussed in this chapter—Egypt, Turkey, and Israel—clearly reflect the struggle between advocates of the globalization of education and those who view globalization as a threat to national identity and culture (Arnova et al., 2013; Heyneman, 1997). The educational arena has witnessed multiple schisms (Ibrahim, 2010) representing the different

ideologies existing within many countries in this region. These schisms are manifested in the division which exists between:

modern secular education and religious education, and between traditional teaching and learning methods, and extreme versions of French centralization, a deformed version of British inspection and exams, a socialist legacy of “free” and equitable access to education, and Western capitalist (neoliberal) notions of privatization and active-learning pedagogies.

(Ibrahim, 2010, p. 510)

In the following section, we outline some central characteristics of the Egyptian, Turkish, and Israeli educational systems, and highlight the development and challenges of educational leadership in these three countries.

The Education System in Egypt and its Development

Egypt’s education system is the largest in the Middle East and North African (MENA) region (Baradei & Amin, 2010). According to the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMS), approximately 20 million students were enrolled in different levels of public educational institutions in 2012 in Egypt (see Table 19.1).

As presented in Table 19.1, there are 46,727 schools in Egypt serving approximately 18 million students of which 51 percent are male students while 49 percent are female students. This shows an overall equal access to education between genders. In addition there are two million students registered in approximately 9,000 Al Azhar Schools, which provide Islamic based education.

Table 19.1 Schools and students of pre-university education by educational stage 2011/2012 (excluding Al Azhar pre-university education) (8,973 schools and 2,048,160 students)

Educational Status	Schools	Enrolment		
		Male	Female	Total
Pre Primary	8,928	457,955	416,775	874,730
Primary (6 years: 6–11)	17,249	4,999,044	4,645,412	9,644,456
Preparatory (3 years: 12–14)	10,372	2,107,054	2,051,791	4,158,845
General Secondary (3 years: 14–17)	2,780	612,364	712,076	1,324,440
Industrial Secondary (3 years: 14–17)	924	530,628	306,424	837,052
Agricultural Secondary (3 years: 14–17)	185	137,127	32,607	169,734
Commercial Secondary (3 years: 14–17)	783	236,970	384,412	621,382
Community Schools	4,624	15,383	85,794	101,177
Handicapped	882	23,501	13,707	37,208
Total	46,727	9,120,026	8,648,998	17,769,024

(Amin, 2014)

Historically, Egypt has played an important role in the development of education in many Arab and Islamic countries (Korany, 2011). Egypt is viewed as “the oldest continuously organized and unified country in the world, and its civilization dominated ancient life for more than 3,000 years” (Toronto, 1992, p. 1). In the seventh century and with the spread of Islam, Egypt regained its position as a center for educational activity. In 970 AD, during the Fatimid rule, Al-Azhar University was founded in Cairo. Today, over a thousand years later, Al-Azhar stands as the oldest university in the world, an icon and an international center for Islamic studies, serving generations of Muslim students from all over the world (Anzar, 2003; Korany, 2011).

Similar to the founding of Al-Azhar university, major educational reforms in Egypt have often been championed by political leaders and have usually been a part of a more comprehensive ideological reform. The modernization of schools and curricula in the nineteenth century, which was led by Muhammad Ali (Pasha), led to the transformation of Egypt into a competing economic and military power (Korany, 2011). This was followed by the reform initiated by Nasser after the 1952 revolution, which focused on social justice and educational equity. This reform provided free and mandatory kindergarten to 12 education, as well as free higher education opportunities for all Egyptians (Soror, 1997). Nasser’s educational reform was a leap in terms of social justice, inclusion, and equity as it provided educational access to otherwise deprived populations. It was a true transformative initiative which rendered positive societal outcomes for some time.

As time went by, educational policies and structures failed to adapt to demographic, societal, and economic changes which resulted in the gradual decline in the quality of the Egyptian educational system. Thus, in the early 1990s, the National Council for Scientific and Technological Research (NCSTR) suggested that the reasons for the maladies of Egyptian education were the severe lack of sufficient funding to provide quality education for the exponentially increasing number of students, the ineffective use of technology, a lack of real-life application opportunities, and a focus on theoretical approaches. Another reason was the marginalization of vocational and professional education, and the gap between education and the demands of the labor market and its modern requirements. A major reason identified for the problems of the Egyptian educational system was the lack of a shared vision and passion for improvement at the different leadership levels (El Koussy, 1978).

Ten years after the above-mentioned National Council for Scientific and Technological Research’s report, a needs assessment done on the education sector in Egypt confirmed the persistence of problems inherited from the past decades and identified more reasons related to existing inefficiencies (El Baradei & El Baradei, 2004). According to the needs assessment report, the poor performance of the Egyptian education system could be attributed to six main factors: (1) *financial problems*, such as the shortage of financial resources, the shortage of physical facilities, and inefficiency of resource utilization and allocation; (2) *quality problems*, such as low qualifications of teachers, high class density, high student/teacher ratio, high dropout and repetition rates, and the inadequacies of the official textbooks and curricula; (3) *access problems*, such as enrolment gaps, gender disparities, income disparities, and regional disparities; (4) *low economic returns on education*, manifested in the high costs of education versus low individual earnings following education; (5) *management problems*, such as the absence of democratic participation, the lack of scientific decision making, the lack of effective systems and

mechanisms for evaluating performance, and the over-staffing of public administration agencies and organizations; and, last but not least, (6) the *mismatch* between the education system and the labor market (El Baradei & El Baradei, 2004).

Although many reform plans had been developed and adopted by the Ministry of Education over the years, and the issue of education reform was at the center of all “the fora of Egyptian social life, TV programs, newspapers, magazines and informal social conversation” (Korany, 2011, p. 1554), the deterioration of the Egyptian educational system has persisted to the point where it was one of the driving forces behind the January 25, 2011 revolution (Korany, 2011). The 2011 revolution which ousted Mubarak was an opportune time for another major reform in the Egyptian educational system to accompany yet another more comprehensive political and social reform. As Korany (2011) stated: “political revolutions can impact and as equally be influenced, by the status of education in a country” (p. 1554).

Examining the Egyptian education system is a necessary first step in developing structures to support the maturation of a unique democratic experience, different from the one-size-fits-all democracy that is being pushed globally. As with other major human inventions, democracy will perhaps eventually become a national as well as a global norm, and the Egyptian education system carries the responsibility of prepping citizens for a democracy which is believed to be a “personal way of individual life” (Dewey, 1940, p. 225).

Examples of Educational Leadership from Egypt

Egyptian educational reform attempts, which started in the 1980s and continued up to the 2011 revolution, were not effective because they were either driven by foreign-aid agencies or were a part of a political propaganda agenda. They did not have the support of large segments of the Egyptian population (Habaka, 1999; Korany, 2011). Now the Ministry of Education has developed a strategic plan for 2014 to 2030 based on five principles: (1) integration with the general development plan of the country, (2) a participatory approach to elicit stakeholders’ buy-in, (3) the setting of ambitious but realistic goals, (4) integration and balance between all parts of the educational system, and (5) the complete support of all partner units (Egyptian Ministry of Education, 2014).

The Egyptian educational system is a seasoned one, with a long history and multiple strengths. There are currently some successful reform initiatives underway such as “the one-class schools, the community schools, the rural schools, the quasi-desert schools, the kindergarten schools, the small schools, the official pilot language schools, and the productive schools” (El Baradei & El Baradei, 2004, p. 31). There has been an increase in the number of schools, in student enrollment, in public spending on education, increased use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), and increased attention on girls’ education (El Baradei & El Baradei, 2004). There are continuous efforts to enhance teachers’ professional development and in-service training (UNESCO, 2003). The Ministry of Education partners with several donor agencies, such as UNICEF, UNESCO, the British Council in Cairo, the International Bank, and the American Agency for International Development, to enhance educational reform and development (Egyptian Ministry of Education, 2014; El Baradei & El Baradei, 2004).

Another reform initiative was a call for decentralization and increased community involvement; these efforts were manifested in new school-based approaches and the development of boards of trustees for schools (Baradei & Amin, 2010).

Developing boards of trustees for schools was considered to be educational leadership best practice in Egypt. The Ministry of Education issued decree number 258 for 2005, requiring all schools to form boards of trustees comprised of parents, community members, and schoolteachers and administrators. The boards of trustees were to help the management of the school solve problems related to the facilities and develop and maintain collaborative relationships with the community, universities, NGOs, and so on (Ministry of Education, 2005). A case study of the boards of trustees in the Fayoum governorate showed that “respondents were generally optimistic about the potential opportunities for boards of trustees improving the quality of the educational process, yet their evaluation of the real level of their current effectiveness, was not similarly so” (Baradei & Amin, 2010, p. 107).

Whether the Egyptian educational system will achieve the required, and much needed, reforms is yet to be seen. Educational reform in Egypt is a complex endeavor which requires a focus on reforming philosophy, answering important questions about how to strike a balance between expanding the quality and quantity of education, and finding more permanent solutions for the underlying educational problems versus finding temporary solutions solely addressing its symptoms (Korany, 2011).

The argument that there is a positive correlation between education, democracy, and political development is an old and valid one (Dewey, 1916; Lipset, 1959; 1960). Putnam states that the “best individual-level predictor of political participation” is education (1995a, p. 68). There is also enough research to suggest that higher levels of education when coupled with unemployment could lead to revolt and violent behavior (Davis, 1962). This could ring true for Egypt, a country with over 54 percent of its population under 24 years of age (Barrow & Lee, 2010). Egypt has an increased number of college graduates, high percentages of unemployment, and low economic return on the cost of education (El Baradei & El Baradei, 2004). Egypt is in need of major reform to remedy the mismatch between the education system and the labor market (El Baradei & El Baradei, 2004), if this existing gap persists any longer, it could lead to unrest. Dutceac (2004) noted how:

Global chaos theorists generally argue that globalization tends to promote a convergence of values, even an imposition of Western values, and that this process is not welcome by the “rest” of the world, which will oppose it in the name of deeply embedded differences. (p. 22)

Scholars have predicted more violent and destructive ethnic and religious conflicts across the globe (Dutceac, 2004). With what has been going on in Iraq, Syria, Yemen, and Libya, the atrocities committed by “Daeish,” and the refugee crisis, these predictions may be coming true. At these difficult times, when the entire world appears frozen in the face of the refugee humanitarian crisis, there is no such thing as a localized, isolated, national, or regional crisis. We, the world, are as strong as our weakest link. While the challenges of the Egyptian educational system may seem like national or regional problems, it affects the whole world. A failed education system and a skills–labor mismatch result in semi-educated college graduates who cannot find meaningful

employment. This leads to increased dissatisfaction, anger, and even violence. Educational reform in Egypt is a necessity, not only for the nation, but also for the region and the globe.

Having described the challenges and changes in the Egyptian education system, we now present the Turkish education system and the challenges that it presents to educational leadership.

The Education System in Turkey and its Development

After the collapse of the great Ottoman Empire in 1923 and with the establishment of modern Turkey, many educational reform efforts were initiated. With the issuance of the Law on the Unity of Education on March 3, 1924, all the schools and madrasahs connected to the Religious and Pious Department were transferred to the Ministry of Education, and with this, the education system was centralized. The Law on the Unity of Education had very extensive results. First, in 1924, came the immediate closure of the 479 madrasahs that had been transferred to the Ministry of Education. Second, in 1927, religion lessons were excluded from the primary and secondary education programs (Kaplan, 2013; Sakaoğlu, 2003). During this period, the Turkish educational system rested on three pillars: (1) the establishment of primary schools, where the students were to be inculcated with Turkish nationalism and obedience to the regime; (2) vocational schools were established, where the majority of the students would be managed and trained as craftsmen; (3) classical secondary schools were put in place, where only the most gifted students would be accepted and prepared for a university education (Kaplan, 2013).

The Turkish educational system is organized through the constitution of the Turkish Republic, by the laws regulating education and instruction, in government programs and development plans and in national education councils. Indeed, the Turkish National Education System, which is set out in the National Education Basic Act No. 1739, consists of two main parts: formal education and non-formal education. Formal education, which is the regular education of individuals of a certain age group and which is given in schools, covers five education levels, including pre-primary, primary, lower-secondary, upper-secondary, and higher education. Specifically, pre-primary education is optional for children between three and five years of age and is provided by nursery schools, kindergartens, practical classes, nursery classes, and day care centers. Primary education, which is free of charge in public schools, is for the education of children between the ages six and thirteen. Primary education institutions include four-year and compulsory primary and lower secondary schools. Secondary education is a four-year compulsory educational regime which prepares students both for higher education and for the future, depending on their interests, expectations, and abilities, by equipping them with world knowledge in order to have a minimum common culture. Upper secondary schools include all teaching institutions, general vocational, and technical education institutions with at least a four-year compulsory education based on the primary and lower secondary education curricula. The new legislation introduced in March 2012, extended compulsory education to 12 years, including primary, lower secondary education, and secondary education. Higher education in Turkey comprises all educational institutions which provide at least two years of higher education, such as

universities, faculties, institutes, higher education schools, vocational higher education schools, conservatories, and practice and research centers (Ministry of National Education, 2014). As stated in the Turkish constitution, all educational institutions in Turkey are open to everyone, irrespective of language, race, gender, or religion.

The Turkish educational system is centralized under the Ministry of National Education and supported by the central government. The Ministry of National Education aims to plan, program, implement, monitor, and control education and training services at all levels while taking into consideration the national, ethical, spiritual, historical, and cultural values of the Turkish nation. It develops, implements, monitors, and controls national policies and strategies for all education levels by providing equal educational opportunities for all. And it designs and develops education systems in light of current techniques and models, being open to innovation and responsive to economic and social developments.

The basic principles of Turkish national education, though, include these precepts: generality and equity; the needs of the individual and society; orientation; a right to education, equal opportunity; continuity, Atatürk's reforms and principles and Atatürk's Nationalism; democratic education; secularism; the scientific approach; planning; co-education; education campuses and school–family co-operation; and universal education. According to Decree Law No. 652 on the organization and duties of the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry comprises three divisions: a central organization, provincial organizations, and organization abroad. The central organization of the Ministry involves the Ministerial Office (Minister, Undersecretary, and Deputy Undersecretaries), the Board of Education, Advisory and Supervisory Units (the Board of Inspection, Consultancy and Inspection Unit, Press and Public Relations Counsellor's Office, Ministry Advisors' Office), and 19 Service Units. Furthermore, the Ministry of National Education has also a provincial organization division responsible for directorates in districts. Additionally, the abroad organization of the Ministry was established to organize educational activities in terms of the protection, presentation, and spread of Turkish national culture. Specifically, the Ministry of National Education has 38 representative offices in 21 countries with 20 education counselors and 18 education attachés (Decree Law No. 652).

Selection and Appointment of Turkish Principals

The policies and practices involved in choosing Turkish school administrators are addressed in policy documents that also cover the quality and properties of council meetings; in the development plans from the years 2007 to 2013 until the 9th development plan; in the government programs from the proclamation of the republic until the 59th government; in the federal constitutions of 1921, 1924, 1961, and 1982; and in the Ministry of National Education legislation up to 2007.

By proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, all education and teaching institutions are attached to the Ministry of National Education, and reform, supervision, improvement, and direction of all kinds of educational activities are centralized. An ideological, authoritarian, and central approach has been predominant in the Turkish educational system, including historically, in the Ottoman Empire, for the Seljuks, and now in the Turkish Republic. Within this context, the teaching of the ideology of the current state

and guidance for individuals were the main aims for all educational grades, thus the selection, appointment, and training of educational leaders has been mainly political and ideological. The restructuring of the newly found Republic on steady ground was the mission of educational institutions and their leaders. Substantial progress was made, especially during the first years of the Republic, when teacher training and education were emphasized. Many works from the West were translated for general consumption and Western music and art schools were established and spread throughout the country (Turan, 2000).

At this stage of the Turkish Republic, significant progress and advancement has taken place, with the democratization and secularization of the education system. Additionally, the areas of history and language have been used to advance nationalistic goals. The Latin alphabet was adopted. The education of women gained significance as the system was redesigned for co-education. But educational policies and their implementation varied greatly, according to the aims of the ruling political party, during the Turkish Republic era.

Starting in 1945, the educational sciences and policies were influenced by the implementations of US educational policies rather than those of central Europe. However, the Justice and Development Party government aimed to raise a more religious youth, starting in 2002. With this goal in mind, new courses on the Qur'an, the life of Mohammed the Prophet, and the Basics of Islam were introduced to the curriculum. The fundamental difference from the Republic era was the lack of a unique and constant educational policy.

In addition, while progress was made in creating good citizens and generations to fit the national moral standards during the Turkish Republic era, today the education system suffers in several areas. The most significant areas where the education system fails are that equality of opportunity and social justice criteria have not been met and a unique model to prepare teachers and school administrators has not been created. Also, the move to gain acceptance into the European Union and globalization have had profound effects on the Turkish educational system. Some projects proposed by the European Union were taken up in order to change the educational system. These include: a basic education project; a project for the modernization of vocational and technical education; a project to strengthen vocational education; and a project to strengthen the capacity of the National Educational Ministry. These involve: changing the centralized organizational structure toward localization; democratization of and participation in school management; increasing the quality of teacher training; maximizing the quality and quantity at every level of education, increasing the length of compulsory education to 12 years; removing gender discrimination; solving the problems of foreign schools and minorities; and re-organizing the curriculum in terms of becoming European Union citizens.

The selection, training, and appointment of educational leaders in Turkey was to be organized through regulation rather than by global scientific models (Wildy et al., 2010). However, an original model for training leaders was not established as in other modern, developed countries. Various regulations concerning the training of school administrators have been instituted since the 1980s; however, these regulations were not accepted by large sections of the community. All in all, the teaching profession in Turkey is not in a good place and there is currently no widely accepted universal model for the appointment of educational leaders and school administrators in place.

To conclude, when we look at the characteristics of educational leaders in Turkey, they represent the authorities and have become a means for policy implementation for the central government. This situation results from the central authority's will to control. Each political regime views education as a means of political and ideological control. Educational leaders in the Republic of Turkey hold their positions as bureaucrats under the central organization's command and are in charge of implementing the policies generated by the central bureaucracy. This has been the case since the Turks controlled the government and has come to be accepted throughout society. Turkey is now in search of a new model within the context of current reforms of education as a response to pressure from the European Union. Currently, though, educational politicians and leaders appear incapable of developing a vision and on the whole have failed to train and put in place leaders who take up their duty, and who strive to build a better more humane world, who work for social justice and to eliminate the inequalities in Turkish education.

The Israeli Education System

Israel has a total population of about eight million, of whom 79.3 percent are Jewish and 20.7 percent are Arab. The Arab population includes 82.1 percent Muslims, 9.4 percent Christians, and 8.4 percent Druze (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2013). Israeli society is divided into social, national, and political enclaves (Ben-Beritz, 2009). This is also reflected in the educational system—best described as a tribal education system (Gibton, 2011). The Arab population of Israel contends with a constant identity conflict as citizens of what is officially defined as a Jewish state (Smooha, 2002). The Jewish population includes many ethnic and religious sub-cultures. Personal and group identity is shaped for Jews through identification with the Jewish religion, ethnic sub-groups (either of Ashkenazi or Sephardi origin), and an Israeli nationality. This is largely an urban population and includes all socioeconomic strata. Though average income per family is significantly higher for Jewish families than for Arab families, the gap between wealthy and poor Jews has reached worrying proportions and has generated protests and demonstrations in recent times (Ben-David & Bleikh, 2013). In 2011, Israel was ranked fifth in unequal income distribution among the 34 OECD countries (Association for Civil Rights in Israel, 2011).

In addition, education in Israel is segregated, with separate school systems for religious and secular Jewish children and separate state and religious schools for Arab children. Consequently, there are four distinct sub-educational systems: the secular state education system, the Jewish religious state education system, the Arab education system, and the ultra-orthodox education system, and parents have the legal right to enroll their child in any of these systems. The first three systems share similar structure (i.e., the first grade starts at age six and runs through twelfth grade at age 18), reforms, matriculation exams at the end of high school, national core curriculum, labor relations (tenured teachers), and student configuration (mostly, 1–6, 7–9, 10–12). They differ from each other in terms of culture, religious orientations, and some other minor aspects.

Thus, the secular state (general) system, serving almost 60 percent of the Jewish children, is founded on a system of universal values, characterized by a humanistic educational orientation, with an emphasis on the common denominators of human beings,

the people, and culture (Dambo, Levin, & Siegler, 1997). Its major educational purpose is to inculcate general and diverse cultural values, while granting legitimacy to pluralism, creativity, and critical points of view. Classes are mixed gender and the subject matter includes general subjects (e.g., Math, English, history, physics, and so forth). In contrast, the religious education system serves about 20 percent of the Jewish children and is defined by law as a state education with a religious character. Its major role is to provide educational services to a population (mostly Orthodox families) interested in both modern and religious education. Thus, the religious education system differs from the state system described above in its emphasis on religious education, including additional courses in the Bible, Jewish law, and Jewish wisdom. The ideal graduate of this educational system is one who believes in God and also follows the Torah and the religious commandments as a way of life (Dagan, 1999).

The Arab educational system serves 26 percent of children in Israel, all of them belonging to the Arab minority (Muslims, Christians, and Druze) (Ghara, 2013). It is completely separate and distinct from the majority Jewish educational system. The Arab system operates in different geographical areas. Classes are taught in a different language and it deals with different lifestyles and cultures (Arar, 2012). The two systems are separate, but not equal, and the resources allocated for Arab schools can be best described as a “concentration of disadvantage,” leading to lower achievement as a result of undefined educational aims (Golan-Agnon, 2006, p. 1078). For example, the budget for the Arab education system is approximately 30 percent less than the Jewish education system budget, relative to the size of the two populations (Arlosoroff, 2014). This budgetary gap appears to affect outputs of the two education systems, with much lower achievement for Arab students on both the national and international standard exams (Arar, 2012). Arab student achievement is 28.5 percent lower in Grade 4 and 29 percent lower in Grade 8. Approximately 50 percent of Jewish students are eligible for school matriculation in comparison to a relatively stagnant 32.4 percent for Arab high school students (2008–2009) (Sbirsky & Degan-Bouzaglo, 2009).

Globalization and privatization, accompanied by the values of individualism and diversity, have wrought many changes in the three main educational systems since early 1990s. The Ministry of Education has begun to encourage schools to specialize and offer unique subjects from a predetermined list of subjects taught for matriculation exams. Furthermore, many secondary schools have increasingly become autonomous and self-managed, providing some freedom for school staff to build a vision and mission for their schools, based on their values, communal needs, and the ethnic characteristics of their students (Gibton, 2011).

Several problems and shortcomings of the educational system persist (e.g., scholastic disparities, low achievement, low teachers’ salaries, major deficits in the fields of knowledge, inefficient utilization of resources) and have led to the introduction of two major reforms—New Horizons and “Power to Change” (Arar, 2012; Gibton, 2011). These reforms restructured the teacher’s role and introduced new teaching methods into schools (e.g., more teaching hours, one teacher to five pupils classroom ratios, and a check-in clock in every school). Likewise, an Authority for Research and Assessment has been established as part of the Ministry of Education, and several national and international examinations have been introduced into schools, such as the National Mitzav exam for 4th and 8th grades, and the PISA and Perls exams which have ramped up pressure on those working in the Israeli education system (Blas, 2014).

Principals in Israel: Trends and Challenges

The Israeli principal is responsible for every function and activity taking place in his/her school (e.g., child safety, teaching and learning, administration). At the end of 2011, the principal population in the State Education System, the Religious State Education System, and the Arab System numbered 3,186 principals, 58 percent of whom were female and 42 percent male. In the Jewish system 67 percent of principals are female, while in the Arab education system 67 percent are male. Arab school principals are on average over the age of 50 and 90 percent hold at least one academic degree. The Israeli education system has about 7.5 percent annual turnover with an expected need for 321 principals in 2015 in the Jewish education system and for 68 principals in the Arab education system (Blas et al., 2012).

Since the 1980s, principals have been expected to become bureaucrats, focusing almost entirely on improving outcomes in order to increase the student competitiveness in the Israeli market. Thus, both before the “turning point” and after, principals’ ability to fashion a wider definition of their job was limited. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education continues to control the system, regardless of the governance structure (centralization vs. decentralization) and has several control mechanisms in place (directives vs. standardization) (Gibton, 2011), which restrict the degree of freedom principals have to shape their schools. As a result, principals can no longer be proactive and their position as social and educational leaders is questionable (Oplatka & Waite, 2011).

In 2007, the Israeli National Center of School Leadership was founded, taking up the mission of improving the Israeli educational system through the reinvention of school principals as a leading professional community (Avney Rosh Institute, 2009). To this end, the Center has invited experts and practitioners from various areas of study to participate as members of one of its ad-hoc committees. According to the main committee that attempted to redefine the local principalship, the mission of the principal should employ models of instructional leadership and their pre-service programs should be refashioned to prepare future principals for these new instructional tasks (Oplatka & Waite, 2011). This model is clearly represented in the committee’s report, which reads:

The main function of the school principal is to serve as an educational and pedagogic leader in order to enhance the education and learning of all pupils. Four additional management aspects facilitate and support this function: Developing the school’s future image – vision and managing change; leading the staff and fostering its professional development; focusing on the individual; and managing the relationship between the school and the community. As a leader of the school, the principal must be able to grasp all of the school system’s dimensions and aspects and create close connections between these elements in order to ensure the success of all pupils.

(Avney Rosh Institute, 2009, p. 18)

Another professional committee founded by the Center proposed changing the traditional forms of principal training and adopting a newer approach to the organization of this training. The goal of this new direction is the development of active educational

leaders. This project also works to encourage teachers to seek principalship. It was assumed that these and related purposes could not be achieved by the current principal preparation programs, due to their various weaknesses (e.g., an over-emphasis on developing managerial skills, a strong need for intensive practical experiences, an absence of mentoring programs) (Adler, 2010). Thus, the rationale behind these newer principal preparation programs is the belief that an effective principal preparation program ought to combine managerial knowledge and knowledge of pedagogical theories with practice-based knowledge and experience (Oplatka & Waite, 2010).

Several issues of social justice challenge Israeli principals today. First, although Jewish and Arab school principals undergo similar training in the Avney Rosh Institute for Educational Leadership and share a similar role definition (Avney Rosh Institute, 2009), there is a clear need for initiatives to enable discourse between Jewish and Arab students. Within the Jewish education system, social justice issues are present in the integration of students from less advantageous socioeconomic strata and immigrants from the USSR and Ethiopia (Shaviv et al., 2013). In the Arab education system, social justice issues center on, especially, efforts to ameliorate the effects of the inequitable budgeting for these schools (Arar, 2015). Second, the most recent report by the Avney Rosh Institute (2009) identified the following challenges faced by school principals: (1) the challenge of pupil achievement; (2) the strengthening of student self-esteem; (3) the social and achievement gap; (4) the gap between ethnic groups; (5) the challenge of implementing the newly launched reforms; (5) coping with conflicting roles of different stakeholders; and (6) the absence of a stable educational policy. Besides these challenges, Arab principals confront dual role expectations—those of the government’s centralized control in an alienated education system and those of the community—wherein most Arab communities expect Arab schools to educate students in line with the national Palestinian narrative (Arar, 2012; Arar & Abu-Asbe, 2013).

Discussion

We have considered how educational leadership is constructed in the context of three Middle Eastern countries: Egypt, Turkey, and Israel. We examined how educational leaders in these countries try to close the gap between particular and universal values, how they manage contested political projects and yet continue to concern themselves with social justice, equity, and political inclusion (Arnova et al., 2013; Waite et al., 2015). These narratives reveal how each country is positioned differently as regards globalization and modernization, and this, in turn, influences the nature of the local educational system, educational leadership, and its scholarship (Arnova et al., 2013; Moloi et al., 2009; Waite et al., 2015). The Middle East is not a unified entity but rather is composed of countries that differ from each other in terms of culture, society, organization, and educational arrangements. Unlike the Israeli education system, which is considered to be a new system, it seems that the transition of the Egyptian and Turkish education systems from traditional to postmodern systems has not been smooth.

In this sense, in Egypt, which is a conservative patriarchal society where the family is a very important social institution (Korany, 2011; Shahin & Wright, 2004), educational reform tends to be part of a more comprehensive ideological reform and is usually championed by a charismatic national leader. The educational system has been

deteriorating recently and has been suffering from a lack of sufficient resources, the need for newer technologies, low teacher quality, crowded classrooms, and the absence of a shared vision for education (Amin, 2014; El Baradei & El Baradei, 2004; Korany, 2011). As a result, many reform efforts have not rendered the desired outcomes. Our knowledge about educational leadership and its role in educational reform in this country is still somewhat limited (Korany, 2011).

As to the Turkish educational system, while the current Turkish education system has been in search of its own authentic way, it has also been trying to integrate itself to the educational policies of the EU, which Turkey has been attempting to join for a long time. As a result of this dilemma, the gap between public education, school, and school types has gone up and this has caused the deterioration of social justice through an elitist education system in Turkey. In the last quarter-century, based on the efforts to join the EU, the promotion of private schools has increased and this movement has eliminated the right to good and fair education for all citizens. What is more, it can be stated that the future of public education and school leadership is full of uncertainties. The designation of principals has mainly been based on political preferences and merit has been ignored. This is abetted by the recruitment of new principals mainly from Islamic groups and the policies of the Justice and Development Party, which came to power in 2003 and seeks to create a new type of citizen, one who is more conservative and religious (Kaplan, 2013; Sakaoğlu, 2003).

Similar to the Egyptian educational system, in Turkey many imported reforms (mainly from the European Union) and reforms initiated by the Turkish government have failed, while the system has remained highly centralized. Here education is seen by all as a political and ideological enterprise (Arnova et al., 2013; Kaplan, 2013). Unfortunately, there are no official principal training programs in place in Turkey and nepotism often intrudes on principal preparation and selection processes. There are similarities here with the Arab education system in Israel having to contend as it does with deep and intractable clan loyalties (Arar & Abu-Asbe, 2013).

It therefore seems that there is an obvious gap between educational challenges on the global level and the local functioning of educational leaders in the states described above. Specific challenges facing Egyptian educational leaders include the very large number of students, the lack of an appropriate infrastructure, high student dropout levels, and an ineffective use of technology. Those leaders who aim to adapt the Egyptian education system need to cope with unequal access to education and consequent inadequate human capital development to cope with the dilemmas and difficulties of the twenty-first century. The Egyptian system needs better teacher preparation to equip more of these professionals with contemporary teaching methods, just as it needs greater involvement of stakeholders in the reform processes in order to build an education system adapted for Egyptian culture. Similarly, leaders in the Turkish education system must cope with the challenges of the postmodern era by ensuring equal access to education, by allowing a smooth transition from the traditional “*madrassah*” system to a more modern educational system, and by outlining an education policy that will reorganize the school to allow greater participation of all. The management of the Egyptian and Turkish education systems is still highly centralized at all levels of operation.

From a comparative point of view, the three Middle Eastern countries examined here share several common characteristics (Abdeljalil, 2004; Heyneman, 1997; Oplatka, 2004; 2006). First, they intend to adopt externally initiated reforms, which sometimes

have little relevance to local cultural and historical contexts. This often results in failure to fully implement these reforms (Arar & Abu-Asbe, 2013; Kelly, 2009; Mazawi & Sultana, 2010). For example, Turkey has failed to adopt a systematic selection and recruitment of new principals and Egypt is struggling to inculcate shared forms of governance into schools (El Baradei & El Baradei, 2004; Kaplan, 2013; Wildy et al., 2010). Second, the educational systems of these countries share similar difficulties, such as a lack of sufficient resources, high student density in classrooms, and so on. Third, the educational systems are highly centralized and the local ministries of education exert tremendous control over the curriculum, final exams, and school outputs.

Yet, the educational systems of the three countries differ from each other in several aspects. First, while our knowledge about educational leadership in Israel is extensive (Oplatka & Waite, 2010), such knowledge is limited in Turkey and Egypt. Most of our knowledge about the organizational phenomena in Egypt, for instance, is implicit, drawing on general analyses of education in this country. Second, while the three countries have implemented forms of school-based management in their educational systems, each has focused on particular initiatives, such as the reform of the board of trustees in Egypt (Korany, 2011), the reform of principal recruitment in Turkey (Kaplan, 2013), and the establishment of the Institute of Educational Leadership in Israel (Adler, 2010; Oplatka & Waite, 2010). Finally, whereas both Egypt and Turkey lack a coherent principal training program, Israel has made much progress in institutionalizing its principal training and aligning it with the models in place in England and other European countries.

To sum up, and consistent with the characteristics of educational leadership in developing countries (Dimmock & Walker, 2005; Oplatka, 2004; 2006), the school leader in the three Middle Eastern countries examined here has to cope with a highly centralized government, considerable financial deficiencies, and imposed reforms, which have little relevance to his/her school and community (Caldwell, 2012). The Egyptian and the Turkish educational leader, and to a lesser extent their Israeli counterpart, lives and works in a high in-group collectivist society, with high gender inequality and low uncertainty avoidance (Arar & Abu-Asbe, 2013; House et al., 2004). These factors influence the leader's style and the educational system's organizational forms (Waite, 2010).

There are tensions expressed here in relation to the expectations that globalization brings, the reconstruction of the area's education systems in line with principles of accountability, effectiveness, and standardization, and the cultural, organizational, and social features of education systems in the Middle East. The situation in Egypt and Turkey contrasts with the situation in the relatively new state of Israel, but one somewhat reflected in the Arab sub-system of the Israeli education system. Many of the postmodern ideals spread by globalization confront the substantive structural characteristics in Middle Eastern education systems, such as a strict hierarchy of control, strong tribal affiliations and power groups, unequal access to education, inadequate infrastructure, and low-standards as regards teacher training. This often results in unsuccessful attempts to assimilate educational reforms, reforms too often based on neoliberal globalized views of education.

Our attempt to describe the situation in three representative Middle Eastern countries shows that many reforms created on the basis of Euro-centered or Anglo-American approaches have not been successfully implanted in the Middle East (Dutceac, 2004)

most likely because they have been taken up without regard to the unique characteristics we have described here (House et al., 2004). From our common point of view, as authors living and working in the Middle East, future educational leadership in the Middle East needs to incorporate both “alien” and “local” elements. This is consistent with Waite (2016), who claimed that the world seems to be more dynamic and more interconnected than ever before, yet we have to bear in mind “we cannot buy something off the shelf and expect that it will be appropriate for each and every educational situation of setting...” (pp. 101–102). For example, the Turkish Educational leadership might be further influenced by the policies of the EU which Turkey has been attempting to join for a long time, and Israeli educational leadership is more likely to be shaped, on one hand, by local demographics that are changing the cultural and social structures and by greater American influences expressed by the establishment of the local Institute of Educational Leadership, on the other hand. These and related process are more likely to strengthen the institutionalization of leadership development programs in Turkey and Israel. As to Egypt, current political upheavals in this and other Arab countries seem to impede or slow similar process in the near future. We hope that these processes will decrease the power of local political arrangements that currently lead to the appointment of educational leaders based on family and political preferences.

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20

Asian Geographies of Educational Leadership

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In this chapter, we consider the cutting-edge of educational leadership in Asia, which we view as encompassing leadership research, policy, and practice. We borrow the concept of geography, literally and metaphorically, to examine the terrain in which the three dimensions of educational leadership are enacted. To do this, we first define the broader Asian region to demonstrate its complexity and diversity. We then delineate the scope of the research knowledge base—the physical terrain—on educational leadership in Asia, focusing on the diverse Confucian heritage societies of East Asia, which tend to have newly emerging research capacities. We then use the research knowledge base to examine the dimensions of policy and practice by considering the political influence on educational leadership and then on the cultural contexts. For this portion of the analysis, we focus on five Confucian-heritage societies: mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and Vietnam. Although Vietnam is typically categorized as part of Indo-China, it fell under Chinese influence for hundreds of years as a vassal state, resulting in a significant Confucian social influence (Hallinger & Thang, 2014). Given the wide variation within Asia itself, we focus our analysis on Confucian-heritage societies, which tend to have a newly emergent empirical research foundation in our field. By doing so, we look at the successes, challenges, and tensions encountered by educational leaders and leadership scholars.

The Geography of Asia

Asia, is a large and amorphous continent that, as a result of its economic, political, and sociocultural diversity, eludes any homogeneous description. At over 44 million square miles, it is the largest continent in both size and population. Its 48 countries include the world's two most populated countries—India and China—each of which contains vast linguistic, cultural, and religious diversity. In terms of its physical geography, Asia comprises the landmass that extends, on its western flank, from the Ural Mountains that bisect Russia, to the Areal and Caspian seas and encompasses Turkey and the Arabian Peninsula. Its eastern boundary includes the landmass north of the Kamchatka peninsula, running south through the archipelagos of Japan, the Philippines and Indonesia. Although some delineations of Asia would include Australia and Eastern Russia, they are often either excluded or included because of their peripheral locations, because their

cultural and linguistic traditions are more akin to European and Anglo heritage societies (exempting their indigenous populations), and because their political imperatives at different times position these regions either within or outside of Asia proper. Our discussion here excludes Australia, Eastern Russia, and Micronesia from consideration as part of Asia.

Asia may also be considered in terms of four commonly recognized sub-regions. These divisions are typically made with consideration to historical factors and to physical and cultural geographies. Southwest Asia, bordering the Mediterranean on the west and Pakistan and Afghanistan in the east, includes Turkish, Palestinian, Arabian, and Persian cultures. With the exception of Israel, they are predominantly Islamic. Central Asia includes the former Soviet republics that lay between the Caspian Sea and China. South Asia comprises the Indian sub-continent (Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka) and the Himalayan kingdoms of Nepal and Bhutan. South Asian populations are predominantly Hindu, Buddhist, and Muslim. Finally, East Asia includes Northeast Asia (China, Japan, and the Koreas) and Southeast Asia (Indochina and the Philippines through to Indonesia and Papua New Guinea). The traditions of Shintoism, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Animism, and Catholicism influence the values and their effects on sociocultural practices in Southeast Asian societies.

Although brief and not strictly technical, this delineation of the boundaries of Asia establishes the continent's immense diversity. It includes a wide range of cultures; some of the wealthiest countries in the world (e.g., the United Arab Emirates, Japan, South Korea, and Singapore) and some of the poorest (e.g., Afghanistan, Palestine, and Burma). Although, conventionally, we think of Asia in terms of its political and physical geography, maps that illustrate socioeconomic status, languages, and religious and philosophical traditions would show rather different patterns, all of which have implications for the dimensions of educational leadership discussed here.

This chapter is informed by two series of research studies completed by fellows of the Asia Pacific Centre for Leadership and Change, which aims to understand, delineate, and disseminate knowledge of leadership in East Asian countries. The two integrated research projects form a baseline of the state of knowledge regarding educational leadership in East Asia. The first is an inquiry into international understandings of research in East Asia. The results have been reported in a series of papers that examine the volume, scope, and topical foci of research about leadership in Asian societies or by researchers based in Asia (Hallinger & Bryant, 2013a; 2013b; 2013c; 2014; Hallinger & Chen, 2015; Hallinger, Lee, & Szeto, 2013). A second area of inquiry grapples with the knowledge base as examined in indigenous research in five jurisdictions: mainland China (Walker & Qian, 2015), Hong Kong (Szeto, Lee, & Hallinger, 2015), Taiwan (Pan, Nyeu, & Chen, 2015), Vietnam (Hallinger, Walker, & Trung, 2015), and Singapore (Ng et al., 2015). Although these are by no means representative of East Asia's wide cultural diversity, they help our understanding through their examination of issues pertaining to the Confucian-heritage societies that predominate in the region—societies in various stages of socioeconomic development and with wide variation in their political systems (see Hallinger & Walker, 2015). We draw on these and other recent scholarship to further our understanding of leadership in the region, with a particular focus on Confucian-heritage societies.

The Geographies of Educational Leadership in Asia

As we proceed to examine the Asian geographies of educational leadership, we draw on the concept of geography as a metaphor to examine educational leadership from different perspectives. Geographers study human interaction in time and space (Taylor, 2009). In terms of physical geography—the terrain of educational leadership—we examine the educational knowledge base. This is the topography—the empirical knowledge that assesses the lay of the land and which provides a theoretical and empirical foundation for other dimensions of educational leadership. Here we ask: to what extent is there a solid basis in research that provides an Asian understanding of educational leadership? Has the expanding knowledge base made a difference?

After reviewing the empirical knowledge base, we analyze political geographies of educational leadership in Asia. This has to do with forces at the policy level that set educational goals, which in turn drive decisions about how to prioritize the development of the capacities, attitudes and values that research suggests educational leaders need. We see these reported in research, mandated in policy documents, and enacted in leadership capacity frameworks that are used in the preparation and development of school leaders. How do political and policy variations influence educational leadership in the region?

Social and cultural geographies consider the mutual impact of human communities with their environments. It is in this area that educational leadership in Asia is of acute interest. How do sociocultural contexts influence the work of school leaders?

In the next three sections of this chapter, we examine each of these metaphorical geographies in turn, presenting evidence that addresses the above questions. We finish the chapter by summarizing our responses to each question, formulating conclusions, and identifying enduring questions for further study.

The Physical Geography of Educational Leadership in Asia: Assessing the Knowledge Base

Research Productivity

Hallinger and colleagues (Hallinger & Bryant, 2013a; 2013b; 2013c; 2014; Hallinger & Chen, 2015; Hallinger, Lee, & Szeto, 2013; Szeto, Lee, & Hallinger, 2015), in endeavoring to delineate change in the scope and influence of Asian research on educational leadership since 1995, observed a growing but continued paucity in volume and impact of such research. They assessed research published in eight key international English-language journals in the field of educational leadership and management. They contend that while the knowledge base may extend to other publications, such as postgraduate theses, the extent to which it is represented internationally in rigorous, peer-reviewed journals, and its likely influence on theory development—indicated by its dissemination and whether it is picked up and referenced by other scholars—provide reasonable indicators of the influence of the Asian knowledge base. To summarize, approximately 13 percent of all relevant publications in the selected journals covering a 12-year period pertained to educational leadership in Asia, or were written by scholars located in the

region (Hallinger & Bryant, 2013a). Overall, 53 percent of articles were from East Asia, 39 percent from West Asia, and 8 percent from South Asia. Further, more than half of all publications in Asia were from scholars based in either Hong Kong or Israel, and in turn from a small number of universities in these two societies. In contrast, the largest countries in Asia (China, India, Indonesia, and Turkey), as well as two of the most powerful economies (Japan and South Korea), contribute little to the English-language scholarship on school leadership (Hallinger & Bryant, 2013c). Subsequently, Hallinger & Bryant (2014) examined the 18-year period from 1995 to 2013. This study revealed that Asia represented only 13.5 percent of all publications in the field, although this output increased markedly over the last third of the period, from 2007 to 2013. The above findings suggest that, despite the rapid expansion of tertiary education across Asia (Cheng, 2010; Mok & Cheung, 2011), the proliferation of educational reforms in most societies (Altbach & Umakoshi, 2004; Cheng 2010), and the immense population of Asia, little work from Asia has had an impact on the international knowledge base (Hallinger & Bryant, 2013a; 2013b).

Focusing discretely on East Asia, Hallinger and Bryant (2013b) found that over 12 years, East Asian research publication represented less than 6 percent of the total worldwide publication output. Hong Kong accounted for half of the scholarship, with the remainder distributed across 12 other countries. Hallinger and Chen (2014) analyzed the period 1995 to 2012, to assess the type of research conducted in East Asia. They found that 72 percent was empirical, 21 percent theory-oriented, and 7 percent reviews of research. However, it was the growth in empirical research from 2000 onwards that accounts for the increased productivity. Of the empirical papers, they found an increase in quantitative research from 2008 to 2012, which in total accounted for 54 percent of all publications over 18 years. Further, they noted that 60 percent of articles published on leadership in K–12 (Kindergarten, around age 5–6, to Year 12, around ages 17–18) schools had been published since 2010. In a related study on Hong Kong (Hallinger, Lee, & Szeto, 2013), the predominant publication topics were school leadership, change, and cultural contexts. The relative predominance of these topics is revealed when considering all of the published research from East Asia (Hallinger & Chen, 2014). This body of research appears to demonstrate a relatively recent surge in the volume of research conducted in the region. However, this output and its foci are skewed by Hong Kong scholarship.

In applying the metaphor of physical geography, using the number of publications, most of East Asia appears to lie at sea level, with gentle peaks for Singapore and China, and Hong Kong towering above all others. This interpretation suggests that countries with strong economies and well-developed education systems (e.g., Japan and South Korea) and those under development (e.g., Thailand and Vietnam) alike have had a limited impact on the international corpus. Further, given the minimal output published in English-language international journals, it appears that there is little influence on theory and practice in educational leadership emanating from East Asia or between East Asian countries. However, within Asian countries, indigenous publications may have influence. Recent work by Walker and colleagues (Walker & Hallinger, 2015; Walker, Hu, & Qian, 2012; Walker & Qian, 2015) has uncovered a more voluminous indigenous literature that includes empirical and non-empirical papers. This is a facet of the regional topography which to date has had limited international recognition.

Research Paradigms

In China, Walker, Hu, and Qian (2012) grouped the corpus of non-empirical papers into two categories that they term “prescriptions” and “commentaries.” Prescriptions focus on strategies for successful school leadership, and consider the context of reform and the application of imported practices. They recount “heroic” stories of “famous practicing principals” (p. 12), and communicate political dictates and ideological stances. Commentaries focus on “daily realities, dilemmas and problems” related to principals’ practice (p. 17). Such matters include the relationship of leadership to school finances, student outcomes, and fostering connections within and beyond the school. Common to both types of papers is an absence of rigorous methodological approaches to data collection and analysis. Where empirical research was conducted, Walker and Qian (2015) found a prevailing focus on what they call “imported frameworks” that used leadership models common in the international literature; “indigenous investigations” that included grounded studies or focused on “divergence” from international research; and “contextual influences” that examine Chinese individual, organizational, and societal variables that have an impact on principals’ practice.

Walker, Hu, and Qian’s (2012) study provided crucial insight into a knowledge base hitherto accessible only to those literate in Chinese. Moreover, their analysis of the state of leadership research in China suggests patterns which are also observable in other countries. An examination of indigenous research in Vietnam (Hallinger et al., 2015) noted that much of the literature published in Vietnamese tended to fall into the “prescription” category, intending to transmit specific skill sets, reinforce the political role of principals as government officials and as Communist Party representatives, and as transmitters of Confucian values. Such scholarship tends not to involve what Westerners might consider theory or to engage in empirical analysis, but rather presents conclusions as “self-evident” or emanating from “government policy, Communist Party doctrine” or Ho Chi Minh’s ideological treatises (Hallinger et al., 2015, p. 452). In contrast, indigenous research in Taiwan (Pan et al., 2015) tends to be empirical, examining “imported frameworks,” such as instructional leadership, and local contextual constraints on their enactment.

A point of tension concerns the criteria by which research is construed as indigenous or imported. The work of Walker and colleagues (Walker, Hu, & Qian, 2012; Walker & Qian, 2015) seem to suggest that in practice these differing approaches to research and writing about school leadership develop in parallel. As Walker and Hallinger (2015) have pointed out, “research traditions in different societies may hold value beyond what we can see through the lens of Western research traditions” and should not be discarded for “poorly designed and executed studies” (p. 563). Rather, as shown in Pan et al.’s (2015) analysis, the potential of hybridity, in which international research findings and theoretical frameworks are evaluated, adapted, and applied in light of perceived local realities or indigenous publications, may provide an apt approach to advancing the research base in Asia.

Research Challenges

Our analysis of the metaphorical physical geography of educational leadership aims to define an area for analysis that pertains to the extent of knowledge about educational leadership in, and flowing from, East Asia.

There are several challenges to scholarly productivity in the region. These include the research capacity of individual researchers, and the fiscal, human, and social resources provided by the institutions in which they work. Issues pertaining to individual capacity are illustrated in the tendency for most of the more prolific writers to be expatriates—either Anglo-American expatriates working in Asia, or Asian expatriates working in Anglo-American contexts. This is particularly true of international scholarship published in China (Walker & Qian, 2015), although there is a greater balance in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan, which have established research-oriented university cultures. Nonetheless, across the region as a whole, these challenges appear persistent, despite the rapid increase in the number of universities and educational leadership programs in East Asia (Cheng, 2010; Hallinger, 2011).

Hallinger and Bryant (2013b) found that in some societies a large proportion of research output is that of expatriate authors working in local universities. This can serve as a capacity-building strategy, where experienced scholars collaborate with local researchers. Such relationships seem to drive productive research in China (Walker & Qian, 2013). However, in other instances, Chinese scholars who receive training overseas often elect to remain overseas and conduct their research under association with Anglo-American universities. While this approach may help expose Asian research to an international audience, it may not contribute extensively to the development of a localized research capacity that is internationally recognized. In their analysis of internationally published research, Walker, Bryant, and Lee (2013; see also Walker & Qian, 2015) found only four publications by two mainland Chinese scholars who were working in mainland Chinese universities. They concluded that scholars who gain wide exposure domestically seem to have little impact internationally, as measured by the dissemination of their research in the top English-language publications.

Institutional research capacity in many East Asian countries is challenged by a lack of governmental and non-governmental support structures, such as grant councils and foundations that strategically target research funding, mission-driven regional and institutional research centers, and institutional incentives and policies to encourage and support research (Landry & Amara, 1998, Ogawa, Goldring, & Conley, 2000). Hallinger and Bryant (2013a; 2013b) noted that the most productive societies, in terms of research productivity across all of Asia and in East Asia, have well-developed infrastructures (e.g., Hong Kong, Israel, Singapore), which partially explains their relative productivity; however, the bulk of “school leadership centers” in East Asia emphasize the training of school leaders and dedicate minimal resources to research.

A second challenge to the physical development of the educational leadership knowledge base is Asia’s regional diversity, which places English as the regional lingua franca for scholarship. For countries in which English-language capacities are not well-developed, obvious challenges persist in being published in top-tier international journals. For larger countries with well-developed education systems and strong economies, such as Japan and South Korea, there is a likelihood that scholars are content to publish in national language journals (Hallinger & Bryant 2013a). This could partially be explained by the tendency of journals based in English “center” countries not to publish research sourced from Asia. For instance, Hallinger and Bryant (2013c) found that of eight leading English-language journals in the field of educational leadership and management, three journals published above the mean of 23 articles per journal over a 12-year period (2000–2011) and accounted for 72 percent of East Asian publications.

At the other extreme, two journals published only three manuscripts each over the selected period. The publication record of these journals may reflect that authors are not sending their research to some of the international journals, or that some journals value international research less than others (Hallinger & Bryant, 2013c). Regardless, these findings are indicative of the challenge faced by Asian researchers to publish in high-profile publications.

In considering a series of recent publications to which we have contributed, we recognize that while there is a limited outward flow of knowledge, in many countries in the region there is a great deal of research occurring in indigenous languages. However, challenges persist. Much of this research lacks an empirical basis according to Western canons, and many indigenous-language outputs are published in outlets that lack quality-control measures or an international purview. Often such research constitutes postgraduate theses (e.g., Taiwan and Vietnam). An argument could be made, therefore, that educational leadership in much of Asia—although not all of it—is challenged by a paucity of rigorous research on which to build sound practice. An alternative explanation is that regardless of quality or insight, Asian research which does not conform to Western methodological conventions is unlikely to be disseminated through international publications. As a result of such challenges, there is a lack of international penetration of an Asian understanding of educational leadership. This situation is amplified when a topical analysis is conducted of research in the field. With a limited number of research outputs covering a wide range of topics, there is minimal density of research on any given topic (Hallinger & Bryant, 2013a; 2013c; Hallinger & Chen, 2015). This means that little is contributed internationally on any given facet of educational leadership.

We summarize our analysis in Table 20.1, which suggests a developmental profile for reflecting on and categorizing different societies' educational leadership knowledge bases. We note that each stage comprises multiple criteria. As such, the rigid allocation of various societies to specific developmental stages is open to critique. If the profile is envisioned on a continuum, the “developing” stage may occupy a wider portion of the continuum, given the wide variation between emergent and mature developmental stages, and some countries may overlap across stages of the continuum (see Figure 20.1).

The Political Geography of Educational Leadership in Asia: Leadership and Policy Directions

In this section, we move away from considerations of the knowledge base, to examine the impact of political influence on principal leadership. We consider this influence by reviewing, first, the relationship of school leaders to government, and then examining how state priorities influence principal preparation and development through the creation and application of leadership capacity frameworks.

The Political Influence of the State on Principal Leadership

A central aspect of educational leadership in East Asia over the past 20 years has been that of the leader in contextualizing imported educational reforms (Walker, 2007). Influenced by economic theories at play internationally, large-scale reforms in many

Table 20.1 A developmental profile categorizing different societies' educational leadership knowledge bases.

Developmental stages	Descriptors	Examples
Nascent	Publications are often limited to prescriptions or commentaries that lack an empirical basis or do not follow research conventions. Local and international knowledge are isolated from each other. Institutions focus on teaching and leader preparation. Individuals lack opportunity to develop research capacities.	Vietnam
Emergent	Local empirical research is conducted and published in indigenous sources. Most active research is limited to postgraduate theses, which lack international peer-review or other quality control measures. Mechanisms for disseminating knowledge are limited, but occur within the society. Institutions set research targets for members. International research is consulted in developing policy and practices.	China, Taiwan
Developing	Despite a well- developed education system and research culture, research is seldom published in international journals. Research is moving from the testing of theories and frameworks developed internationally towards developing grounded studies that empirically examine conceptions of leadership within the society. Institutions put into place policies and practices to stimulate a research culture. The influence of research on practice (i.e., knowledge transfer) is evident.	China, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong
Mature	Empirical research is regularly published in local and international journals. Research outputs balance qualitative and quantitative, theoretical and empirical. Sustained lines of research are identifiable. Outputs are cited in international literature. Organizations for funding and prioritizing research initiatives have developed. Institutions have successful track records in research and develop novice researchers. A strong basis of local research serves to moderate or interpret international research findings. Significant portions of researchers include local populations who work within the society.	Singapore, Hong Kong

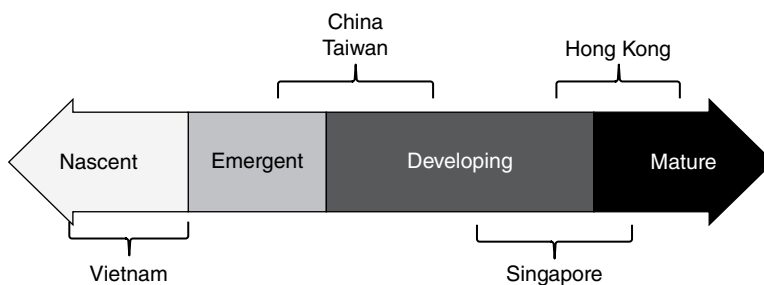


Figure 20.1 Continuum of leadership research capacity and impact.

Asian countries have emphasized neoliberal forms of school autonomy and accountability, alongside human capital rationales that justify reforms as a means to increase economic productivity (Kennedy & Lee, 2010; Szeto et al., 2015). Consequently, school systems throughout the region—in places including China, Hong Kong, Thailand, and South Korea—have implemented school-based management, and their policies have prioritized the organizational and learning roles of leadership (Kennedy & Lee, 2010). These emphases are reflected in the foci of substantial portions of research, as is shown in recent reviews of research in educational leadership in Singapore (Ng et al., 2015), Hong Kong (Szeto et al., 2015), and Taiwan (Pan et al., 2015) (see also Hallinger & Chan, 2015). However, political structures that connect the government to school leadership can influence how school leaders prioritize their various roles in schools.

Throughout much of Asia, school principals hold positions as school leaders and government officials with particular responsibility to the state (Hallinger & Lee, 2013; Hallinger & Thang, 2014; Thang, 2012). This relationship seems to cohere with observations that Asian societies, and particularly those with a Confucian heritage, are hierarchical in nature and accepting of authority (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). However, there are degrees of variation to this. At one extreme lies Vietnam, where political stability and “cultural transmission remain the highest priorities of the education system” (Hallinger et al., 2015, p. 453). Here, principals are accountable to both government and Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP) officials. The former exert vast power over school-level management, determining school policy, resource allocation, and student enrolment. The latter monitor the “political and ideological education activities” (Ministry of Education and Training (MOET), 2001, p. 24, quoted in Hallinger et al., 2015; Hallinger & Thang, 2014), as well as finances, facilities, and teaching equipment. This structure, Hallinger et al. (2015) find, makes for little change in the conventionally hierarchical relationship between the state, the party, and school principals. Despite efforts at educational reform, the concentration of power outside of the school constrains principals’ autonomy. This hierarchy similarly carries over to principal–teacher relationships. Taiwan may be at the other extreme within Confucian-heritage societies, where reforms have meant the delegation of managerial power down to schools with the “democratic involvement” of teacher committees. The result, Pan et al. (2015) assert, has meant that principals now lack “legal power” over teacher supervision in the face of increased teacher autonomy. In both extremes, the principals’ capacity to act as instructional leaders is compromised in favor of their managerial roles—in one case, because of the dominance of the state, and in the other, because of principals’ limited authority.

Lying between the Vietnamese and Taiwanese polarities are China, Singapore, and Hong Kong. China adopted the system of principal responsibility in the 1980s. Since then, principals rather than party secretaries have the major share of responsibility in running schools (Walker, Chen, & Qian, 2008; Zheng, Walker, & Chen, 2013). This devolution of power includes greater principal authority in terms of designing school policies and recruiting and promoting teachers. The implementation of curriculum reform in 2001 has encouraged principals to assume a role as curriculum leaders to organize and develop school-based curriculum (Qian & Walker, 2013). This is a significant shift from the years prior to 1995, when a large proportion of the state framework for principal development stressed the transmission of Marxist theory and political ideology and “[p]rincipals were expected to consciously uphold and ... maintain the

socialist direction of schooling” (Zheng et al., 2013, p. 489). Thus, in China there has been a shift from ideology to reform, from management to leadership orientations, from centralized to school-based curricula, and from the consideration of urban school needs to a consideration of both urban and rural school needs (Huang & Wiseman, 2011; Zheng et al., 2013). Despite this shift, school principals are mainly selected and appointed by local governments; it is also the local government that evaluates the performances of school principals and makes decisions about their promotion. Accordingly, most Chinese school principals place an emphasis on upward accountability, and they lead schools mainly as state agents (Walker & Qian, 2015). The foreseeable trend is that there will be a stronger emphasis on professional accountability and the capabilities of school principals.

The situation in Singapore differs again. Ng et al. (2015) have noted that Singapore’s political context is “hierarchical and regulated,” serving the purpose of “rapid economic development [and] nation building,” necessitated by its status as a young, multicultural country. Successive reforms in Singapore (from 1997 to 2010) have emphasized the skills needed in a global economy, pedagogical innovation, and self-directed learning. Ng et al. (2015) itemized a lengthy list of government expectations of principals to accomplish these aims. They included implementing instructional leadership practices, distributed leadership, professional learning communities, and action research. These educational reforms have placed “enormous pressure on the working lives of principals” (Ng et al., 2015, p. 521), as policies have pushed them to be innovators of curricula and take greater responsibility to promote reform and stimulate innovation. Principals are also challenged in having to establish school cultures in which teachers have greater responsibility and freedom regarding pedagogy and curriculum, while at the same time ensuring that the resulting decisions align with the school’s vision (Chew & Andrews, 2010).

In the Hong Kong context, the vast majority of schools are not managed by the government, but by sponsoring agencies—typically religious organizations or charities to which principals are directly accountable for implementing reforms. This structure, a remnant from the colonial period, means that it is the sponsoring agencies rather than the government that are responsible for the selection of school principals—although over the past 15 years the government has mandated licensure requirements. Hong Kong is an outlier in much of East Asia, as principal selection occurs at the school, rather than at the state level, and often following progression through the ranks of middle leadership to the vice-principalship before being appointed as principal (Walker, 2004). Nonetheless, much of the principals’ work, and consequently the research agenda, is reflective of government reform initiatives that emphasizes instructional, strategic, and team leadership as well as quality management (Szeto et al., 2015). At issue is the need for principals to reprioritize their activities and to develop new competencies for balancing quality with accountability, and rising expectations with resulting resistance. For instance, Szeto et al. (2015) have observed that accumulated research in Hong Kong finds a weak effect of instructional leadership, which, they argue, highlights the challenge that principals face in rationalizing policies with school practice (see also Walker & Hallinger, 2015).

We represent our analysis of the principal’s relationship to the political authority of the state by placing each jurisdiction on a continuum of variation in the influence of the state on the principalship (see Figure 20.2). The placement of the different societies along the continuum represents our synopsis of the relative impact on each society of

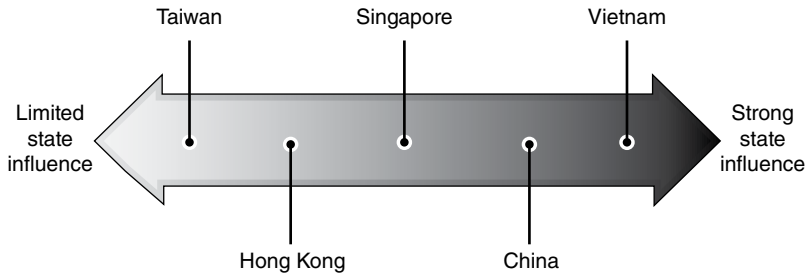


Figure 2.2 Continuum of political influence over the principalship.

the influencing factors discussed above, namely: (a) the reformist orientations of the state; (b) the principal's role as an agent of the state; (c) the relative influence of the state and other stakeholders at the school level; (d) the emphasis of the principal as a resource manager and/or instructional leader; (e) the role of the state in recruitment, preparation, and appraisal; and (e) the development of structures that enact all of the above. Indeed the influences are potentially multiple and likely extend beyond our analysis in this chapter.

The Influence of Policy on Principals' Leadership and Development

Another influence on the principalship is that of policy. One way in which the state's policy imperatives are clearly addressed is through the development of leadership competency frameworks which are often applied to leader preparation and appraisal. In general, leadership competency frameworks delineate the skills, attitudes, and values intended for leaders in state schools. They are often expressed in developmental terms, with indicators from novice to master level of proficiency in the identified competency.

Previous international research on the process of developing leader competency frameworks and their application to leader preparation reveal that: (a) jurisdictions frequently look internationally to assess what has been adopted elsewhere (Bryant, Walker & Lee, 2013; Dinham et al., 2013; Xu et al., in press); (b) adaptations are often made to account for state policy priorities and local or regional research (Walker, Bryant, & Lee, 2013); and (c) frameworks tend to be aspirational in nature (Murphy, 2015).

In East Asia, we observe a progression toward hybridity that variously reflects an expanded local knowledge base, policy priorities, and cultural values. China's 2013 publication of a competency framework for school principals serves to illustrate this hybridity. Recent analyses by Xu et al. (in press) show that the standards that comprise the framework are based on extensive consultation. The first step was an examination of three groups of international standards: (a) "Western" (the United States, the United Kingdom, and Europe); (b) "East Asian" (Japan); and (c) Greater China (Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan). The next step was to collect data via questionnaires and interviews, involving 20,000 school principals from across China. Information from both of these sources contributed to an initial draft of the standards. Unique political priorities are reflected in the standards, by emphasizing the attitudes and aptitudes needed to support educational reform—such as promoting innovative pedagogy, school-based curriculum, and autonomy in instructional leadership, and by demonstrating support for the Chinese Communist Party and the activities of its youth organizations. Finally, cultural facets are

also evident in the standards, such as promoting “love [for] Chinese traditional culture” (Xu et al., in press).

Other examples in the region demonstrate hybridity. For instance, Singapore has adopted Sergiovanni’s (1984; 2005) “Forces of Leadership” and Howard Gardner’s (2008) “Five Minds for the Future” to construct its competency framework for school leaders, which is applied to the state’s sole school leader preparation program. However, while the framework’s theoretical foundation is borrowed, its constructs are deliberately oriented toward the state’s policy initiatives, stressing creativity, innovation, lifelong learning, and nation building (Ng, 2008). Singapore’s “Five Roles Five Minds” framework targets national policy goals by emphasizing “knowledge creation and innovation, social constructivism” and the “development of local and international networks” (Walker et al., 2013, p. 416). Finally, Hong Kong’s framework, “Key Qualities of the Principalship in Hong Kong” (Walker, Dimmock, Chan et al., 2000), aims to prepare leaders for leadership in a “knowledge-based society” (Bryant et al., 2013, p. 236), which coheres with the aims of its curriculum reforms. Although built on international research, the Hong Kong framework contains adaptations that acknowledge a rich local knowledge and research base (Walker et al., 2013). The framework was informed by a working group of principals who, with input from scholars and extensive consultation of principals across Hong Kong, developed a professional developmental profile. Informed by international and local research but based on a platform of the principals’ tacit knowledge and experience of reform, the resulting profile displayed a “prioritized guide to key stages of principalship development” in Hong Kong (Walker, Begley, & Dimmock, 2000, p. 3).

This section on the political geography of educational leadership shows that there is wide variation among Confucian-heritage countries pertaining to the principal’s relationship to the state. We examined this relationship by looking first at the structural relationship of the principal and school to the state and then by reviewing leadership frameworks as authoritative documents that reinforce policy intentions. Accordingly, the foci of principals’ work, at least as articulated in policy, also varies from being primarily instructional leaders with limited legal authority over teachers (Taiwan) to agents of the state with strong authority (Vietnam), with degrees of variation in between (Hong Kong, Singapore, and China).

Principals’ roles as determined by policy are reinforced in leadership preparation and development and are articulated in aspirational leadership capacity frameworks. We note that these frameworks, as artifacts of policy intentions, represent hybrids of international and local knowledge. This hybridity parallels developments in the research knowledge base that we discussed above. Further, we observe cultural and societal considerations may also inform capacity frameworks that interpret policy.

The Social and Cultural Geographies of Educational Leadership in Asia: The Relationship between Culture and Practice

A common issue facing most Asian school leaders is the lack of connection between what educational reforms demand and the cultural realities of leading schools (Walker & Qian, 2012). On the one hand, ingrained Confucian values and traditions

shape the purpose of education and the leader–follower relationship. These historically accepted patterns of behavior, hierarchies of power, and norms of interaction are usually intangible, and thus less readily identifiable, but they are everywhere in organizations (Gordon, 2002; Smulyan, 2000). On the other hand, multiple reforms in recent years propose some changes that are incongruent with these traditional values and beliefs (Walker & Qian, 2012). This cultural disconnect poses challenges to school leadership. Two of them have been widely explored and reported across the Asian societies.

One such disconnect between culture and practice is related to the purpose of education and the role of examinations. In Asia, there is the lingering influence of the Confucian concept of serving the state through learning (Gu, 1981; Mao, 1984). A superior Confucian man's first responsibility to society was to serve the state by participating in government. Scholars believed that it was the ancient imperial examination system that created the Chinese bureaucratic system (e.g., Ho, 1964; Sunoo, 1985). Under this system, young people could change their status through education. By passing exams, young people could not only acquire a position in the imperial government, but also change their family's status and bring glory to their families and ancestors (Gu, 2006, p. 173).

The impact of the ancient examination system is twofold. First, it shapes the preferred learning style and the type of learners it desires. What learners needed to do was to memorize the Confucian classics as “the topics used in the examinations are from the classics, which are the only courses taught in all schools” (Sunoo, 1985, p. 113). “Obedience” was the major characteristic of those cultivated by this education system, who “dare not think, dare not speak, dare not take risks, and lack [a] pioneering and innovating spirit” (Gu, 2006, p. 173). Second, the legacy of the examination system shapes an examination culture, prevalent in East Asia, where most societies rely on high-stake exams to select elite students. In imperial China, excelling in state exams was seen as the only road to officialdom. Similarly, many Asian parents today tend to believe that going to a first-tier university is the best route to a bright future for their children. Asian parents have high expectations for their children's academic performance.

However, the recent reform trend in many Asian societies is to foster learning societies and to develop students' generic skills, including creativity, innovation, and communication competence (e.g., the “Learning to Learn” policy in Hong Kong, the “Quality Education” policy in Mainland China, and the “Teach Less, Learn More” policy in Singapore). These reform efforts tend to move away from examination-oriented educational systems and promote student-centered teaching and learning at schools. Despite their good intentions, these reform efforts are apparently not in congruence with the traditional values on teaching and learning for tests. School leaders thus have to reconcile multiple and conflicting expectations from policy makers, parents, and the public. Many Asian leaders are “multiliterate,” in the sense that they can move relatively easily between the older literacies of examinations and direct teaching, and a number of the new literacies of students' twenty-first century competencies and learning to learn. Asian leaders tend to attach more importance to instructional leadership, setting school aims, and the promotion of quality teaching (e.g., Oplatka, 2004; Pan et al., 2015; Walker & Qian, 2011). This may partly explain the strong performance of East Asian students in international assessments.

Another example of this disconnect is related to the role of school leaders and the proper leader–teacher relationship. The Confucian Asian culture values “power distance[,] and practices relatively high levels of societal collectivism. In this culture, a leader is trusted to get on with the job on behalf of (usually) his subordinates” (House et al., 2004). The cultural scripts underpinning the right leadership style also seem to suggest that principals adopt an autocratic style (Oplatka, 2004, p. 440). In other words, East Asian leaders operate within a system that shapes their roles more as bureaucratic administrators rather than as participative leaders or leaders of change (Hallinger, 2003). Thus, they are confronted by particular challenges in this reform age, when virtually all educational policy reforms adopted over the past decades have come from outside the region (Hallinger, 2004; Walker & Qian, 2012).

These waves of reform require school leaders to adopt new forms of leadership. Leaders are asked to proactively direct actively meaningful change. They are told to be consultative, open, and democratic, to promote staff ownership, and to create a school culture which nurtures shared leadership (Qian & Walker, 2013; Walker, 2003). Many of these shifting expectations seem to suggest the adoption of educational practices that are inconsistent with traditional Asian cultural values and norms (Hallinger, 2004). As a result, although it is easy to clone surface-level structures from Western nations, deep leadership structures may remain largely unchanged (Walker, 2004).

However, the autocratic leadership style in Asia ranges from a tight, “army-like” control by the principal over his staff to patterns of pseudo-participative leadership style (Oplatka, 2004). For example, in Vietnam, the organizational culture of schools has been described as “hierarchical-bureaucratic,” with a concomitant emphasis on rules, regulations, and formal structure (Thang, 2012). Studies have also found that Vietnamese teachers accept the formal management structure as a given, with a limited expectation for involvement in making decisions in the school (Thang, 2012; Hallinger et al., 2015). Walker and Qian (2015) compare the principal leaderships of Hong Kong, Singapore and Australia. They find that principals in all three societies place value on collaboration and harmony in their relationships with teachers; however, the contextual and qualifying conditions for such relationships differ among them. In Hong Kong, harmonious relationships are part of preserving face and loyalty to the school. In Singapore, harmony entails balancing the expression of different opinions with the perceived constraints of multiculturalism. In Australia, harmony is subject to the right of individuals to express their views.

The images of what is acceptable, or good, leadership differ from one culture to another. While characteristics associated with autocratic leadership are eschewed in Anglo-American schools, they are more accepted, if not espoused, in East Asian cultures. Furthermore, the multiple reforms implemented in the region sometimes lack coherence and alignment with the cultural realities. As a result, school leaders are charged with diverse and sometimes paradoxical tasks. On the one hand, leaders are expected to retain their traditional role as the “stabilizer” in the school and uphold tradition; and on the other, they are being increasingly called upon to change, reform, and redefine their schools (Walker, 2003; Walker & Qian, 2011). When these demands are put together, educational leaders are faced with an environment of excitement, uncertainty, confusion, and often-contradictory demands, resulting in their struggling to find their place and make sense of their new roles in this process of change.

Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, we have shown Asia to be a region of immense diversity that can in no measure be conceived of homogeneously, whether in physical, political, or cultural terms. Borrowing the metaphor of geography, we have examined the diversity of educational leadership in Asia by considering the state of the art as it relates to the influence of research, politics and policies, and societal culture on the understanding and enactment of leadership in the region. Given the region's broad diversity, we have focused our analysis on Confucian-heritage societies located in East Asia. In this section we return to the questions we previously posed regarding the Asian geography of educational leadership.

To What Extent is there a Solid Basis in Research That Provides for an Asian Understanding of Educational Leadership? (and has it made any Difference?)

Our overview of the analyses of the knowledge base of educational leadership research in Asia (more properly East Asia, as we've defined it above) is indicative of a wide range of both research capacities and accrued knowledge within different Asian societies. The penetration of research conducted in Asia into the international knowledge base appears minimal, when indicated by the volume of research published in key international journals in the field, and by how such research has been picked up and used by other scholars (Hallinger & Bryant, 2013a; 2013b; 2013c; Hallinger & Chen, 2015). The vast majority of the research gaining international exposure emanates from Hong Kong, with smaller centers in Singapore and mainland China. In other words, while the international research community can access much about educational leadership and management in Hong Kong, it has limited access to research on the rest of Asia. Further, where there are active research centers, their focus tends to reflect current policy initiatives (Hallinger & Bryant, 2013b). An implication of this is that entire strands within the field have gone un-probed; thus, even where there is volume, density is another matter.

Nonetheless, a closer look at reviews of indigenous-language publications suggests that in many societies research cultures are nascent or emergent. These research cultures may be marked by efforts to convey or depict effective leadership practice through prescriptive or descriptive writing rather than through empirical research. Where empirical research does occur, it may be represented by postgraduate theses, a lack of recognized methodological rigor, and/or occur in collaboration with international scholars.

The state of affairs in Asia, in terms of research capacity, is in a developmental phase not dissimilar to that of North American research in the 1960s to the early 1990s. Literature exploring research productivity has noted that in years past the professoriate acted as professional mentors to postgraduate apprentices rather than as seasoned researchers involved in honing the research capacities of novice researchers (Boyan, 1968; 1981; Daresh, 1991; Powers, 1998). The culture lacked defined authorities to prioritize and set targets, and then appropriately fund those targets (Carter, 1968). This situation was coupled with a diffusion of researchers across "marginally equipped institutions" (Boyan, 1968, p. 33), rather than in centers that supported efficiency of scale and increased publication rates (Landry & Amara, 1998). The field lacked

defined theories to drive research, which was, in turn, driven by social and behavioral scientists (Boyan, 1981), with research limited to satisfying the immediate needs of administrators and reform agendas (Daresh, 1991). Consequently, the bulk of research took the form of postgraduate theses rather than conforming to sustained research agendas (Barbaresi, 1973). All of these conditions are mirrored in emerging Asian research cultures, where new scholars employed in faculties of education are subject to high teaching loads (Mathews & Hu, 2007; Mok & Cheung, 2011) and lack opportunities for mentorship. For instance, Pan et al. (2015) suggest that the dominance of quantitative studies and the paucity of experimental and qualitative studies in Taiwan parallels the state of Western educational leadership research from the 1970s to the 1990s. This is suggestive of a nascent but maturing research culture.

How Do Political and Policy Variations Influence Educational Leadership in the Region?

As in every country, school leaders are subject to the political realities and objectives of the governments of the day. Asia, however, provides a strong example of how a region in which most countries are pursuing neoliberal and human capital-oriented reforms (under the mantle of lifelong learning) do so through a variety of principal–policy–politics configurations. Three clear variations are those of Vietnam, China, and Singapore. Principals in Vietnam, while theoretically pursuing progressive reform agendas, are significantly constrained by strong dual-hierarchical mechanisms which link the government, state, and the political party to schools. Principals’ primary responsibility as agents of the party and the state diminishes their effectiveness as instructional leaders (Hallinger & Thang, 2014; Hallinger et al., 2015). In Vietnam, the political bonds are tighter and stronger than those of reformist policies. China represents a transitioning system, in which the political role of the principal—while still relevant—has moderated in favor of transformational and instructional leadership priorities. And these roles are supported through the selection and development of principals. In China, it may be that the policy networks are thickening, while the political influence remains strong. Singapore provides another vantage of tight policy-to-political connections in which there are strong connections between the selection and training of principals and the state’s policy agenda, with the latter clearly driving the former. Indeed, rigorous selection and uniform delivery of leadership preparation programs appears to create a monolithic (or perhaps consistent) understanding of leadership among serving principals (Ng et al., 2015). Singapore contrasts again with Hong Kong, where the connection between political organs and principals seems weaker than that of policy-to-political machination, and policy-to-principal. In other words, in Hong Kong, the role of government, while influential over the work of principals, appears to exert less of a strong direct influence than in the other three societies. We represent the varying strength of these connections in Figure 20.3, where the thickness of the lines represents the relative strength of connections between the principal, policy, and politics.

This analysis is indicative of the vast variations within Confucian-heritage (and even Chinese) societies in the region, which are shaped in turn by divergent political histories and the state of economic development.

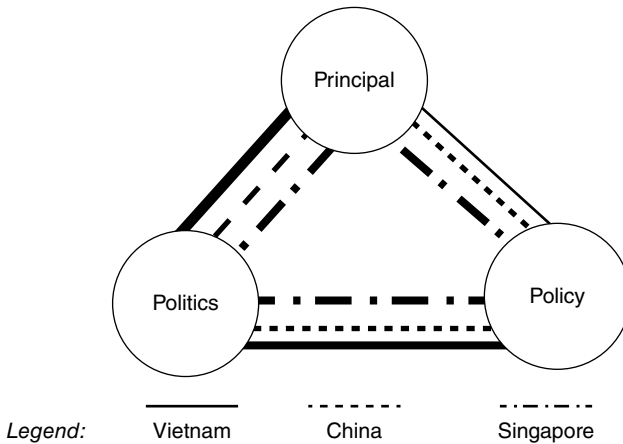


Figure 20.3 The weight of the political network in three countries.

How do Societal-Cultural Contexts Influence School Leaders?

Across Confucian-heritage societies, much of the work of the principals entails making sense of reforms that are decontextualized from the social-cultural realities of power hierarchies, collectivism, and meritocratic systems (e.g., examinations) that are manifest in the school system. This can entail rationalizing new policies and practices that emphasize teacher autonomy or professional learning communities with the principals' bureaucratic functions and stabilizing roles that are more conventionally understood and accepted by stakeholders (Hallinger, 2003; Ng et al., 2015; Szeto et al., 2015; Walker, 2007; Walker & Qian, 2011). Increasingly, principals exercise forms of leadership that balance reform initiatives with social-cultural and even legal structures (Pan et al., 2015). Walker and Hallinger (2015), for instance, assess the corpus of research in Hong Kong as showing an increasing capacity of principals to rationalize imported reforms that typically emphasize values of inclusion and empowerment against "traditional norms of high power distance and paternalistic decision making" (p. 559).

Looking Forward

Our understanding of school leadership in parts of Asia has increased incrementally—if unevenly—over the last decade or so. Systematic reviews of literature written in both English and the local vernaculars have laid a solid foundation for further work. Although few in relative terms, more studies written in English are beginning to flow from East Asian societies. So, although the surface has been scratched a little deeper than before, much more research and understanding is required—this presents an exciting challenge. We conclude with some questions that may guide some of this research and related issues of practice. We present these with reference to the research, policy, and culture framework that we have explored throughout the chapter—recognizing that these categories blur in their application. Our questions suggest possibilities and challenges as our field in Asia continues to develop over the twenty-first century.

Research

We contend that research-informed perspectives on school leadership in Asia are only just beginning to emerge in the international knowledge base. In part, this is because much local knowledge is given expression in forms other than analyses of empirical research. For Asian scholars to penetrate and inform theory internationally, we ask:

- How can the strengths of indigenous research and local knowledge best be galvanized and communicated to inform robust research agendas?
- What strategies can be implemented in the region to encourage the development of regionally based Asian scholars who can transcend these parallel knowledge traditions?
- How can previous experiences of research capacity building elsewhere inform educational leadership research in Asian countries, many of which have limited financial resources?

Policy

Principals in Asian countries often need to balance liberal reformist policy agendas, such as school-based management, with conventional roles as state agents operating in highly centralized systems. As the relationship of principals to the state changes, so too, we expect, will the enactment of principals' leadership. Accordingly,

- Do principals in Asia have less room for individual and creative practices, or does government influence diminish by the time it reaches schools?
- How will changes in policy and the relationship to the state impact on these practices?
- How can (or do) forms of instructional leadership develop in Asian policy contexts?
- How do Asian principals balance change and stability and manage equity in their schools?

Culture

A key role for principals in Asian schools has been that of addressing the disconnections that arise among expectations adopted from the West, local conventions of school organization, and societal-cultural realities. These disconnections are manifest in how the purposes of education and the functions of leadership are enacted and structured within schools. Efforts to resolve the disconnections seem to be resulting in newly emergent models of leadership. Therefore,

- How do Asian principals manage changes modeled on Western education systems?
- How might principals in Western systems draw on knowledge and experience from their Asian counterparts in their engagement with reform?
- What practices and beliefs continue to influence Asian principals and why do these "stand the tests of time"?
- Is the impact of traditional values any less important for principals in Western contexts?

Hybridity

Throughout our analysis and implicit in the above questions is the notion that hybridity, informed by different cultural traditions, may present plausible ways forward to understand educational leadership in Asia. These might emerge through creative

combinations of research conventions, leadership practices, and policy development and enactment. Leaders and researchers in all societies should ask:

- How do leadership practices hybridize given that globalization has taken on a more multidirectional form (knowledge flowing, somewhat more evenly, both ways)?
- What form might the next generation of cross-national and cross-cultural research take?

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21

Managing to Lead? Contemporary Perspectives on Principals' Practices in Russia

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Introduction

As a country that has experienced significant social, political, and economic upheaval in the past few decades, Russia is experiencing a major educational transformation. Although much progress has been made in a relatively short period of time, more change is required for the education system in Russia to compete globally. Recent policy directives aimed at systemic transformation have been accompanied by the implementation of a redefined set of roles and responsibilities for Russian school principals. Considering the weight of evidence reinforcing the centrality of leadership in securing school and system improvement (Leithwood, Harris & Hopkins, 2008; Robinson, 2007), it could be argued that the principal's role in Russia has never been so pivotal or more important.

Contemporary empirical evidence about the leadership role and leadership practices of principals in Russia, however, remains relatively limited. Most of the better-known empirical studies have tended to focus on the individual qualities and characteristics of school principals in different regions of Russia (Fishman, 1999; Mann & Briller, 1996; Shepel, 2008). Other research studies have tended to explore and outline principals' professional activities (Filinkova & Knyazev, 2014; Mann & Briller, 1996). A recent review highlighted that the scholarship on educational leadership in Asia remains at a relatively early stage of development (Hallinger & Chen, 2015). In particular, it noted that knowledge production was 'highly uneven' across Asia with only a few pockets of excellent research. Within central Asia, one of the countries that had paid modest empirical attention to the selection, training, and practice of its principals was Russia.

Crossing eleven different time zones, the sheer size of the Russian education system is daunting. At present, there are over 44,100 public school principals in the Russian Federation with 600 principals in the private sector¹. A large proportion of principals are employed in the Russian state or public schools, and according to the most recent

data, the majority of principals are female (74.4 percent) and tend to be located in large cities (81 percent) rather than in rural areas². Most school principals in Russia now hold this job as their main occupation (99.6 percent) although a large proportion of them (more than 60 percent), especially in cities, combine the principal role with a second job, usually one of part-time teaching in their own school.

Over the past decade or so, dramatic and far-reaching educational reforms in the Russian Federation have significantly redefined the role of the principal and imposed new demands upon those leading schools. Up until the 1990s, school principals in Russia (USSR) were considered to be chiefly administrators embedded in a strict hierarchical structure (Bayburin et al., 2015; Farkhatdinov et al., 2014). The principal was, at that time, mainly responsible for quality assurance, running an efficient school and delivering the desired examination results.

As Russia began its major transition from a Soviet past to a market economy, education and schooling also dramatically changed. In 1992, the first Russian Federation Law “On Education” was adopted. According to the 32 articles that comprised this law, schools became free from state control of financial, instructional, and staff matters. The modernization of the Russian education system also meant that, for the first time in 1995, Russia participated in international comparative educational assessments (Froumin et al., 2006). While this process produced some rather mediocre results for Russian schools, participation in international benchmarking precipitated a brand new phase in Russian education.

Unquestionably, being more visible on the international stage fuelled a renewed drive towards school and system improvement. Radically changed roles and responsibilities for Russian school principals accompanied this transformational process. The introduction of Federal State Educational Standards for Basic General Education³ (FSES) signalled that the modern school principal in Russia has greater responsibility for school transformation and change than ever before. The introduction of autonomous schools in Russia⁴ gave far greater financial power to principals, allowing them, along with their Governing Council, to determine how to generate additional funds, how to allocate resources and how to spend their budget.

Without question, principals in Russia currently have far greater freedoms than ever before and are expected to lead their schools in innovative and creative ways. It might be assumed, therefore, that with such a dramatic changes in their defined role, different leadership practices have also evolved and emerged (Antipina, 2011). Some have challenged this assumption by arguing that the Russian school is still antiquated and dominated by a “stern patriarchy” that reaches far back into Soviet times. Certain writers have advocated that, in reality, little has changed and that the core responsibility of the principal is still to manage a school efficiently (Kapterev, 2004). Scanning the available empirical evidence provides some insights into whether this is in fact an accurate view of the contemporary reality of school principals’ work in Russia. Consequently, this chapter outlines findings from two new empirical studies that illuminate firstly, how principals in Russia currently view their role, and secondly, how far the preparation and training that principals receive shapes their day-to day practice. Initially, the findings from the two studies will be outlined, followed by a broader discussion of some of the contradictions and tensions associated with being a principal in modern day Russia.

Evidence

The two studies outlined in this chapter provide contemporary evidence about the way principals in Russia view their role and how they are currently being prepared as school leaders. The first empirical study⁵ undertaken by a research team at the Moscow National Research University (NRU) 'Higher School of Economics' (HSE) focuses specifically on the contemporary nature and demands of being a principal in Russia. The second study, the Seven System Leadership Study (7SLS)⁶ led by an international research team in cooperation with the Institute of Education and the Moscow National Research University (NRU) 'Higher School of Economics' (HSE), explores the way in which principals in Russia are being prepared for their role by examining the types of professional learning and development they encounter and experience.

The first study comprised a large-scale quantitative survey, collecting data from principals and educational authorities in each of the 65 regions in Russia. The main aim of the study was to ascertain how far principals in Russia had actually moved to being the type of transformational leaders that the most recent policy mandates suggested they should be. The study aimed to identify and outline the typical models of school leadership practice in place in Russian schools. From each of the 65 regions, 120 participants were selected, comprising 90 school principals plus 30 respondents from the Departments of Education, in each region. The study collected quantitative data from 4,477 principals and 1,248 educational authority representatives. Table 21.1 presents the distribution of respondents within federal districts.

Commentators such as Farkhatdinov et al. (2014) suggest that modern school principals in Russia cannot be fully considered an agents of change and that a typical Russian

Table 21.1 Distribution of respondent within Federal Districts.

Federal District	No. of respondents among school principals	Percentage of the total sample of school principals	No. of respondents among educational authorities	Percentage of the total sample of educational authorities
Central Federal District	934	21	213	17
Northwestern Federal District	541	12	145	12
Southern Federal District	362	8	81	7
Volga Federal District	1091	24	279	22
Ural Federal District	287	6	87	7
Siberian Federal District	687	15	273	22
Far Eastern Federal District	316	7	87	7
North Caucasian Federal District	259	6	83	7
TOTAL	4477	100	1248	100

Table 21.2 The main task of the principal in the school management, in percentages, $N=4477$.

The main task of the principal in school management	Percent
Managing infrastructure and financial resources	59.1
Ensuring students achieve specific learning outcomes	18.8
Meeting the needs of students and their parents	12.1
Creating a favorable psychological climate in the school	4.6
Upgrade of school performance	4.5
Meeting the interests of the teaching staff	0.3

principal remains an authoritative administrator who puts managerial issues before children's education. One of the aims of the study, therefore, was to explore how far principals' views of their role actually aligned with modern trends in educational leadership, such as transformational, instructional and distributed leadership (Hallinger and Heck, 1998; Harris, 2013).

Given the major policy emphasis in Russia on more transformational leadership approaches, the evidence emerging from the survey data was quite surprising. The data analysis (Table 21.2) showed that almost two-thirds (59.1 percent) of the 4477 principals in the study saw their major task as "managing infrastructure and resources." In contrast, only 19 percent of principals considered their main task as "ensuring that students achieve specific learning outcomes." These results highlight that many principals in Russia still view their role as fulfilling a set of management tasks and engage minimally in leading educational change and transformation. Unquestionably, reform takes time and resulting changes in practice can be slow to take place. However, the data clearly showed that Russian principals, in the study, viewed their work as predominantly managerial rather than instructional or transformational.

The survey data also showed (Figure 21.1) that 70 percent of the sample report spending up to 25 percent of their time working on improving infrastructure and organizational processes. Only 5 percent of the respondents stated that they spend the majority (51–75 percent) of their working time on improving educational processes. The majority of principals in the survey (55 percent) stated that they dedicated 26–50 percent of their time to organizational development and improvement issues. They also highlighted that they felt overloaded with reporting requirements to the educational authorities, and spend a disproportionate amount of their time on this particular activity.

These findings are consistent with conclusions drawn by the OECD's Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS), conducted in 24 countries which included Russia, in 2013. An anonymous online survey of 4,000 teachers and 200 principals of Russian schools, in 14 regions, showed that Russian principals report spending the majority of their time on administrative and technical issues (53 percent), and only 16 percent of their time on instructional issues (Figure 21.2).

A comparison of TALIS results between countries (Figure 21.3) shows that Russian principals see themselves as overloaded with administrative work and, as a consequence, tend not to prioritize teaching and learning issues or improving instructional practices.

When principals in Russia were asked, as part of the TALIS study, how they spend their time over a 12-month period, they highlighted observing instruction in the

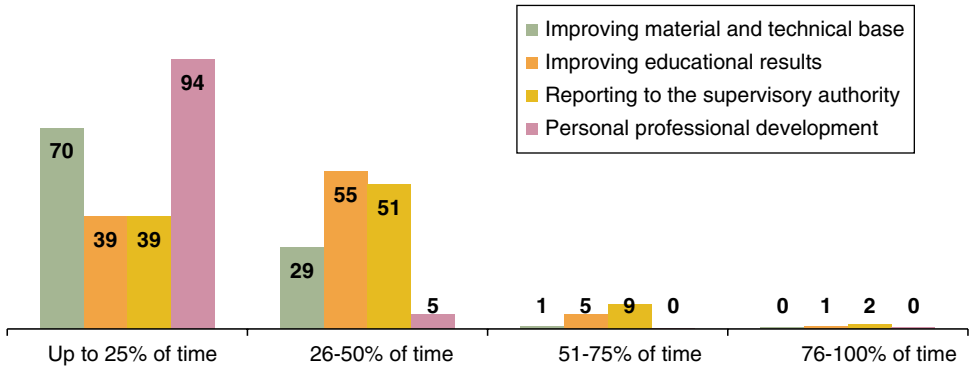


Figure 21.1 Answers to the question “Please indicate the proportion of your working time you spend ...” in percentages, *N*=4,477.

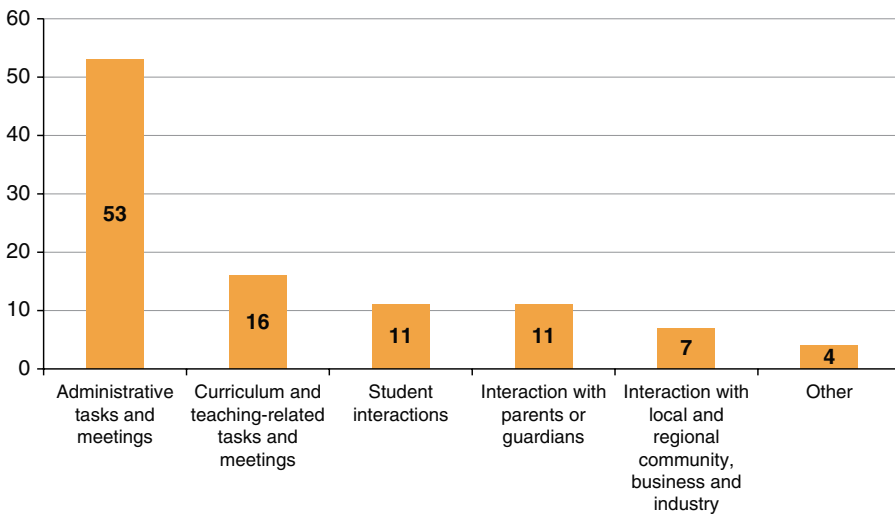


Figure 21.2 Principal working time in Russia, in percentages (TALIS results).

classrooms, taking actions to support co-operation among teachers and ensuring that teachers felt responsible for improving their teaching skills. However, a large proportion of their time was also still spent on routine matters, such as checking for mistakes and errors in administrative reports and providing information to parents (Figure 21.4).

The data show that there are differences between what principals are saying about what they prioritize in their day-to-day role. School leaders in Russia may believe, and indeed even report, that they encourage and support teachers and create the conditions for their professional growth and cooperation. In reality, however, the weight of empirical evidence shows that their core activities still focus chiefly on managerial and routine functions. Russian school principals are acutely aware of the expectations placed upon them to be transformational leaders but the data suggest that in reality, they are overwhelmed by managerial tasks.

Data from the educational authority representatives reinforce that compliance with legislation, financial transparency, and final certification (47–71 percent) remain the most important indicators of a principal’s performance (Table 21.3). The outcomes of

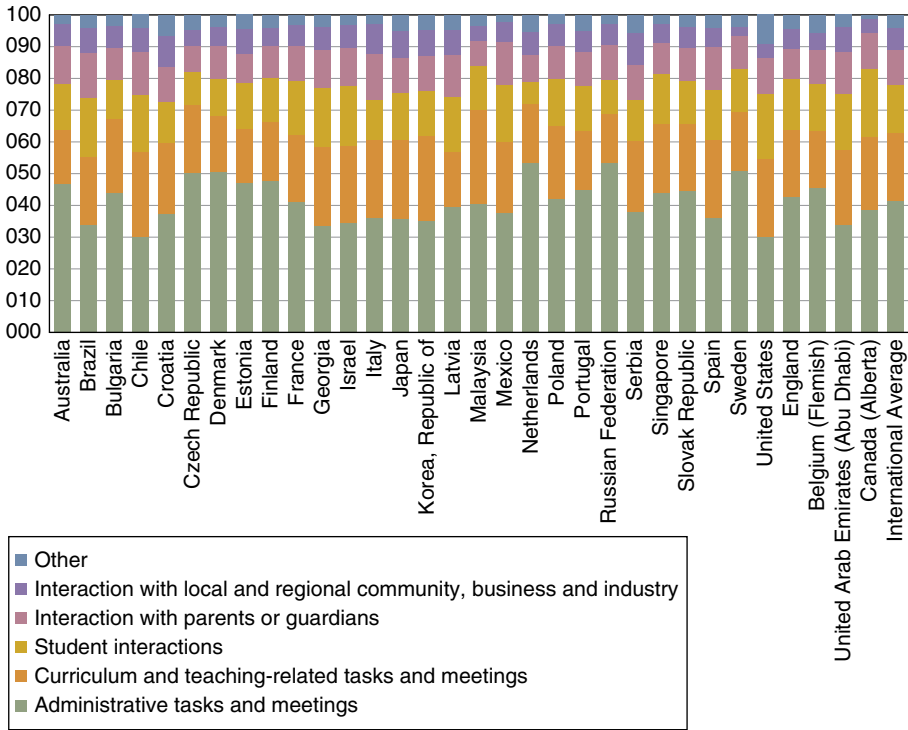


Figure 21.3 Principal working time in OECD countries, in percentages (TALIS results).

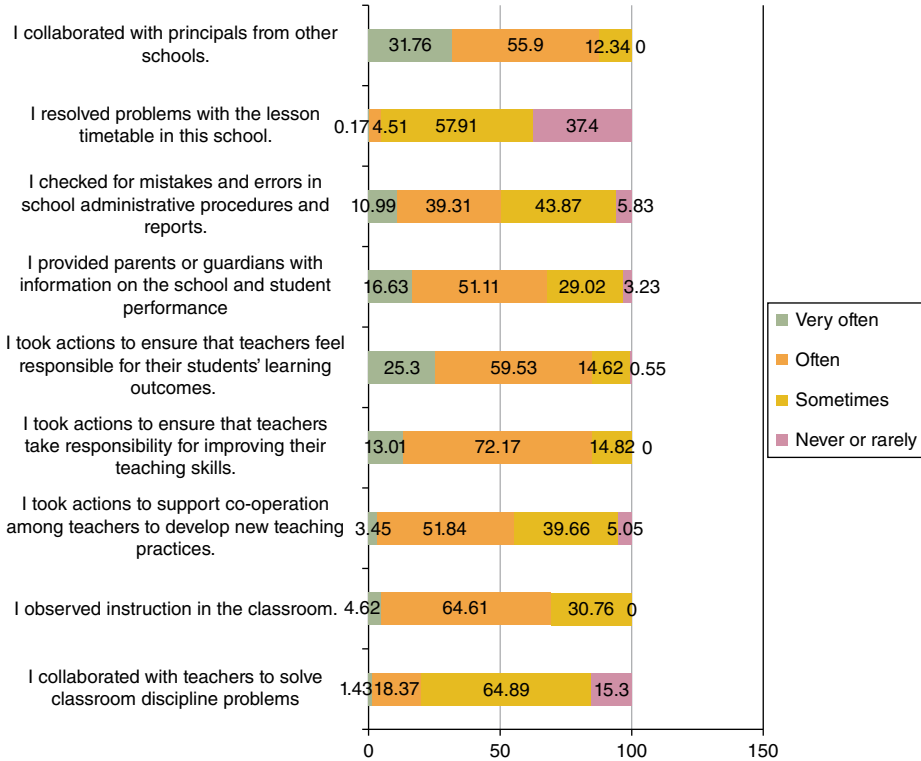


Figure 21.4 Answers to the question "How often do you spend time on different activities in the past 12 months?", distribution of answers on frequency of activities in percentages (TALIS results).

Table 21.3 Distribution of answers to the question: "Which performance indicators are most often used for principals' certification and are the basis for increasing the size of incentive payments to principals?" (Not more than five answer choices), in percentages, *N* respondents = 1,248, *N* responses = 5,832.

Effectiveness indicators	No. of responses	Percent of responses	Percent of respondents
Compliance of the educational organization activity with legal requirements in the field of education (no requirements of supervisory authorities, no objective complaints)	930	16	71
Information transparency (organization's website, committee reports on the distribution of stimulus funds placement on the website, participation in procedures for the independent evaluation of the quality of education)	622	11	47
The results of final certification	618	11	47
Population satisfaction with the quality of educational services of additional education provided by the educational organization	558	10	43
Implementation of programs to work with gifted children	376	6	29
Implementation of measures for prevention of offenses among minors	375	6	29
Growth of average wages of institution employees in the reporting year compared with the previous year, excluding wages increase in line with the decisions of the parent bodies	310	5	24
Implementation of programs to preserve and improve the health of children	308	5	23
The dynamics of individual educational outcomes of students (based on audits)	290	5	22
The functioning of the system of state and public administration of the institution	260	5	20
The ratio of the Unified State Examination average score (per 1 item) of 10 percent of graduates with the best results in the unified state exam to the unified state exam average score (per 1 item) of 10 percent of graduates with the worst results in the unified state examination	252	4	19
Safety of the contingent within the same level of education (rate of disposal of the educational institution)	198	3	15
The implementation of school education, pre-profession preparation	167	3	13
Implementation of measures to attract young teachers	157	3	12
Organization of physical culture and sports activities (sports clubs, competitions)	127	2	10
Implementation of social and cultural projects (school museum, theater, social projects, scientific society of students, etc.).	125	2	10
Implementation of programs of additional education on the basis of educational institution	82	1	6
Creation of conditions for realization of the individual training plans by students	77	1	6
Total	5832	100	444

these tasks are directly linked to financial rewards, hence, predictably, this is what principals spend most of their time doing. Focusing on learning and pedagogical processes is not viewed by the local authority representatives as an important part of the principal's role, so there is no incentive to dedicate time to this, or to perform well.

Any sanctions that Russian principals receive tend to be a consequence of improper implementation of administrative, economic and financial aspects (Table 21.4). Therefore, principals in Russia are heavily normed towards managerial actions and compliance in their duties. On a daily basis, they are not expected, nor indeed rewarded, for being transformational leaders or instructional leaders.

The next section focuses on the findings from a contemporary international study that is exploring how principals are prepared and trained in different education systems. The data show how principals in Russia are being prepared for their contemporary role and how far their training has shaped their practice as a principal.

Table 21.4 Distribution of answers to the question: "Violation of which of the duties of a principal is often the basis for bringing the leader to justice?"! (No more than three answers), in percentages, N respondents = 1,248, N responses = 2,511.

Reasons for bringing to justice	No. of responses	Percent of responses	Percent of respondents
Organization of the administrative, economic and financial activities of the school	685	27	53
The organization and implementation of educational activities	452	18	35
Compliance with the legislation of the Russian Federation in the performance of economic and financial transactions	400	16	31
Implementation of all school's agreements and obligations in time	304	12	24
Providing draft plan for the school's activities and reports on the performance of these plans in the manner and within the timeframe established by the legislation of the Russian Federation	161	6	13
Admission to the school, or exclusion from school	123	5	10
The organization of the state (final) certification	99	4	8
Ensuring compliance with the annual established indices of the average wage for certain categories of school employees to the average wage in the corresponding subject of the Russian Federation	96	4	7
Representation in the prescribed manner of information about income, property and property obligations of the principal, as well as income, property and property obligations of the wife (husband) and minor children of the school principal	89	4	7
Other	102	4	8
Total	2511	100	195

The 7-System Leadership Study

In 2013, an international comparative research study commenced with the core purpose of comparing leadership preparation and development approaches in very different education systems (Australia, England, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, and Russia). It aimed to address two questions. Firstly, how do different education systems currently approach principal preparation and development and secondly, how far do these programs affect the practice of principals? The main aim of the study was to gather primary, empirical data to compare and contrast the various forms of preparation and development in very different education systems. The intention was not to routinely describe, detail, or document the various leadership programs in each system but to provide a contemporary, comparative analysis based on primary data.

The 7-System Leadership Study includes education systems that are culturally, socially and demographically diverse. The selection of the seven education systems was guided by a number of factors, the first of these being size. In their latest analysis of leadership preparation in eight high-performing or improving education systems, Barber, Whelan & Clark (2010: 28) fully acknowledge that four of the eight education systems they examined 'have fewer than one million students, and only one has more than three million.' In short, most of their examples are small education systems. Inevitably, this calls into question how far the strategies for success identified from these systems would be appropriate for systems operating on a much larger scale.

The selection of the seven systems in the research study was also guided by a range of economic indicators (World Bank, 2012). All the systems in the study are at very different levels of economic growth and wealth distribution. The selected education systems reflect very different cultures and traditions and vary considerably in terms of diversity, ethnicities, language and religion. Finally, a number of the systems selected, particularly Indonesia, Australia and Russia, have powerful subsystems which operate at the municipal, district, state, republic, or territory level, thus affording an exploration of micropolitical influences and dimensions.

The seven education systems are all at different stages in their enactment and implementation of leadership training and development. Australia has introduced standards for school leaders and has a national body for teaching and school leadership⁷. In Malaysia, there is a 'National Professional Qualification for Educational Leaders' (NPQEL)⁸ that is mandatory. This qualification is based upon the National Professional Qualification for Headship⁹ (NPQH) in England. In Singapore and Hong Kong there are well-established, internationally known and highly effective programs of leadership preparation (Ng, 2012; Pang, 2006). In Indonesia, a national qualification for all school leaders has recently been introduced that is gradually becoming widely established (Sumintono et al., 2015).

In terms of theoretical perspectives, the 7-System Leadership Study draws upon two interrelated theories to inform its design and analysis. The first, human capital theory, underlines the importance of developing human capability and capacity to achieve set goals or outcomes. This perspective is important in understanding the rationale for investing in leadership preparation and development. A core assumption of human capital theory implies that there would be a substantial return on this particular investment. As human capital corresponds to any stock of knowledge or characteristics the worker has (either innate or acquired) that contributes to productivity, then leadership

preparation and development is considered as a means of improving both individual and organizational productivity and performance.

The 7-System Leadership Study also draws upon social capital theory to inform its design and analysis. Becker (2009: 2) defines social capital as the ‘stock of active connections between people, the trust, mutual understanding and shared values and behaviors that bind the members of human networks and communities together and make co-operative action possible’. Social capital is important because, like human capital, it has the potential to make a difference to organizational performance and improvement (Wei, Zheng, & Zhang, 2011). Human capital theory and the theory of social capital both reinforce how the development of and interactions between individuals can contribute to positive outcomes and performance.

In the remainder of this chapter, we outline evidence from the 7-System Leadership Study to outline the approaches to principals’ leadership preparation and development being adopted in Russia. We explore the nature, type and form of training and preparation that principals in Russia currently receive and interrogate how far this preparation and training affects their practice.

The 7SLS survey was administered to a purposive sample of 300 principals, across four regions in Russia. Survey data have been collected from 120 respondents in St. Petersburg (40 percent); 39 in the Nizhny Novgorod region (13 percent); 78 from the Republic of North Ossetia–Alania (26 percent); and 63 in the Khabarovsk Territory (21 percent). The survey was translated into Russian and piloted with Russian speakers to ensure accurate translation before wider distribution. Analysis was undertaken using SPSS and the main focus of the quantitative analysis was to gauge the extent of principals’ involvement in leadership preparation and training. This study is the first of its kind to collect contemporary data about principals’ leadership preparation and training in Russia.

Contradictions and Tensions

The data from the 7SLS survey highlighted some contradictions and tensions concerning the contemporary role of the principal in Russia (Bysik et al., 2015). The evidence also provided important insights into the training and development opportunities available to principals. Initial analysis of the data (Table 21.5) showed that the Russian principals, in the sample, had spent very different lengths of time in the role. Most principals in the sample were over 50 years old, with only 9 percent below 40 years old.

Table 21.5 Work experience as a principal (percentages, $N=300$).

Work experience as a principal	Percent
up to 1 year	10
1–5 years	23
6–10 years	26
11–20 years	23
More than 20 years	18

The 7SLS survey focused particularly, but not exclusively, on principals' preparation and training. The initial analysis of data showed that all of the Russian respondents had accessed training to help them in their role as principal. However they stated that they mainly undertook the training *after* they had been appointed to the principal position. In contrast, principals in Malaysia, Hong Kong, England, Australia, and Singapore are all trained prior to taking up their post and are carefully selected to participate.

The 7SLS survey data revealed that the type of training offered to the participants varied a great deal. Overall, and perhaps not surprisingly because of requirements of the principals certification in Russia, most respondents opted for the postgraduate qualifications offered at the state or municipal level or for Principal Training hours. This qualification is viewed as essential for principals and there is great deal of pressure to complete it alongside any other training that the principal believes is necessary.

The open-ended section of the questionnaire which focused on the principals' views about the impact of the training on their practice, revealed that the majority of principals in the sample (92 percent) said that they found the training they experienced to be effective. They explained the effectiveness of the training as follows: easily implemented in practice (34 percent), improved personnel management skills (21 percent), obtained new knowledge (11 percent), self-improvement (9 percent) and understood legal issues (6 percent). Some of their additional comments were as follows:

“the training gave me the experience so that I can implement the requirements of the Federal State Standard for General Education “ (R11);

“it helped to optimize my management approach and build a collaborative team”, (R16)

“...the modern school mission is clearer for me now” (R161);

“the need for my ongoing professional learning is clear” (R105).

In contrast, some of participants stated that the training they had selected was ineffective for the following reasons:

“all principals, irrespective of where they come from, are taught the exact same thing” (R6);

“too much theory and too little practice” (R7);

“it is delivered by people who do not work in school and do not know how school works” (R128).

When principals were asked what they were hoping to get from the training, over one-third of the principals stated that they found it “very difficult to say” (37 percent). Of those who responded to this question, a number highlighted the following outcomes: personal professional growth (36 percent), new knowledge (15 percent), improving the quality of schooling (13 percent), school ranking or status increase (6 percent), improving relations in teaching staff (3 percent), and getting the certificate of preparation completed (1 percent). A small number said they did not expect to benefit in any way from the training.

The principals were also asked, in the open-ended part of the survey, if anything other than their training and professional development had influenced their current approaches and practices. Several principals highlighted their ‘own personal beliefs,

personal experiences and their education’ as being highly influential. Over 25 percent noted advice from colleagues (particularly other principals) to be a very important source of guidance in their leadership role. Data from the 7SLS survey show that the guidance and support of other principals is unequivocally valued in very different contexts. Across all seven education systems, principals consistently highlight informal mentoring, coaching, and support by more experienced principals as a major influence on their practice (Harris & Jones, 2015).

Another important influential factor underscored by the principals in the survey was a team relationship (team spirit, corporate culture). This was viewed as an essential source of support by the principals in Russia while, in contrast, the role of education authorities was not generally considered to be an important source of professional learning (1 percent). As noted earlier, Russian education authorities are largely mechanisms of compliance and control and not intended to be a source of support for professional guidance. The core responsibility of the education authorities is one of monitoring the quality of provision and enforcing certain regulations. Hence, in general, principals in Russia do not associate education authorities with their professional support and development.

The majority of Russian principals in the 7SLS survey highlighted “organizational and communication skills, intuition, ability to handle stress, and ability to work hard” as being essential to becoming a successful and effective principal. However, a number of respondents highlighted that these skills were not explicitly taught or developed within the training they received. A documentary analysis of the training materials available at the national and municipal level revealed that the content of the courses for principals were heavily management-orientated, with very little consideration of leadership issues.

Looking at the data about the nature and types of input received from the Russian respondents on their training sessions, it was clear that from them that the majority of inputs were largely managerially focused and administrative.

The survey data-analysis showed (Figure 21.5) that the content of the training mainly focused on issues of educational law (53 percent), management (51 percent), and finance



Figure 21.5 Percentage distribution of answers to the question: “Which areas were given more attention within the training?” (N = 300).

(48 percent). It showed that issues of leadership were very marginal in the training and significantly underdeveloped. Given the new leadership responsibilities placed upon Russian principals this indicates a contradiction or tension. On the one hand, they are expected to be leaders of innovation and change, on the other hand they are gatekeepers and enforcers of rules and regulations.

In other countries in the 7SLS study, this tension between leadership and management is also acutely prevalent, particularly where education is still highly centralized and heavily bureaucratic. In Russia, the evidence from the empirical studies suggest that despite a dominant policy discourse about democratic, distributed, and transformational leadership, the stark reality is that on a daily basis principals still act as administrators or managers. The findings show that the training that Russian principals receive heavily reinforces the message that their role is to manage and not to lead.

The data also highlighted a contradiction and tension between the type of training that principals in Russia said they wanted and what, in fact, was provided. A strong theme emerging from the 7SLS data is a major disconnect between the principal training provided and policy-level expectations. The data also show, in many countries including Russia, that there is a major mismatch between the formal training and preparation provided for principals and what principals say that they need. For example, in Indonesia principals have to complete a national qualification that has no bearing on how they are actually selected for the role (Sumintono et al. 2015). In Malaysia, the National Professional Qualification for Educational Leaders (NPQEL) has been substantially revised to meet the changing requirements of principals (Jones et al, 2015).

For principals in Russia, the most useful training they said they experienced focused on management skills, legal issues, and financial issues. Again, given the weight of the management responsibility placed on the shoulders of Russian principals, this is not particularly surprising. However it was interesting to note that principals also felt certain important elements were omitted from the training, such as:

- “leading the management team” (R1);
- “developing leadership skills and ability to communicate with people” (R189);
- “handling professional relationships at the school, especially working in a team” (R76);
- “modern ways to manage a team” (R187);
- “building relationships from a vertical to a horizontal system of professional collaboration” (R110);
- “ways to stimulate teaching staff to improve the quality of services” (R115).

Those aspects deemed to be important by principals, were in fact those related to leadership rather than management. In short, principals in Russia know that they are expected to be leaders and appear to want to be trained as such, yet they are only being trained to be managers.

According to the legislation, training for principals is funded through the federal and regional budgets. In the 7SLS survey, principals were asked about the way that they had accessed different types of training. Mainly, they said that the regional budget was the main financial source, which meant that the training was free for respondents (i.e. funded by the state). However for targeted professional development, that is, training that

principals chose themselves, they had to spend their own personal funds.¹⁰ Interestingly, the data showed that this was an option taken by a number of principals in the sample, possibly because the training provided for them did not meet their needs sufficiently well, or as highlighted already, did not cover any aspect of leadership preparation.

Clearly, these findings are indicative rather than conclusive but they are consistent with general themes emerging from other empirical studies which suggest that, despite a strong policy discourse about leadership, Russian principals are still acting as managers. This finding is also true for principals in other contexts. For example, in Malaysia and Indonesia while there is a general recognition of a need for principals who are risk-takers and innovators, in reality, the routine work of principals in both these countries remains managerial with very little scope to move outside these parameters. Despite transformational aspirations, it seems that conformity and compliance are just hard-wired into some education systems, including Russia, leaving principals unable to lead.

As qualitative data collection continues, in all 7SLS countries including Russia, analyses thus far are offering important insights into principals' training and their professional practice in different contexts. A few things are clear about principals in contemporary Russia that have not been as sharply defined before. First, professional training for principals in Russia takes place largely after the appointment process. This is a position at odds with an extensive literature that points out that preparation and training for the principal's job is an important prerequisite to selection and an essential dimension in quality assurance processes (Darling-Hammond et al., 2007). In the Soviet era, principals were simply appointed with little or no preparation or training and many of these principals are still in the system. It will be interesting to see if a gradual shift towards leadership takes place as principals are replaced and new principals are trained in the coming years.

Second, the evidence shows that many Russian principals are prepared to pay personally for training, either because public funds are not sufficient to cover the costs of continuous professional development programs especially outside the region or if they strongly believe that the state or municipal training is not sufficiently addressing their professional or leadership needs. The gap between the personal leadership needs of principals and the nature of the training provided is observed in many other countries and remains a persistent challenge and issue.

Third, the data show that principals' training in Russia is focused predominantly on transactional management approaches. The course content is directed towards a professional norming that underscores how management rather than leadership is most important. In Russia, the principal remains an intermediary between the state and the school and, as such, continues to be chiefly responsible and accountable, for managing and supervising the work of teachers. In part, this explains why the role of the principal in Russia remains largely unchanged, as a manager, despite policy intentions and aspirations that point towards leadership.

Managing to Lead?

In Russia, the ambition to radically transform educational performance has produced a discourse about transformational leadership that has impacted significantly on the role of the principal. The development of highly effective school principals is now of global

interest, not least because leadership is viewed as a main driver of improved school and system performance (Harris, 2016; Leithwood et al, 2005; Supovitz, 2014). In Russia, as in many other countries, there is a dominant policy rhetoric locating school leadership at the epicenter of better educational performance and outcomes. There is a persuasive dialogue around more democratic, transformational approaches to leadership and as a consequence there is also substantial investment in development and training.

Findings show that while the apparatus of change has clearly arrived in the form of new principal standards and new policy expectations, in reality, principals in Russia are still expected, and indeed trained, to be managers rather than leaders. This has resulted in a number of tensions. The first tension concerns the fact that many principals in Russia want to work more collaboratively with teachers and are keen to lead strong professional communities in their schools. Data from both studies reinforce that many principals in Russia want to develop as leaders and to improve their school, yet they are very aware that local authority expectations are not aligned with this aspiration. Consequently, principals feel a tension between the espoused role of leader and the expected role of manager.

This tension is particularly visible in the training programs that principals have to attend. As noted earlier, these training programs tend to reinforce their managerial roles and responsibilities. Although training opportunities vary from region to region, and the principals are not trained in exactly the same way, the dominant thrust of the formal training is focused on managing rather than leading. As a result, many Russian principals are investing their own resources to secure alternative forms of training that meet their specific professional needs and support them in developing the skills, abilities and competencies to become an effective leader.

For principals in Russia, the need to be both leader and manager inevitably creates role tensions. In future years, therefore it will be interesting to watch how these tensions play out. How far a shift from manager to that of leader is possible in Russia will be important to follow. It will also be imperative to empirically chart how far any redefinition of the role and responsibilities of the principal actually alters practices for the better and how far it results in positive, tangible outcomes. Ultimately, if school leadership is to make a positive and lasting contribution to educational transformation, it is unlikely to be achieved with contradictory signals in the system, particularly about whether management or leadership matter most of all. This is not simply an issue for those seeking the transformation of the Russian education system but also remains a consideration for policy makers across the globe who are investing heavily in the training and preparation of principals and expecting a significant return.

Notes

- 1 Data from the official website of Federal State Statistics Service of Russian Federation, 2014/15.
- 2 Federal Statistical (form 83 RIK: Information about structure and quantity of the educational institutions employees that implement programs of general education).
- 3 Ministry for Education and Science of Russia, 2010
- 4 Federal Law dated November 3, 2006N 174-FZ "On autonomous institutions"
- 5 Effective models of educational management relating to the personal and professional practices of school principals

- 6 The 7-System Leadership Study is led by Professor Alma Harris from the Institute of Education, London, and Dr Michelle Suzette Jones from the University of Malaya: 7systemleadershipstudy@gmail.com #7systemstudy
- 7 Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership
- 8 <http://aplikasi.iab.edu.my/npqel/default2.aspx> Accessed October 21, 2016.
- 9 <https://www.gov.uk/national-professional-qualification-for-headship-npqh> Accessed October 21, 2016.
- 10 The school may have its own funds providing paid services, renting premises, taking donations etc., and may spend it on development purposes by the decision of the Governing Council.

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22

Advances and Challenges of Educational Leadership in Latin America

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Introduction

Educational systems in Latin America have been historically characterized by centralization—bureaucracy and authoritative leadership models—with a concern for educational consistency. In reaction to the failures of bureaucratic and standardized change processes, recent reforms have adopted aspects of decentralization, promoting higher levels of institutional autonomy as national reforms. These intersecting realities call for a review of management and leadership models focused on the recruitment, training, professional development and performance evaluation of Latin American school leaders.

As with all reforms, there are challenges to both existing and emerging management models and school leadership. Without attempting to provide detailed descriptions for each country, this chapter groups the Latin American nations into two large geographic areas so as to study their common purposes and most relevant characteristics. Our purpose is not so much to analyze the present reality in each country as it is to identify trends and shared purposes. Latin American realities are dynamic, and this analysis is focused more on regulated processes affecting the public educational system rather than private schools.¹

The Current State of Management and Leadership in Latin America: Educational Models in Transition

One aspect of the management and leadership debates in education stems from a lack of agreement on the desired school model (Gairín, 2004). The OECD (2000) described six scenarios: (1) the continuity of the bureaucratic system; (2) the extension of the market model; (3) schools as centers of social cohesion; (4) schools as organizations oriented towards learning; (5) the deschooling scenario; and (6) the school dropout scenario. Marchesi and Martin (2002, 349–352) reinterpreted this arrangement in their discussion of the traditional bureaucratic model (i.e., centralist, regulatory, highly structured, and classroom-focused), the competitive liberal model (i.e., initiatives-dependent and focused

on an external image), and the communitary model (i.e., contextualized and taking into consideration the support of pluralistic and interconnected learning communities).

With respect to Latin American, the traditional bureaucratic model is predominant; while from the 1980s onward, the competitive–liberal model has been ascendant. The communitary model has not emerged in almost any Latin context, but does appear as a clear line of change and educational improvement in the minds of many.

Table 22.1 summarizes two possibilities of the organizational types of the educational systems in Latin America; clearly identifying how each option entails different commitments and has different effects.

The structure of the educational system affects the typologies, styles, and profiles of management consistent with the characteristics. Autocratic management is based exclusively on technical practices, with a school system that through uniformity seeks, explicitly or implicitly, greater control of the cultural transmission process. Conversely, a recognition of the limits of autonomy requires managers to be open, to debate, be flexible towards change, and act as facilitators of participation.

Table 22.1 Some characteristics of the two models of school system organization.

	Government-dependent school	Autonomous school
SYSTEM ORGANIZATION:	Centralized, regulated and controlled	Decentralized, coordinated
Curriculum	Closed, centralized,	Open, decentralized
Role of technicians	Prescriptive	Advisory
Education of teaching staff	Massive, individualized	Focused on the institution
INSTITUTION ORGANIZATION:	Imposed	Contextual
Structures:		
● of participation	Non-existent, unnecessary	Multiple and Indispensable
● pedagogical		
Relational system:		
● communication	Vertical Information, imposed	Horizontal decision-making, collaborative
● decisions		
Teacher	Individualist, knowledge transmitter	Cooperative, curriculum designer
Organizational functions	Centralized. external evaluation, evaluation as control	Decentralized, external and internal evaluation for control and to facilitate internal decision-making
MANAGEMENT:	Bureaucratic manager	Organizer, coordinator, conflict mediator
Performance Assessment functions		
Typology	Autocratic	Participative
Style	Authoritarian	Democratic, political
Profile	Technical pragmatic	Situational

Source: Gairín, 1991, 12. Reproduced with permission of MEC: Subdirección general de formación del profesorado.

The functions required by each of the prevailing models determine changes in the training and recruitment processes. Thus, directive training that can be qualified as “administrative” in the first case (focused on knowledge of norms, regulations, and laws). In the limited autonomous model, there are aspects of group dynamics, participation processes, conflict resolution, and curricular innovation.

The degree of centralization/decentralization of educational systems influences management behaviors. In fact, many of the differences that we found in our country-by-country analysis of school directors were attributable to the degree of autonomy in their systems and schools. The changes and trends inside these countries were noted by Gairín (2004) as follows:

The democratization of societies, the need to respect close social and cultural particularities and the equity principle (not egalitarian and based on existing needs distribution) show a trend which materializes in processes of decentralization and deconcentration and increased institutional autonomy. It is about adapting to a different kind of society (postindustrial, “third wave”, or the so-called knowledge society), characterized by socio-cultural and economic dynamism, the coexistence of different values and the need for a high level of education for citizens. (p. 161)

Different Perspectives on Management and Leadership

In Latin America, management and leadership are understood differently depending on national contexts and realities. They vary by the nature of the managerial work and managerial practices.

If we assume the importance of educational organizations for social and community development, we must assume the importance of their functioning properly and in accordance to what is expected from them by governments. School management appears, in the Latin American context, as essential, as something important, necessary, and fundamental to institutional performance. In this respect, we found the following characteristics:

- *Individual or collective management.* Highly centralized models and small educational institutions endorse and promote a model of human capital management, where a professional takes on the activities aimed at achieving effective collective work activities. However, the increase in size of these centers, the increase in student and teacher diversity, and the way in which the educational center can be seen as a community, requires that we speak of complex contexts (Gairín, 2010) where managerial tasks (i.e., academic, administrative, of coordination and representation) are shared by many professionals. The current discourse is, more and more, of managerial teams and, therefore, of people with different functions and competences, who require differential recruitment, training and evaluation processes and the necessary coordination mechanisms.
- *Management aimed at maintaining or changing.* The current situation contextualizes intervention models that are able to adapt to the changing conditions in the environment or the organization. Responses to anterior issues are not banal, but

crucial. Models of participatory and contextualized management require the participation of the community in the election of directors, directs the necessary training of community work and links efficiency to the development of collective and institutional projects. Change-oriented management reinforces, as well, the importance of strategic approaches, the importance of leadership in management, and the need to incorporate ongoing evaluation, such as control and direction of performance.

Management Practices

Management practices often show just how far management theory is from the reality. The variety of performed activities, their fragmentation, the constant interruptions, the ubiquity of the work done by oral communication, and the felt urgency for solutions or answers are some of the characteristics that characterize managers' work as something unique and with a strong artistic component.

The situation presented requires the consideration of issues that often are ignored and that we mention below as developments that we might find in different educational systems:

- *The need for leadership.* If one thing characterizes management, it is the ability to influence the performance of certain tasks. The ability to do so depends greatly on the authority possessed and the degree to which it is recognized by others. Leadership is related to the recognition of authority by others (depending on the position, knowledge, opportunity, or personal characteristics) and credibility. Currently, in Latin America as elsewhere, the search is for competent people who are capable of leading teams and carrying out collective projects.
- *The importance of self management.* Managers are not likely to care for others if they don't take care for themselves. In this regard, we must consider aspects such as: assumption of office, self-awareness, stress management, control of personal affairs, and the use of personal time and other issues related to professional practice (delegation, personal development) (Antúnez, 2014).
- *The need to share and learn from others.* Contextual conditions affecting management practice underscore the importance of the development of generic skills, learning as an equal from the realities lived and resolved in each of the manager's job posts.

The consideration of educational centers as educational communities, and professionals as active members in the construction of new answers to the changing needs of users, demands that managers change from an exercise of their authority based on their position and personal charisma to establishing their position, reputation, and authority through education and good professional performance.

A greater focus on the essentials of educational centers also becomes significant with the emerging references to academic leadership (focused on the efficient and successful performance of tasks related to the development of the school program), community leadership (focusing on strengthening relations with the environment), and transformational leadership (focusing on change and improvement).

Region One: Management and Leadership in the Andean Countries and Central America

Leadership development as a strategic subject in educational policies of Andean countries (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru) and Central America (Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Panama) has gained in importance, becoming a cornerstone for the improvement of educational institutions. Thus, several countries have promoted school managerial leadership training initiatives absent systematic diagnostic studies of their training needs (UNESCO, 2014).

Recruitment Systems

The recruitment of managerial staff for schools is not a homogeneous process in the countries of the two main groups in this region; therefore, a comparative analysis of the individual circumstances presented by each country does not allow for generalizations. However, the trend for recruitment and access to management is the product of a recruitment process in accordance with the regulations of the country's education system. For example, in the Republic of El Salvador, to be a director of school one must have between 20 and 25 years of active service in teaching, to have gone through the process of legislated recruitment, to have been found moral and of character and competence, and to have not been sanctioned for serious offenses in the five years preceding the application (República de El Salvador-América Central, 1996, Art. 44).

In Peru, access to a managerial position is done through a competitive evaluative process. Requirements and the conditions under which the principal or assistant principal will serve for are identified for a specific period. The period of service may be extended if the administrator receives a positive performance evaluation. The evaluation process consists of two stages: the first allows classification at a national level and the second at a local one. The selection process is governed by performance standards set out in the Regulation Act of Magisterial Reform and in the Framework for the Good Performance of the Principal (Ministerio de Educación de Peru, 2013).

In Bolivia, manager selection for educational units is done as a result of a competitive examination and a proficiency test within the framework of the corresponding regulations issued by the Ministry of Education.

In these examples, and more generally in Region One, it is assumed that school reform concerns school management as a system in which every element contributes to the achievement of objective. From this perspective, the leadership of managers, especially educational managers, is indirectly associated with learning achievement and the quality of the teachers' performance, with working conditions, and with the proper functioning of the organization in general.

It should be noted that policies for school managers in different countries are mainly focused on the public sector. In relation to privately run educational institutions, legislation generally states minimum criteria for the exercise of managerial roles, leaving some autonomy to institutions on issues such as recruitment procedures, contractual terms, compensation systems, the fields of management, and alignment to the organizations' educational approaches, among other factors. Thus, for example, in Peru, regulations stipulate that principals of private institutions must have a pedagogical degree or a professional university degree, and the functions of principals are indicated in the

rules governing each private school. In Ecuador and Colombia, there are no legal provisions in this regard (UNESCO, 2014).

Training and Professional Development

Currently, most of Central America and the Andean countries recognize the importance of training in management as part of university studies. This is a shift from previous eras when training managers in service was considered sufficient to fill any gaps in their training. In recent years, programs and training courses for school principals have been developed, covering topics such as institutional educational projects, principal leadership, management skills, and administration, among others.

As Antúnez and Carnicero (2008) noted, management training: “has only rarely formed part of the curriculum of undergraduate or initial education within certain university degrees or diplomas, as a part of specializations” (p. 82). Examples of exceptions are the specific programs that are implemented in the School of Educational Administration at the University of Costa Rica. The same researchers found that there are several reasons why training for the managerial function is not taught in undergraduate studies, one of them being the difficulty of finding schools that allow students to do their pre-professional practices in managerial activities, they noted that:

Access to schools in order to carry out such practice: the specialized and delicate supervision required; the availability of schools and skills of the directors who could act in the role of mentors, not always ideal, are some of the problems to solve in order to carry out such programs. (p. 86)

In addition, having qualified principals that are suitable models for practitioners is another limitation for the development of management skills in undergraduates.

These issues justify the attention given to the continuous training of managers, especially the school principal that has been surfacing for some time. For example, according to the Organization of Ibero-American States for Education, Science and Culture (Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos, 1999), some examples of programs that have been developed to address these issues are: the program developed in Costa Rica focused on educational institution directors (Training Program for Educational Administrators [PROCAE]) and other officials of the Ministry of Education; the SIMED Projects (Support to the National System of Quality Improvement in Education), developed with support from the Netherlands (Holland) and UNESCO; and the PROMECE Project (Improvement Program for Education Quality), with support from the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, which have all been singled out for the quality of the program and for the number of practitioners served.

The training provided by SIMED (Support to the National System of Quality Improvement in Education) is noteworthy for its focus on the processes of self and mutual learning developed by managers for their own development and that of their colleagues. In El Salvador, the national strategy for the ongoing training of principals consists in the parallel development of the managers-in-training and of their schools. In Bolivia, the training of principals from educational units is conducted by educational advisers, who provide direct technical assistance, support, reflection and dialogue on concrete experiences and practices. These training programs in Bolivia were developed

in response to the education policies of the ministry, as well as to demands from groups of principals from educational units and centers nationwide. In Ecuador, study circles were implemented in a decentralized manner so as to enable the training and ongoing professional development of managers. These circles integrate lines of reflection, research and action that allow problem solving of educational issues and the improvement of teaching practices through cooperative work and self-management.

In general, trends in recent years in the countries of the Central American region in relation to the training processes aimed at improving school leadership and management are these:

- The development of general courses, usually survey-like, with a predominance of administrative and legislative content and content related to team management, interpersonal relationships, and educational innovation projects. In some cases, emphasis is placed on evaluating the satisfaction of participants with their learning; others prioritize the development and implementation of projects that demonstrate the learning realized by the manager-in-training.
- Support materials have gone from being printed documents compiled in dossiers to contextualized and relevant materials according to the characteristics and needs of the students.
- In many cases, courses of study have been designed by the education ministries or departments of the central government, with the support of external consultants.
- Courses of study are making use of information and communications technologies in their implementation (Antúnez & Carnicero, 2008).

Performance Evaluation

The evaluation of the performance of managers in many of the Region One countries does not necessarily correspond to the educational approach of their education systems; others do not have a performance appraisal system for managers. Evaluation processes are performed, in many contexts, with rather general criteria that are not reflective of the position. For example, in Bolivia, although the selection of managers stipulates that there be an assessment process, “there is no similar process in the course of the term of office. Let alone if we talk about competency assessment, a model that requires the determination of standards and procedures to develop this type of evaluation” (Martinez, 2011, p. 35). In Bolivia, assessment processes gauge compliance with management objectives and are conducted annually as part of the activities of the Annual Operating Plan. Although, according to regulations, the evaluation is participatory, in specific institutional situations, only those favored by the management or the members of the school board are involved, those who make up such panels or teams are not necessarily objective in their judgments. In Panama, managers are evaluated through the application of tools developed by the Ministry of Education for this purpose these cover the monitoring of conflicts, skills self-assessment, leadership and education management, and school organization. Supervisors are in charge of applying these assessment tools. There is no specific assessment system for managers in Panama (Bosco, 2011).

In Central American and Andean countries, the assessment of management is often limited to simply verifying the tasks and functions executed in school management and such assessments usually performed by high-level supervisors as part of the

control exercised by the intermediate bodies of the ministries of education. This type of evaluation often causes institutional management improvement to be relegated to the background as a purpose of the evaluation, giving priority to standards compliance alone.

Some Advances and Challenges

Performance of the responsibilities and job characteristics of managers require a professional who has a specific profile in line with his/her position, both in capacity and in values. In this regard, we can ask, together with Antúnez and Carnicero (2008), about the actions that could be followed to design a common model for the Andean and Central American regions. In this regard, some key factors that could serve as new challenges for the Andean countries and other countries in Latin America, according to their population and educational characteristics are as follows:

- The overall objective of the training programs should be to qualify participants to analyze and evaluate the basic legislation covering management development and leadership tasks as part of a process to realize high-quality management.
- Such programs should contribute to the formation of responsible attitudes and behavior in line with the management position and with distributed academic leadership.
- Such programs should employ planning, coordination, implementation, and evaluation tools to enable participants to effectively and efficiently carry out the organization's management processes.
- Such programs should promote the development, implementation, and evaluation of innovation projects.
- Such programs ought to promote of management autonomy.
- Such programs should propose and ensure that the core themes of leadership and management are studied through transversal contents.
- Such programs should develop social skills.
- Such programs and their participants should work within the current educational norms.

In addition to the above-mentioned program components and aims, there are challenges worth addressing, such as: resolving the antinomy between the content proposed by ministries of education and local problems or issues, including social skills, information management, more inclusive schools, innovation, and the relationship between the school and the environment.

Region Two: Management and Leadership in the Southern Zone countries

Educational leadership is one of the most pertinent aspects of the educational agendas in the southern zone of Latin America (i.e., Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay) and has been for more than a decade. However, in recent times the focus has moved steadily from a management perspective and educational center planning to concern with leadership as a promoter of good learning (OECD, 2013).

It is relevant here to share some aspects related to the recruitment, evaluation, and performance of managers in the southern zone countries, as a perspective from which to analyze the determining factors in the region for this change of approach.

Recruitment Systems

According to Vaillant (2011), one of the keys for improvement in educational outcomes is to have good recruitment systems for educational professionals. Attention must be paid to the mechanisms by which the tasks and functions of school management are integrated into educational organizations.

While a comparative analysis among the countries in the southern zone precludes generalizations about recruitment systems for managers, there is a clear tendency to consider access to the position as another step in the teacher ladder, by the statutes that make up the standards of educational systems. For example, such considerations are reflected in the “Estatuto del Funcionario Docente” in Uruguay, in the “Estatuto del Docente Nacional” in Argentina, or the “Estatuto de los Profesionales de la Educación” in Chile. Although competition is the principal means of access to management positions, recruitment policies are not unique to countries such as Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. For example, in Paraguay and Uruguay, statutes regulating teachers set out the requirements for nomination and access to the recruitment system (Gairín & Castro, 2011).

In all cases, the applicant’s education in administration (planning, process evaluation, management law) and in human resource management (motivation, conflict management, decision-making) is evaluated. The applicant’s knowledge of the management of technology or knowledge of education policies appear as requirements, but are not given equal status. Educational leadership is deemed integral in “the profile of the applicant,” however, this aspect loses relevance when considering the long list of other requirements that make up the template for the evaluation of applicants for management positions.

These criteria vary for public or private establishments. In Chile, for example, and in relation to private schools, “full autonomy is given to the owners of these schools to choose the most appropriate manner for the recruitment of their school principals” (Donoso et al., 2011, p. 47).

Both the diversity of criteria and the breadth of the requirements for the position lead us to wonder about the outcomes of the different approaches. More research is needed into these recruitment processes and how they relate to teaching and learning in public schools.

The latest report from the National Institute for Educational Evaluation in Uruguay concerning the PISA 2012 results highlighted aspects that affect the achievements of students, such as “educational climate, the leadership skills of the principal, educational processes and collaborative work among staff” (INEED, 2014, p. 147).

Education and Professional Development

Education of managerial staff in the countries studied presents, in general, the same diversity of proposals and formats that were found in the recruitment systems.

In Argentina, “the continuous teacher training system is highly fragmented and disarticulated” (Aguerrondo et al., 2011, p.17). In Chile, “there are attempts at training and the professionalization of principals (although) with very different approaches and

perspectives, which represents the lack of a clearer policy in this area and, basically, a shared diagnosis about the current situation of school management” (Donoso et al., 2011, p. 51). In Uruguay, the organization of courses, since 1994, has been marked by diversity and heterogeneity.

According to a study by Vaillant (2011, p. 332), in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, “eight out of ten principals have received some kind of training in management, while in countries such as Brazil and Paraguay the number is somewhat lower (nearly seven in the first case and six in the second).” But the kind of training they actually receive remains a question for future research.

Poggi (2001) alerted to the importance of providing training for principals with a multiple perspective approach, which would allow us “to understand the educational institutions from different dimensions that integrate it (principal training) and how it unfolds in various ways by analyzing the articulation of institutional-organizational, curricular, and community aspects of executive management” (p. 20).

Analyzing the trends and various proposals concerning educational leadership in the Southern Zone countries, we find a strong emphasis on administrative issues associated with the current regulations and other proposals for specific innovations, which altogether require a “tailored training process.” Even if in the discourse of the authorities in all these countries the concept of “in-service training” appears, this is not evident in the current updated proposals.

Generally, such professional training initiatives are proposed as massive courses, undifferentiated according to the type of institution for which the aspiring principal is preparing. Donoso et al. (2012) noticed a certain “lack of concern” from principals for continuous training; given the small effect that updating has later on in their professional careers.

Performance Evaluation

According to the Ministerio de Educación de Chile (2007, p. 8), “the fundamental purpose of performance evaluation is to contribute to the improvement of educational institutions, through professional development of those responsible for its management.” For this, evaluation mechanisms that focus on the skills in play for management positions are required.

While the proposed training of principals and teachers have a competency approach, in some Southern Zone countries, such approaches are not then reflected in performance evaluation systems. Analyzing the criteria guiding these evaluation processes, it is not easy to identify patterns that define what is being assessed and it is not clear how education systems value and prioritize the various components associated with the performance of the position.

For instance, in Argentina “there are many political difficulties in establishing systems of teacher or principal performance evaluation, so the competency evaluation process does not have a place yet on the educational policy agenda” (Aguerrondo et al., 2011, p. 17). The situation similar is in Chile, where “the evaluation process of the position is subject to circumstances that do not have a clear procedure and its follow-up by government authorities is not regulated either” (Donoso et al., 2011, p. 40).

In general, the evaluation of principals appears to fall on supervisors or inspectors, those whose main task is to follow the dynamics of the centers and their teams, and

grade them. They occupy a space within the school system whose role has also been (and still is) under revision. This situation corresponds, in most cases, to traditional organizational models, based on a perspective of educational administration rather than on processes associated with learning and organizational development.

This is confirmed in the report on the state of education in Uruguay 2014, where it was pointed out that: “through interviews and focus groups and a review of antecedents, it was found that the verticality of the decision-making system ensures that the energy and time of those leading the organization are concentrated on the management of administrative matters rather than on educational and pedagogical ones” (INEEd, 2014, p. 255).

Moreover, all the countries in the region evidence an importance placed on educational centers’ autonomy in the management of review of practices and decision-making for improvement. While these concepts are manifest in the discourse of educational authorities, little progress has been made in this regard, especially in countries such as Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay, where the regulations promulgated continue to be extremely hierarchical, with not very well articulated base structures.

Advances and Challenges

From a retrospective analysis of the changes realized in the educational policies of the region, we find that there has been significant progress in leadership, but much remains to be done. Three challenges stand out: attention to diversity of reforms; school issues related to cohesiveness within the society; and links between schools and their environment.

Attention to the Wide Diversity of Programs and Policies

The processes inherent in educational expansion present the educational systems in this region with the challenge of revising not only classroom practices, but also the adequacy of time and institutional space (both inside and outside the institution) in the face of an increasingly diverse student population, which historically has been excluded from the educational processes, mainly at the secondary level.

This phenomenon calls attention to the need to “understand the constant social tension that has arisen between uniformity and diversity in social systems, and therefore, in school systems” (Donoso et al., 2012, p. 62).

Most of the countries discussed here have chosen to put in place different programs addressing their varied situations in a targeted manner. Table 22.2 shows many of the 2012 reforms that have been implemented across the region.

Given the broad range of programs, it is difficult to identify the impact they have had, since many of them have not been evaluated systematically and, therefore, do not have baseline data from which to determine their impact, locally or nationally.

Following this line of reasoning and taking into account the analysis of the “Uruguay Observatory,” Vázquez and Borgia (2014) noted:

The weak presence of monitoring and evaluation systems that account for the progress and difficulties encountered during the implementation of education policies. The obvious diversity of criteria with which each decentralized body performs the registration of the different educational paths and the high partitioning between the public and private, threaten the possibility of having unified information systems. (p. 50)

Table 22.2 Ongoing Programs.

COUNTRY	PROGRAM
Argentina ²	Programa Nacional de Becas (National Scholarship Program); Patios Abiertos (Open Courtyards); Todos en la Escuela (Everybody at School); Volver a la Escuela (Back to School)
Brasil	Programa Nacional de acceso ao ensino técnico e emprego (National Program for Access to Technical Education and Employment); PROJEA; Escola Jovem (Improvement and Expansion of Programs for Secondary Education); Programa TV Escola (Program School TV); Pró-Licenciatura; Plan Nacional de Educación (National Plan of Education).
Chile	Programas de integración escolar (School Integration Program); Proyectos de educación intercultural bilingüe (Bilingual Intercultural Education Projects)
Paraguay	Escuela para sordos (School for the Deaf); Escuela para superdotados (School for Gifted Students); Fortalecimiento de la educación especial (Strengthening of Special Education).
Uruguay	Programa Nacional de Educación y Trabajo (National Program for Education and Work); Compromiso Educativo (Educational Commitment); Uruguay Estudia (Uruguay Studies); Programa Aulas Comunitarias (Community Classrooms Program); Programa ProCES (Higher Education Completion Program); Programa Impulso a la Universalización del Ciclo Básico (Advancement of the Universal Basic Education Program)

Source: Gairín, 2012. Reproduced with permission of Santiago de Chile: RedAGE.

School Issues Related to Cohesiveness Within the Society

The concept of cohesion at school is multidimensional and this is reflected when analyzing the meaning given to the term in the policies of the countries studied. For example, in Brazil (López Reis, 2014, p. 30) it “refers to the macro-sociological context of State obligations” to provide education for these between the ages of four and 17. In Chile, it is associated with “the potential that people have to live with others, within a framework of mutual respect and mutual solidarity” (Sánchez et al., 2014, p. 45). In Paraguay, this concept is considered “a construction, a prevention and an educational act in itself” (Román & Parra, 2014, p. 162), which is usually integrated into the regulations concerning coexistence for each center. Meanwhile, in Uruguay, this concept is associated with generating and strengthening the capacity of citizens to organize a society that is viable trying to overcome the immediacy to install a progressive, forward-looking logic (ENIA, 2008).

This diversity of perspectives gives notice of the different foci by which it is possible to approach “the commitment to the construction of new bridges that allow co-existence of people with different ideologies, points of view, and differentiated practices” (Gairín, 2014, p.12).

This diversity of approaches is then translated into multiple lines of action that, occasionally, make it difficult to operationalize, from the educational policies and systematic monitoring systems that promote critical reflection on the processes of coexisting in contexts of high levels of diversity.

The Link between Schools and Their Environment

As early as 1992, Frigerio et al. (1992) made reference to “open or closed institutions,” providing at least a rudimentary typology by which to identify levels of connection between schools and their environments. The authors state, in this regard, that “each institution occupies a plot of the social landscape establishing a material and symbolic fence that delimits. This fence can have very different characteristics according to the institutions, epochs and logics of the actors who inhabit them” (p. 98).

This approach is relevant today because shapes the dynamics that education systems and each center establish with the contexts in which they find themselves. A comparative analysis of the countries studied (Gairín, 2013), highlights the actions being implemented by the educational systems within the Southern Zone to achieve greater synergies among educational policies, institutions and the communities in which they operate.

Table 22.3 summarizes some of the linking strategies being implemented in the countries studied.

The following excerpt from the INEE Uruguay 2014 Report summarizes the positions taken by countries of this region regarding the relationship of young people to educational centers:

It is important to point out that teenagers value educational centers greatly as places of sociability. The learning that they indicate as more relevant is related to learning to be with others. On their part, teachers recognize the importance that teenagers assign to centers as meeting places, but generally fail to exploit this potential in favor of a more comprehensive education. (INEE, 2014, p. 192).

Table 22.3 Linking strategies with the environment.

COUNTRY	LINKING STRATEGIES
Argentina ³	Decentralization of social programs; sectoral market studies; multisectoral dialogue spaces; inclusion of a gendered approach; contextualized training programs; multisectoral and consultation spaces.
Brasil	Curricular redesign; student participation; use of media; production and promotion of the arts; identification of techniques, tools and models to be adopted; participatory planning; sectoral development plans.
Chile	Adaptation of accountability and achievement control policies; reorganization of compulsory training cycles; centers for parents; school boards; Annual Municipal Educational Development Plan.
Paraguay	Literacy programs for youth and adults; training of local governments; promoting free access to education; inclusion programs; cultural deficit compensation policies; long distance education; Alfa bilingual program.
Uruguay	National system of scholarships; Commitment Education Program; National Program for Education and Employment; “Más centro” Program; Educational Centers for Training and Production.

Source: Gairín, 2013. Reproduced with permission of Santiago de Chile: RedAGE.

Conclusion

A review of the current state of educational leadership and management in Latin American countries reveals some commonalities: very centralized national systems; a preoccupation with the development of uniform educational models; managers acting more like a representative of the system than acting on behalf of the teachers or the educational community.

However, processes of democratization have been encouraged in the countries of Latin America and more emphasis has been given to an education that is more contextual and respectful of the ethnic and linguistic differences present in most of these countries. It is in this context that processes for decentralization, which could lead to greater institutional autonomy, have begun to take root. Participative management, one that uses teams and focuses on people, that is generative of further curriculum development and is concerned with environmental factors, seems to be on the rise.

The management needed for this new reality connects with change-management models, is committed to the community and is focused on academic and community leadership. To attain these goals is not only a matter of choice, but demands a reform of recruitment systems (which should allow the educational community's involvement), refashioned training models (less focused on administrative matters and more oriented to pedagogy and change), increased professional activity (exercised with greater autonomy, but incorporating periodic accountability), and conscious attention paid to management's link to teaching (ensuring permanent and bidirectional bridges between teaching and school management).

The management system can be understood as a comprehensive system, where the processes of recruitment, training and professional development affect all who exercise leadership roles (principals, academic managers, administrative officials, coordinators of teacher teams, service officers, etc.), establishing an integrated system that allows the progressive acquisition of responsibilities and authority. The leadership needed to promote such lofty aims must be a transformational leadership that overcomes the gridlock currently present in most educational centers in the region. In fact, the variety of situations that occur in the centers, and the real difficulty of overcoming a confusing and diffused situation, accounts for why those in managerial positions exert a type of leadership called defensive, reactive, or survival (Lorenzo (2001, p. 104), since the problems are many, the perceptions about their task are very negative, and the loneliness managers experience is so great that they can only react to what continuously and wildly assaults them. This reality is one that permits talk of anti-leadership, the antithesis at what we usually think of as leadership.

Newer leadership initiatives in Latin America must focus on aspects of teaching and learning, with the principal as instructional or pedagogical leader. In fact, from a critical perspective, this leadership aims to get teachers to become reflective practitioners who collaboratively analyze school practices related to the social and political contexts of reference. From this point of view, leadership, rather than being a more or less shared practice oriented toward effectiveness and school efficiency, would aim to "stimulate the debate within the school community about the curriculum and the school's wider purposes" (Hattam et al., 1999, p. 9); its purpose would then be the collective assumption of responsibility for the institutional functioning in a communitarian way.

Movement in this direction is consistent with the development of a new culture that fosters teaching–learning processes and the professional development of teachers, breaking, therefore, with contrary traditions and practices focused almost exclusively on tasks related to programs (planning, development, and evaluation), personnel management and the internal bureaucracy. We are speaking of managers committed to change and innovation, who make many of the tasks in Table 22.4 their own.

Through our review of in the Andean countries and Central America we have identified common factors in the predominant management model. We found a coincidence in the areas of intervention (managing resources and mediating with the administration), as indicated in Table 22.4, but there are few initiatives (and less of a normative nature) that focus on activities associated with pedagogical leadership. Thus, actions aimed to clarify purposes regarding curriculum development and their accompanying processes (with reference to its dynamic and direct support) and the promotion of group morale (directly linked to actions aimed at bringing together people and their collaborative work) are generally absent in the Andean countries and only a little more evident in Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil.

Spaces for direct intervention in the areas identified, such as promoting a new collaborative culture and managing the collective knowledge generated are far from common in the countries studied, beyond the isolated existence of good practices in all countries and robust theoretical development in Argentina. Consideration of the

Table 22.4 Spaces of management intervention.

INTERVENTION SPACES	GENERAL ACTIVITIES
Clarify purposes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Diagnose needs, ● Plan.
Companion processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Orient, ● Systematize, ● Train.
Manage resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Provide information, ● Share resources.
Evaluate accomplishments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Do follow up, ● Evaluate impact, ● Institutionalization.
Promote group morale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Maintain a healthy environment, ● Establish rewards.
Manage knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Share experiences, ● Grow networks.
Promote a new culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Reflect on new issues, ● Generate varied commitments.
Mediate with the administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Transfer support and criticism, ● Collaborate in change programs.

Source: Gairín, 2007. Reproduced with permission of CENICE.

schools' reality and use of pedagogical literature are not of much current concern and neither are other aspects (gender equity, leadership for learning, transformational leadership, etc.) or the involvement of the management in social justice tasks (addressing issues such as inclusion, attention to vulnerable groups, positive cohabitation, links to environment), or innovative experiences (Gairín, 2013, 2014; Sandoval, 2015).

We see in these countries that the selection and evaluation of school headteachers emphasizes the interests of administration over in the interests of educational centers or consideration of in with school are located. Also training is still very administrative and not reflective of roles of a school headmaster as an agent of change. Clearly, this situation affects the public system. We wish to call attention to the collaborative training in Costa Rica, the development of institutional projects in El Salvador, the study-circles in Ecuador and the personalized training programs in some Southern Zone countries.

When delimiting what needs to be done, we want to call for more analysis of the effects of action and learning from practice. To achieve a level of engagement and the development and the commitment of managers as change agents we cannot overlook the consideration of professional practice as an appropriate framework for experiential and reflective learning.

Notes

- 1 We encourage those who want to read more on the subject to read the annual reports on educational management in Ibero America published by the Educational Management Support Network (RedAGE: www.redage.org).
- 2 Data taken from Poggi (2009).
- 3 Data taken from OIT-CINTERFOR (2004).

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Contexts of Canadian Educational Leadership

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Developing a distinctively Canadian view of educational leadership is deceptively difficult, as internal and external influences on Canadian educational systems, such as social, political, and aesthetic forces propel us in increasingly divergent directions. This chapter explores educational leadership in Canada by first attempting to define the term “leadership.” As both a local and national phenomenon, Canadian educational leadership has contributed to development of major economic, political, and social changes in this new millennium. We begin this exploration with a discussion grounded in the conceptual framework known as “The Five Contexts” (Cooper & White, 2012). These five lenses will be utilized to disentangle and examine some of the issues associated with Canadian educational leadership, past, present and future. We begin the chapter with a biographical component and then proceed to an historical and political overview of our current times. Following this, the postmodern era is explored. Finally, philosophical underpinnings are discussed, along with a brief perspective on the future of education and educational leadership in Canada. At issue are contradictions extant in a postmodern, globalized world, where schooling is becoming increasingly standardized, not only in terms of educational leadership but also in terms of processes, policies and procedures.

One of the most difficult things in writing about leadership is coming to an understanding of what the term “leadership” means. Perhaps this is because leaders can be motivated by any number of stimuli, including any point on the continuum between equitable goals associated with social justice to goals congruent with a search for personal power. Further, the search for a suitable definition tends to include formal, as well as informal, leadership. Indeed, the very concept of leadership is not without its issues, as it refers not only to a research area but to a practical skill as well.

In North American educational contexts, leadership can be viewed as a process of social influence, whereby a leader, formal or informal, enlists the assistance and support of others, subordinate or not, to achieve a common goal (Chemers, 1997; Chin, 2015). As Gardner (2013) noted, “Leadership is the process of persuasion or example by which an individual (or leadership team) induces a group to pursue objectives held by the leader or shared by the leader and his or her followers” (p. 17). While this definition denotes substantively what leadership *is*, functional aspects of what leadership *does* is woven throughout our discussion in this chapter.

In this chapter, leadership will be discussed as a practical skill that relates to the ability of an individual within an organization to guide that organization, or parts thereof. As such, leadership is seen as being substantially different from management. While this may represent a fairly artificial distinction, particularly as most forms of leadership contain passive and active attributes regarding both management and leadership, the field is complex enough that such distinctions between leadership and management may assist in clarifying some of the mystique surrounding educational leadership in the Canadian context. Additionally, it is important to note that there are a variety of approaches to educational leadership that are at once cultural and geographic in nature. While this chapter refers specifically to Canadian perspectives regarding educational leadership, we acknowledge that Canadian educational leadership enjoys a reciprocal relationship within the larger North American context.

We begin our discussion with the introduction of an organizing framework referred to as the “Five Contexts” that should allow for some disentangling of component parts that are often mutually inclusive, concurrent, and overlapping. These contexts are employed as a means by which complex topics, such as educational leadership in Canada, can be rendered more comprehensible and discussable.

The Five Contexts

Initially, the Five Contexts were developed as a means to disentangle complex subjects in order to view distinct components of an issue by separating the phenomenon into various categories. As these categories became more concrete, they eventually coalesced into five contexts—the biographical, historical, political, postmodern and philosophical contexts, respectively.

It must be noted that these contexts do not operate separately from one another. Also, they do not operate consecutively, but rather engage and influence one another concurrently. Also, they do not behave in any particular order and, so, outside of simulation, they appear all tangled up together in what often appears to be a very messy, confusing ball. Any separation or ordering of these contexts is, at best, artificial. However, it is one way that pertinent issues can be dissected, examined and interrogated.

First we discuss the biographical context. This context will hopefully assist the reader in situating him-/herself relative to the topic under study; in this case, Canadian educational leadership. This biographical context takes the liberty of personifying Canada with respect to its geography, situatedness, and political topography. By proceeding in this way, we hope that the reader will be better able to understand the nuances that are specific to the Canadian experience regarding education and educational leadership.

With regard to the historical context, Merleau-Ponty (1962) suggests that one must delve deeply into history in order to reach that unique core of existential meaning which emerges, ultimately, within any type of research endeavor. It is important to recognize that one’s place in history can change from being merely an observer or reactionary to achieving a position of power, within which one can insert oneself into the historical moment in order to influence the course of that history. Thus, the historical context offers an important perspective on the past, which, in turn, can inform future decisions, considerations, and methodologies (Blumenreich, 2004; Foucault, 1971, 1972).

In referring to the political context, it has been said that politics, by its very nature, is never neutral (Giroux, in Cooper & White, 2012). It can also be claimed that politics is omnipresent in the lives of every citizen in today's society. Be it personal politics or those of a more general nature, it is important to recognize the political nature of everything, whether active or reactive in nature. Thus, as Merleau-Ponty (1962) suggests, everything, including political matters, has meaning and points to underlying structures within relationships.

Because the postmodern context reminds us that we live in "liquid" times (Bauman, 2007), this context is important to any discussion, as the postmodern lens helps one to recognize that "It is not like it used to be" (Bauman, in Cooper & White, 2012, p. 149). It is now so much more difficult to compartmentalize anything into neat, mutually exclusive domains due to the increasing complexity and intertextuality of daily life. Perhaps it was always thus and we are only now beginning to recognize that the messy, descriptive nature of the lives we lead is the norm. In that sense, an understanding of these postmodern or "liquid" times can assist us in seeing the world around us in some of its complexities.

The philosophical context binds the previous four contexts together in an attempt to gain a deeper understanding of the complexities associated with engaging with the topic of educational leadership in Canada. Hopefully, through the philosophical context, one can contemplate the deep issues manifested in any phenomenon. This context allows for the necessary introspection and thoughtfulness necessary for delving into deeper philosophical questions of meaning, particularly as it concerns educational leadership in Canada. Acting as a binder to the aggregate of the other contexts, it is the philosophical context that attempts to compare and contrast meaning, to seek patterns, and to come to an understanding, a meaning, even as it embodies the past and foreshadows the future.

As such, these five contexts represent an orientation to this inquiry into education and leadership from and within a distinctively Canadian perspective. We hope that readers, researchers, graduate students, as well as professionals and practitioners who are attached to professional, intellectual, and practical endeavors in the field of education, of leadership, and of the Canadian perspective may find these contexts useful, as they seek to develop ways by which they can engage with this topic of inquiry.

Biographical Context: What is a Canadian?

While it is very difficult to offer a biographical description of Canada, one of our foremost poets of all time, Earle Birney (1977, p. 40), has offered a description of the Canadian sensibility in his poem, *Canada: Case History: 1945*, in which he refers to Canada as an adolescent land, gangly, but physically healthy. Birney speaks of influences from his "uncle" to the south and that, while this country bears resemblances to his French mother, Canada does not consider itself British, either. In this poem, Birney mentions a "schizophrenic" existence, caught between differing European heritages. He asks whether Canada will learn to grow up before it's too late.

Although this personification of Canada was written in 1945, there are many points that still ring true. Canada is still a land of possibilities and this is reflected in another

poem, written by A.J.M. Smith, called *The Lonely Land*. In this poem, Canada's vast pristine wilderness is displayed through evocative images:

Cedar and jagged
fir uplift sharp barbs
against the gray
and cloud-piled sky;
and in the bay
blown spume and windrift
and thin, bitter spray
snap
at the whirling sky;
and the pine trees
lean one way.
(A. J. M. Smith, 1978, p. 113)

Given these admittedly impressionistic versions of Canada as a country that is emerging from a variety of influences both cultural and geographic, it is little wonder that the Canadian system of education and Canadian educational leadership have developed along idiosyncratic paths, compared to other North American countries.

By this, we simply mean that Canada has numerous influences at play that may not at first be obvious, but which have huge impacts upon its culture and upon its mechanisms for educational leadership, both formal and informal. First and foremost, Canada has two official languages, French and English. Also, as a result of growing diversity, there is a multiplicity of languages and cultures apparent in any school in any province in the Canadian educational system.

In addition to this, Canada is a huge and diverse country, geographically speaking, with the Atlantic provinces of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and New Brunswick to the east. Nestled between these provinces and the former British stronghold of Ontario lies the gigantic, predominantly French-speaking, province of Quebec. To the west of Ontario are the three Prairie Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, all of which are rich in mineral resources, from potash to oil and uranium. British Columbia anchors the west coast. In all, there are ten provinces and three territories. The French language, while found predominantly in Quebec, can be found in pockets all across Canada and is reflected in the French Language schools and school systems, from core French programs to French immersion schools and school districts. To add to this, private schools continue to flourish within this pluralistic Canadian context.

Canada is also culturally very diverse. Five waves of immigration have occurred through Canada's written history, most notably from European countries. More recently, this country is experiencing renewed immigration from Pacific Rim countries as well as by refugees escaping from war-torn countries around the globe. The majority of Canadians live within 300 kilometers of the border that separates Canada from its neighbor to the south. While this might be convenient in terms of access to the goods and services that Canada trades with the United States, the northern reaches of Canada extend well into the Arctic Circle and are considered to be relatively uninhabitable except by those indigenous peoples, including numerous tribes of Canada's displaced First Nations people, who have lived in this northern realm since time immemorial.

What does this have to say to educational leadership? Simply put, educational leadership is as diverse as the Canadian culture, geography, and climate itself. Because of the vastness and differences within this country, educational authority does not emanate from the federal government, except in the case of Canada's three northern territories; The Yukon Territory, Nunavut and the Northwest Territories. Due to the relatively small population and the relative lack of infrastructure, educational matters, including educational leadership, excluding local leadership in the form of school administrators, are overseen by senior education officials in Ottawa, Canada's capital city. It is interesting to note that, although educational authority is vested within each of the ten provinces, educational finance is a federal matter. As such, the federal government provides transfer payments to the provinces in order to finance education. These payments have been decreasing since the latter part of the past century, which presents a serious conundrum for educational leadership.

As for the remainder of the country, Canada's ten provinces oversee all educational matters, as a national system of education would not serve the needs of such a diverse array of Canadian citizens. Therefore, a Canadian education, and by extension, the educational leadership that guides it, in Quebec may be significantly different from that in the neighboring province of Ontario. It may also be, partly for these reasons, that issues relating to the standardization of education may be met with a wide variety of responses, with many people believing that what passes for knowledge in one province should have an equivalence in other provinces. Other voices suggest that, due to cultural and geographic anomalies, to mention only a few influences, a standardization of curriculum and educational policies would make little sense, as it would serve only the purposes of policy-makers and not address the needs of the students themselves. Educational leaders have much to contend with. However, as a relatively new country with a huge immigrant population, Canadian educational leadership, particularly in regards to such areas as multiculturalism, receives high praise the world over.

Historical Context: Who has Influenced Canadian Education?

It is an arduous task to identify leaders in educational circles, simply because influences on education frequently emanate from within the society itself. As such, educational leadership is often a function of societal change. The following describes but a few of these influences on Canadian educational leadership, viewed through the lens of societal change rather than from the viewpoint of the "educational leader" operating separately from society, viewing education as a closed system that inculcates change from within its own artificial boundaries. Consequently, educational change, in general, and educational leadership in particular, can be seen as a product of the social system within which each is developed and so may be viewed as reflective of the dominant culture values within the broader society. Thus, educational leadership can be seen as a function of educational philosophy. In addition, educational influences external to Canada have helped to develop educational leadership practices within the country, in tandem with internal influences.

Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) was an educational philosopher who made important contributions to the theory and practice of education as an architect of education in eighteenth-century Prussia. His standardized system of public instruction

became a model for an educational system that would eventually span the globe, and influence education in the United States, Canada, and elsewhere. Von Humboldt proposed and implemented standardized examinations and a ministry of education whose responsibility it was to design, develop and supervise curricula and teaching materials (Clark, 2006).

As well as drawing upon European experiences, American influences have always been present in Canadian educational circles, particularly as this concerns educational leadership. For example, John Dewey (1859–1952) and his work and influence require no introduction as regards to educational leadership. Dewey was an educational reformer who was enormously influential in what came to be known as progressive education (Ryan, 1995). Dewey had a deep and abiding belief in the importance and power of democratic thought, particularly as it pertained to education and educational leadership. Dewey believed that the successful classroom teacher possesses a disposition rooted in the passion for knowledge and an intellectual curiosity in teaching materials and methods. For Dewey, the mission of teacher education is to cultivate a professional classroom teacher leader capable of producing higher standards within the community, assisting in the production of strong character, and developing skills needed in contemporary life (Dewey, 1904).

Henry Ford (1863–1947), the industrialist, was not a great academic himself but had a huge impact on the way that schools and schooling was conceptualized. Coming of age at the very end of the Industrial Revolution, Ford's contribution to technology is unquestioned. His "principles of assembly" (Ford & Crowther, 1922, p. 80) eventually found their way into the school system as the age-grouped progression from the primary grades to post-secondary education.

Another huge influence on educational practices was J. Franklin Bobbitt (1876–1956), who specialized in the field of curriculum. As a proponent of the Social Efficiency Movement (Schiro, 2013), Bobbitt saw curriculum as a means for preparing students for the, then, newly industrialized society. His influence on the nascent curriculum was in replacing classical subjects and topics of inquiry with subjects that were relevant to social needs, specifically topics that were required for future employment. Thus, education came to be seen as a preparation for adulthood.

A contemporary of J. Franklin Bobbitt, Ralph W. Tyler (1902–1994) was responsible for, among other things, setting budgets for federal funding of education in the United States, influencing policy for the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* of 1965, and helping to establish the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). Tyler has also been credited with coining the term "evaluation," and for assisting in the aligning of measurement and testing with educational objectives (Tjerandsen & Chall, 1987; Tyler, 1949). Although they could not be more different from one another in terms of their espoused missions, in his book, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, Tyler echoes the words of John Dewey in saying that "It is what he does that he learns, not what the teacher does" (Tyler, 1949, p. 63).

While there have been many international influences on Canadian educational leadership, Canada is not without its own leaders. For example, Egerton Ryerson (1803–1882) proclaimed the necessity for universal public education as it supported good government and constitutional liberty. He also sought to separate the church from the state, a revolutionary act in his time, and the subsequent sale of clergy-held land tracts led to greater democratization of the school system. Ryerson eventually became Chief

Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada (later, the province of Ontario) and developed three School Acts, established libraries in every school, and created a central textbook press using Canadian authors and developing terms of reference for superintendents of schools (Putnam, 1912). His determination to provide education for the less privileged was a means of improving opportunities for all and was embodied within the School Law of 1850. Debate on this topic followed until 1871, when provision for free universal schooling was enshrined in the Comprehensive School Act of 1871 (Hodgins, 1902).

Even as democratic, populist, and feminist forces have expanded what it means to be a leader, very little is known about early female educators and how they developed, interpreted and enacted leadership roles (Coulter, 2005). Donalda Dickie (1883–1972) was an influential educational leader who, in the prairie province of Alberta, was a teacher educator, curriculum reviser and textbook author (*Canadian Encyclopedia*). She advocated a progressive educational approach to teaching primary school curriculum. Through offering courses at teacher education centers, writing a reference book published in 1940, and developing a variety of textbooks that promoted a progressive philosophy, she influenced a new generation of teachers and children. Donalda Dickie had a conscious political philosophy that leaned towards humanism and social reform, and an educational philosophy that valued both subject matter knowledge and child-centered pedagogy. Dr. Dickie's career illustrates how women provided leadership in education even as they were excluded from positions of formal authority. Ironically, as a teacher, she was expected to educate the young for citizenship while, by virtue of her gender, she was denied the right to vote (Prentice et al., 1988).

John Goodlad (1920–2014) is another educational leader who has influenced the conception of schooling in Canada and throughout the world. As an educational researcher and theorist, Goodlad developed influential new models for revising teacher education and practice in schools. He defined education as a fundamental right in democratic societies, as being essential to developing democratic intelligence (Goodlad, 1997). In his seminal book, *A Place Called School* (1984) he identified four main purposes of education. These purposes have been variously identified as a need for well-developed social skills, the pursuit of knowledge as an end in itself, an opportunity for gainful employment and, lastly, an understanding and practice of what it means to be a good citizen.

While it is impossible to include all educational leaders who have contributed to the Canadian landscape of education, it would be a grievous error to omit the work of Ted Aoki (1919–2012), a curriculum scholar of the finest order who reconceptualized curriculum internationally, through broadening the notion of curriculum to encompass cultures, languages, and lived experiences. William Pinar, himself a “new” Canadian and a curriculum theorist and educational leader, suggested that Aoki “taught us to ‘hear’ curriculum in a ‘new key’” (Pinar, 2003, p. 2). While he does not purport to have “answers” to curriculum dilemmas, Aoki is recognized as a leader in the educational field because he recognized which important questions are at the heart of curriculum studies and require investigation. He has inspired many teachers, curriculum studies students, and administrators through his work on the tensions between the curriculum-as-planned and the lived curriculum (Carson, 2004) and how feelings existing between cultural realms may inform our own practice as educators and curriculum theorists. Aoki (1983) contended that curriculum ought to be responsive to students and their

lived stories, and also ought to be responsive to the cultural differences that exist in many Canadian classrooms.

It would be remiss to not recognize three contemporary Canadian educational leaders who have had a tremendous impact on education in Canada and around the globe. Michael Fullan (1940–) is a worldwide authority on educational reform. In his books, from *What's Worth Fighting for in Education?* (1998), co-authored with Andy Hargreaves, to *The Taking Action Guide to Building Coherence in Schools, Districts, and Systems* (2016), Fullan has stated that teacher quality and morale are fundamental to pupil learning and well-being. In other works, he has also identified strategies to improve school effectiveness. Andy Hargreaves (1951–) is a contemporary of Michael Fullan. In *Sustainable Leadership* (2005), co-authored with Dean Fink, Hargreaves noted that school leadership practices tend to create temporary, localized change without lasting or widespread improvement. Kenneth Leithwood (1942–), an educational researcher and professor in Toronto, Canada, focused on school leadership, processes of school reform, and assessment of educational policy. Leithwood co-authored *How Leadership Influences Student Learning* (2004), which contributes to an extensive review of successful school leadership practices. He concluded, among other points, that leadership is second in strength only to classroom instruction. Throughout his career, Leithwood has outlined leadership practices associated with student success.

While many other leaders have influenced educational circles, such as Harold Innes, Marshal McLuhan, and Northrop Frye, Canada has recently identified a new educational leader in the form of Justin Trudeau, son of the past prime minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau. Justin Trudeau has refashioned his former identity as a public school teacher to become Canada's prime minister. He has not forsaken his earlier experience as an educator and brings that sensibility to his new post, as evidenced in the careful selection of cabinet members to reflect gender, cultural and ideological difference. Clearly, he sees that all perspectives are important, as he works to include the voices of a wide variety of Canadians in the democracy of Canada.

Political Context: Pluralism and Complexity

While these historical points have helped to shape the Canadian identity and have influenced Canadian educational leadership, there are a multiplicity of additional political influences that have also helped to mold Canadian educational leadership. Canada's somewhat socialist inclinations maintain a liberal attitude that Canada's political culture has embraced. As such, many Canadians define themselves through our uniquely Canadian Constitution. One notable condition is that Canada operates on the premise of the "common good" rather than identifying individual rights and freedoms. Thus, the Canadian Constitution represents a suitable framework for understanding how and why the nation's educational leadership, in particular, is operationalized and applied differently across the nation.

For example, Canada is a nation of immigrants. People oppressed in their countries of origin have sought out Canada as a place to pursue a better life, with greater freedom of choice. As an example of this, many groups of newly minted Canadians sought change and the promise of work on the prairies. Saskatchewan, one of Canada's prairie provinces, stewarded a form of universal health care, pioneered by the new Co-operative

Commonwealth Federation (CCF) under the premiership of Tommy Douglas, the great Canadian Socialist-Democrat (Smith & DeWalt, 2006). Additionally, the distinct core of Canadian being can be summed up in the Canadian Multicultural Act of 1988. Not only did this policy ensure equality for all people living in Canada, Aboriginal rights and Canada's official languages were also preserved in perpetuity.

Thus, Canadian educational leaders can speak to what it means to not only be a Canadian citizen but what it means to become global citizens. This unique culture seeks to find a common ground for people of differing beliefs and ideologies. Consequently, such pluralism defines what it means to be a Canadian, particularly in terms of its enormous diversity, which speaks directly to the initial conception of the Constitution, namely the focus on the common good. For example, Canadians enjoy two official languages, English and French. Furthermore, children for whom neither English nor French represents a mother tongue can be taught in their own language, providing that there are a sufficient number of students to make this feasible. The emergence of multiculturalism in the Canadian educational system has been influenced by the implementation of the 1972 federal Multicultural Policy statements, the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and the 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act (James, 2003). This framework of plurality and multiculturalism speaks to the ideal of creating an inclusive and pluralistic educational system, which has defined this nation since the early 1960s.

As noted by Heck and Hallinger (2005), a general theory of leadership and management in educational organizations is a tenuous commodity at best. These scholars note that "environmental and organizational complexity requires that we apply theory more flexibly than originally envisioned by theory movement proponents" (p. 233). In fact, these scholars suggest that we would be well advised to focus on building middle-level or domain-specific theories of leadership. When this is done, concepts of leadership may appear to be more concrete and sufficiently precise to offer significant guidance for practice (Heck & Hallinger, 2005). To this end, numerous studies relating to educational leadership issues have been undertaken in Canada. While many of these are regionally specific, they serve to identify the range of problems with which educational leaders must contend.

For example, from Alberta, come issues relating to the novice principal (Northfield, 2013), leadership practices and school improvement initiatives (Bedard, 2009), and leading for social justice in Canada (Ottmann, 2009). In keeping with the theme of social justice, in the province of Ontario, Price (2009) has identified the need for greater community involvement, cooperation, and inclusion, and Lopez and Button (2013) have examined the tensions swirling around social justice and culturally relevant leadership. Also, in Ontario, scholars have identified the necessity for implementing change for the common good (Melville, Bartley, & Weinburgh, 2012), and problems of practice in Canadian leadership and policy (Pollock & Ryan, 2013), not to except the ever-present issue of transformative leadership (Stewart, 2006).

Scholars in the province of Saskatchewan have identified "assessment leadership" (Noonan & Renihan, 2006) and attending issues of trust (Noonan, Walker, & Kutsyruba, 2008) in educational leadership. Moving eastward to Manitoba, moral literacy becomes a topic for educational leadership (Crippen, 2009). In conjunction with this issue, Lapointe, Poirel, and Brassard (2013), in Quebec, reflect on beliefs and responsibilities of educational stakeholders relating to student success and effective principal

leadership. In addition, as we move toward Atlantic Canada, the transformation of schools into learning organizations (Williams, Brien, & LeBlanc, 2012), redefining educational leadership for the twenty-first century (Williams & Brien, 2009), educational reform as a function of managerialism (Galway, 2012), the impact of centralization (Galway, Sheppard, Wiens, & Brown, 2013), and common challenges faced by rural principals (Preston, Jakubiec, & Kooymans, 2013) denote some of the educational leadership concerns reflective of these regions. In the northern realms, leadership issues extend to defining educational leadership in fairly generic terms (Blakesley, 2011; Goddard & Foster, 2002). As can be seen from this panoply of issues, problems and perspectives, educational leadership in Canadian schools runs a gamut of problems that may be national and beyond, in nature, to those which are school, district or region specific. Needless to say, this points to the increasingly complex nature of educational leadership, not only in Canada but beyond its shores.

However, this is not all there is to the deepening quandary of Canadian educational leadership. As Giroux (1992) lamented, “there is enormous evidence indicating that the issues of democracy, leadership, and schooling are increasingly being incorporated as part of a reactionary political agenda. This agenda furthers the fortunes of narrow social interests that are at odds with any emancipatory definition of substantive democracy” (p. 5). Unfortunately, educational leadership, for the most part, has reflected the self-centered character of politics in the broader society.

Postmodern Context: Globalization and Education Leadership

Leadership does not exist in a vacuum, and educational leadership is no different. In today’s society, one cannot avoid the recognition of globalizing influences, evident in the market, in media, and in education. There is a disconcerting movement, born of neoliberal and neoconservative forces, that has been redefining education for some time now. Briefly rendered, neoconservative influences tend to support a “back to the basics” movement in education. This is interesting, as most educational leaders would note that we have never left the basics behind, there has just been more added to the already full plate that is education. As such, then, neoconservative sentiments really seem to imply that we return to a stripped-down curriculum, devoid of many of the important topics and subjects required of today’s society that foster full literacy. Conversely, neoliberalism is reflective of the compact between governance and commercial interests. While both of these concepts are rivetingly interesting, neither time nor space is available for a full discussion of these constructs.

Suffice it to say that the world is not going to become less globalized than it is now. Unfortunately, globalization progresses along a “broken front,” with one of the most prevalent aspects of globalization being economic in nature. Although one may think of globalization as being a uniform wave-like motion, nothing could be further from the truth. The stakes with globalized and globalizing economies and the attendant competition for a vibrant economy tends to put citizens at risk, while valuing commercial and economic interests. For instance, there is increasing competition for places in higher education as the population, worldwide, tends to become more mobile. Finally, there is also the eventual competition for places within the job

market, a market that is being downsized as technology becomes more successful at replacing manpower. This creates a “ripple” effect that influences leadership in our school districts across and beyond the nation.

Consequently, the response, at least in Canada, has been to become more “competitive” by addressing what other countries have been engaged with for some time—standardization. Standardization implies that students from the farthest reaches of the Canadian geography and society will have exactly the same knowledge as students from large urban centers and those who may occupy higher socioeconomic status than their counterparts in other schools and school districts. The vehicle for this is “outcomes-based” educational practices, whereby the students are assessed on what they can demonstrate, rather than their knowledge. In order to achieve this, policy is increasingly being made outside of the realm for which it is intended. In fact, much policy is now being generated from distant, authoritarian powers such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which claims membership of over 40 member countries for which it makes educational policy. As educational policy is becoming further and further removed from those who must implement it and which are the most affected by it, educational leaders are becoming tasked with implementing policy in their schools and school districts which they have had little or no power to influence.

Unfortunately, over the past quarter century, what were once considered to be the goals of a liberal education have shrunk to one monolithic goal. Since the time of the Industrial Revolution, when children were rounded up and placed in schools in order for them to be less of a burden on society as a result of job displacement of the young, purposes for education have generally circulated around socialization, citizenship, knowledge for its own sake, and employment (Goodlad, 1984). However, more recently, employment has become the main, if not sole, purpose of education. This is a travesty, as Herbert Marcuse (1964) and others have pointed out, to not have broad, generalized goals for such an enormous undertaking as an education is to relegate individuals to a workaday world, devoid of any cultural benefits. As we know, the culture of the “everyman” is the television, a skill for the consumerist culture within which we live. For the educational leader to invest in promoting policies that may valorize social values above those held by individual students may not be, ultimately, in the best interests of society. However, this represents a slippery slope for the educational leader. Much as corporate heads must provide investment returns for their clients or risk being displaced by someone who will, educational leaders find themselves in much the same situation. In fact, it is part and parcel of the same phenomenon, particularly as schools and places of higher education fall under the thrall of increasing corporatization of policies, curriculum, and pedagogic practices.

The OECD uses phrases such as “for a vibrant economy” in their policy statements in order to normalize its policies within a culture of training rather than a culture of education. Materials are developed for teachers to deliver the curriculum without having to interpret them, and this puts teachers in the position of being technicians rather than pedagogic savants. As teachers’ professional autonomy withers under siege, educators are being told that they are educating students for a future in which they will become the flexible, creative, critical problem-solvers that this world demands. However, students continue to be trained for obedience, adherence to rules, and for conformity. This must be a source of great stress for educational leaders who believe

that a liberal arts education works in the best interests of developing the student, their talents and ultimately, the common good. While this is true in the Canadian context, it is also true in many of the countries that share top rankings for their educational efforts. However, as NcNeil (2000) noted, just because student marks are improving, it does not mean that students are becoming more knowledgeable. Reasons for this include time taken for testing and test preparation, the replacement of knowledge by factual information, precluding the development of wisdom as a judicious application of knowledge, and teacher-proofing of educational materials to satisfy a narrow range of educational criteria, among others.

One of the more serious consequences of relegating purposes of education to potential employment opportunities is the fostering of competition within and outside of classrooms, between schools and among countries (White & Cooper, 2016, forthcoming). Canadian societies are constantly reminded that we must improve our mathematics scores in order to compete with Asian countries, which regularly outperform us on standardized tests, such as the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA). What is ignored is the fact that such tests are administered at different times and in different contexts by different instructors using different languages. Thus what purports to be a standardized assessment is anything but standard, as developed and developing countries throughout the world jockey for supremacy in test scores that purport to indicate a commitment to future, economically driven, globalized employment opportunities.

Educational leaders, in Canada as in many parts of the world, must stand powerless and allow the control of educational matters to be handed over to policy-makers who have neither the background nor the interest in educational matters to adequately educate forthcoming generations of Canadian citizens. The stress of never-ending competition to get higher marks, in order to be able to get into better schools, both public and private, and the eventual competition to secure places in top-tier universities and vocational colleges is taking its toll on administrators, teachers, students and parents alike. This is a society, like many societies around the world, under extraordinary stress.

Today, mental health issues are becoming endemic in our schools and institutions of higher education (Gallant & Riley, 2013), as part of the rising cost of economic globalization. Even universities are becoming more and more corporatized, as they struggle to fill seats made vacant by the recognition that a university education might land you a job at Starbucks. Professors are being regularly challenged by students who believe that they deserve the marks that they believe they should have. And the students themselves are under such tremendous pressure not only to stand out from the crowd but to conform as well.

It is little wonder that Canadian school districts are finding that they are losing good leaders or are never getting them in the first place. As has been previously mentioned, educators go into leadership for a variety of reasons. These reasons often included, but were not limited to, the desire to be transformative, instructive, and democratic. Today, many potential leaders are reconsidering entering into the field of educational leadership due to the increasingly stressful nature of the work, the aggravating powerlessness of the position and the growing political nature of education in general (Waite, Rodriguez, & Wadende, 2015). While educational leaders may wish to educate their students to become creative, competent problem-solvers, economic globalization forces

upon these leaders the same brand of obedience and compliance with which they are expected to invest their students (Waite & Waite, 2010).

Philosophical Context: The Future of Educational Leadership

How do we get to a future that values societal needs and expectations, as well as, at the same time, valuing the citizens who make up that society? Perhaps one must sacrifice to the other. Perhaps it will be the constitutionally adopted “for the common good” that will ultimately identify Canadian society as a collectivist endeavor. However, there appear to be numerous competing pressures on today’s educational leaders. Among those pressures identified in this chapter are the various needs to respect regional differences that represent part of the fabric from which Canadian society has been woven. In addition, to these regional differences can be added status, social, and economic differences. Canada is anything but a homogeneous culture and these differences are significant, given the range and breadth of the country. Geographical differences and distances also influence what passes for knowledge, the way that knowledge is passed on to students, and how that knowledge is evaluated by its recipients.

Add to this, external pressures are mounting from beyond this country’s borders. As educational policies are increasingly made outside the country, educational leaders are often hard pressed to find a comfortable space between what the students need and what the society wants for its future citizens. The homogenizing effects created by the forces of standardization tend to fuel an “outcomes”-based education that seems, for the most part, to ignore the process and the value of educational activities in favor of “teaching to the test.” Clearly, the various influences on the educational system require careful and thoughtful negotiating. Unfortunately, in the Canadian context, the educational leader is increasingly being expected to become all things to all people.

It would be simple-minded to suggest that all one needs to do in order to return educational leadership to some semblance of normalcy would be to eliminate standardization in favor of a more parochial system of education. However, it is true that standardization is increasingly coming under attack, as it has not lived up to the promise of developing the creative problem-solvers that the society requires. As we move into the future, more regional forms of education are being discussed. Such forms include culturally responsive methods of education (Dei et al., 2000) that may serve to educate students in ways that they understand, rather than enforcing a strict regime of testing and evaluating (Portelli, Vibert, & Shields, 2007). Educational leaders may find some solace in this form of education, as it is pedagogically based rather than ideologically driven (White, Cooper, & Mackey, 2014).

Canadian Educational Leadership in the Twenty-First Century

What will educational leadership in Canada look like in future years? While this may be anybody’s guess, there are some indicators that may prove to be useful benchmarks. However, prior to gazing into the crystal ball of future educational leadership, let us recapitulate. We began this chapter with a view of Canada as a land full of possibilities,

a land which is only now coming of age. It is a land of immeasurable wealth in terms of raw and natural resources, and of unbelievably diverse human resources as well.

Educational leadership in Canada has been influenced by significant visionaries within and from beyond Canada's boundaries. These visionaries have helped to establish an infrastructure for a distinctly varied school experience, depending on geographical, cultural and social constraints and freedoms. Attention has been paid to developing curriculum that is at once responsive to Canadian sensibilities and yet places Canada on the world stage as a nation of well-educated people. Canadians have also contributed to the understanding of what it means to be an educational leader.

However, the notion of what it means to be an educational leader has not been without its problems. This is an area of study that has been subjected to fads, has been subjected to intense scrutiny and has developed an almost iconic glow of the leader as all things to all people. Thus it is that educational leadership in Canada is coming of age, as it is for the rest of the globe. Globalization's push has spurred new thinking in numerous directions as it pertains to leadership in general and educational leadership specifically. Among some of the greatest influences are global views that are generally corporatist in nature (Waite & Waite, 2010). This tends to guide leadership towards a much more managerial aspect.

However, there are many waves and eddies that influence the educational leader of the twenty-first century. These can be roughly categorized as external and internal pressures. External pressures include the need to be responsive to policy that is made externally to the educational community. These policies, typically from international economy-based think tanks such as the OECD, are aimed at making schools more responsive to the needs of the society, with the tacit understanding that the needs of the citizens within the society are the same as the society itself, or will soon become the same. Such policy is typically made independently of any educational research, because it is not the interests of the students that these corporatist powers seek to enhance, it is the economy of the country itself. Policies external to the school and school district that are legislated into practice may or may not be policies the educational leader wishes to support. However, support them, (s)he must. This is the big picture.

The little picture seems to be much more humane, if less straightforward. There have been many brands of leadership espoused over the past several decades. While these brands of leadership have also had their inception among the ranks of commercial interest (Gabarro, 1983; Mintzberg, 1994; Wenger, 1998), many models have been successfully adapted for use among Canadian systems of education. However, among such models are nestled other more "education-friendly" models, such as the many brands of leadership that have been espoused over the years. Distributed leadership, a conceptual and analytical approach to understanding the work of leadership among the people in a complex organization (Leithwood, Mascall, & Strauss, 2009; Spillane, Halverson, & Diamond, 2001); emancipatory leadership, an approach that attempts to honor the voice and perspectives of all stakeholders (Corson, 2000); transformative leadership, where the educational leader works with faculty and staff to identify needed change, creating the vision to guide the change and executing the change in tandem with committed group members (Leithwood & Poplin, 1992); spiritual leadership, the leader who leads others effectively through their own understandings of spirituality (Nouwen, 1972); critical leadership, where emphasis is placed on inclusivity and the dismantling of oppressive hierarchies of power (Gunter, 2001; Ryan, 1998); leadership for social

justice (Waite, Nelson, & Guajardo, 2007), related to race and ethnicity, gender, social class, understanding oppression, and students with disabilities; instructional leadership, the learning-centered development of curriculum and instruction (Chitpin & White, 2015); sustainable leadership, the ecological expression of conservation and sustainability in educational leadership (Hargreaves & Fink, 2004); and motion leadership, concerned with creating and leading movement in the right direction at the right time (Fullan, 2014), offer only a few permutations of educational leadership.

In the face of all of these educational leadership possibilities, and more besides, it is clear that the educational leader of the future will have to be an extremely versatile individual capable of grasping global trends and local needs, and shifting priorities and goals at a moment's notice. This is because it is improbable to think that the leader of the future will be able to subscribe to only one or another brand of leadership models. What is required for future educational leaders is to be able to acquire expertise in a number of skills in order to successfully negotiate what promises to continue to be highly contested terrain. With influence external and internal to the practice of teaching, the educational leader of the Canadian future will constantly be donning new roles, leaving old ones only to pick them up again at some future date when they are required once more, and to constantly reinvent him-/herself on an almost daily basis. This calls for a new kind of leadership—not one that is working against the old models, but one that incorporates existing models of leadership within a new ethic, the ethic of integration. The effective, efficient educational leader of the twenty-first century will need to be an “integrated” leader, one who is able to attend to numerous influences from both within and from outside of the school organization in order to be able to navigate any and all contested and taken-for-granted positions. Thus, the model for the future may well be an amalgam of past, present and future iterations of educational leadership—the integrated leader.

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24

US Contexts of/for Educational Leadership*Peter Demerath and Karen Seashore Louis*

This chapter lays out the general challenges facing US principals in different sorts of schools in a variety of settings. The US federal role in public education has intensified since the 1980s, with the passage of several bills aimed at improving equity of educational opportunity. In order to describe how these federal, state, and district mandates impinge on the principal's role, we draw on the contemporary experiences of successful urban principals captured through long-term ethnographic case studies.

US education continues to be shaped by two powerful forces: First, a troubled history of racial oppression that it has been grappling with for over 200 years and that differentiates it from many other countries. David Brooks (2015) recently wrote of the country's continued struggles with race, "Racism is not just a personal prejudice and an evolutionary byproduct. It resurfaces year after year because it's been woven by historical events into the fabric of American culture" (p. A27). This reality is expressed to a greater or lesser degree in virtually every school in the United States, where the proportion of people of color in the young population is now over 50 percent (*Education Week*, 2014).

Second, education in the United States is shaped by a highly decentralized governmental arrangement which relies for the most part on local property taxes to fund education, and accords states and school districts a high degree of local control over policy and practice compared to most other countries. Recent federal efforts to stimulate system change tend to be thwarted by persistent structural variations and cultural preferences (Louis, Febey, & Gordon, 2015). Decentralization results in stark inequities in funding, resource levels, teacher salaries, professional qualifications of teachers, and parental and community involvement. In addition, academic outcomes vary greatly among states, districts, and schools across the United States.¹

Accordingly, to refer to American public education as a formal "system" is a misnomer. It is actually profoundly balkanized and much more resembles an open field of power, with districts and schools striving, at least rhetorically, to leverage their varying resources to best position their students to compete, and in turn ensure the continuing worth of their local communities (Anyon, 2005; Demerath, 2009; Gamoran, 2001; Louis, 2012). How closely this competition is monitored varies across states (Louis, Febey & Gordon, 2014). While most US communities share certain expectations of their local schools (e.g., that the gym and pool will be open for the general public to use in the evening and on weekends), these differ wildly across the country and are mediated by local social and economic conditions. Thus, unlike some countries, in the United States

some states and districts have extremely strong policy profiles and this has implications for principal roles in terms of what they have to pay attention to.

Much of our framing for this chapter, then, relates to how principals become managers of the situated policy and relational contexts of their schools. Along with teacher leaders in their schools, principals function very much as street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 1980), who interpret policy on the ground, through their everyday practices, in order to meet the needs of various stakeholders. As Lipsky points out, “in a sense the street-level bureaucrats implicitly mediate aspects of the constitutional relationship of citizens to the state” (p. 3) due to the influence that they exercise as interpreters of policy intent in a specific context. Street-level bureaucrats are powerful because they have their fingers on the pulse of local needs and resources, and it is this knowledge that shapes how they interpret policy and administrative protocol. From this perspective, the role of principal involves extensive and intensive mediation work: between the school and district (“managing up”) and other external stakeholders (“managing out”), and between various actors and groups within the school (“managing in”). This work includes thinking about how rules can be modified so that the work fits with what is already going on in the school, and what the school itself aspires to be. The view is appropriate given both historical and recent research on the realities of policy implementation, adaptation, and localization (Berman & McLaughlin, 1978; Levinson & Sutton, 2001; Shore & Wright, 2011).

In the chapter we focus on attempts to grapple with present-day implications of racial oppression and economic inequality because they are central to understanding contemporary challenges of school leadership and street-level bureaucrats in other public institutions in the United States. Furthermore, we highlight urban schools in the United States because a large proportion of the least advantaged students and schools are located in these settings, and they tend to be a focus of work related to school improvement, ensuring equitable educational outcomes, and social justice (see, e.g., Bryke et al., 2010; Fine, 1991; Fordham, 1996; Ladson-Billings, 2009; National Research Council, 2004; Rotberg, 2014).

Our arguments here are supported by multiple data sources, including very recent ethnographic data from three urban schools (elementary, middle, and high school). We also draw on data from other research we have completed in different kinds of school settings—all of which are representative of the kinds and types of dilemmas US school leaders face. The discussion locates US principals at the nexus of numerous tensions, between government-initiated policy mandates (which have intensified since 1990) and the neoliberal press for performativity (which varies locally), concerns about the deprofessionalization and clericalization of teaching, and abiding national beliefs that schools are a critical element in attaining social justice goals while maintaining democratic (and often local) control of schools. As political philosopher Amy Gutmann (1993) points out, in the United States it is not possible to disentangle the issue of democratic and local control from social justice.

US principals work in between national, state, district, and school-level policy pressures and increasingly take on mediating roles in translating external policy directives to their schools—hence our focus here on schools more than districts. Until recently, districts generally had weaker influence over principal leadership in schools, often confined, for example, to the selection of textbooks and repair of school buildings. Since the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 2003, however, also known as “No Child Left Behind” (NCLB) principals and districts

have been held accountable for specific student outcomes as well as upholding the state's minimal legal standards.² This has had implications for how principals have had to manage their relationship with districts that are attempting to hold them accountable to what the law assumes they are doing.

Chapter Focus: Principal as Institutional Mediator

Figure 24.1 illustrates how we conceptualize principals as key mediators of these tensions, and how their mediating work shapes teacher support, peer support, classroom practices, and ultimately, student learning. As the figure indicates, we see the principal as the *street-level bureaucrat* who must adjudicate: (1) changes in externally developed policies; (2) the national *zeitgeist* of increasing pressures to address educational equity issues; (3) instructionally focused networks among teachers that make instruction a collective rather than a private responsibility; (4) the development of engaged leadership capacities beyond the cadre of formally appointed leaders; and (5) the increased engagement of parents and community members to support the school and its work.³ There is ample research evidence that each of these affects the work of the principal virtually every day.

The figure also points to an important assumption: that the indirect effects of the principal's leadership in mediating school-wide policies, practices, and assumptions will help, ultimately, to shape student learning. While it is beyond the scope of this review to discuss in any detail the way in which principals affect students, it is important to make clear our assumption that school leaders can and do have observable impacts on their experiences. There is, for example, ample evidence that principals have either direct or indirect effect on teachers' work in their classrooms (see, for

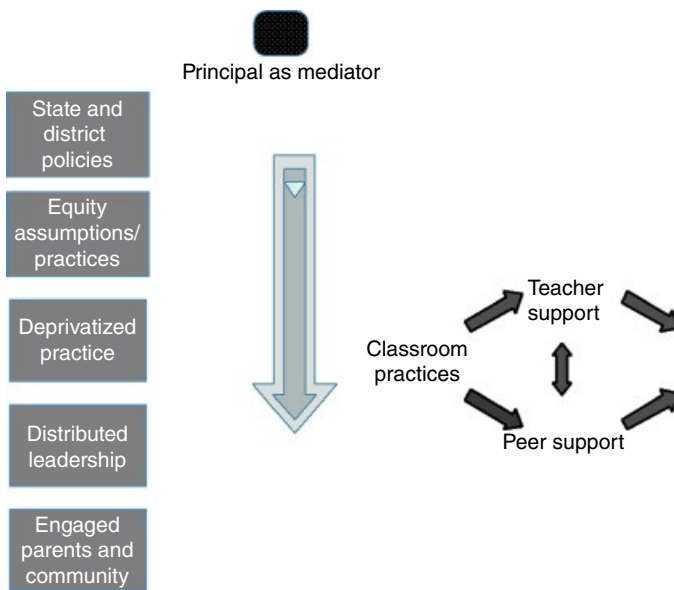


Figure 24.1 Principal as institutional mediator.

example, Leithwood & Louis, 2011). Following Marks, Doane, and Secada's (1996) analysis of a large-scale study of school reform, we assume also that more effective classroom practices on the part of teachers will be translated into students' perceptions of an enriched classroom environment in which they experience academic support both from their teachers and their peers. This pioneering work has been amply supported by the syntheses of teacher and school effects studies by John Hattie (2013) as well as the emerging work on socioemotional learning (Durlak et al., 2011) and classroom emotional climate (Reyes et al., 2012). In other words, the principal's work as a mediator or street-level bureaucrat is not only felt in improved functioning of the school as a work environment, but also in achieving multiple valued outcomes. Each of these principal responsibilities, and the tensions associated with them, will be elaborated below.

We illustrate the US principal role as institutional mediator in part by sharing case study findings on school leadership that the authors have conducted in recent years in a variety of different settings. We draw on the cases to focus on a suite of key issues emerging from this context that shape the work of US school leaders. As we discuss below, many of these are related to the larger goal of minimizing predictable achievement gaps based on race and socioeconomic status (often referred to as equity goals); others emerge from intersecting policy initiatives with historical roots of various time-depth.

The case studies were all conducted in an urban public school district in River City,⁴ a large metropolitan area in the Midwestern United States. As in many US cities, nearly one-quarter of the children in River City live in poverty. River City District (RCD) is one of the largest in the state, serving nearly 40,000 students in grades pre-K through 12. Just 20 years ago, most students were white and working- or middle-class; as in other major US cities however, recent demographic shifts and immigration have significantly altered the make-up of the district's schools, with three-quarters of all students classified as children of color. Poverty rates for children have increased significantly over the last decade, and more than 40 percent speak languages other than English (primarily Spanish, Hmong, and Somali, with more than 100 dialects represented overall). The district's student demographics include 30 percent African American, 30 percent Asian American, 25 percent European American, 14 percent Hispanic American, and 2 percent Indigenous or Native American.

Like other urban districts, River City struggles with low graduation rates, achievement gaps between white and minority student groups, and a lack of preparedness for post-secondary opportunities among graduating students. In 2007, the four-year high school graduation rate in River City District was nearly 65 percent, but for students of color, the four-year graduation rate was 15 percent lower. For those students pursuing higher education, significant numbers are not prepared for rigorous coursework. A May 2005 citizens' group report notes that between 37 percent and 56 percent of River City District graduates who entered the state's public colleges or universities needed remedial courses in math, reading or writing.

Our case study data are drawn from a five-year study of leadership capacity building in three River City public schools: one elementary school, one middle school (junior high), and one high school. In addition, our study included two elementary charter schools. Data collection included observations of administrator and leadership team meetings, professional development sessions, and teacher leader groups;

interviews with administrators, teachers, and teacher leaders; and collection of relevant documents, including School Continuous Improvement Plans (SCIPs), meeting agendas and minutes, professional development materials, and planning documents. All observational and interview data were analyzed and interpreted through an inductive process of constant comparison across and within cases (Erickson, 1986; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

The three case study schools were selected because they share characteristics and face challenges that are typical of US urban schools, and that are also found in other national settings. These include: 1) providing high quality educational opportunities for immigrant children (many of whom speak English as a second language); 2) offering accelerated programs, such as International Baccalaureate, in a public school with an extremely wide range of academic proficiency levels; and 3) experimenting with single-gender education as a means of boosting academic performance for all students.

Lake Johanna Magnet is a Pre-K6 school.⁵ When a large refugee camp in Thailand closed in the early 1990s, Lake Johanna Magnet was one of the first Transitional Learning Centers established in the United States for refugee students and their families. Lake Johanna Magnet had historically been a neighborhood school, but in response to family and community interests in creating a school that included the study of Hmong culture and language as part of its curriculum, Lake Johanna Magnet was granted regional magnet status by River City District four years ago, and currently offers a nationally recognized cultural studies program as well as Hmong dual-language immersion for the youngest students.⁶ As indicated in the 2014–2015 School Continuous Improvement Plan, as of October 1, 2013, Lake Johanna Magnet had an enrollment of 725, of whom 79 percent were Asian American (including many new Karen refugees from Burma) and 74 percent were English Language Learners. 94 percent of the students qualify for free/reduced-price lunch.

Fort Creek Middle School was built in 1981 and up until the 2013–2014 academic year served students in grades seven and eight. Over the last five years there have been many disruptions. In 2010, Fort Creek Middle School was merged with a neighboring middle school, which added students in sixth grade. For over ten years Fort Creek Middle School's unique feature was its single-gender approach to education, in which boys and girls came together only together for all-school assemblies and other events. As part of its structured approach, Fort Creek Middle School is the only RCD middle school that requires uniforms. The gender-segregated program was discontinued in 2013, when school staff, administrators, and district leaders decided that it was ineffective. Fort Creek Middle School had an enrollment of nearly 900 students, with 88 percent of students on free and reduced lunch, 20 percent of students receiving special education services, and 43 percent of students designated as English Language Learners. On the 2012–2013 state proficiency test, 21 percent of Fort Creek Middle School students were deemed proficient in reading; 22 percent in math.

Jefferson High School has seen a gradual increase in its student population over the last 20 years. Space is a regular challenge for the school: over 30 teachers did not have a dedicated classroom during the 2010–2011 school year. The school has a history of innovation: it is an International Baccalaureate school—over 40 staff members have received International Baccalaureate training. Historically, the school's students have excelled on the National French Exam; the school also has one of the five largest Japanese-language programs in the Midwest, with over 260 students.

In addition to programs that benefit college-bound students, it has an award-winning Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps program,⁷ the state's largest Advancement via Individual Determination program (college advising for first generation students), and a unique American Indian Studies Program. As indicated in the 2014–2015 School Continuous Improvement Plan, as of October 1, Jefferson High School had an enrollment of 2,077; with 85 percent of students on free and reduced lunch; 14 percent of students receiving special education services, and 38 percent of students designated as English Language Learners. On the 2013–2014 state proficiency test, 29 percent of JHS White students and 21 percent of African American students received a “proficient” rating in math.

National Trends and District Policies

The US federal role in elementary and secondary education was relatively minimal until the 1980s, when passage of bills to support a variety of equity programs (desegregation, special education, and funding for schools with high percentages of poor students) were introduced. Even then, the proportion of the US education budget from federal sources has rarely exceeded 5 percent. However, under the Obama administration, the federal contribution to school districts has increased from 7 percent to 13 percent of the average local budget. This increase in funding has been contingent upon states adopting particular federal policy prescriptions related to achieving equitable educational opportunity for all students, including initiatives regarding nationalized curricular objectives and enhancing teacher quality. Still, the vast majority of funds for public education are provided through state and local taxes, and, as noted above, the interpretation of federal policy initiatives varies greatly among states (Louis, 2012; Louis, Febey, & Gordon, 2014).

Policies that are initiated at the federal level are thus mediated in turn at the state and district levels. Principals, then, are faced with the need to interpret and implement district policy directives that have often originated at the state and, ultimately, the federal level. Principals, who have (both individually and collectively) limited influence on legislation, tend to focus their efforts on where they can have the most impact: on how teachers work with each other, the extent to which they feel ownership of that work and the goals it is informed by, and how their work is connected to the overall direction and mission of the school. In doing so, they often focus on the policy messages that are sent from the district office, and determine how best to respond in ways that are consistent with the situated goals and needs of the school that they are leading (Coburn, 2005; Louis & Robinson, 2012; Spillane et al., 2002). We draw on the following cases, then, to show how three school leaders address these issues that are shared by peers in similar contexts across the United States.

The Principal's Policy Work: It's All about Relationships

Throughout our research period, River City's district leadership practiced a directive approach, with principals held accountable for school performance. At one meeting, we observed the superintendent delivering a clear message that if principals wanted

to retain their positions, they needed to raise test scores. The Jefferson High School principal commented on what this climate meant for his position as a school leader:

Well, it's top down in the district.... And I get pinched.... But what people in the district don't understand is that the school is a relationship world. That's the world here, and that's the world I live in with the teachers here. And so it makes it very difficult.⁸ (Fieldnotes March 28, 2014)

This principal's point is key to understanding how principals as street-level bureaucrats were engaged in both selling and reinterpreting district messages so that they were meaningful to their teachers. A key tool we have seen principals in River City use to mediate between district policy directives and their school settings is known locally a *target page*—from Knight's (2011) *Instructional Improvement Target*. The target page consolidates school mission and vision aspirations into a grounded set of agreements, with concrete implications for practice and action steps. However, its importance is less as a document than as a vehicle for engendering conversations—cementing relationships—with teachers around issues of school priorities and expectations.

At Lake Johanna Magnet the target page for the 2013–2014 school year articulated priorities that were identified from the principal's classroom observations and by conferring with staff. The focus of the target page was evident in the statement at the top: "Lake Johanna Magnet... a community in which all students and staff members are learners." The target page listed goals in four areas: mindful lesson planning, powerful instruction, ongoing assessments, and professional community. Furthermore, it served as a point of reference to guide several efforts at the school: 1) the principal's walk-through observations; 2) weekly grade-level team meetings; 3) the work of the leadership team, including professional development planning; and 4) a focus for teachers' "peer visits," video reviews, and learning conversations (see below). Each of these components emerged only after lengthy discussions with a teacher leadership team, and further discussions between those grade-level leaders and other teachers. Once affirmed, however, it became a key point of reference for what those at Lake Johanna Magnet wanted for their students, and not a reflection of a district priority for tested achievement goals (Demerath et al., 2013).

In our experience, a key part of the principal's mediating role here is in narrating the school's improvement journey—especially in relation to federal, state, and district metrics and priorities. This may be done in a variety of ways: through memos to staff, on webpages, and especially in staff meetings. Throughout our research, the Jefferson High School principal almost always began staff meetings with comments about the school's "Learning Journey," its six consecutive years of improving scores on the state reading assessment, or mentioning that this is an "amazing story" and that Jefferson is a "school on the move." These comments serve to update the staff on how the school is progressing on its targets, especially relative to state-mandated assessments, and in the process build positive cultural mindsets.

Thus, one of the key challenges of the school principal as a street-level bureaucrat is to interpret and localize district policy while cementing relationships with a large number of professional employees who, without the relatively consistent reminder of collective agreements might, in turn, prefer to become independent interpreters of

policy in their own classrooms. We now turn to the most important and challenging national trend and state and district policy arena: racial equity.

Equity Assumptions and Practices

Addressing predictable achievement gaps based on race/ethnicity has become a national priority in the United States, and has been emphasized in many states and districts as well. These policies and initiatives have been oriented toward redressing major structural inequities, and are central to any discussion of education in the contemporary United States. The achievement gap, which reflected lower tested performance by African Americans, Native Americans and Hispanic Americans, has been a visible aspect of the agenda since 2004, when the No Child Left Behind Act required states to report these results.⁹ One of the more recent troubling trends is how African American students are disproportionately excluded from school through temporary suspensions, and their disproportionate assignment to a category of Special Education that is labeled “emotionally and behaviorally disordered” (EBD) (Bowman-Perrot et al., 2013; US Department of Education, 2012). Being labeled as emotionally and behaviorally disordered often results in within-school exclusion in separate classrooms that rarely provide effective interventions (Harrison et al., 2013) and the consequences for many students leads to non-completion of secondary school and run-ins with the juvenile justice system. The federal policy response over the last six years has favored ramping up curriculum and making it more uniform across districts (Common Core), enhancing teacher and principal quality through mandated evaluations, and, as mentioned above, reducing financial inequities among districts by increasing the federal contribution to district budgets. However, there is evidence that none of the efforts to strengthen the quality of education have mediated these troubling trends. The state that is the setting of the schools that we use as illustrations is no exception to this pattern; there have been numerous stories in the press on overrepresentation of African American students being “warehoused” in alternative programs, where they experience substandard schooling, and how the disproportionate suspensions of students of color has even included children as young as five.

For policy-makers and school leaders, addressing racial inequities involves dilemmas around how to adequately understand and address the relative roles of race and poverty in contributing to academic outcomes. Should the focus be on aggregate demographics, with SES identified as the most important factor, or on the lived experience of members of minoritized groups, including the cumulative effects of micro-aggressions? At the core of this dilemma is balancing equity work with the traditional American public school focus on learning for all.

In River City, as in other US urban districts, some initiatives in this direction have come from the district itself, such as: making professional development available for teachers and administrators on racial equity (in the case of River City, this was outsourced to a national education service provider which focused on the role of racial advantage and disadvantage in everyday life) (Singleton, 2005); adopting suggested frameworks for in-school discussions and initiatives; and hiring and developing teachers and administrators of color (including two of the case study principals themselves).

Multiple Approaches to Addressing Racial Equity: Fort Creek Middle School

The middle school in the cases presented here had three different principals over the course of our study, each of whom exemplified different approaches taken to addressing racial equity in the United States. The first principal laid a foundation for this work by: 1) sending as many teachers as possible to the district-supported racial equity training; 2) relatedly, stimulating school-wide conversations about racial equity by sharing her own “racial autobiography” (as a white woman, she emphasized her experiences in being married to an African American man, and raising bi-racial children); and 3) emphasizing intensive preparation for standardized tests throughout the school year (we note that in other US urban districts—such as Atlanta and Houston—this has occasionally involved “gaming the system”) (Waite, Boone, & McGhee, 2001).

The next principal, an African American woman, sought to connect the school-wide conversations on race with classroom teaching. She opened a staff meeting at the beginning of the school year by saying:

We have a very diverse set of students, we want to make sure we are equipped with the skills to reduce the achievement gap. But to do that we have to have some courageous conversations that might make you feel a little uncomfortable. (Fieldnotes September 30, 2015)

From the beginning of the year, she eliminated school-wide recess, required teachers to post lesson plans outside their doors, and consistently pushed for instruction that engaged all students. In an interview she said, “We have a lot of smart kids that are not being tapped into.” And at a leadership team meeting in the fall she said, “I really see instruction as a piece where, our kids are bored. And it’s just not acceptable.” She said that in her classroom visits she was disturbed by overuse of PowerPoints and Word Finds.¹⁰ “I don’t want to see Word Finds,” she said, “What’s the point?” A leadership team member said that he gave students Word Finds after they finished tests, “Just so they stay in their seats.” Fifteen seconds of silence followed this statement. Then the principal said simply, “To me, it looks like busy work.” This was one of many key moments in the principal’s efforts to encourage the Fort Creek Middle School teaching staff to shift their focus away from behavior and towards academics. As she explained in an interview later, “If you address the teaching, that will take care of a lot of the behavior issues.”

The third principal, an African American man, continued the emphasis on racial equity, by tasking the leadership team with introducing teachers to culturally relevant pedagogy, and, wherever possible, exploring connections between culturally relevant pedagogy and academic rigor. Notably, while the school made modest gains on the state standardized tests under the leadership of the second principal, its scores remained static the following year.

Challenges to Localize District Inclusion Policy: Jefferson High School

Importantly, while some district policies and pressures may be easily woven into a school’s evolving narrative (of, say, “what we are doing to improve things for kids”), others may be more difficult to integrate. This is where the principal’s role of street-level bureaucrat comes into play: in buffering teachers against such intrusions, so that focus can be maintained on priorities as listed on the target page.

For example, the experience of those at Jefferson High School in addressing racial equity was shaped much more by district policy, which compelled the principal to take on a more deliberate and critical mediating role. In the fall of 2013, two months after the school year had started, the district instituted an initiative which called for the immediate full inclusion (integration into regular classrooms) of certain categories of special education and English Language Learner students who had previously resided in self-contained classrooms.

The principal responded in several ways, all of which involved mediation. First were a series of meetings with groups of teacher leaders to adjust the school's schedule and ensure that newly integrated classrooms would be staffed with co-teachers wherever possible. Meanwhile, the principal framed the initiative to the staff in terms of the school's expanding and evolving mission to accelerate the learning for all students (and "all means all," he repeatedly said throughout that school year). However, as the year progressed it became clear that many of the newly integrated students did not have the experience, social skills, or support needed to fit into the comprehensive high school and its hallways. The principal responded by both establishing a school-climate team to generate solutions to the problems identified, and also by elevating the way he talked about this new dimensions of the school's mission—as a "moral imperative."

All the while, the principal took on another mediating role in finding ways to work effectively with the new district-appointed special education supervisor who had been assigned to his school. This person had been charged by the district to work with administrators and teachers on implementing the new full inclusion policy and oversee professional development related to it. The supervisor was a fierce advocate for the students who were the focus of the policy, yet over the course of the two years in the school she established few effective relationships with her colleagues there. This added to the principal's challenges in mediating between district policy directives, which were largely manifest in the supervisor's work in the school, and what they meant for teaching in the largely relationship-oriented world of the school. The inability of the supervisor to effectively work in the school setting resulted in her being placed in a different school the following year.

One of the key challenges facing US school leaders, especially those in urban settings, is that they are charged with making meaningful progress on equity goals, even when there may not be consensus in the policymaking community, or among their staff, on the root causes of achievement gaps. Hence, we encountered a variety of approaches to redressing predictable achievement gaps based on race in our research in River City and challenges for principals: most importantly, those of mediating between these various approaches to racial equity, especially those sponsored by the district and those favored by teachers in their school, and ensuring that the professional development that is undertaken at the school gets circulated and adopted through its networks of relationships.

Distributing Leadership: A Normative Perspective

As in other national contexts, increased accountability has expanded and intensified the work of principals, making it necessary to distribute decision-making across school personnel. Simultaneously, handing leadership away makes it grow and enhances the

investment and involvement of teachers and other staff. The new model of distributed leadership in school requires principals to mediate between groups of teacher leaders and between teacher leaders and other staff, administrators, and even the district. One of the key dilemmas here for principals is how to balance the brokering of distributed leadership through formal organizational means (such as by establishing leadership teams) and/or by opening up more ad-hoc informal channels by which teachers can have collective influence. (Part of this is whether certain leadership work/influence ought to be required, or allowed to develop organically.) Indeed, US schools develop a range of leadership team structures, including highly evolved arrangements consisting of multiple groups or teams that serve both dedicated and intersecting purposes.

Making Teacher Leadership and Adult Learning Normative: Jefferson High School

The Distributive Leadership Model used at Jefferson High School is certainly at the more highly evolved end of this spectrum. During the 2012–2013 school year, the model was composed of eight distinct leadership groups:

Learning Team Facilitators—Professional Learning Community leaders working collaboratively to enhance student learning through comparative analysis and engagement with the Data Teams Process;

Study Group Facilitators—Teacher-leaders who lead groups of eight to ten peers from a variety of content areas across the school;

Multi-Tiered System of Supports—Tier 2 (Group Interventions)—Designated Tier 2 teachers who are dedicated to implementing intensive literacy in their classes using the Data Teams Process;

Grad Crisis (later changed to College and Career Readiness)—A group of teachers and administrators with the explicit purpose of identifying and supporting Jefferson High School students “at risk” of not meeting graduation requirements;

Multi-Tiered System of Supports Leadership Team—The largest and most centralized leadership group which serves as the “Target Design Team” for school improvement efforts;

Administrators PLC—Administrative group which also uses the Data Teams Process as well as walkthroughs and videos of classroom instruction to monitor and support the implementation of school-wide instructional goals;

Department Chairs—Meets as needed to discuss and support departmental work, such as allocating resources and scheduling; and

Equity Team—A relatively new group, mandated by the district, the Equity Team is dedicated to supporting efforts aimed at realizing the school’s equity goals.

The school also had leadership groups that were convened on a more ad-hoc basis to respond to particular needs, such as the upcoming introduction of the International Baccalaureate Middle Years Program to the school and to respond to challenges arising from a new district-mandated full inclusion model (see below).

Most importantly, the Jefferson High School principal and one of the assistant principals regularly supported and scaffolded teacher leadership in the school. They solicited feedback from the teaching staff on matters of school policy and practice, and created and sustained networks of influence in the school, consistently communicating to

teachers that their voices mattered. Several teachers commented that their leadership was valued by the school. One said, “I think it’s welcomed by the administration and I think that the administration wants more teachers involved in the leadership.” Another teacher confirmed this sentiment:

Interviewer: To what extent is this school, umm, open to teachers taking on those kinds of [leadership] roles and having an influence?

Respondent: I would say, 100 percent. We’ve got some great staff members who step up when something is needed, somebody steps up. We’ve got a pretty good staff here. Some people are just willing to take on whatever it takes, you know, to get things done—to implement some of these things. (Interview June 10, 2013)

One dimension of the Jefferson High School culture related to its leadership capacity was the emphasis on adult learning, which was regarded as a foundation to distributed leadership and improvement. This emphasis opened the way for adults to take chances by adopting new instructional strategies and taking on new leadership roles. The principal once explained, “It’s a learning-by-doing world here.”¹¹ This spirit of embracing learning was found throughout the staff, and furthermore, statements about adult learning were frequently laced with humor. For example, during the 2012–2013 academic year, the Grad Crisis team took on a central role in the school-wide push on math preparation. At a staff meeting, the principal actually had one of the school’s reading coaches present some of the Grad Crisis team’s plans to enhance math support (when he had learned of this role at an earlier Grad Crisis meeting, this coach had said, “Good, because as you know, I’m thinking about math all the time.”)

In this area, the challenges facing the principal as street-level bureaucrat relate primarily to “managing in”—how to create a culture of collaborative leadership and adult learning so that the school can not only run smoothly, but respond to unforeseen difficulties. This sort of interior leadership capacity is central to establishing a culture of continuous improvement.

Deprivatizing Practice

As in other countries, US schools have for several years been attempting to create cultures of improvement built in part around relationships, institutional belonging, and increased knowledge flow. The central role of principals has been in articulating and realizing a vision for how teachers are expected to work together (i.e. deprivatizing practice). This role has brought with it its own set of dilemmas; primarily, identifying what should be emphasized in organizing the work of teachers. There are several possible avenues deprivatizing teaching here, including professional community, moral purpose, and emotional belonging. But, should the focus of such efforts be on furthering the individual passions and interests of each teacher, or on creating school-wide shared professional knowledge? Finally, to what extent should the natural affinities of teachers be reflected in how collective work is organized? To what extent should this work be organized more systematically?

There are many ways in which principals are leading deprivatization work in the United States. Most common is the establishment of Professional Learning Communities

(Dufour et al., 2010). All of the schools in our study had embedded Professional Learning Communities (Professional Learning Community meetings during the school day). Characterized by the “data teams” process, Professional Learning Communities were typically dedicated to establishing common assessment practices and lesson planning.

The ubiquity and appeal of Professional Learning Communities in the United States is apparent in the fact that the term has become a verb (“I PLC with...”). Professional Learning Communities were typically identified by teachers in the case study schools as an important, if not the most important school strength. In addition, there were several other approaches to deprivatizing practice evident in River City.

Developing Non-judgmental Ways of Visiting Classrooms: Lake Johanna Magnet

Classroom visits have been a favored means of facilitating teacher exchange and stimulating instructional improvement. However, they are also seen by some teachers as being “risky,” and therefore difficult to establish because of the perceived exposure to external judgment and critique. The principal at Lake Johanna Magnet came together with her leadership team to discuss these issues, and they collaboratively developed a template that teachers could use to guide their visits to their colleagues’ classrooms. The result was non-summatively evaluated visits that have built-in space for feedback meant to induce thoughtfulness.

When asked about the effects of the peer visits on the staff at the school, one leadership team member responded:

The community we created with peer visits and being open to peer visits and having learning conversations. I see a difference in rotation meetings with all the different groups of having more trust and being willing to enter into the conversations, or working together on instruction. Or having peers talk and bringing out areas they want to work on. And putting it on the table and working through it.

We’ve really made a lot of growth in our learning conversations and our video conversations. We started at the end of last year but I really feel now it’s an embedded practice... Last year I felt we were getting better at them, whereas this year I feel like we’re using the process to get better at teaching. I feel that in myself, but also from what I’ve noticed in colleagues and heard from colleagues, too (Demerath et al., 2013, p. 36).

Jefferson High School: Showcasing Teachers and Establishing Study Groups

Jefferson High School has devised two primary ways of deprivatizing practice: showcasing the work of teachers and developing cross-departmental study groups. Staff meetings at Jefferson High School were almost entirely given over to professional development (rather than, say, discussion of logistical matters). Often teachers, co-teachers, or teams of teachers were asked to showcase innovative instructional practices for their peers, with time for discussion and questions.

The school’s study groups were developed to provide a cross-departmental learning forum, where teachers could explore the “how” of teaching together (the Jefferson High School principal described Professional Learning Communities as getting at the “what”

of teaching). Over the last four years this has included reading selected articles and books, and watching and discussing videos on how to engage students; how to integrate instructional technology; and increasingly, how to co-teach.

At both Lake Johanna Magnet and Jefferson High School, we saw principals addressing challenges related to deprivatizing practice by developing systematic in-school practices to encourage professional dialogue among teachers that were linked to the schools' mission and moral purpose. It is important to mention, however, that there were still teachers at Jefferson High School who desired more individual choice in the content and delivery of their in-school professional development.

Engaging Parents and Community

As in other countries, parent and community engagement is increasingly seen in the United States as a crucial component of high-quality schools. It is also, however, the most difficult strategy to develop and sustain. River City Public Schools, like other districts, requires schools to include a parent and community engagement plan in each year's School Continuous Improvement Plan. However, while principals are mandated to develop this dimension of their schools, they face dilemmas in how to do so, many of which are linked to the same challenges related to racial equity mentioned earlier. For example, to what extent should schools be guided by general professional knowledge regarding best practices in partnering with parents and communities (e.g., Epstein, 2011)? To what extent should they seek to honor specific and local community preferences for partnership priorities?

For many US schools, these dilemmas are largely unresolved, particularly in secondary schools, where a number of factors conspire to keep parents at a distance (such as a complex curriculum with multiple subject-specialist teachers with whom to interact, and the inevitable fact that so many teenagers are embarrassed by their parents' presence in their school). Moreover, these efforts are generally resource-intensive, requiring, to be effective, dedicated staff to assume a position of parent liaison. Thus, while the US tradition of local control assumes that parents should influence the school, this varies a great deal across the country and is influenced by recent immigration patterns. While some upper middle-class parents may regard it as their right to assume a proprietary relationship with the school, other parents may subscribe to beliefs that the school is the rightful province of professional teachers and should be regarded as such.

In addition, as a consequence of urbanization and desegregation in the US, fewer teachers actually live in the communities where they teach. This all adds up to a setting quite different from that of some Swiss cantons, where teachers are still elected by the local parents. Still, several efforts to engage parents and communities were in evidence in River City during the time of our study. These included the following:

District-supported Parent Academies—a six week course made up of two-hour evening sessions where parents and caregivers can learn how best to support their child's school learning.

An adult learning community center adjacent to Jefferson High School where parents could work towards their GED (high school diploma equivalent), take other classes, and access various community resources.

Experimenting with various formats for parent-teacher conferences in order to stimulate greater parent involvement. Some of the approaches in River City included student-led parent-teacher conferences, and also holding a community fair during the conference where parents could access other local social services.

As mentioned above, Lake Johanna Magnet has had a history of community involvement in curricular and instructional planning. The school also has a Hmong museum, complete with traditional dwelling, and a rich array of indigenous cultural artifacts and art forms.

Several of the schools have corporate and non-profit sector partnerships which provide them with needed instructional resources as well as mentoring programs for students.

All of the schools have also met with an external media consultant to update stakeholders on ongoing developments, and generate positive public impressions of school improvement efforts. These efforts are especially important given that the state has a school choice policy in effect, where students can apply for enrollment in any school in the state.

Summary

Overall, in our view, the institutional mediating work of these principals is part of the key overarching role of cultural manager taken on by principals in the United States and in other national settings (Peterson & Deal 1998, 2009; Schein, 2004; Seashore & Wahlstrom, 2011). As illustrated in this chapter, the role involves multiple challenges related to localizing these external policy imperatives into school culture (Levinson & Sutton, 2001; Shore & Wright, 2011); articulating priorities; narrating the school's journey; and maintaining positive momentum on working towards equitable outcomes.

Throughout this chapter we have described how a group of principals in a fairly typical urban US district address these challenges in their role as institutional mediators. Nearly all of their efforts involve mediating between district directives and the relationship worlds of their schools.

In the primary area of racial equity, we have seen principals mediate between multiple approaches to redressing achievement gaps, including those sponsored by the district and those favored by their teaching staff ("managing up and in"). These principals have instilled several ways of distributing leadership among their staff members, including establishing elaborate leadership structures and developing ad hoc teacher leadership groups to respond to emerging challenges ("managing in"). With regard to deprivatizing practice, the principals have favored systematic, in-school practices ("managing in") that encourage professional exchange among teachers—leaving some teachers still desiring more customizable professional development more suited to their own interests and needs. Finally, we observed numerous approaches to establishing partnerships with parents and communities ("managing out"), perhaps the most difficult area in which to make discernable progress. Because the state has a school choice policy, one of the strategies employed by principals involved working with an external media consultant who was involved in publishing positive accounts of the schools and their improvement efforts.

Our research in these settings suggests that both Lake Johanna Magnet and Jefferson High School may be seen as "successful" schools, largely because of their principals'

abilities to address these challenges as institutional mediators. These school leaders have found ways to localize district directives into their evolving school missions by leveraging the leadership capacities, professional learning, and collective problem solving abilities of their teachers. They have been able to do what many US school leaders aspire to: achieve meaningful results and convey to their teachers, parents, and to the district that their schools are on improvement trajectories. They have been open to involvement by the community, but have emphasized establishing internal norms of democratic participation that focus on social justice. Teachers are expected to learn, contribute, influence their peers—and to assume responsibility for improving the experiences of the diverse students that they teach.

Notes

- 1 See, for example the National Center for Educational Statistics report on differences in definitions of academic proficiency among states (NCES, 2015).
- 2 The reauthorization of ESEA has been stalled in the US Congress since 2007; at the time of writing a final bill was nearing completion which would likely curtail the federal government's role in holding states accountable to specific educational standards.
- 3 While this list of principal responsibilities is derived from our own work, it is consistent with the proposed revision to the Council of Chief State School Officers standards for school leadership (CCSSO, 2014).
- 4 A pseudonym, as are the names of schools in the chapter.
- 5 The district switched LJM to a PReK-5 school for 2013–2014.
- 6 The district asked Lake Johanna Magnet to expand the program to grades 2–5 for 2013–2014.
- 7 Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps refers to a program that prepares students to enter the armed services, and includes leadership training as well as content courses (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Junior_ReserveOfficers%27_Training_Corps).
- 8 Extended quotes are taken from either fieldnotes or recorded interviews, as indicated. Three ellipses (...) indicate a pause in the protocol; four ellipses (...) indicate protocol omitted.
- 9 Note that these and other mandated reporting requirements are based on tests that are chosen or designed by the state rather than the federal government. Tests are not comparable between states (NCES, 2015).
- 10 An individual game where the player finds words amongst a pattern of random letters.
- 11 The importance in the U.S. of the principal's role in creating a school climate that fosters learning-by-doing for adults is well documented by Drago-Severson (2012).

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