PART I
Chapter 4

Governance, Management and Leadership

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Abstract. Glatter presents four ideal-type models of educational governance: competitive market (CM), school empowerment (SE), local empowerment (LE), and quality control (QC). He examines their implications in reference to international research for key factors of governance and management: autonomy; accountability, intermediate authority and functions, and school leadership. Mulford presents key findings from the Leadership for Organisational Learning and Student Outcomes (LOLSO) Research Project in Australia, relating these to broader international research. The leadership that makes a difference in secondary schools operates indirectly, not directly, to influence student outcomes via organisational learning (OL) that creates a collective teacher efficacy. He also describes the “transformational” school principal and rejects “the great man or woman” theory of leadership. Shuttleworth presents key findings from an OECD/CERI “What Works” study published in 2000 that analysed innovation in school management in nine countries. It discusses the tension between “top-down” reforms and “bottom up” renewal through knowledge leadership.
1. Models of Governance and their Implications for Autonomy, Accountability and Leadership: (Ron Glatter)\(^1\)

1.1. Models of governance in school education

“Governance” offers an overarching concept to establish a framework within which other common concepts relating to structure and process, such as autonomy and accountability, can be located. This paper presents a framework, developed from Glatter and Woods (1995) and summarised in Table 4.1, of different models of governance in school education. Four models are distinguished: competitive market (CM), school empowerment (SE), local empowerment (LE), and quality control (QC). These models should be seen as ideal types and are by no means comprehensive; in practice, each system will operate some composite of them. Sometimes they may complement and reinforce each other as they impact on localities and schools but their interaction is also likely to cause tensions which participants must seek to resolve. The framework provides a useful instrument through which to examine some key issues of structure and process in the governance of school education. Examples of policies characteristic of each model are shown first, and then specific features of each of them are identified against a number of issues of structure and process.

**Competitive market:** The major perspective underlying the CM model is the analogy with the commercial market place. The school is viewed as a small- or medium-sized business with a high degree of autonomy and few formal links with the governmental structure. The main focus within the system is not on the individual school but on the relevant “competitive arena” (Woods et al., 1998), which will contain a group of (generally) adjacent schools in competition with each other for pupils and funds. The nature of this arena will vary depending on factors such as the socio-economic character of the area, including access to private transport, and the relative density of the population; where the population is very thinly spread there may be no arena at all.

**School empowerment:** Policy-makers often claim that they are seeking to empower school-level stakeholders, in particular the head teacher or principal and other staff as well as parents. The delegation of functions to school level has been “legitimised by a discourse of empowerment” (Arnott, 2000, p. 70). The perspectives underlying this model (SE) might be political (in the broad
sense of dispersing power) and/or managerial. In some national contexts, the emphasis has been purely managerial based on the principle that decisions are best taken as closely as possible to the point of action, while in others the arguments have also been couched in terms of freedom and choice. Although the SE model is often in practice combined with CM, it is analytically distinct and the picture conveyed of the school is different. The focus in SE is more on the institution itself and the way it is run than on its competitive activities “against” other institutions. It encompasses ideas of participation, identification and partnership – the school conceived of as an extended community – and in this respect it contrasts with the CM model. The unit within the system that provides its “centre of gravity” is the school itself.

Table 4.1. Models of Governance in School Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Models</th>
<th>Competitive Market (CM)</th>
<th>School Empowerment (SE)</th>
<th>Local Empowerment (LE)</th>
<th>Quality Control (QC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indicative policies</td>
<td>Pupil number led funding e.g. by vouchers;</td>
<td>Authority devoted to school on finance, staffing, curriculum, student admissions; Substantial powers for school council/governing body</td>
<td>Authority devoted to locality on finance, staffing, curriculum, student admissions; Substantial powers for local community council/governing body</td>
<td>Regular, systematic inspections; Detailed performance targets; Mandatory curriculum and assessment requirements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More open enrolment; Published data on school performance; Variety of school types</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main perspective(s)</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Political and/or managerial</td>
<td>Political and/or managerial</td>
<td>Bureaucratic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the individual school is viewed</td>
<td>As a small business</td>
<td>As a participatory community</td>
<td>One of a “family” of local schools</td>
<td>As a point of delivery/local outlet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main focus within the system</td>
<td>The relevant competitive arena</td>
<td>The individual school</td>
<td>The locality as a social and educational unit</td>
<td>Central or other state bodies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature of schools’ autonomy</td>
<td>Substantial</td>
<td>Devolved</td>
<td>Consultative</td>
<td>Guided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form of accountability</td>
<td>Contractual; consumerist</td>
<td>Responsive; “dual” community</td>
<td>Responsive; community forum</td>
<td>Contractual; hierarchical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of performance measurement</td>
<td>Inform consumer choice</td>
<td>Provide management information</td>
<td>Benchmarking across units</td>
<td>Monitor and develop system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key school leadership role</td>
<td>Entrepreneur</td>
<td>Director and co-ordinator</td>
<td>Networker</td>
<td>Production manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function of intermediate authority</td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>Supportive, advisory</td>
<td>Strategic co-ordination</td>
<td>Production supervision as agent of controlling body</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Local empowerment: Some countries have been more concerned with devolution to local and municipal authorities than to schools, and this model needs to be represented explicitly within the framework. Although the LE
model shares the term “empowerment” and some features with SE, there are also significant differences between them. As with SE, the justification for this form of empowerment can be in political or managerial terms or both. However, the perception of the individual school is different. The school is here viewed more clearly as one of a “family” of schools, as part of a local educational system and as a member of a broader community in which there are reciprocal rights and obligations. The contrast with the CM model is particularly evident. Martin et al. (2000 p. 12) have developed a framework which “contrasts a system of local education devolved according to the principles of community governance as against those of the market”, in which they compare “consumer” with “local” democracy. With the LE model, the main focus is on the locality as a social and educational unit and its representative bodies, though implementing representative local democracy satisfactorily is fraught with difficulties.

Quality control: Under the pressures of global competition and growing demands on public expenditure, governments are increasingly seeking control over the quality of key school processes and products even in highly devolved and/or market-like systems. The major underlying perspective in the QC model is bureaucratic, laying down rules and requirements and operating through set procedures, controls and monitoring arrangements. The implied picture of the school is of a “point of delivery” of many of the educational “goods” on offer. The established targets – “product mix” and “product quality” – are set at either the central or state level, depending on the constitutional arrangements. Under the QC model, the units within the system which provide the “centre of gravity” are located within, or closely connected to, central or regional government.

1.2. School autonomy

The above framework suggests differences in the nature of schools’ autonomy under each of the four models. The concept of autonomy is connected with the trend to devolve power to lower levels in many countries. Green (1999, p. 61) has described the variety of forms that this trend can take: “Decentralisation has variously meant devolving power to the regions, the regional outposts of central government (deconcentration), the local authorities, the social partners and the institutions themselves”. He maintains that clear differences remain between countries despite the trend, especially between those where most power lies at the centre (such as France and Japan), where regional control is strongest (such as Germany and Switzerland), where local control now predominates (the Nordic countries), and where substantial power has been devolved to schools and the market-place (Netherlands and the UK).
Clarification of forms and trends is thus needed in which key questions are autonomy for whom? Over what? Bullock and Thomas (1997) distinguish between the autonomy of the individual learner, the educator and the institution. They argue that the level of autonomy of one of these might be increased while at the same time being reduced for the others. That autonomy is a relative concept is also seen in considering the domains in which autonomy might be given to schools. Sharpe (1994) presents a “self-management continuum” from total external control to total self-management, and identifies movements along four sub-continua in Australia over a twenty-year period. These are concerned with input variables, such as finance, staff and students; structure variables, such as decisions about the patterns of provision; process variables, such as the management of curriculum; and environment variables, to do with reporting and marketing. His conclusion is that increased government control in some areas has modified or even nullified the impact of enhanced self-management in others.

Bullock and Thomas examined decentralisation in eleven very diverse countries, including China, Poland, Uganda and the USA, along four dimensions: curriculum and assessment, human and physical resources, finance, and access (pupil admissions). They found movements towards both more and less autonomy, and conclude that the impact of decentralisation on autonomy appears to be uncertain and problematic. They also noted the “paradox” in some countries such as England and New Zealand of simultaneous centralisation and decentralisation – the former occurring in the curriculum field and, to some extent, funding regimes, with greater government powers over the definition of educational priorities, alongside schools having scope to decide how best to implement them. Simkins (1997) distinguishes between criteria power, concerned with determining purposes and frameworks, and operational power, concerned with service delivery. Karlsen (2000, p. 531) also refers to such a distinction in his analysis of educational governance in Norway and British Columbia, Canada – “a decentralisation dynamic in which initiating is a central task, but in which implementation and accountability are local duties”.

The paradox of “decentralised centralism” notwithstanding, substantial autonomy has been accorded to schools in England in recent years. The process has led to a much larger role for head teachers (principals), particularly in relation to resources. The external pressure for enhanced performance and for the implementation of curricular changes has increased the scope and intensity of the work, and the head’s role is now commonly exercised together with a group of senior staff including the deputy head (Levacic, 1998; Wallace and Hall, 1994). The autonomy of other teaching staff has arguably declined as a result of the advent of the national curriculum and the impact of school-based budgeting on many teachers’ employment position (Bullock and Thomas, 1997).
The evidence that devolution has an impact on pupil learning is extremely thin, due at least in part to the complexity of the processes involved and the inherent difficulty of investigating them. There is evidence that devolution has significantly enhanced the quality of schools’ internal planning capacities and processes (Levacic, 1998). Enhancing school autonomy in some respects while extending central control in others, in the context of a limited “market”, has had another somewhat paradoxical effect. Schools have on the whole tended not to differentiate themselves in order to focus on a specific niche, but rather have sought to appeal to a broad grouping of parents and pupils. Nor have the structural arrangements tended to promote diversity among institutions as they have mainly sought to emulate the dominant high status school model (Woods et al., 1998). At the time of writing, the British government is seeking to introduce measures to promote diversity (Department for Education and Employment, 2001). A key issue in any move towards devolution is the effectiveness of support systems, including development opportunities.

An OECD study of 14 national school systems (OECD, 1995a) sought to distinguish three modes of decision-making: full autonomy; decisions made after consultation with another authority at an adjoining level; and those made within guidelines set by another authority, generally at the top. In Table 4.1 this simple classification has been adapted to the framework of models of governance. In the CM model, the autonomy of schools would be very substantial though “full” autonomy is virtually unimaginable as there are always constraints, not least legal constraints, (even for a highly unorthodox independent school, see Sharpe, 1994). A key purpose of the SE model is to maximise schools’ autonomy within an overall system, so here “devolved” is the descriptor. The LE model emphasises the school as a member of a co-operating family of institutions, so here the term “consultative” is taken from the OECD 1995 typology. In the QC model, the role of the senior authority at central or state level is more pronounced, so the appropriate form of autonomy here is “guided”.

In commenting on school-based management (SBM) in the USA, Wohlstetter and Sebring (2000, p. 174) maintain: “An underlying premise of SBM is that school-level participants trade increased autonomy for increased accountability.” It is to accountability we turn next.

1.3. Accountability

Accountability is a contested and complex concept, and has been described as “the engine of policy” (Cotter, 2000). An important distinction is that between contractual and responsive accountability (Halstead, 1994). Contractual accountability is concerned with the degree to which educators are fulfilling the expectations of particular audiences in terms of standards, outcomes and results. It is based on an explicit or implicit contract with those audiences and
tends to be measurement-driven, with the factors to be measured—educational, financial or other—selected by those audiences to fit their perceived preferences and requirements. Responsive accountability refers to decision-making by educators, after taking account of the interests and wishes of relevant stakeholders. It is more concerned with process than outcomes, and with stimulating involvement and interaction to secure decisions that meet a range of needs and preferences.

Such a distinction cannot be applied too sharply, but it indicates differing accountability emphases. Thus in the CM model the provision of schooling is analogous to a commercial service and so the predominant form of accountability is contractual. In the SE model, with its focus on the school as a participatory community, the dimension of responsiveness is uppermost. In LE, the broader local community is the pivotal unit, so responsiveness to stakeholders is even more pronounced here. Finally, in the QC model the contractual form will be the significant one, and specified by governments or their agents rather than by parents or “consumers” as in CM. With accounting entrenched at the government level as a relatively straightforward way of conveying information to the public, QC will tend to draw on the “accounting model of accountability that has pre-specified categories and accounts in terms of discrete scales of measurement. This will often drive the bureaucracy to organise the tests and deliver the numbers” (Cotter, 2000, pp. 4;12).

Each of the models implies a different mode of accountability. In CM, the mode is consumerist, with power in principle being placed in the hands of consumer-surrogates (parents or guardians) to decide whether to choose the school for their child or to keep them there. The position is more complex in the case of SE. Many formulations (e.g. Halstead, 1994; Kogan, 1986) refer to professional accountability but in school empowerment models, professionals often have to share authority with school boards which include parents and community members. These are often characterised as relatively weak bodies with unclear roles and with agendas set by the professionals, particularly the principal and other senior staff (Levacic, 1995). However, the SE model does allow the possibility of a significant element of non-professional participation, especially, for example, in senior schools or colleges where employment interests may be represented on governing boards. Hence, the mode of accountability in this model can be characterised as “dual”.

Within LE, the accountability mode can be characterised as “community forum”, indicating that ultimate authority lies at a local level beyond the school, though with many variations in the size and socio-geographical nature of this unit and whether it operates on collegial or directive principles. There is the possibility in this case of extensive network or partnership arrangements with their tendency to produce fragmentation and “opaque accountability” (Rhodes, 1999). The mode in QC will be hierarchical, in that
accountability will be owed to the body with power to define and control quality, located generally at national or state level.

A final aspect of accountability to be considered in relation to the models concerns the purpose of measurement. Although measuring performance is more prominent in contractual than responsive versions of accountability, the recent rise of target setting, performance management, and the “audit society” have been notable aspects of public service operations in many countries. The prime purpose of such measurement varies depending on the model. In CM, the chief purpose will be to inform consumer choice. In SE, performance measurement and analysis will be conducted in order to provide management information to facilitate organisational improvement. In the LE model, a key purpose will be to provide comparative benchmarking information across organisational units to promote local system enhancement. Under QC, the main purpose will be to monitor, control and develop the system as a whole.

1.4. Intermediate authority and functions

The key functions and roles of the intermediate authority – where such a level exists – differ significantly between the four models of governance. In a pure CM model, its functions are minimal, covering perhaps the provision of information to parents and support for pupils with additional educational needs. In the SE model, the intermediate authority’s role will be primarily supportive and advisory. Under LE much will depend on whether the geographical scope of its responsibility fits with the “local system of schooling” concept underlying the model. In some contexts it does, in others cluster arrangements have been developed (for example the Education Action Zones in England, DfEE, 1999) based on areas which are smaller than those covered by the relevant intermediate authorities. Intermediate authorities in some countries, for example the municipalities in Sweden and many school districts in the USA, come closer in size to a model of “community governance” than their counterparts in other countries. For simplicity this range is not elaborated in Table 4.1, so that in the LE model the intermediate authority’s key function is presented as strategic co-ordination. By contrast, in QC the authority becomes more of a production supervisor as an agent of the central controlling body. In reality, the eclecticism of many national arrangements is the source of major tensions and dilemmas, including for schools and their leaders.

1.5. School leadership

The governance models imply distinct roles for school leadership. In CM, school leaders are expected to provide the kind of education sought by the consumers, or more particularly their surrogates – parents and guardians. Thus, “the identification and stimulation of parent demand for the kind of education the organisation can produce most efficiently, becomes a primary...
task of the manager” (McGinn and Welsh, 1999, p. 47). It requires primarily an entrepreneurial style of leadership. In the SE model, the school leader has to draw together the many different educational, managerial and financial threads in the work of the school, as well as to stimulate and if possible inspire the professionals to greater achievement. Evidence suggests that under devolved school management both the roles of chief executive and educational leader attain greater significance (Levacic, 1998). In addition, there is a demanding external dimension: “although head teachers have gained more autonomy, they also have to meet increasingly diverse demands from all sides and are often caught in conflict. Head teachers get headaches” (Hernes, 2000, p. 2). Both a directing and a co-ordinating style are required.

In the LE model, there is a key requirement for school leaders to become effective networkers, both to promote the school’s interests within the local system and to collaborate productively in a partnership mode with their peers. Under QC, the school leader’s role is more akin to that of a production manager, organising the school and its staff to deliver products or outcomes of the requisite quality.

This analysis is necessarily an over-simplification. In practice, school leaders will interpret and enact their role in a variety of ways depending on their individual personalities, the cultures of their schools, and other factors. The analysis does suggest, however, that the governance context is an important and often neglected influence on school leadership. Generalisations are frequently made about the features associated with effective school leadership without taking into account the specific and diverse frameworks of governance within which it is exercised. For example, Cotter suggests that “the current exhortations to principals to be transformational do not sit easily beside narrow forms of accountability” (2000, p. 8). He argues that such forms, in which principals are expected to accept given categories without reflection, are more consonant with transactional forms of leadership, as in the above analogy with the production manager in the QC model.

Life in practice is more complex still, and school leaders face not a single model of governance but several. It is common for elements of the CM model to be combined with others from SE and QC. As Leithwood (2001, p. 228) suggests, in the face of this “policy eclecticism”, school leaders “can be excused for feeling that they are being pulled in many different directions simultaneously. They are being pulled in many different directions simultaneously”. This gives rise to tensions and dilemmas for school leaders, as when within their school “the principal is required to be both a member of the cast and the star” (Wildy and Louden, 2000, p. 180), and within the wider system they are expected both to collaborate and compete. School leaders have the task of successfully managing these tensions and ambiguities. A major skill is to buffer the staff from external pressures that conflict with the school’s goals without insulating them from
legitimate influences for improvement. Realising this difficult task is among the most important faced by school leaders today.

Structures of governance vary widely between different national contexts. As a result of the high level of reform activity in many countries, these structures are often in considerable flux. Practitioners need to analyse their own contemporary settings closely and take this analysis into account in developing their approach to the management of external relations. This paper is intended to contribute to this challenging task.

2. Leadership for Organisational Learning in Schools and Improved Student Outcomes (Bill Mulford)²

2.1. School reform needs an evidence base – the contribution of Leadership, Organisational Learning and Student Outcomes (LOLSO)

Reforms for schools, no matter how well conceptualised, powerfully sponsored, or closely audited will often fail in the face of cultural resistance from within schools, whether from students (e.g. Rudduck and Flutter, 2000), teachers (Berends, 2000), middle managers (Busher and Harris, 2000), or head teachers (Leithwood and Duke, 1999). Sometimes, such resistance is desirable so that schools do not fall prey to the itinerant peddlers of new movements, who arrive exhorting their latest elixirs of “quick fix”. Yet, resistance means that reforms with great potential can equally fall to the same fate.

How can schools and systems choose the genuine ideas offering long-term improvement from the superficial and short-term? A robust evidence base for school improvement is needed and this has become a growing emphasis for policy and practice in recent years. Its value will depend crucially on the validity of the evidence itself, so as not to fall foul to the old computing phrase “garbage in, garbage out”. This paper presents some key findings from a quality evidence base relevant for school reform – the Leadership for Organisational Learning and Student Outcomes (LOLSO) Research Project in Australia. Its quality derives through having integrity and predictive validity as well as clearly defined variables. It is able to capture complexities that more closely match the realities faced by schools than much of the previous research. It has been gathered from sources other than head teachers, who tend to overestimate the effectiveness of reforms compared with classroom teachers (Mulford et al., 2001), and by those without a vested interest through having designed or implemented the reforms.³ It has predictive validity through being able to link leadership with organisational learning (OL) and, unusually, student outcomes.

LOLSO is especially powerful as a data base by its particular combination of: i) a large secondary school sample; ii) longitudinal design; iii) clearly defined variables; iv) inclusion of the concept of OL; v) use of student and teacher “voice”;
vi) a large number of variables covering leadership processes, organisational learning and student outcomes as well as the context of Socio-Economic Status (SES), home educational environment and school size; and vii) consistent with OECD’s (2001c) recent Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) report a measure of student outcomes wider than only academic achievement. LOLSO’s research design combined four phases of data collection and analysis over four years, allowing for iterative cycles of theory development and testing and using multiple forms of evidence. The key relationships established empirically through LOLSO data are shown in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1. The main school relationships explaining student outcomes and achievement

Source: Author.

2.2. Leadership, organisational learning and student outcomes – the relationships

The LOLSO research shows that the leadership that makes a difference in secondary schools is both position-based (principal) and distributive (administrative team and teachers). But both are only indirectly related to
student outcomes. Organisational Learning (OL), or a collective teacher
efficacy, is the important intervening variable between leadership and teacher
work and then student outcomes. That is, leadership contributes to OL, which
in turn influences what happens in the core business of the school – the
teaching and learning. It influences how students perceive the way teachers
organise and conduct their instruction, and their educational interactions
with, and expectations for, their students. Pupils' positive perceptions of
teachers’ work directly promote participation in school, academic self-
concept and engagement with school. Pupil participation is directly and pupil
engagement indirectly (through retention from Year 10 to Year 12) related to
academic achievement as measured by a five-subject aggregate Tertiary
Entrance Score.

The LOLSO research demonstrated clearly that the best leadership for OL
and a range of improved student outcomes were a principal skilled in
transformational leadership and administrators and teachers who are actively
involved in the core work of the school (shared or distributive leadership).
What is especially important is that staff are actively and collectively
participating in the school and feel that their contributions are valued.

The transformational school principal was found to focus on:

- **Individual Support** – providing moral support, showing appreciation for the
  work of individual staff and taking account of their opinions.
- **Culture** – promoting an atmosphere of caring and trust among staff, setting
  the tone for respectful interaction with students, and demonstrating a
  willingness to change.
- **Structure** – establishing a school structure that promotes participative
decision-making, supporting delegation and distributive leadership, and
encouraging teacher decision-making autonomy.
- **Vision and Goals** – working toward whole-staff consensus on school
  priorities and communicating these to students and staff to establish a
  strong sense of overall purpose.
- **Performance Expectation** – having high expectations for students and for
  teachers to be effective and innovative.
- **Intellectual Stimulation** – encouraging staff to reflect on what they are trying
  to achieve with students and how they are doing it; facilitates opportunities
  for staff to learn from each other and models continual learning in his or
  her own practice.

OL was found to involve a clear sequence of factors from establishing a
trusting and collaborative climate, followed by having a shared and monitored
mission, and then taking initiatives and risks within a context of on-going,
relevant professional development. The higher the teachers rate the school on
these sequential dimensions defining OL, the more positively teachers’ work is perceived in classrooms by their students which, in turn, impacts on the outcomes of their schooling.

We also found that gender of the principal and of teachers, and teacher’s years in education and age, were not factors promoting leadership or OL. However, school size does: the larger metropolitan schools of over 900 students do not provide the environment most conducive for transformational and teacher distributive leadership or for student participation, although having a larger school was positively related to students’ academic self-concept. Our results add weight to the research extolling the advantages of smaller schools (Lee and Loeb, 2000). This issue has been recognised in some parts of the USA with large schools now dividing themselves into smaller units in order to provide the web of support necessary for student and teacher involvement with the school and improved learning outcomes (Hodges, 2000).

Another important contextual factor was found to be the socio-economic status (SES) of the school. SES had its expected positive relationship with student academic achievement, retention and academic self-concept. Interestingly, SES had a negative relationship with student perceptions of teachers’ work. On the other hand, the students’ home educational environment (having a space and aids for study as well as having discussions at home and help with school work and conversations about world events) had a stronger relationship than SES to students’ academic self-concept. It also had a strong positive relationship with students’ participation in school and their perceptions of teachers’ work.

Having a community focus in a school – the teachers perceive the school as in productive relations with the community and the schools’ administrators are sensitive to and work actively with it – was found to be another outcome of leadership in both its transformational principal and distributive forms. However, no link was found between having a community focus and either OL or improved student outcomes. Some may find this to be problematic: on the basis of our results, if a choice had to be made between working with and being sensitive to the community and improving home educational environments, the latter will have a more direct and immediate impact for student outcomes. Finally, it is worth noting the possibly controversial finding that students’ academic self-concept was not related to their academic achievement.

2.3. Discussion

The LOLSO findings are consistent with recent research identifying the main elements in successful school reform (Silins and Mulford, 2002). Success
is more likely where people act rather than habitually react: they are empowered, involved in decision-making through a transparent and supportive structure, and are trusted and respected. The professional community should share certain norms—valuing diversity, the continuous enhancement of learning for all students, and breaking from individual professional isolation through collaboration and reflective dialogue. There should be a clear capacity for learning, exemplified through a positive professional development programme.

In the USA, both Goddard et al. (2000) and Heck (2000) have found close links between school environments and improved student learning. The first identified collective teacher efficacy as a significant predictor of student achievement and of greater impact than any one of the demographic controls (including SES). Heck found greater-than-expected improvements in student learning over time where the head teacher leadership was rated as supportive and directed towards instructional excellence and school improvement, and the school climate rated positively. In the UK, detailed case study follow-up research in eleven schools found to be effective in disadvantaged areas five years earlier identified the levers of improvement prominently to include distributive leadership, pupil participation and engagement, and organisational learning (Maden, 2001). In their review, Riley and Louis (2000) focus on leadership as an organic activity involving the formation of values-driven relationships rather than simply role-based, and such dispersed leadership depends on an important voice for both pupils and teachers.

Our findings reject “the great man or woman” theory of leadership, which might bring initial success but results eventually in mediocrity if not failure through the dependency relationship it creates. This is far removed from the focus emerging from LOLSO on support, trust, participation, and whole staff consensus.

The LOLSO and some other contemporary research suggest we should place much less emphasis on organisational and managerial strategies, or transactional leadership, than has often been accepted wisdom. There is little evidence to link them either to OL or student outcomes. The temptation with many managerial approaches is to “do things right rather than doing the right thing”. Sizer (1984) has described this as “Horace’s Compromise”—working toward a facade of orderly purposefulness. Successful school reform, on the other hand, is not about following procedures but genuine development and, therefore, learning. This raises another important principle: one needs stability in order to change. First, the distributive leadership, collective teacher efficacy, and collaborative climate must be secured. Once that is done, this will contribute to developing a strong focus on the educational objectives, including having a shared and monitored mission. Once that is secured, and there is confidence in what the school is doing and why, then the leaders and
The further implication of the LOLSO research is the importance of the context for leadership and school reform. Socio-economic background, home educational environment, and school size have a clear interactive effect on leadership, the school, and student outcomes. This suggests we should be wary of “one-right-way” leadership styles. Recent research on leadership in schools facing challenging contexts suggests that to be effective, leadership in these schools should best be “tight” on values, purposes and direction but “loose” in involving others in leadership activity – combining clear direction with widespread involvement (Harris and Chapman, 2001). These schools may call for leadership that is more initiating as compared with more managing in advantaged, academically successful schools. This is so long as the visionary head teacher does not actually distract teachers from concentrating on teaching and learning.


The OECD “What Works” study (OECD 2001d) set out to analyse innovation in school management in nine countries. How is innovation to be pursued and supported in the post-industrial age? The study drew attention to the tension that exists between the “top-down” approaches to reform, based on an industrial-age scientific managerial style, and those seeking renewal from the “bottom up” through knowledge leadership in 21st century learning organisations. This paper identifies some of the important trends and examples from that study relating to governance, management, evaluation and leadership. Naturally, the cases mentioned are only illustrative.

3.1. Trends and cases

Among the countries featured in the OECD study, Flanders (Belgium) and the Netherlands have a long tradition of decentralised local school management through their right-of-choice policies, with the private non-profit sector operating the majority of schools. The national government provides the funding, while retaining control of curriculum and programme standards. This “loose/tight” system appears to offer an effective approach to national and local accountability. The devolution of operational responsibility to the local level also allows for flexibility in responding to the emerging needs of religious, immigrant and migrant communities. The Hungarian system, where the private sector has the right to establish and operate schools, is another example of decentralisation/deregulation in action. The market-driven system includes privatised in-service training (INSET) and quality
improvement (see Comenius 2000 Quality Development), using private consultants selected by tender to assist in their implementation. Charter schools in the US. are another example of private sector operations in the public system, and a further example from England is its national school inspection system using teams brought in on a contract basis.

Most countries have a standardised testing procedure in place to assess student achievement at fixed grade levels according to standards mandated in a national (or state) curriculum. Test results are often published in the media. Controversy continues to be expressed as to the content and methodology used in test administration. Whether minority language and cultural backgrounds are adequately catered for in assessments of ability is also an issue. That the Industrial-age scientific management movement remains the dominant paradigm, as opposed to comparative indicators of Information-age learning and employability skills, is cause for concern. So is the impact that such procedures may have on classroom practice (e.g. teaching to the test) and on the morale and self-esteem of teachers, parents and students.

The English Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) has implemented an inspection system whereby every school is assessed by an external team of inspectors within a four-year cycle. The teams are trained using procedures set out in a Manual of Inspection. The quality of teaching and learning in each subject is reviewed, as is school management. The system allows for parental and student input and results in a formal report following the visit. The system is transparent in that the Manual of Inspection laying down the inspection procedures is publicly available. The formal report is also a public document and schools are required to circulate its summary to all parents. External top-down assessment remains controversial, and questions inevitably arise about the competence, qualifications and experience of the contracted teams.

An inspection assessment system is also a strong feature of the system in the Netherlands. The Primary Education Inspectorate conducts regular 2- to 3-day intensive visits every two years based on the school plan. Greek schools have traditionally been resistant to any form of top-down inspection and a Self-evaluation Project has been introduced in six pilot schools as a less threatening and intrusive approach to school improvement. It is co-ordinated by the Pedagogical Institute and, actively involves teachers, parents and students. A handbook to guide schools in developing self-evaluation methodologies has been published by the Institute. The federal government of Mexico has also launched an innovative project for self-evaluation in elementary schools. Beginning with 200 schools in 1997-1998, the School Management in Elementary Education Research and Innovation Project had already by 2000 been extended to 2 000 schools in 20 states.
On the management of diverse structures, community education approaches promote the local co-ordination of human services (e.g. health, employment, child protection, adult literacy, family support, leisure, etc.) A number of countries and school districts have such approaches in place. The active participation of the school, and the leadership of its principal, are essential in meeting human service needs, particularly in disadvantaged socio-economic areas. Sweden has innovated in merging services for children – the clear lines that once distinguished childcare, pre-school, recreation centres, and primary schooling have been deliberately blurred. A curriculum has been developed to strengthen integrated pathways from pre-school to compulsory schooling. Pre-school education for infants from one-year old is available for parents working or studying, and often a child will spend all day in an integrated pre-school/primary school/recreation centre. In this integrated management model, one leader (or a team) from any of the three disciplines may be in charge of the facility.

3.2. New roles and tensions for school leaders

The role of the school administrator emerged in the 20th century through the addition of technical responsibilities to the work of the practising teacher. As the century progressed, in many countries the role grew and became that of a full-time professional manager of human, financial and other resources. Instructional leadership, staff evaluation, budget management, performance assessment, and community relations have been progressively added to the job remit. When the school operated to the Industrial-age model, duties were relatively straightforward; many teachers, often men, aspired to a principalship as the pinnacle of their educational careers. Further changes, including the educational reform movement, have transformed expectations about the job. Principals are now called on to be motivational leaders and knowledge managers in the New Economic Age, inspiring high standards of performance from students and teachers and their continual self-renewal in learning organisations.

Decentralisation has often brought site-based management, deregulation has blurred school boundaries. The role of the local school has been emphasised in decision-making and management. These developments place a premium on enhanced business and marketing skills, including in recruiting students on the open market. School managers are an integral part of a micro-political milieu of networks, made up of individuals and groups in schools and their surrounding areas. The networks compete for scarce resources and even political power. The actors in this drama include principals, teachers and other staff (including unions), central office officials, school board members, parents, students, other community service personnel and employers. The micro-political school environment increasingly calls for active involvement...
and leadership within shared decision-making bodies, interagency collaborative structures, and responsiveness to the demands made by local politicians and to socio-economic realities and community development. The skilled understanding of micro-politics has become an essential means of survival for school leaders in many systems (Lindle, 1997).

As competition grows for a limited supply of public funds, schools and their governing bodies are reaching out for alternative sources of financial and in-kind support. The search for special government project funding, philanthropic donations and commercial partnerships help to explain the interest among school leaders to acquire skills in fund-raising and drafting proposals. One such approach has been the creation of an educational foundation or non-profit charitable organisation to seek alternative sources of funding and material support for school innovation and programme enrichment (Shuttleworth, 1993). Educational spending cuts have often had the predictable results of poor maintenance and deteriorating school buildings. Greece, through its Reorganisation of School Premises Project, has demonstrated that school facilities can be upgraded and the physical learning environment of the school improved significantly. The importance of school leaders in transforming a deteriorating shared-use facility into a more secure and educationally viable building was demonstrated in secondary schools in the Athens area.

The Foundation for Catholic Education in Maastricht, the Netherlands, is but one advocate in a growing movement to provide salary differentiation on the basis of merit. Through consultation with professional unions, criteria have been established for a system of premium pay and temporary extra increments for teachers demonstrating exceptional performance, and principals have been trained in assessment procedures for their application. A large number of states and school districts in the United States provide salary bonuses or other incentives for teachers who earn National Board for Professional Teaching Standards certification. But, it remains the case that merit pay has been almost universally unpopular with teacher unions.

The burgeoning of demands on leaders and managers inevitably raises the question of their professional preparation. To date, such training has tended to be neglected. An innovative approach to the pre-service and in-service training of school leaders is to be found at the Vlerick School of Management in Ghent, Belgium, whose programmes seek to instill creative, critical and problem-solving skills in school teams in their local environments. There is an unusual school-based management contest as the means to promote the combination of theoretical knowledge and hands-on experience. Also unusual is the way the programme is open to teams of school administrators, teachers, parents, school board members and other citizens. Another innovation in pre-service training is to be found in Sweden, where
university students study interdisciplinary human development curricula before later specialising in their professional field (e.g. teaching, childcare, recreation, social work, health services, etc.) This encourages more cooperation and complementary practice among future professionals operating in multi-use community facilities.

3.3. Conclusion: investing in schools and leadership

Within these competing pressures on school managers lies a major tension. Should they now be the supervisors of quality control standards consistent with models from the Industrial-age (the powerful principal), or multi-dimensional knowledge managers of human and physical resources, sharing power, and facilitating learner-centred communities? Can these roles be combined? Where are we to find such leaders?

During the past decade, many teachers and principals have felt devalued and confused by their changing role, and stress levels have risen as self-esteem has fallen. Many young people hesitate before or reject a career in education, while many practising teachers no longer aspire to a career path that leads to the stress of the principal’s office. All this when thousands of new recruits are needed just to fill vacancies as the “baby-boom” teaching generation retires, and expectations about education’s importance are higher than ever. Strong inspirational, yet empathetic, school leaders and management teams are needed to help forge the way from the hierarchical and linear assumptions of an earlier age and the infinite flexibility of the lifelong learning society.

Schools, teachers and principals should, of course, be accountable to the people they serve but standards should be created rather than set, achieved through continuous improvement based on a collective assessment of learning needs. An organic service delivery system must continually respond to diverse consumer needs, but as a public service it cannot pick and choose its clients nor manipulate its outcomes. Schools are but one facet of an essential public service infrastructure that has been struggling with decentralisation, taxpayer accountability, restructuring and privatisation against thin financial support. If societies are to get the educational service and leadership they deserve, we must invest in renewing the self-esteem, learning capacities, and leadership skills of these professionals.

Notes

1. This paper is based on the author’s chapter “Governance, Autonomy and Accountability in Education” in The Principles and Practice of Educational Management, TC Bush and L A Bell (eds.), Paul Chapman Publishing (2002), London.
2. This paper was prepared in collaboration with Halia Silins Associate Professor, School of Education, Flinders University of South Australia.

3. It was carried out through the Australian Research Council.

4. Phase 1: surveys of 3 500 Year 10 students and 2 500 of their teachers and principals in half the secondary schools in South Australia and all the secondary schools in Tasmania. Phase 2: cross-sectional and longitudinal case studies of best practice were collected from four schools to enrich the survey data. Phase 3: South Australian teachers and principals were re-surveyed, as were students in Year 12. Phase 4: quantitative and qualitative results were used to develop professional development interventions for school leaders. For a fuller account of the results of the LOLSO Research Project see: Silins and Mulford (2002); Silins et al. (2000).

5. Lead author of the OECD “What Works in Innovation in Education” study New School Management Approaches. The featured countries were Flanders (Belgium); Greece; Hungary; Japan; Mexico; the Netherlands; Sweden; the United Kingdom and the United States.