



**PALGRAVE STUDIES ON LEADERSHIP
AND LEARNING IN TEACHER EDUCATION**

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Educational Leadership, Improvement and Change

Discourse and Systems in Europe

Edited by

Lejf Moos · Nikša Alfrević
Jurica Pavičić · Andrej Koren
Ljiljana Najev Čačija

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Palgrave Studies on Leadership and Learning
in Teacher Education

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FOREWORD

REMEMBERING THE HISTORY

For several years, much research has been devoted to the Europeanisation and globalization of education systems. A Global Education Reform Movement (GERM) is circulating internationally, supported by international organizations and agencies, which carry different political technologies: accountability, school improvement, New Public Management, evidence-based education, digitalization. However, these reforms as well as their related policies come to contrasting results. In addition, as this book demonstrates, understanding changes requires a retrospective outlook at the history of countries and education systems. Different paths of modernization have been chosen depending on specific legacies. The building of national identities and the development of the State have largely influenced the settlement of firm principles that still govern visions of citizenship, knowledge and inclusion.

While school market and privatization are increasing worldwide, the social and civic dimension of European countries helps to resist this international trend. But in Northern as in Eastern Europe, countries face similarities in the implementation of accountability mechanisms, the strengthening of local autonomy and the decentralization of decision-making, while the renewal of the education professions is at stake. The top-down and bureaucratic type of school governance has shown some limits: other governing approaches are emerging without giving up the reduction of inequalities and social inclusion.

The book analyses these points of divergence and convergence in details through an informed comparison of the most recent trends in specific countries: Denmark, Norway, Lithuania, Croatia, Slovenia. This perspective makes it possible to relativize a conception of Europeanisation that would be limited to Western Europe. It also shows how some original solutions can be found in reforming education systems as opposed to autocratic and technocratic approaches that do not work. Among conditions for success, the implementation of an open, dynamic, interactive school leadership at local level is an essential asset. Provided that its cultural, social and political foundations are not forgotten. This book, which deepens our knowledge on European education and its constituents, is a necessary and relevant contribution to the reflection about limits faced by instrumental policies that ignore historical and institutional contexts.

Romuald Normand, Professor, University of Strasbourg, Faculty of Social Sciences, France. He works on comparative education policies and politics, school management and leadership, and Higher Education and research. He is editor of the Routledge series "European policy and politics in education" and convener of the network "sociologies of European education" of European Educational Research Association.

CRITICAL ANALYSES ARE NEEDED

Examples from five countries meet in this volume problematizing educational leadership. Five countries with very different historical background, culture and prerequisites for education over time. Some are today part of the European Union and all are connected to the OECD. The comparison is built upon a shared frame with themes describing local conditions, practices and reflections.

Much look the same on the surface, trends flow over the world and the international language can give a picture of similarities that occur are thus: what is possible to compare through, for example OECD's choice of what is of importance? What is the heart of the education in everyday life in schools; how do educational leaders act and what is tolerated behind the classroom door? What is visible and not? Is there a hidden canon given by tradition and immaterial values also among countries that seem to have adopted the trend of measurement and competition? Why does faith in and for professions like principals and teachers vary between different stakeholders in different countries, and how does that affect the view of

what is important in education? There is always a risk that we only value what we evaluate and not evaluate what we value, which is more difficult.

It is indeed of importance that researchers conduct critical analysis of educational leadership in different countries including the invisible aspects of the profession. And even if the educational system, the education of principals and teachers, is of high quality, it is of importance to analyse the different contextual circumstances for each school and the gap between the goals for education and everyday life in society to build a scientific basis, which can stimulate a serious and public dialogue about the aim of education.

Elisabet Nihlfors, Professor of Education with focus on leadership at Uppsala University, Sweden. She leads the research unit, Research in Educational Leadership (REL) at Uppsala University. Her research includes governance of schools, leadership, policymaking and democracy.

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ABOUT THE BOOK

The book analyses and discusses the selected, critical concepts of policy and practice of educational leadership in five small European countries. From the area of South East Europe, Croatia and Slovenia were included, as examples of post-socialist countries, going through the processes of socio-economic transition, with Lithuania analysed as a comparable small country from the Baltic Region. In the North West of Europe, we have included experiences from additional two small European countries—Denmark and Norway.

Analyses deal with the issues of convergence and divergence in the local educational leadership policies and practices are developing and emerging from traditional structures and discourses under global and regional influences. National reports from the five selected countries contribute to the analysis of individual experiences, related to the development of education leadership and school improvement in small European countries. Additional chapters explore topics of interest, viewed from the European context. Those include the use of international benchmarking in education, inclusive education policies and practices, digital transformation and e-learning.

In many ways this volume builds on the following Palgrave volumes:

Alfirević, N., Burušić, J., Pavičić, J., & Relja, R. (Eds.). (2016). *School Effectiveness and Educational Management. Towards a South-Eastern Europe Research and Public Policy Agenda*. Palgrave Macmillan

Ingbórsson, A. H., Alfirević, N., Pavičić, J., & Vican, D. (Eds.). (2019). *Educational Leadership in Policy. Challenges and Implementation Within Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan

All three volumes study the development, the discourses and systems of educational leadership in diverse political settings within Europe, the question how are trans-national inspiration and influences being interpreted and enacted in national systems and settings. Publishing all three volumes has been made possible by the financial assistance of the Ministry of Science and Education of the Republic of Croatia, through the support of the Croatian Scientific Centre of Excellence for School Effectiveness and Management (SCE—SEM).

Praise for *Educational Leadership, Improvement and Change*

“Today’s local educational leadership policies and practice are connected with the historical roots of five small European countries. In the analysis, perspectives from within each country and comparisons are used interestingly. Both levels of analysis bring out new understandings of the relationship between policy and practice and how they have been related to leadership in a historical discourse. In my opinion the different country chapters and the comparisons represent important new knowledge and I recommended the book as reading for school leaders and policy makers in the field of educational leadership.”

—Professor Olof Johansson, *Umeå University, Sweden*

“The book fills a gap in the research of cross-national research, comparing school leadership issues in two Balkan countries, Croatia and Slovenia, one Baltic country, Lithuania, and two Scandinavian countries, Norway and Denmark. To my knowledge it is the first time there has been this sort of cross-investigation of commonalities and differences in school leadership conditions between these countries in the age of globalization. I am sure that many scholars and practitioners can benefit from this book and hereby recommend it.”

—Associate Professor Emeritus Klaus Kasper Kofod,
Aarhus University, Denmark

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Introduction to Discourse and Systems of Educational Leadership in Europe

Lejf Moos

Abstract This book analyses critical concepts of policy and practice of educational leadership in five small countries: Croatia, Slovenia, Lithuania, Denmark, and Norway.

Analyses deal with the issues of convergence and divergence in the local educational leadership policies and practices, that is developing and emerging from traditional structures and discourses under the transnational influences.

This volume builds on Palgrave Macmillan volumes (N. Alfirević, J. Burušić, J. Pavičić, and R. Relja [eds] [2016]. *School Effectiveness and Educational Management: Towards a South-Eastern Europe Research and Public Policy Agenda*. Palgrave Pivot; A.H. Ingþórsson, N. Alfirević, J. Pavičić, J., and D. Vican [eds] [2019]. *Educational Leadership in Policy: Challenges and Implementation within Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan), studying and comparing the discourses and systems of educational leadership in diverse political settings within Europe.

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DISCOURSE AND SYSTEMS IN EUROPE I: AN EARLY HISTORY

Analyses and discussions of educational leadership need to be aware of the structural, political, and cultural context it is supposed to be part of and to practice and reflect in. Two perspectives have been constructed on developing discourse and systems for educational leadership. One is historical, reaching back to the sixteenth century, and the other is more recent history, from World War II onwards and the developments over the last thirty to fifty years. The histories are for obvious reasons very cursory.

South Eastern and North Western, the Baltic, and the Nordic countries were chosen for the study in this volume because they have somewhat parallel histories: Slovenia and Croatia were parts of the Habsburg Monarchy together with other kingdoms (according to some historians from 1526–1804), and Norway and Denmark were parts of in the Oldenburg Monarchy (1320–1814).

South Eastern Europe

Habsburg Monarchy is the term for the lands and kingdoms of the House of Habsburg. The Habsburg Monarchy was a composite monarchy with no single constitution or shared institutions outside of the Habsburg court; itself united only in the person of the monarch. The Monarchy was dominant on the European continent in its time. This gradually changed in the early nineteenth century. From 1804 to 1867 the Habsburg Monarchy was formally unified as the Austrian Empire, and from 1867 to 1918 as the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It dissolved into several new states at the end of World War I.

The Monarchy was rather loosely coupled around the king, while the Empire was politically and culturally tighter, but all through the era from around 1500 up to the end of World War I they constituted communities as foundations for identity building. This happened to different degrees.

But even education was influenced, as Andrej Koren (2002) states: “In the 18th century the role of education was to develop a good citizen

rather than a good individual. There were two influences on perceptions about the role of the education system. One perspective may be defined as pietism, where work is understood as a moral obligation. The other perspective is ‘kameralistika’. It focused on the need for state intervention in every area of life and reflects ideas of absolutism. The role of state in education emerged also from the multi-nation-state and the role and intentions of a centralising government; a centralised school system enabled better surveillance and control over the variety of nations.”

Since World War I structures and cultures in the countries have developed differently as shown in the country reports.

North Western Europe

Norway and Denmark also have shared backgrounds in the Nordic history, political institutions, society, and culture.¹ The Scandinavian languages, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish are national variations of the same language (Blossing, Imsen, & Moos, 2014). The language community reflects the close political relations between the Nordic peoples. For most of the period c.1320–1520 the kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway were united in loosely coupled political unions, like the Kalmar Union 1390–1523; Denmark, Norway, and Sweden joined under a single monarch.

The union was not quite continuous; there were several short interruptions. Legally, the countries remained separate sovereign states, but with their domestic and foreign policies being directed by a common monarch.

Around 1523 Scandinavia was divided into two political blocs: the western Oldenburg monarchy with Denmark and Norway and with Sweden in the east. Norway continued to remain a part of the realm of Denmark–Norway under the Oldenburg dynasty for nearly three centuries, until its dissolution in 1814. Although the internal affairs were left to the Danish and Norwegian governments, there was much cultural influence between the two nations; as an example, many Christian hymns in the Norwegian hymn book were composed by Danish writers.

¹This is a commonly used concept, however it is in many cases more correct to talk about a Scandinavian history: Scandinavia is the phrase for Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, while the Nordic Countries comprise the Scandinavian countries plus Iceland and Finland and the self-governing areas the Åland Islands (belonging to Finland) and the Faroe Islands and Greenland (with partial autonomy from Denmark).

In spite of the division in nation-states after 1814, the Nordic countries retained their common feature, which was strengthened as a result of Scandinavian movements in the nineteenth century and a strong sense of common historical and cultural heritage; all the Nordic nation-states abolished absolutism and introduced democratic constitutions. Moreover, they could count on a long tradition of rule by law. And finally, social inequality was never as pronounced as on the European continent, even though parts of the Nordic region did follow a more continental pattern with regard to social structures. Strong and self-ruling rural communities characterised the Nordic model, which is very well documented, especially in Sweden and Norway, from the late Middle Ages and onwards. In other words, history has put its mark on the process of political and social modernisation in the Nordic countries from the middle of the nineteenth century to the present.

In the early twenty-first century unifying bonds still exist between the Nordic countries. They are all welfare states, characterised by stable parliamentary democracies, low elements of violence in society, extensive equality between men and women, and an organised labour market. Recent decades of increased immigration have been a major challenge to national identities. As a region in Europe, their unifying characteristics are perhaps most obvious when it comes to such everyday phenomena as the childcare system and the high rate of women in the labour market.

The education politics and regulation in Denmark and Norway have developed quite similarly over the past decades as will be illustrated in the country reports.

Lithuania was not part of the Nordic countries but in parallel to them developed a societal vision of democracy similar to the Nordic.

DISCOURSE AND SYSTEM POST WORLD WAR II UNTIL 1990

The potential relevance and influence of these distant histories should be balanced with the fact that Croatia and Slovenia were from the end of World War II made parts of the totalitarian Yugoslavian regime, and Lithuania was made of part of the communist Soviet regime. When the Soviet Union broke down around 1989–1990, those countries were liberated and had to begin rebuilding democracies with—for better and for worse—inspiration and influences from transnational agencies like UNESCO, the OECD, and the World Bank—all under the legacy of the former totalitarian regimes.

DISCOURSE AND SYSTEMS IN EUROPE 2: 1990 UNTIL TODAY

In order to understand the country accounts, we first give a brief analysis of the context, and the shared governance conditions in contemporary neoliberal globalization (Fig. 1.1).

The shared global influence on public sectors and education is introduced briefly in this section: the construction of neoliberal marketplaces, named as globalization. Following that, the concepts of transnational agencies as important carriers of policy and governance influences are then introduced. This is the starting point, on which all nations and regions interpret and respond to the overall trends. However, all nations and local institutions have developed their own ideas and practices over years. They are based on mixtures of broader and local cultures, traditions, histories, professional values, and educational theories. Therefore they act differently from the global and transnational influences.

Ideas about *globalisation* are introduced and following that, thoughts about transnational agencies. To get an overview of the governance trends in Europe, ideas of globalisation are described. There have been interactions and collaboration between countries and continents for hundreds of years, but based on the experiences in World War II country-collaboration was accelerated after that war. The capitalist economy is developing towards a world economy: huge marketplaces with free access and no



Fig. 1.1 Shared governance contexts

barriers for members' transport of goods, services, finances, and citizens. The development was supported heavily by important agencies, first and foremost the World Bank (WB) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO), as those agencies were constructed on the basis of neoliberal economy thinking and logics. This means that the marketplace is being developed into a global way of thinking: the marketplace logics, talks about producers, commodities, competition, and costumers. This trend has spread to all aspects of society. Signs of this development in education can be seen in policy documents describing education as businesses; education is a commodity, the educational systems are producers, and students are consumers. This has facilitated the idea that the education system must be competitive.

Nation-state status was supplemented by *transnational agencies* like the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the European Council (EC) in the post-war period. At another level the military was increasingly formed into alliances like the NATO and ASEAN. Relations between national states and systems are thus becoming increasingly interconnected and globally influenced, and it could be argued that comparisons are gaining influence for the same reasons. Globalisation is furthered by transnational agencies that use *soft governance* to advise or encourage reflection; the OECD calls it "peer pressure" and the EC "open method of coordination". The agencies are not allowed to issue government regulations, "hard governance", so they work to set the agenda for policymaking in different ways. The EC funds research or dissemination projects, such as the European Commission Framework Programs and Erasmus Programme.

The OECD uses different forms of soft governance, mainly *discourses* and *social technologies* like comparisons, standards, and measure (Dean, 1999). Many of their campaigns are mixtures, like the *autonomy*-move: it has been obvious that governments struggle with balancing their power relations with local authorities and citizens, in the midst of necessary centralisation and projected *decentralisation* (OECD, 1995). In order to raise this discussion within member nations, the OECD constructed a graph of decision-making at the national top level, or at one or the other levels such as regional or municipal organisations. Responses from member governments were the basis for forming mainstream OECD graphs (OECD, 2008a). Country results are lined up from 100 per cent decisions taken at school/local level (Finland) down to 22 per cent local level decision-making (Greece).

The OECD graph referred to suggests that a decentralization of more than 50 per cent is preferable. In line with the rest of OECD education advices, it is not explicated, but it is up to the national governments to decide if they are happy with the position as it is, or if they want to change it. The OECD only wants to set the educational governance discourse agenda.

Prominent examples of social technologies focusing on *standards* and *measures* are the use of international test-based comparisons such as the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), and the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). International *comparisons* act as mirrors—just like educational outcomes or *best practice* (another type of social technologies)—so that policymakers can reflect on the level of educational outcomes in their own systems and decide on their own reforms. More often than previously, policymakers argue with the need to comply with global or international standards or best practices, such as PISA. One reason for this is that the results of these kind of comparisons are given in *numbers*, and numbers are often seen to be precise, accurate, and full of relevant information. Numbers are thought to be crossing the lines between the fluffy and unprecise field of education into the concise field of natural sciences.

A general line of social technology initiatives may be seen as part of a general trend. Transnational agencies, government at the national and local levels, and agents at practical levels, are increasingly attempting to use *soft* and *indirect* forms of power, such as discourse, agenda-setting, sense-making, *evidence-based* practices, and social technologies, instead of *direct* forms, such as prescriptions and instruction. Societies have become so complex that direct forms of power have become ineffective, because surveillance, control, and sanctions are impossible to implement, and because they are often not seen as legitimate forms of influence in democracies. Thus, there is a shift away from hard governance by regulation, to soft governance by persuasion. Institutional isomorphism among transnational, national, and local institutions, such as agencies, governments, and schools has emerged. They are often based on coercion through political pressure, on mimicry of successful examples/practices, or on the transfer of norms through professional communication.

The neoliberal model of governance, and the New Public Management (NPM), has been characterised by diverse combinations of kinds of social technologies into three themes (Dunleavy, Margetts, Bastow, & Tinkler, 2005): the *disintegration* of public sectors into semi-autonomous units at

several levels—national, regional, local, and institutional—and at each level there are also initiatives that involve private companies and consultancies that enter the broad *competition* for *contracts*; relations between areas are guided by competition between providers, and by contracts between levels (OECD, 2016), followed by *incentivization*, with pecuniary rewards based on performance. *Disintegration* is seen between levels such as the government, the municipality, and the institution. Ministries are fragmented into departments and agencies. The ministry sees itself as a single cooperative (group) with one department and several contracted agencies. Contracts are often negotiated and managed on the basis of a Management by Objectives or by Outcomes, MBO/MBR model. These models have been criticised for not being effective or efficient or productive, and there are initiatives for constructing new models, such as New Public Governance (NPG), with its focus on collaborations between public sector agents, private enterprises, and other sectors, but the initiatives and discussions have not yet had a significant impact on the agencies' ways of working.

A growing interest in *digital* solutions from governments and transnational agencies like the OECD and Pearson (Williamson, 2016) is seen over the past few decades: Digital platforms or environments are developed and tested in educational systems and schools following efforts to harvest big data and use them to develop educational technologies packages and platforms on a worldwide scale. The educational effects of this social technology and business model is not yet thoroughly investigated, but fundamental changes to education may result.

EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

There are many theories about educational leadership. Some of the major differences between them are identified in order not to end up discussing minor differences. A relevant model for categorising educational leadership theories, practices, and discourses can be the following model of power forms:

- *Direct/hard power*: regulation, principles, budgets, etc., are often linked to possible sanctions or rewards;
- *Indirect/soft power*: discourses and social technologies are ways of talking about leadership or guides/manuals/tools for leadership with which thinking and practice can be influenced;

- *Reciprocal power*: face-to-face communication, interpretations, and negotiation where both parties may influence/persuade the other. (Moos, 2009)

Only two different tendencies in thinking are introduced: A relations- and transformation-category based tendency and a top-down and effective category (Moos, 2018).

Relations- and transformational-based educational theories presuppose that leadership is an organisational and relational feature, for the most part based on soft and reciprocal power, where leaders are no more significant than the people, they work with, often named as followers. Interesting are the relations and communication between agents inside educational institutions and between them and the political world and local community. How do they interpret and enact the demands on the institution from the outside, and how do they communicate internally in order to influence practices? One general trend in this category is to substitute organisational theory with theory on organising and sense-making in relations (Eacott, 2018; Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005). Another theory trend in this category is the distributed leadership theory (Spillane, Halverson, & Diamond, 2004). Leadership is here called leadership “spread over” many agents.

An effective and top-down leadership theory will be based more on hard and soft power, and can be described by referring to the OECD study ‘Improving School Leadership’ project (OECD, 2008a; Pont, Nusche, & Moorman, 2008). In the basis of many country reports and case studies the basic findings are denoted in their report (Pont et al., 2008), that describes school leadership roles in three categories: School Autonomy, Accountability for Outcomes, and Learning-centred Leadership. Each of the category has three subcategories: *School Autonomy* has: “running a small business”, “managing human and financial resources”, and “adapting the teaching programme”. The category *Accountability for Outcomes* has five subcategories: “a new culture of evaluation”, “strategic planning”, “assessment”, “monitoring”, and “use of data for improvement”. And finally in the description of the role of school leaders, the category *Learning-centred Leadership* has these subcategories: “new approaches to teaching and learning”, “supporting collaborative teaching practice”, and “raising achievement and dealing with diversity” (OECD, 2008b).

The OECD thinking is very clear: school leadership is about autonomy in governance with the special aspects of “running a small business.” It is about accountability and data such as PISA data, and it is about learning, as the OECD seems to take the view that *learning* is at the centre of schooling and that *instruction* is on the periphery.

For the OECD, a vision of educational leadership is the individual, charismatic leader, who performs instructional and effective leadership that is based on economic accountability. This characterisation is based on the following keywords: Small Business, Human Resource Management, and Accountability for Outcomes. These are governance and economic categories. Education with teaching and learning is positioned deep down. This thinking is based on top-down, principal-agent theory, and aim- and result-based management.

COMPARISONS

Analyses and comparisons are made on comprehensive policy backgrounds for educational leadership in basic schools (pupils age 6–17), in country reports from five policy webs (countries with their relations to other entities) on the basis of a shared frame. All authors are “local”: Croatian, Slovenian, etc. This provides excellent opportunities to find similarities and differences in interpretations and enactment of the same transnational influences on the basis of diverse cultural and sociological histories.

It thus provides a robust foundation for finding inspiration in other policies—in sensible, local ways. This is more important now than ever before because of the close relations across borders through digital means, through cultural inspiration, and through transnational pressure to develop into similar systems. An example of this could be the use of PISA results.

Comparing discourses and practices from diverse educational systems should be based on descriptions of the contexts they are developing in. This should make the country/region reports as transparent and comparable as possible (Moos, 2013; Steiner-Khamsi, 2010).

There is a need to gain a better understanding of the institutional context and the historical and societal background in and against which educational leadership is situated, since leadership thinking and practices, as well as individual and community social capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), are formed by the society, culture, and context of which they are a

part. They are shaped by policies, discourses, and literature, but also by national/local values, traditions, structures, and practices (Moos, 2013).

Methods of comparison in research have attracted a great deal of scholarly attention recently (Carney, 2008; Steiner-Khamsi, 2006, 2009, 2010; Walker & Dimmock, 2002). We operated with a concept of contextual comparisons (Steiner-Khamsi, 2010, p. 326), in which comparison is seen as a tool to understand context rather than trying to abstract from it as is often the case when introducing “best practice” and evidence-based models.

This is the reason why a shared frame was constructed with themes that the following chapters build on in describing local conditions, practices, and reflections. They share a loose structure, including:

1. Developments in societal structures, cultures, and in governance in your country over the past thirty to forty years, as influenced by globalization and similar relevant processes;
2. Developments in educational structures and cultures and in governance and policies in your country over the past thirty to forty years, with special references to transnational influences;
3. Developments of autonomy: governance-relations between national agencies (parliament, ministry, agencies) and local agencies (regional/municipal agencies) and institutions in your country with a focus of decisions about teaching material and curriculum/didactical interpretations;
4. Dominant policies and practices of school leadership, school relations, and school development, as reflected in institutional/organisational change theories;
5. Major educational purposes/aims/standards and demands on accountability.
6. The dominant educational theory discourse(s) and their relations to leadership policies;
7. Dominant discourse(s) about school leadership, leader- and teacher-professionalization, teacher collaboration and capacity building, and student motivation.

COHERENCE: GLOBAL, TRANSNATIONAL, AND REGIONAL CHALLENGES TO LEADERSHIP OF EUROPEAN EDUCATION

The second section of this volume comprises of diverse studies and discussions that dig deeper into special aspects of the issues of relevance for improvement and change in educational leadership. This section does not focus as much as the first on comparisons, but emphasises and analyses aspects not taken into the country reports, but nevertheless important for giving a fuller picture of educational leadership in the North and South regions of Europe. The contexts for educational leadership, outlined and discussed in Part I, are also the contexts for the analyses in this section: global, transnational, and regional challenges to leadership of European education and the societal, systems and cultural histories.

Chapter 7: *The Role of International Benchmarking in Convergence/Divergence of European Education*—Maja Mihaljević Kosor, Jurica Pavičić, Nikša Alfrević. In this chapter, the authors analyse and discuss conceptual and methodological issues related to international benchmarking. Benchmarking is viewed as a process of comparing educational outcomes in schooling systems, identifying strengths and weaknesses, and serving as a platform to identify best-practice examples, thus providing a foundation for school development and other improvements in the education system. Using data from international surveys, the authors compare educational outcomes over time for a sample of European countries, discuss recent trends, and identify the main similarities/differences.

Chapter 8: *The Challenge of Digital Transformation in European Educational Systems*—Nina Begicevic Ređep, Marina Klacmer Calopa, Katarina Tomicic Pupek. Today educational institutions must be innovative and strategically managed to be able to fulfil their mission in the ever-changing landscape of digital transformation. The implementation of evidence-based decision-making is an issue of the highest priority needed for digital transformation. Strong leadership and strategic planning, as well as the systematic implementation of digital technologies, are prerequisites for the digital transformation of educational systems. Digital technologies are among the main change accelerators that can drastically transform educational systems.

Chapter 9: *The Role of e-Learning and the Information Culture of Educational Institutions in Transforming European Education*—Sirje Virkus, Valentina Kirinic, Nina Begicevic Ređep. Due to the rapid development of information and communication technologies, the whole of

society is changing in the way we live, work, communicate, collaborate, educate, and learn. Educators around the world are changing the ways they think about learning, teaching, and assessment in the digital environment, as well as the theories and practices related to making claims about learning based on digital evidence. Three elements have combined to form new digital pathways for learning: self-organizing learning groups, open badges, and changing conceptions of education.

Chapter 10: *Toward the Identification of Critical Success Factors for European Inclusive Education, Croatia, Italy and Portugal*—Ljiljana Najev Čačija, Nikša Alfirević, Sanja Bilač. This chapter outlines a proposal for the framework of inclusive education's critical success factors (CSFs), which could be used across Europe. Starting with a review of theoretical aspects of inclusive education and their implementation at multiple levels of the educational system, the authors identify the potential European CSFs. Their further evaluation is based on the results of the previous empirical analysis of inclusive education policies in Croatia, Italy, and Portugal, based on a set of qualitative data, collected from education practitioners, policymakers and school principals.

Chapter 11: *Discourses of School Leadership Travelling across North Europe School Systems*—Jan Merok Paulsen, Lejf Moos. This chapter analyzes dominant discourses of European school leadership over a timespan of the last three decades and across five European school systems. A large body of literature has portrayed a transition of ideas about school principalship towards the image of the school principal as a relatively autonomous and clearly results-accountable manager. In a similar vein, inherent and longstanding interdependencies between municipalities and schools, on the one hand, and political parties, teacher unions, and interest groups in the local civic society, on the other, have been downplayed in the reform rhetoric and governing principles central to the New Public Management (NPM) doctrines.

DISCUSSION

Summing up and discussion of the trends that emerge from the country reports and thematic chapters are discussed under the headings: Autonomy and Autocracy, Levels of Decision-making, Modes of Decision-making, New Public Management, Education Reforms, and Leaders in Leadership Functions.

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PART I

Country Reports



Leading Educational Institutions in Croatia: Stuck Between Ambition and Bureaucracy?

*Nikša Alfrević, Maja Mihaljević Kosor,
and Lena Malešević Perović*

Abstract The primary goal of this chapter is to provide an overview of the Croatian education system and examine its evolution from the 1990s, focusing on (a) changes of institutions and education policies within ‘Europeanisation’ and globalisation contexts; (b) the limits and challenges to institutional and leaders’ autonomy, as described both by empirical data and the qualitative assessment of the national initiative for educational leaders’ certification; and (c) the ‘reform’ discourses, with special reference to ‘comprehensive curriculum reform’ (2013–2018). The authors further employ economic analysis to point out the fundamental (in)efficiencies of Croatian education systems at all levels by referring to historical data and previous studies.

Keywords Education leadership • Education policy • Croatia

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THE CROATIAN IMPERATIVES OF ‘ESCAPING THE BALKANS’ THROUGH EUROPEANISATION

From breaking political ties with Yugoslavia in 1991 and concluding the War of Independence in 1995, until its accession to the European Union (EU) in 2013, practically all Croatian governments proclaimed membership of multinational organisations, such as the EU and NATO, as the strategic priorities of the country. This required not only the adoption of the *acquis communautaire*, but comprehensive national reforms. These were often justified within the new EU candidate countries with narratives of ‘returning to Europe’ (from an Eastern European/Soviet/socialist ... context), or ‘returning to the (cultural) roots’ (Börzel, 2011), which was also the case with Croatia.

Such a powerful argument could be used to achieve national consensus on European integration and transformation, while the EU was also able to showcase its Western Balkans’, that is South East Europe’s (WB/SEE), enlargement policy (usually referred to as SAP—the Stabilisation & Association Process) as its ultimate foreign policy success story (Elbasani, 2013). Such a context conveniently framed the Europeanisation process in Croatia, so that both local and EU actors could proclaim that there were no alternatives to European integration. Transformation of the country to meet the criteria of EU membership became an imperative, described by Subotic (2011) in terms of identity convergence, as Europeanisation seemed to fit into the mainstream political agendas and cultural patterns. The described process does not seem to be a rare case within the wider Central/Eastern European regions, as Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier (2008) argue that Europeanisation became a central force of projected political and social convergence among the countries in the European periphery, striving towards full EU membership—starting with the Central/Eastern European countries in the 1990s and continuing with the SEE/WB region from the 2000s until today.

While Croatia, since the end of the War of Independence, has not had issues with contested stateness and/or sovereignty, it still lacks public sector capacity to effectively implement laws and policies, formally adopted during the Europeanisation period. This is an often-discussed challenge to post-communist states, which is often coupled with clientelism in the WB/SEE area. Elbasani (op. cit.) thus recognises different levels of acceptance of the legal and administrative requirements imposed by the imperative of EU integration: from *verbal adoption* by powerful actors, through

*legal enactment of the *acquis communautaire* in domestic law, to ‘deep’ Europeanisation/consistent compliance with EU administrative standards. Unfortunately, many candidate countries, once accepted into full EU membership, simply remain at one of the low levels of Europeanisation, since they do not have enough motivation and/or capacity for full implementation of EU legislation/policies/standards (Börzel, op. cit.).*

CROATIAN EDUCATION POLICY AND EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS’ LEADERSHIP AUTONOMY: THE CONTINUING STORY OF THE PROFESSIONALISATION OF EDUCATION LEADERSHIP (2005–)

There is a history of school improvement policies and implementation frameworks across the international education landscape. Several stages of *school improvement policies* have been recognised since the early 1980s (Harris & Chrispeels, 2006), ranging from a non-systematic focus on individual cases, groups, or schools in the 1980s, through emphasis on the learning outcomes to be achieved on the basis of comprehensive research models in the 1990s, to putting the accent on instructional quality and the repeatability of reform results (i.e. ‘best practices’) so as to achieve system-wide changes. During the 2000s, the globalisation of education policy and the benchmarking of education outcomes have provided new dynamics to the process, which was once the exclusive domain of nation states (Martens, Nagel, Windzio, & Weymann, 2010). This will be further discussed in a separate chapter in the second part of this volume.

Croatian experience in the education policy and school improvement context(s) followed the limitations set by the reform and Europeanisation imperatives. The general challenges to the implementation of those imperatives could be found in the low capacity of the national governance system, which was recognised in terms of (Petak, 2019): an inefficient approach to strategic planning in the public sector, which seems to be accepted only in normative terms; continuous challenges in developing actionable policy plans, and co-ordinating and monitoring their implementation; a low level of expert involvement, including the use of evidence-based policy tools; and the inadequate involvement of relevant stakeholders and the general public.

The specific case of Croatian education policy, as described by Žiljak and Baketa (2019), was shaped by the strong political imperative to ‘break

free' from the patterns and values of the education system and practices which were customary for the socialist system. Administrative and centralised policies were thus introduced in the 1990s in order to make a series of changes in the curriculum and school practices, related to or even recalling the Marxist and socialist past. The most important structural changes in this period included the reappearance of traditional vocational schools and gymnasiums (which were abolished during the socialist period), as well as the extreme centralisation of educational expertise within the organisational confines of the state ministry responsible for education. With a low level of civil society involvement and a high dependence on individual actors within the political elites, this stage of educational policy-making was one of the logical targets for the reform during the Europeanisation process, starting with the acceptance of Croatia as a candidate for EU membership in 2001. With the emphasis on the normative adjustment of key strategic documents with EU-inspired themes, related to lifelong learning and the intended decentralisation of the education system, national pedagogy standards for primary and secondary education were introduced in 2008 and 2010.

The decentralisation theme was pursued primarily by the establishment of regulatory agencies in charge of education improvement and teacher training (representing the continuity of the previous, centralised expert bodies in the field of education), vocational/adult education, mobility, and EU programmes for youth, as well as higher education. International experts participated in the attempts to transform Croatian education, implemented primarily by means of EU-financed projects, with the policy narratives focusing on the employability and applicability of knowledge, to be developed within the education system.

Nevertheless, a review of different international reports (Žiljak & Baketa, *op. cit.*) indicates that the Croatian education system is still underperforming due to the normative nature of Europeanisation-inspired reforms and the previously described limitations of public administration, as well as the political context. At the height of the Europeanisation stage of Croatian education policy, Žiljak (2009) warned that the policy reform seemed to adopt the futile objective of 'depoliticisation', leading to normative adjustments to EU imperatives, instead of policy actors assuming responsibility for public scrutiny of the policy process and its results. Such an approach to policy can be interpreted in terms of Halasz's (2015) description of public policies in the transition period as demonstrating a departure from 'socialist' values and practices, as well as 'showcasing'

adjustment to European standards. Therefore, the notion of ‘depoliticisation’ and/or ‘de-ideologisation’ might prove attractive to political elites, although it often ends up in terms of normative acceptance of whatever seems to be the current fashion in the policy circles of developed European countries.

At the school level, a review of available empirical studies (Vican, Alfrević, & Pavičić, 2019) hints at a relatively low level of leaders’ autonomy, although followed by increased interest in contemporary management and marketing tools. However, there are clusters of school leaders with easily identifiable good practices, but also clusters with traditional leadership practices, as well as those with extremely poor leadership. Internal communication and cooperation within schools, as well as school networking, seem to be adequate, but there are problems with communication and cooperation with external stakeholders and policy actors.

An attempt to increase the autonomy of school leaders by introducing standards and procedures for the licensing of principals has been apparent since 2005. Within the historical account of the licensing process, available in a study by Alfrević, Pavičić, Mihanović, and Relja (2011), the role of multiple international experts and organisations can be recognised. However, these have not led to the proposal of a coherent national licensing framework for school principals. Another effort to achieve the same objective was made in 2016, within the framework of an EU project, related to the introduction of the EU-inspired Croatian Qualifications Framework into higher education in the country. Although two groups were working on a qualification standard, which was supposed to establish school leadership as a recognised (autonomous) profession and to develop relevant education programmes for obtaining such a qualification, education policy opted for yet another rescheduling of the licensing deadline, established by the 2008 legislation. Between 2005 and 2017, this policy measure was rescheduled four times, until (at least) 2021. Although normatively accepted in 2005, when the first policy panel for principal licensing was formed, Croatian education policy usually opts for the rescheduling of actual licencing measures leading to the enhanced autonomy of education professionals or a major reform of the education system.

The findings of the low autonomy of Croatian school leaders (in some areas of school principals’ decision-making), or even the complete centralisation of decision-making in the education system, are confirmed by European Commission Education & Training 2020 Working Group (EC ET 2020 WG) (2014). On the basis of primary data collection, the report finds that Croatian education leaders have:

- Low or no autonomy in human resources management decisions.
- In the area of curricula and teaching, full autonomy only in the selection of teaching methods and materials (textbooks).
- Regarding the autonomy of fundraising and use of public funds, no data are available.

Nevertheless, empirical data related to the autonomy of distributing school resources are available from OECD (2016). These data show that the autonomy of Croatian school leaders to decide on the use of school resources is well below the OECD average (see: *op. cit.*, p. 114). Among five actors of education governance, Croatian principals have the autonomy to decide on 25.1% of school resources (as compared to the OECD average of 39%), teachers on 2% (with the OECD average of 2.5%), the school board on 26.6% (with the OECD average of 12.3%), local and regional education authorities on 8.8% (OECD average of 23.1%) and national education authorities on 37.5% (OECD average of 23.1%). Similar results can be found for the autonomy of Croatian school leaders concerning the curriculum, student assessment policies, and especially, student admissions.

Some interesting and related conclusions could be applied to comprehensive education reform, labelled (and recognised in the public) as a ‘curricular’ one, although its most important outcome includes a change of the existing discourse of learning and teaching.

THE ‘REFORM’ DISCOURSE IN CROATIAN EDUCATION: A POLICY OR AN IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT?

The ‘reform’ discourse has been substantially transformed by the advancement of institutions and tools of transnational governance, insisting on the production of action-oriented, applicable knowledge (Hultqvist, Lindblad, & Popkewitz, 2018; see also the introduction to this volume). Although considering the case of higher education, a discussion by Zajda (2018) accurately captures the generalisable elements of contemporary education reforms in terms of four fundamental drivers: (a) the orientation towards a higher level of competitiveness and effectiveness of the education system; (b) the reduction of public spending on education; (c) emphasis on improving the position of a country’s education system in international benchmarking initiatives; and (d) increasing the human capital and

competitiveness of population segments with highly developed skills, instead of accentuating social equity.

Comprehensive education reform in Croatia (referred to as ‘comprehensive curricular reform’—that is CCR, in the national press and policy documents, as well as in this chapter), which was meant to be implemented in a series of steps from 2013 to 2018, shares only some of the previously described characteristics. There have been practically no scientific analyses of this reform attempt, except for a short and descriptive account by Jokić and Ristić Dedić (2019) published on an electronic platform discussing social innovations in South East European (SEE) and Scandinavian regions, as well as in the UK. It should be noted that one of these two authors served as the leading expert attempting to implement the reform, and ultimately resigned in May 2018, along with the entire expert group, after becoming disillusioned by the discouraging political context and the mounting ideological conflicts related to the curricula developed within the reform process.

A quotation from Jokić and Ristić Dedić (op. cit.), referring to a volume by Pastuović (2012), describes the starting point and the intended orientation of the CCR: ‘While numerous attempts at modernising and reforming Croatian education have been initiated over the years, often accompanied by the delivery of strong PR rhetoric by the relevant authorities, these efforts have only survived long enough to be quickly abolished without implementation by the very same political forces that initiated them or by opposing forces during times of political change’. This could be interpreted in such a way that the reform intended to achieve the *modernisation of (the) Croatian education (system)*, as it currently fails to address the lacking motivation of education professionals, the reform imperatives of Croatian society, and the inadequate learning outcomes achieved by Croatian students (Jokić & Ristić Dedić, op. cit.). The only element compatible with the current transnational trends of education reforms in developed systems seems to be the notion of improving the skills and human capital of students, while the other reform dimensions could be interpreted as a call for the elimination of ‘pre-modern’ structural elements and processes within the system (as perceived by the proponents of the reforms).

The intended dimensions of the CCR were (Jokić & Ristić Dedić, op. cit.): the restructuring of the school curricula, including new approaches to pedagogy, assessment, and grading; the rethinking of the teachers’ professional development processes; and the innovation of

teaching and learning materials. Unfortunately, the Croatian public did not seem to grasp these complex dimensions or the intervention logic, but, rather, focused on the ideological conflict(s) around the restructuring of the curricula, especially those associated with the sense of national identity (e.g. the Croatian language, national history, etc.). This led to public protests in 2016 and 2017, organised by civil society activists seeking to introduce civic education into the curricula and to support what they perceived as elements of modernising Croatian education (as described by an activist account published on a European non-profit news portal—see: Catayud, 2019).

The outcome of the entire process has been a ‘mini-reform’, labelled ‘School for life’, which focused on stimulating the use of Information & Communication Technologies (ICTs) in classrooms, as well as those aspects of curricula innovation which seemed to offer the middle ground between the conflicting ideological viewpoints. Since it is too early for neutral and reliable analyses of the current reform process (piloted in the 2018/2019 school year and implemented from 2019/2020), one can only rely on the insiders’ opinion that there is ‘little resemblance to the original ideas behind CCR’ (Jokić & Ristić Dedić, op. cit.).

The implications of the improvised reform processes can be interpreted in terms of *intrinsic motivation for change and school improvement among the school staff, which is not followed by the policy processes, which seem to serve the political and ideological purpose(s) of the policy-makers*. There is a wealth of empirical support for such a hypothesis. For example, over several years, empirical findings have hinted at the intrinsic motivation of a selected group of teachers who seem to take on many additional duties within schools, without being rewarded, while teachers who do not wish to contribute are not motivated by leaders or policy-makers to do so either (Kovač, Staničić, & Buchberger, 2014). One of these authors (Buchberger, 2017) surveyed Croatian elementary schools and interpreted teacher attitudes related to education leadership. Her results show that the surveyed schools seem to be characterised by a high level of commitment to their vision(s) and objectives and also devoted to improvement and innovation. School leadership is considered to be focused on the leader’s role, with developed cooperation with teachers and some elements of distributed leadership. Although there is somewhat undeveloped cooperation with parents, school principals devote quite a lot of attention to communication with internal stakeholders, as elementary school teachers seem to be satisfied with the quality of leadership and empowerment. This is in line

with the findings of Reić Ercegovac, Alfrević, and Koludrović (2016) who recognise a high level of communication between principals and internal school stakeholders. Simultaneously, as much as 48% of the Croatian public believe that the role of a school leader is (currently) based on political appointment (Vican, Alfrević, & Pavičić, 2017), while the public perception of school leadership, in terms of a profession, is driven by trust in individual actors within the Croatian education system and the subjective assessment of the Croatian schools' effectiveness (Alfrević, Vican, & Pavičić, 2018).

Therefore, it could be suggested that actors within the education system support the 'reform' discourse and do try to improve education practice, although without real support from policy circles, which is in line with the findings of Kovač, Rafajac, Buchberger, & Močibob (2014). The policy actors follow the patterns of nominal acceptance of Europeanisation, but remain without a strategic vision, and are also rather ineffective, due to the limited capacity of the national public administration and the continuously shifting internal political imperatives.

AND WHO IS GOING TO PAY FOR (IN)EFFECTIVE EDUCATION?

When it comes to the efficiency of Croatian education, this is often mentioned in national planning documents and/or diverse policy reports, without clarification on whether it is a goal or a means to achieve a certain educational objective (Mihaljević Kosor, 2015). One of the main research problems is the lack of data, as outcomes of the Croatian education sector are not being effectively monitored, examined, and discussed. There is also a lack of trained professionals in the area of quality monitoring and assessment.

In the current situation, where EU Member States (including Croatia) base their policies on explicit fiscal rules, which provide a permanent constraint on fiscal policy, the efficiency of public spending becomes increasingly important. Some available empirical studies suggest that public expenditure on education in Croatia is inefficient. Sopek (2011) finds that Croatia might be able to achieve the same level of performance (measured by Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) scores), using less than 50% of current expenditures on education. The underdevelopment of private primary and secondary education sectors, as well as a growing teaching staff, in combination with declining

enrolment rates, are identified as the main deficiencies. Higher education (HE) expenditures are also found to be far from the efficiency frontier. Given the level of public expenditure per student, outcomes could have been much better, regardless of whether they are measured by HE enrolment, the share of HE graduates in the workforce and the unemployed (Obadić & Aristovnik, 2011), or by the number of graduates and employment rates (Mihaljević Kosor, Malešević Perović, & Golem, 2019).

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION: WHAT WORKS OR COULD WORK IN CROATIAN EDUCATION?

Croatian policy does not seem to be successful in many of the dimensions of education leadership and improvement. Political/ideological imperatives and short-termism have driven the development of the country's policy and reform initiatives for almost three decades, with a low level of autonomy of schools and their leaders. This could be illustrated by the reform discourse, as described in the case of the comprehensive curricular reform attempt from 2013 to 2018. At this point, it is difficult to prescribe what could work in further policy development and implementation. Nevertheless, a more systematic approach, free of ideological and political imperatives, focusing on the inherent motivation of staff and the existing strengths of the education system, would certainly represent a significant improvement over existing practices.

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Global Education Trends and the National Leadership Context: The Case of Slovenia

Andrej Koren and Mateja Brejc

Abstract Slovenia, like many other countries when it comes to questions of quality in education, follows the trends set up by transnational agencies and professional associations. These trends rather emphasise important issues not to be missed or forgotten when specific national approaches or models are being developed. In this context, this chapter will introduce developments in the societal structure, culture and governance in Slovenia, in relation to education over the last few decades. The school reforms in the last 25 years will be presented with regard to overall aims, decentralisation and the curriculum, emphasising networking and collaboration, national context and the specifics of school leadership and headteacher licensing and training.

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WHERE DO WE BELONG?

The need to place Slovenia somewhere in European regions usually opens a discussion about where. The reasons for the dilemmas are more historical and political than geographical, since it is clearly a Central European country. The dilemmas are also rooted in the fact that Slovenia, together with Austria, is the only European country that borders Slavic (Croatia), Hungarian-Finn (Hungary), Romanian (Italy) and German (Austria) nation states in terms of their origins.

According to its transitional position, Slovenia has long been under multiple influences. For example, the Celts ruled between 500 BC and 1 AD. The Roman Empire spread its borders over the current Slovenian territory from 1 AD to 476 AD. From the middle of the eighth century, Slovenia with its Slovenian inhabitants was the independent state of Carantania, but became dependent on the Empire of Charles the Great. The Slovenian area was subsequently part of the Habsburg Monarchy, the Venice Republic, the Napoleonic Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Italy and Yugoslavia (Cvirn, 2003).

Although Slovenia was formerly part of the many already-mentioned states, the influence on the tradition of education originates mostly from the Habsburg Monarchy. Slovenia and its school system cannot be understood as removed and protected from such roots and influences. In the eighteenth century, Maria Theresa founded a public school system, which was from its beginning centralised. Historians place Maria Theresa among the 'enlightened absolutists' who emphasised education as one of the most important roles of the state. Within this framework, it is important to note that schools from 1760 to 1780 were not formed in response to increased industrialisation or to meet expectations to train people for crafts and farming (Koren, 2007).

Grafenauer (in Sluga 1975) claims that a number of reasons can be identified for the strong role of the state. The role of education was to develop a good citizen rather than a good individual. There were two influences on perceptions about the role of the education system. One

perspective may be defined as pietism, where work is understood as a moral obligation. The other perspective is ‘kameralistika’ which focused on the need for state intervention in every area of life and reflects the ideas of absolutism. The role of the state in education also emerged from the multi-nation state and the role and intentions of a centralising government; a centralised school system enabled better surveillance and control over a variety of nations.

These influences are particularly apparent in the hierarchy of the principal’s role and the level of centralisation with respect to the curriculum up to the present Slovenian school context.

It would be expected that the influence of more than 80 years of the Yugoslavian period would contribute to the Slovenian education context. But education in Yugoslavia after the Second World War was never centralised and was in the hands of federal republics.

SLOVENIA FROM INDEPENDENCE: COUNTRY BACKGROUND

Zgaga (1998) discusses Slovenia in the period of independence from 1991 as a country in transition. He notes that until 1991 the Republic of Slovenia was the northern, most developed federal unit of the former Yugoslavia.

From an economic point of view, and for some regions specifically, the first period of independence also brought high unemployment and the closure of factories—giants that had been kept running for a long time because of political interests rather than their economic viability. On the other hand, a diverse industrial history and a tradition of openness to the world, and of open borders with neighbouring countries, even in the socialist period, constituted positive grounds for economic transition following independence.

Slovenia is among the successful countries in terms of transition to a market economy. It has ‘privatised its economy, stabilised inflation and pay increases, halted the growth in unemployment, strengthened its currency, relaxed the flow of capital, and modernised its system of taxation’ (Možina & Resman, 2001, p. 54). Slovenia also allocates a high percentage of GDP, 6%, to education, which is the largest consumer of public money. The share has grown and is comparable to other OECD countries. The state provides finances for elementary and other schools, for state schools, for schools with ‘concessions’ and also for some private schools (Možina & Resman, 2001).

The Republic of Slovenia is a parliamentary democracy and a social state implementing the rule of law. Slovenia has a population of two million, of which 83.1% (census 2002) are Slovenes. The official language is Slovene. There are also two national communities of Italians and Hungarians. Italian and Hungarian are, in addition to Slovene, official languages in these two ethnically mixed areas.

SCHOOL SYSTEM REDESIGN/REFORMS

The school system in Slovenia has undergone major changes that resulted from the legislation package adopted by the Parliament in 1996 (Ministry of Education and Sport, 1996). It includes a legal framework and defines organisational, financial and curricular issues.

The overall philosophy, values and core principles forming the basis for the renewal are as follows:

- Accessibility and transparency of the public education system
- Legal neutrality
- Choice at all levels
- Democracy, autonomy and equal opportunities
- Quality of learning to take precedence over the accumulation of facts

The main aim was to switch elementary school from eight to nine years of schooling. The switch did not occur overnight. It was planned to be implemented gradually in order to give time to evaluate each stage and to ensure the presence of resources needed to support changes in the curriculum content. In the school year 1999/2000, a total of 42 elementary schools started to introduce the new programme and the Minister of Education, Science and Sport stated that in 2001/2002 there would be 102 schools included in the reform process, with the whole system being reformed by the school year 2003/2004 (Plevnik & Žižmond, 2000). Grammar and vocational schools were also reformed.

The changes were designed to achieve the following objectives (Ministry of Education and Sport, 1996):

- To increase the opportunities for the inclusion of children, young people, adults and individuals with special needs in education programmes at all levels

- To introduce a greater variety of pre-school education programmes, educational forms and paths to qualifications and various kinds of knowledge
- To improve the opportunities for transfer between different categories of the education system and to improve access to full- and part-time studies
- To improve functional and ‘cultural’ literacy among adults and increase the number of adult learners
- To set up mechanisms to provide equal educational opportunities for socially disadvantaged learners
- To ensure equal opportunities for both sexes
- To increase the mainstream inclusion of children with special needs
- To promote quality assurance

Centralisation: Decentralisation

Slovenian education is based on headteachers’ and teachers’ autonomy with the system strongly trusting in their professionalism, but with weak control. School inspection has a limited role, and is mostly geared to checking formal legal demands, when it has to act.

With respect to decentralisation, Slovenia has 192 municipalities, 11 of which have the status of urban municipalities. Local government, as one of the elements of the trend towards decentralisation, is in line with the Constitution (Vlaj, 1998). Municipalities are concerned with local matters and are independently managed but they are basically an extended ‘arm’ of the state and have to carry out some of the state’s responsibilities. Within the area of education, school districts are established to carry out the responsibilities and duties of the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education and Sport, 1996). School districts have not yet been set up.

With regards to the question of decentralisation and centralisation Gaber, the former Minister of Education, often stressed that after independence Slovenia, in the area of education, had to centralise the field in order to decentralise it again. The particular mix of decentralisation—centralisation and devolution of power and authority in the central political context represents the frame within which education is set. It is relevant in historical and cultural terms as it is in terms of the systemic arrangements both for direction by the state and local autonomy.

Curriculum

From the decentralisation—centralisation perspective, curriculum design and implementation come into view. The curriculum is developed at the national level while schools may decide about the ‘elective part’ of the curriculum (approximately 20%). Article 17 of the Elementary Education Act, for example, prescribes that every school should offer at least three elective subjects in the last cycle of primary school (seventh–ninth grades). However, they can be selected among subjects offered at the national level and cover natural and social sciences. In upper-secondary schools, approximately 20% of the curriculum is left to schools. Schools also decide on extracurricular activities, the timetable and the allocation of instruction time among teachers and within a week. Headteachers plan these activities in accordance with the pupils’/students’ preferences (the elective part and extracurricular activities) and in accordance with the availability of staff. Elective subjects and extracurricular activities are defined in the annual plan and the headteacher is responsible for the development and implementation of the school development plan (Ministry of Education and Sport, 1996). In general, the curriculum is prescribed, so that teachers and headteachers do not have much influence on the number of hours for individual subjects, the amount of student instructional time and so on. This does not differ very much between different parts of the system or between different sectors. School leaders allocate instruction time among teachers (they try to find the best solutions for teachers and for the school), organise the timetable (or delegate this task to someone within school, usually to their deputies), organise examinations, organise extracurricular activities (or delegate this to someone within the school) and ensure that subject teams provide annual teaching plans based on national guidelines.

NETWORKING AND COLLABORATION AS MECHANISMS FOR SYSTEM AND SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT AND IMPROVEMENT

Lately, the orientation towards decentralisation, autonomy, professionalisation and quality has been particularly indicated by networking and collaboration within and between different levels of the school system.

In Slovenia, there are currently several cases of collaboration and networking aimed at:

- School improvement
- School leadership improvement
- Supporting large-scale reforms, developing and implementing national priorities at the system and school level

Networks for School Improvement

It is necessary to point out first that networking, particularly among schools, has a relatively long tradition in Slovenia. In 1998, the National School for Leadership in Education (NSLE) started a programme called Networks of Learning Schools, based on the idea of school improvement with collaborative learning in and among schools in a network (Erčulj & Brejc, 2019). Different networks are developed by the schools themselves (i.e. for developing new learning approaches, strategies for working with children with special needs, and common events for pupils and/or teachers). Networks among schools are also formed in different projects, initiated by either national, or international or other actors, by the National Institute of Education, the Centre for Vocational Education, the Educational Research Institute and the Centre of the Republic of Slovenia for Mobility and European Educational and Training Programmes. Most of these projects focus on the improvement of teaching and learning.

Networks for School Leadership Improvement

Since 2005, one of the NSLE's activities has focused specifically on building networks of headteachers for improving leadership for learning. The general aim is to systematically develop headteachers' professional learning and build networks in order to improve school leadership, share good practice, develop new approaches to current leadership challenges (e.g. peer counselling, coaching) and to strengthen professional dialogue, self-reflection and action research (Brejc & Erčulj, 2008). In understanding school leadership as a collaborative and distributive approach, new programmes have been developed and implemented lately, focused on the concepts of teacher leadership and middle leadership (Koren, 2007; Lieberman, Campbell in Yashunsky 2016; Harris in Jones 2017). Current concepts emphasise collaborative, distributed leadership that encourages and enables professional collaboration and inclusion in discussion and decision-making on important questions such as strategic goals, students and learning, self-evaluation and so on. This is related to

collaborative learning and implementation in professional learning communities/networks (Katz, Earl in Jaafar 2009; Earl & Timperley, 2009; Sharrat in Planche 2016, Brown & Poortman, 2017). In order to successfully lead as a teacher or middle manager, it is important to gain, develop and strengthen new knowledge, skills and attitudes. According to the evaluation of the programmes, facilitated networking and collaboration are effective strategies.

Networks for System Development and Improvement

Networking in Slovenia can also be presented in terms of system development and improvement:

School networks have since the late 1990s been seen as a means of facilitating school improvement, innovation but also as contributing to large-scale reforms. Networks have become ever more popular by educational politicians. It started with extensive reform of basic education where a group (network) of schools piloted the new curriculum and organisation. They were selected by the Ministry of Education and strongly supported both financially and professionally. After the piloting phase they were obliged to form their own networks to support other schools. A similar strategy was used in the case of the reform of vocational education and also for minor policy initiatives. (Erčulj & Brejc, 2019, 1)

Lately, school networking has been used as part of setting/implementing many different national priorities, such as developing and implementing, for example, the school quality system 2016–2019 and 2020–2022 (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2017; Brejc, Bezjak, & Rajh, 2019), the culture of entrepreneurship in schools in the context of interdisciplinarity and connection with the environment 2017–2022, and pedagogical approaches and strategies that will contribute to the holistic and continuous vertical development of reading literacy for students 2018–2022 (National Education Institute, 2019). In the above-mentioned projects as well as in several others, ‘developmental schools’ support ‘pilot or implementation schools’ in building capacity, implementing new approaches, monitoring and evaluating results, planning the next steps and so on. These networks are initiated by the Ministry of Education and are facilitated by consortiums of different external institutions depending on the aim and goals of the ‘project’ or initiative.

In order for networking to become a sustainable and effective mechanism for the improvement of the school and the school system, professional collaboration between different actors is crucial. Only through effective collaboration and sharing of knowledge can good practice and good thinking be developed and disseminated. In such a case, the implementation and upgrading of a coherent and responsive supportive environment, piloting and professional support by system actors will lead to improvement.

It might be concluded that collaboration is currently the answer to most of the challenges education as well as society in general is facing. If collaboration efforts prove insufficient or ineffective in the face of the complex challenges, teachers will very likely retreat back to their classrooms while policy makers, and decision makers will return to top-down solutions. It is therefore important not only for teachers, headteachers and schools to collaborate and network, but for them to do this well and for the system to enable them to do so and to give them responsibility.

SCHOOL LEADERSHIP

In tune with transnational trends, Slovenia emphasizes the importance of educational leadership for the improvement of schools and student achievements.

Headteachers, besides exercising pedagogical leadership, also manage the schools. Headteachers are autonomous in:

- The selection of staff
- Managing finances
- Buying equipment for the school
- Designing the content of the elective part of the programme
- Designing a programme that is above the standard
- Organising school work
- Ensuring the quality of educational processes
- Cooperation with the environment

Slovenian headteachers are more or less average compared with OECD headteachers regarding their time spent on different working tasks (Japelj Pavešić et al., 2018). However, we can detect more time spent on administration and less on leading teaching and learning (Japelj Pavešić et al., 2018): administrative tasks and meetings, 32% (OECD, 30%); leadership

tasks and meetings, 25% (OECD, 21%); curriculum and tasks connected with teaching, mentoring and professional development, 17% (OECD, 16%); cooperation with pupils, counselling and discipline, 9% (OECD, 11%); cooperation with parents and families, 8% (OECD, 10%); and cooperation with local community and enterprises, 7% (OECD, 6%).

The Slovenian headteachers' context is specific in terms of selection and appointment, where teachers have a strong influence on the selection and appointment of their headteachers. Headteachers are appointed to the function for five years only, but can be reappointed later on. They are appointed and dismissed from headship by the School Council which is in charge of conducting both procedures. The School Council has 11 members: 5 teachers, 3 parents and 3 representatives of the community. Before appointment, the School Council acquires the opinion of the teaching staff, the local community and the Minister of Education and Sports.

Headteachers often complain about the appointment system in the sense that they have a feeling of dependence on their own staff. Anyway, the system has an impact on school leaders, on their manner of leading and on the school climate.

Headteachers' Licensing and Lifelong Learning

Slovenia joined globalisation in educational leadership in the mid-1990s, when the National School for Leadership in Education (NSLE) was established as a governmental institution.

The development of the institution and designing headteachers' lifelong learning have been long processes of interaction between foreign knowledge and the Slovenian context. The transfer has been successfully implemented through staff as 'mediators' and who were able to transfer experiences and knowledge into the context of national education and leadership. It has also been proven that there are no short cuts and that a period of time is needed for implementation—also due to the schools' and teachers' instinctive resistance to foreign initiatives. Only after initial trust had been built was it possible for improvements and training to occur. It seems that there is some in-built 'natural safety' measure in systems that can protect them against internally or externally imposed changes (Koren, 2012).

Extensive international activities had already begun in 1999 and have continued up to date. The institution is thus balancing its efforts between

monitoring international trends, national studies and the practice of training headteachers—between areas which are difficult to maintain equally.

In leadership training, special emphasis is put on:

- Activities aimed at learning and teaching processes and student achievement, since schools cannot change and improve if they do not change classroom work at its core
- An all-school approach and assuming responsibility for quality assessment and quality assurance by all
- A school culture favourable to learning at all levels, but also introducing the change, constant monitoring and self-evaluation of work, the use of data, and so on; Distributed, collaborative leadership in schools
- The importance of taking into account the specifics of each school. (Koren, 2012)

PROGRAMMES OF THE NATIONAL SCHOOL FOR LEADERSHIP IN EDUCATION

The activities of the NSLE are divided into a number of core areas, further explained below in terms of their content. In nearly 25 years of its activities, the NSLE has developed a system of lifelong learning and professional development of Slovenian headteachers, including:

- Induction training: Headship licence programme involving one-year training preceding the headteacher's appointment
- Initial training: Mentoring newly appointed headteachers—one-year training in the first year of headship
- In-service training programmes and other activities: annual professional meetings and conferences, headteachers' networking for leadership development, support in the field of legislation and finances, thematic courses and so on (Koren, 2012).

Distributed Leadership and Leadership for Learning

Amongst other activities, such as international cooperation, national and international projects, publishing, and so on, the NSLE runs several programmes of distributed leadership support for headteachers. These

programmes are aimed at developing leadership skills for middle leaders and involve, for instance, different school teams or individuals, such as headteachers' assistants. The programmes include networks of learning schools, training for school self-evaluation, support in leading school staff (communication, ethics etc.), annual conferences for headteachers' assistants, an annual Leadership in Education conference, leading teachers' working groups, training for middle leadership, and so on.

In the last two decades, leading for learning and distributed leadership as one of its elements have been important parts of headteacher training. Therefore, research has been conducted on the impact of leading for learning on the characteristics of instructional practice (Rozman Krivec, Koren, Grmek, & Cagran, 2019).

The research hypotheses were based on the assumption that effective leadership for learning correlates with the contemporary characteristic of instruction and deep learning. The research methods were a survey questionnaire for teachers, structured observation of instruction and semi-structured interviews with headteachers. The results of the study in selected Slovene primary schools show that leadership for learning is practised.

Teachers report a positive perception of their headteachers' leadership for learning, while headteachers themselves describe their own practice in a way that largely corresponds to the theory of leadership for learning. Furthermore, the contemporary characteristic of instruction and deep learning is likewise present.

Correlations between the assessed observation of the characteristics of instructional practice, and headteachers' leadership for learning, as perceived by teachers, are low. It follows in our case that a relatively high degree of teachers' perception of leadership for learning does not display a significant connection with the characteristics of instructional practice.

Even the general teacher perspective on leadership for learning does not correlate with the characteristics of instructional practice, which in our case means that the high degree of agreement about the importance of leadership for learning bears no relation to the existing practice of modernising instruction and deep learning.

The inevitable conclusion that we have failed to prove the hypothesised relation between the degree of leadership for learning and the characteristics of instructional practice calls for new inquiries at national and international levels.

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Three Decades of Lithuanian Education: Self-Identity, Achievements, and Challenges

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and Inga Minelgaite*

Abstract Each state needs to fathom its context in order to shape the future of its education. Education does not exist by itself and is inevitably affected by the political, cultural, and socioeconomic conditions of the country. Therefore, the patchwork of experienced cultural heritage is deeply embedded in the human subconscious and can paint some, or other, educational phenomena in entirely different colors than might be expected.

The independent Republic of Lithuania began to build its education system following a sociocultural paradigm. After three decades, the Lithuanian education sociocultural model is gradually changing to the economic model. Thus, looking at the development of the education

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system in an independent Lithuania, we provide an overview of Lithuanian education policy, highlighting the essential manifestations that may have arisen from its specific context.

Keywords Sociocultural reform • Educational model • Democracy • Lithuania

A FUNDAMENTAL BREAKTHROUGH IN EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY: LIBERATION FROM TOTALITARIANISM AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF HUMANISTIC EDUCATION

Even before the dawn of the restoration of Lithuania's independence in 1988, Lithuanian education reformers firstly conceptualized education as part of society's culture. It strongly emphasizes the value dimension of personal development as an essential condition for deep humanity, dignity, and national self-respect. Since the restoration of the independent state (1990), education has embarked on one of the most important challenges facing the country, one that can bring about fundamental change: 'education is a fundamental factor in the development of society, the foundation of all social reforms. On the other hand, education will only be able to play its role properly if its development is in line with the general development of society', but such educational influence requires 'education to become a priority area of sociocultural activities supported by the Lithuanian State' (Conception of Education in Lithuania, 1992, p. 5). As Rado (2001) points out, all countries of Central and Eastern Europe, moving from a totalitarian system, go through several fundamental changes: the transition to democracy, building a free market economy, and adapting to global change. It is the first change—the transition to democracy—that in the restored state of Lithuania the education of people for democracy becomes essential and the dominant course. This is also true of the educational ideas of humanistic philosophy, which seek to embed the humanistic paradigm of free education in the education system. In the reformed state, the main purpose of education is perceived as the development of a free and independent person, able to live responsibly and to constructively

participate in the creation of the nation's culture and modern democratic society. This has been the aim since 1990. The realization of the educational reform axis of the twenty-first century is reinforced by UNESCO's educational values. In our view, from the very beginning, after the restoration of independence, Lithuanian education was based on a sociocultural model, the Scandinavian example. It is clear that this concept of democratic and humanistic educational goals also determines the beginning of fundamental changes in the structure, management, curriculum, and process of the Lithuanian education system. In this transition period, education, as Rado (2001) states, is a condition for systemic development, that is, it can act as a catalyst for other areas of the country.

In the 1990s the Lithuanian education system began to develop with some major structural and curricular changes. First of all, the system of continuous education, which can guarantee a person's lifelong learning, was modeled and developed, aiming to ensure the transferability of education and harmony between the individual education chains. Secondly, educational differentiation was also pursued, with the aim of introducing teaching profiling at upper secondary level, creating conditions for non-governmental institutions to be established alongside public educational institutions of various purposes and levels, and expanding the diversity of pre-school and vocational training. The pursuit of the individual's goal of humanistic and democratic education also fundamentally changed the curriculum and process. The curriculum was humanitarianized, becoming filled with content from different cultural fields, universal sociocultural programs were developed, and the need for curricular differentiation and integration was emphasized. Finally, there were also major changes in education management: the commitment to abandoning direct management was aimed at creating a system whereby education decisions could be taken jointly by the whole education community: the local administration and the school community. Thus, the chosen humanistic and democratic direction of educational change has been developing relatively consistently in the first decade of educational reform, even though global trends are increasingly beginning to change/adjust educational development.

IN THE WARP OF GLOBALIZATION: THE QUEST FOR SCANDINAVIAN DEMOCRACY, OR FAILURE TO DRESS IN SCANDINAVIAN CLOTHING?

According to Želvys (2009), in the first decade of independent education in Lithuania, the democratization of the education system and a return to national origins seemed to be far more important than integration into the global educational space. However, the various globalization processes that are going on fast all over the world do not overtake Lithuania either. It has become a member of international organizations, and various international organizations and foundations have become interested in the country's education, including UNESCO, the OECD, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, etc. It should be noted that not all actors at the global level adhere to the sociocultural paradigm of education.

One of the foundations of the US philanthropist G. Soros, established in Central and Eastern Europe, and in Lithuania called the Open Lithuania Foundation, especially strengthened the direction of democracy education. Its purpose was to lay the foundations for a democratic and open civil society and to accelerate the processes of change. In 1993, the Foundation signed an important agreement with the Lithuanian Ministry of Culture and Education on the project Education for the Future of Lithuania. It initiated aid for change in almost every area of education in the country. Under this agreement, the Danish E. Petersen Foundation began to embed the ideas of humanistic education in early childhood education institutions. Lithuania, together with twenty-one other countries, is joining the Headstart project, which covers the entire educational community, takes care of teacher training, and methodological literature. For higher education levels, the Education for the Future of Lithuania project brings a change in the curriculum, improving teacher training programs, supporting research, etc. According to Bruzgelevičienė (2008), this support covers almost the entire educational system and attempts to systematically influence it in the direction of changes in the reform, that is, the consolidation of democracy.

Thus, after the restoration of independence, Lithuania clearly chose the sociocultural model of education as the direction of education development, including various external and internal factors such as globalization, the information society, market-based economic development, processes of social differentiation, etc. At the same time, it introduced ideas of the economic education model, which are difficult to reconcile with the

sociocultural paradigm. In 2004, Lithuania's accession to the EU and NATO placed the country into an even more global context, and education fully opened up to the trends of globalization. Examples include the reorganization of the school network by producing a four-year gymnasium as an attrition to existing school structure, introducing a student basket (the principle of financing schools based on the number of children), validation of student achievement, standardization, and education management information systems, etc. It is also evident that in Lithuania and in other post-communist countries, global transformations are confronted with the former reality (that is, cultural experience) and that specific manifestations of transformations characteristic of the former socialist world arise (Želvys, 2009). For example, Western European countries perceive standardization primarily as a quality assurance tool and provide special support to educational institutions that fail to meet the relevant standards. In Lithuania, as in some other Central and Eastern European countries, standards are seen as a measurement tool for control. As a result, low-standard educational institutions are subject to certain sanctions or threats to their very existence. Thus, the twists and turns of globalization pushed back the hope of the Lithuanian Reform Movement (the pre-dawn of Lithuanian independence) to become a Scandinavian-type democracy (Bruzgelevičienė, 2008). It could be said that this hope was only more realistic in the last part of the twentieth century. In the 1990s, however, Lithuania was torn between extremes, choosing certain aspects of different models without contextualizing them. On the other hand, the unconscious *legacy* of Soviet cultural thinking has led to certain transformations in the country's educational phenomena.

LIFE BETWEEN TWO POLES: DESIRES, AMBITIONS, AND REALITY

During the 1990s, Lithuania set itself the goal of setting further guidelines for the development of education. In 2014, The National Education Strategy for 2013–2022 was approved, which states that the mission of education is to provide every person connected with Lithuania with the foundations of an independent and active life, to continuously improve their skills, and to become a full member of a democratic society actively involved in social, economic, and cultural life Valstybinė švietimo 2013–2022 metų strategija [The National Education Strategy for 2013–2022] (2014). The strategy emphasizes the quality, efficiency, and effectiveness of education. Lithuania's aspiration to become an OECD member (preparation started in 2012,

becoming a full member in 2018) could be mentioned as the biggest influence on the strategic goals of education. In our opinion, politicians focused on Lithuanian education have to reconcile the different purposes of education and declared values. Therefore, it is no accident that one of the fundamental principles of the education system in the Law of Education of the Republic of Lithuania (2011) is efficiency, which is a sign of the economic model of education based on neoliberal ideology in the country's education. We can observe that although the educational documents of Lithuania do not deny the sociocultural purpose of education, from now on it is more apparent than explicitly stated. So what is the reality of education in Lithuania living between these two poles of different education models?

The efficiency of a country's education can be defined through three important aspects of education: accountability, autonomy, and leadership. We can look at the accountability and autonomy of the country's educational institutions through the prism of decentralization. Although the aim of the reform at the political level has been to give schools as many rights and autonomy as possible, they have only partial autonomy. Lithuanian schools deal with human resources issues themselves (e.g. teacher recruitment, dismissal), but they are dependent on central government for financial resources (OECD, 2016).

In 2018, the Lithuanian government made its first attempts to change the way schools are funded, with class and quality basket models being tested. The quality basket model seeks to link funding to quality indicators, while the class basket model depends on the number of classes in the school (European Commission, 2019). The schools are accountable for municipal funds to the municipality as the school owner, that is, the founder. It should be noted that, to date, there is no established procedure in Lithuania for the use of state funds for education.

The Lithuanian education system is partially decentralized. Basic education policies are set at national level. The Ministry of Education, Science, and Sport is responsible for the quality of education, submits draft laws and regulations to the government, and coordinates the activities of the education units of municipal (local) level administration in the implementation of the state education policy. The municipal executive is responsible for the development of public education policy and organizes education at all levels from pre-school to vocational, except higher education. It is also responsible for the accessibility and quality of education in its area, that is, facilitating the compulsory education of children under the age of sixteen,

organizing and delivering educational assistance, optimizing the school network, and determining the objectives of education development and the means to achieve them. Another important aspect of educational efficiency, closely linked to the processes of decentralization of education and school autonomy, is leadership. Taking into account the processes of globalization and the learning needs of society, for a decade in Lithuania leadership was not only the responsibility of the heads of educational institutions, but also depended on the attitude of each member. Although the importance of shared leadership in the Lithuanian education community seemed to have been well-established and clear for a long time, its empirical expression was not so evident. Lithuanian schools still have the traditional school management, system which, according to the European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice (2013), exists in most European schools. Also, a ‘culture of teacher leadership based on collaboration continues to persist. Needless to say, to develop teacher leadership is not easy’ (Brandisauskiene, Cesnaviciene, & Bruzgeleviciene, 2019, p. 133).

The global trend towards standardization, which was accepted in Lithuania, allowed the country to engage in international student research. We can see that the standardization process in Lithuania creates the conditions for the introduction of the ‘teach for test’ principle in educational practice. Educational policymakers place the emphasis on the importance of science education (e.g. STEAM programs, science valleys). As mentioned above, standardization in Lithuania results in rating agencies. Teacher communities anxiously await student achievement outcomes, and see their institution’s internal and external evaluation as a tool upon which their future as educators and the institution as a whole depend.

The problematic aspect of educational theory discourse in the country is the separation of teaching and learning as alternative paradigms, which was formulated by a group of Lithuanian educational scientists in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Such an extreme interpretation of Constructivist theory allowed for an emphasis on learning, instead of teaching, and this flawed separation, in our view, is increasingly evident in theoretical works, practical realities, and political decisions. For example, under this concept, the National Agency for School Evaluation developed methodologies for external evaluation and self-evaluation of schools, and teachers are trained accordingly. The flaw of this distinction has also been noticed by foreign experts who have analyzed the Lithuanian education system. They unequivocally claim that Lithuania has no consensus on what constitutes good teaching (OECD, 2017).

Finally, when discussing the professional development of teachers in Lithuania, it should be noted that after independence was proclaimed it was centralized via a national teacher training institution. However, at the end of the first decade of independence, decentralization of teacher training started in the country. The right to establish pedagogical educational centers in municipalities that are concerned with the professional development of teachers was granted. In 2016, an assessment by the National Audit Office of the Republic of Lithuania found that the professional development system for teachers was ineffective. At present (2019), this system is again being reformed by transferring the professional development of teachers to three pedagogical centers in Vilnius, Kaunas, and Šiauliai. Thus, it can be stated that Lithuania has not yet found an effective and viable model for the professional development of its teachers.

It has to be acknowledged that in the context of Lithuanian education policy in the last decade, there have coexisted both models—sociocultural and economic. For example, Želvys, Jakaitienė, and Stumbrienė (2017) show that only the human and material resources in schools are closer to Scandinavian models. But other domains, such as school leadership and level of autonomy, assessment, school selectivity and ability grouping, pertain more to the Anglo-Saxon liberal model. We can observe how the economic model in Lithuania's case is increasingly pushing out the sociocultural. It has to be stated that the conflict between the two models is the cause of dissatisfaction and mistrust of the public and educational community in Lithuania. In 2018, trust in education in Lithuania reached its lowest level in the last twenty years (Mid-term implementation of the National Education Strategy 2013–2022: Material for Discussions, 2019).

LITHUANIAN DEVELOPMENT IN LIGHT OF CHANGES IN THEORIES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This chapter has outlined a historical view of educational change in Lithuania after independence in the post-Soviet era. As has been noted, since the inception of an independent Lithuania, education has been focused on the sociocultural model, and now we can see the coexistence of two models: sociocultural and economic. Thus, why were the goals set at the beginning of the reform by integrating into the Euro-Atlantic world and implementing the recommendations of international organizations (e.g. UNESCO and the OECD) not fully implemented?

First of all, the situation should be unambiguously assessed. Educational change and reforms in themselves do not guarantee a positive and desired outcome (Timperley & Parr, 2005). Change is the path of trial and error. According to Hopkins, Ainscow, and West (1994), the failure of change is usually determined by the fact that change is perceived as an event, not a process. Secondly, the existing situation regarding the orientation towards the person or the market is also not exclusive to the Lithuanian education policy. This is described by educational change theorists, Stoll and Fink (1996), as one of the many paradoxes of postmodernism. Another paradox mentioned by the authors is the need to take into account three competing priorities in policymaking—quality, equity, and efficiency. According to Stoll (2006), the national choice of an efficiency focused pathway (economic model) for education is due to very simple things—clear measurement of the results obtained (e.g. OECD PISA). Therefore, countries are choosing this direction rather than investing in people. It has to be acknowledged that the economic model of education is not limited to Anglo-Saxon countries, and such tendencies are also characteristic of Eastern and Central European countries. Additionally, although the goals set at the beginning of the reform have not been achieved, there is value in analyzing the process.

Educational change, as Fullan (2007) notes, can occur at three levels: (1) the potential use of new or revised teaching materials, (2) the possible use of new teaching approaches, (3) possible alterations of beliefs. Obviously, while the first two are easier to implement and adopt, the third, a change in people's attitudes, is profound and extremely complex. In the case of Lithuania, the latter level of change is, in our view, the most complex.

The existing cultural legacy is the reality of the post-communist nations. Life in the Soviet Union was lived through two generations of people. Therefore, as Lukšienė (2014) noted, transforming from one system to another is not a mechanical but a complex process. All of the above is related to an individual's personality, communication with others, perception of the work culture, and reaction to various events of work or life. Therefore, not surprisingly, the lack of true democracy and a culture of dialogue in the Lithuanian education community is still consistently being discovered. It significantly influences decisions in the education field. That is why the leaders who have the ability to move and interact within and across the education system's levels are of particular

importance here. These leaders are first and foremost teachers, school or municipal education leaders, and therefore without paying attention to these leaders, it is futile to change school structures, national or local curricula, and to develop standard assessments (Hargreaves, 2001).

Another important aspect worthy of discussion is the influence of globalization on different levels of educational change. As Sahlberg (2011) points out, globalization has a dual effect. It promotes both integration (networks, mobility) and segregation at the same time. In other words, globalization simultaneously promotes both cooperation and competition. Lithuania was/is open to ideas and initiatives from other countries, incorporating new teaching strategies, methods, and technologies into its educational practice. However, it should be noted that here two complexities emerge. On the one hand, as in other countries in transition, new initiatives in the public sector (and education) in Lithuania are made by financial *injections* from various international organizations (Rado, 2001). Thus, it is not easy for education policymakers to keep up with the direction of reform where organizations providing financial support can suggest a change in education. On the other hand, Hargreaves and Fink (2006) emphasize that, in many countries' reform strategies, the cart has been for too long put before the horse, with a focus on knowledge screening, achievements, and gaps, leaving out or ignoring learning. Obviously, there is no single answer or certainty about the approach which is best for Lithuania to follow. On the one hand, according to Hargreaves (2007), the period of the knowledge economy, or so-called post-industrial society, dictates its conditions for the education system (for example, to adapt to the ever-accelerating digital environment). On the other hand, the need for sustainable educational leadership is also observed as opposed to the neoliberal (Anglo-Saxon) model of education, which sets short-term goals and focuses on the pragmatic-technological concept of education. Thus, based on the findings of change theorists and the experience of Lithuania, we would see substantial action on the educational policy guidelines beginning in the new decade. We suggest that the Lithuanian education system must first answer the basic questions of '*what*', '*how*', and '*why*'. The question '*what*' implies a return to the fundamental orientation of education policy, which Lithuania aims to achieve through its education. '*How*' is an orientation to the reform process, relating not just to the content, and so is the systematic pursuit of reforms at different levels and structures. Another question—'*why*'—in the case of education policy, implies the importance of research in education policymaking. Recent

research must become an important point of reference for new directions of change.

Finding the right solutions is not easy. However, the crucial steps taken to understand and see the path of the Lithuanian education system over three decades are encouraging. The very context of today's world is extremely confusing, complex, and paradoxical. Globalization, rapid technological development, emigration and migration, demographic crisis, and political discourse affect the whole education system and its work culture. However, the hope is that after three decades, an independent Lithuania can build its education on the basis of trust and sustainable leadership.

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Denmark Report: Educational Leadership Between Two Discourses

Lejf Moos

Abstract Danish society, governance, education, school leadership, teaching and purposes of education are analysed and discussed as an interplay of two discourses: the Welfare State Discourse and the Competitive State Discourse. The Welfare State Discourse emerged shortly after World War II and the Competitive State Discourse in the 1980s. However, that is not to say that they replace each other. It is more accurate to state that they function simultaneously, albeit with one gaining dominance over the other in policy and in practice, with practice being more inert than policy. The discourses are based on a set of political, moral and ethical values or norms that are often not made explicit to the public. The analyses intend to uncover those values.

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Keywords Governance discourses • Education discourses • Contract • Social technologies • Consultancy houses • Professionalization • Improvement

TWO SOCIETAL GOVERNANCE DISCOURSES

Danish society underwent two major changes in the period after World War II. Over the first two to four decades of that time span, governments strived to build a welfare state with international collaboration and awareness. From the 1980s, political interests changed towards transforming state and society into a competitive state that could survive in the competitive global marketplace. These societal changes were followed by changes in educational and leadership policies.

Following the experiences of the Second World War, there was a global interest in collaboration across borders and, therefore, most countries joined the United Nations and other international agencies. At the national level, the welfare state vision was first and foremost developed as a social democratic project. They wanted to build a contemporary society grounded in science, rational thinking and democratic participation. The state should care for the citizens when it came to health, social security and education. Education was expected to be an important resource in the reduction of social differences, social mobility and democratic upbringing. Therefore, the state was increasingly seen as the most important player in transforming the school.

In the 1980s, a new powerful discourse was developed mainly in the UK under Prime Minister Margret Thatcher and in the USA under President Ronald Reagan, who both wanted to develop a new neo-liberal capitalist world-order where the market would have more room for manoeuvre and the state less. The proponents gained pivotal assistance from recently formed transnational agencies like the World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO), the European Union (EU), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD): all of which were established in order to further the marketplace vision. Denmark, like other nations, produced political and economic programmes for the modernization of the societies and states. The fundamental principles for this were grouped together under the term New Public Management (Moos, 2019), which meant governance built on (1) market thinking: decentralization,

competition and freedom of choice (Moos, 2000); (2) product thinking: outcomes, benchmarks, standards and accountability (Lugg, Bulkey, Firestone, & Garner, 2002); (3) customer steering: free choice; and (4) new governance and leadership forms: low trust, plans and documentation (Moos, 2016a).

TWO DISCOURSES ON EDUCATION

In this chapter, we analyse two discourses on education. A discourse is understood as a way of argumentation and structuring of the world. At present, we see two prevailing discourses. One of the two emerged from the welfare state model and may be called the “Democratic Bildung Discourse.” Based on works of Wolfgang Klafki (2001), we name this understanding of general and comprehensive education Democratic Bildung because the intention is to position children in the world, in democratic communities and societies in ways that make them competent in understanding and deliberating with other people (Moos & Wubbels, 2018). Basically, this is the Danish welfare school discourse.

The other discourse is attached to the competitive state and is called the “Outcomes Discourse” (Moos, 2017a) because the fundamental outcomes of education in this discourse are the students’ measurable learning outcomes. In discussion on education, there is a tendency for homogenization of educational practices, for example, in a plea for general education for the globalizing world. Many aspects of the Outcomes Discourse were developed over time, and a coherent version of that discourse was seen with the School Reform of 2013 (Moos, 2016b).

Thus, in the Outcomes Discourse, education is being constructed along “management-by-objective” lines: the government draws up detailed aims and measures the outcomes, while schools, teachers and students need to learn to answer correctly to the test questions. Very often, the curriculum that is developed in this situation has a scientific structure: experts know how to attain their ends, and they describe every step for schools, teachers and students to be followed in detail. In this orientation, there is a focus on “back to basics” and “back to skills” because these are what can easily be measured.

The traditional governance discourse, that is, the welfare model, advocates for democratic equity and deliberation in society and its institutions, while the competitive discourse builds on central management, that is, managing by objectives and hierarchies. The welfare educational discourse

builds on individual authority and democratic participation and deliberation for Democratic Bildung, while the competitive discourse builds on acquiring basic skills for employability.

The competitive- and outcomes-orientated discourse and associated practices are subject to more national social technologies than we have ever seen before in the history of education and educational theory. Social technologies can be seen as silent carriers of power. They are made for a purpose—often hidden from the practitioners—and also specify ways of acting. Therefore, they point to a non-deliberative practice which is steered and managed from the top-down (Dean, 1999).

The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) comparison has been imported into the European space as an important means of governing education. The programme is a package of standards or indicators for learning; measurements for outcomes; and tools for comparing students, schools and countries. This is not unexpected, as a working paper of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) shows (Wilkoszewski & Sundby, 2014).

TOP-DOWN GOVERNANCE: THE CONTRACT

Policy makers are generally concerned with how to govern societal sectors, institutions and agents effectively. A major perspective of this is what and how power should be distributed from the governance top to the individual or centralized to the top.

In Denmark, there are currently several main models of governance. First, the *public* model may be traced from the national through to municipal government. Second, the *enterprise* model may be traced from the Ministry of Education directly down to self-governing school boards. The enterprise model reflects a decentralization of power from the national to the local school-board level in which the boards are given considerable autonomy to manage local finances, staffing and school operations within the national standards and frames given to them. This model of governance is also viewed by critics as a move to circumvent local, municipal influences and circumvent interference (Moos, Nihlfors, & Paulsen, 2016b).

The Danish process of modernization or restructuring of public education is characterized by simultaneous loose and tight coupling (Weick 1976, 2001) in relations between central government agencies and local, municipal agents. On the one hand, the central government promulgates fewer regulatory prescriptions for both municipal governments and

schools with regard to finance, personnel management and day-to-day administration. On the other hand, the central government has increased mandates for fixed curriculum and student testing. In addition, similar processes have been observed within schools when leadership is being decentralized from the educational leader to teacher teams and from these teams to individual teachers (Moos and Kofod 2009).

One very important tool of public governance in Denmark is the social contract (Andersen, 2003). Quality contracts between schools, local education authorities and the Ministry of Education offer one such example. Most of these contracts have been described in national regulations. Contracts also exist within schools, such as annual plans, developed by teacher teams or individual teachers and the school leadership, and individual student plans between students, parents and teachers. Specific contracts have been developed in public governance and organizational leadership and management over the past 20 years. They are part of public governance and thus part of the relationship between governments and organizations and individuals. They are special in that the superior level defines the frame of resources, the values and the indicators, while the acting level signs the contract and thereby indicates that it intends to comply with the expectations and indicators.

The organizing, plans, areas of focus and methods are left to practitioners as long as they stay within the overall framework. In most cases, a degree of self-evaluation is built into the contract. Such contracts leave many decisions to the practice level, where people must manage themselves and their own work. This type of leadership, through values, means that organizations and individuals must take over the values and norms laid out by the superior level. They must do so to such a degree that they make them their own values. To the practitioners, a set of givens exist that include frameworks, values and indicators as well as a set of choices to be made concerning how effective performance can be reached.

The contract governance is basically a model of separating goal setting from production and measuring of results. For those purposes, there is a need for clear and measurable goals/standards and reliable measurements of results/outcomes as mentioned in the first few paragraphs of this chapter.

The means for developing goals and measurements include international comparisons, such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). The idea here is that in order for an educational system to be competitive, education needs to “produce” students with high

levels of attainment outcomes. Therefore, in the Outcomes Discourse, education is being constructed along the “Management-by-Objective” lines: the government draws up the aims and measures the outcomes, while schools, teachers and students need to learn to correctly answer test questions. Very often, the curriculum that is developed in this situation has a scientific structure.

The vision of education for competition is built on a set of core logic: management by objectives and outcomes-based accountability. Proponents of this discourse often refer to scientific management and the scientific curriculum as core theoretical bases (Blossing, Imsen, & Moos, 2013; Moos, Nihlfors, & Paulsen, 2016a). It is fundamentally concerned with centralizing power at the political level (e.g. parliament and government). Similarly, the scientific curriculum hides the power to decide on the purpose, content, relations and methods of education behind the pretexts of expertise and value-free decisions.

The competitive- and outcomes-orientated discourses, and associated practices, are subject to more social technologies than we have ever seen before in the history of education and educational theory (Moos et al. 2015). Social technologies can be seen as silent carriers of power. One of the most powerful social technologies is the international comparison, like PISA, which is more governance focused than is usually acknowledged (Lawn and Grek 2012, p. 121).

A contemporary version of the Learning Outcome Discourse is the *eduBusiness* (Williamson, 2017). This discourse and practice build on two foundations. The first one is the commodification of education that brings education into the centre of the global marketplace (Ball, 2004, 2012), and the second one is the rather new interest in education that is being taken by international and national private agencies such as large consultancies and private foundations. The players are respectively interested in profit and the influences they can gain from and on the educational market.

Consultancy houses, agencies and governments use digital solutions for a multitude of purposes. Some of them are to gain “algorithmic governance” of citizens’ everyday lives (Williamson, 2017) in combining thinking, institutions, technics and activities that can be used to monitor, control, form and regulate human activity and behaviour (Foucault, 2001/1978).

Global education programmes are constructed by using and harvesting big data through algorithms in mega-big data bases from globally used

tests and learning programmes (Williamson, 2016), and thereby supporting the downgrading of importance of national and local cultures.

There are numerous examples of these kinds of projects, including net-companies that most of us use on a daily basis, like Google and Amazon targeted advertising through use of algorithms, and The World Economic Forum (WEF) project on emotional learning through the use of technology: “New Vision for Education” (Forum, 2016).

And a big Danish project on learning platforms:

A thorough digitalisation of the basic school ... shall support students' learning and a flexible planning and carrying through of education independent of time and space. (Denmark, 2015)

The platform was intended to support the School Reform of 2013 with more than 3000 outcome aims. It is constructed on the basis of national standards, test and digital learning material plus plans for the school day, student plans of learning progression, data on outcome results, digital working rooms, documentations and assessment. It is compulsory for all schools, teachers, parents and students.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT DENMARK

By tradition, most policies were distributed from government to schools through local agencies: municipalities with an elected board, city council, and appointed administration and education department. The municipal agency interpreted the national aims and frames on the way to institutions. However, the modernization of Danish society and state meant that the national level took over the production of aims and measurements in “bypassing” the municipal level (Moos et al., 2016b).

An important agency in the interplay between ministries and municipalities is the association of municipal authorities: “Local Government Denmark.” It is consultative and has power of negotiations upwards to ministries and agencies and downwards to municipal authorities and school leaderships. The board members of Local Government Denmark are elected by the municipal councils. It has an important role in the interplay between government and municipalities, a role it also had in the time following the restructuring of public governance in the beginning of the millennium, working to find new balances in power relations by representing the local authorities and simultaneously functioning as a national agency.

SCHOOL LEADERSHIP PROFESSIONALIZATION

Danish Folkeschools (student year 6 through 16) used to be local-national and autonomous. This meant that legislation was national, but it left many issues to the discretion of local authorities, schools and teachers; municipalities were therefore strong players as they were hosting schools, financing them and supporting relations between schools and local communities and parents when discussing and deciding on local goals and frames. The school leadership only occasionally interfered with teachers' work in class before 1990 because educational decisions were left to professional discretion in everyday classroom practice.

Over a 20–30-year period, more detailed national outcomes, aims and tests were produced, culminating with the school reform of 2012 (MinistryEducation, 2014). Here, the national standards were made detailed—approximately 3000—and they were made compulsory together with 46 national tests. The standards were to form the foundation for an IT learning platform. One could claim that those initiatives provided a good foundation for moving to a global school and big business through big data and global consultancies (Moos, 2017a).

Another initiative, from 2013, was Act 409 on teachers working conditions, which moved many decisions from the field of negotiation between ministry, municipality and teachers' union to national framing and school leaders' decisions: or as one contemporary political expression put it: leaders were given room and muscles for leadership.

Political expectations for school leaders were sharpening the governance aspect of leadership, meaning leaders now set goals, monitor practices and measure outcomes of teacher practices in classrooms. It looked very much like the OECD vision, illustrated in the introduction where initial priorities include school leadership should be “Running a small business,” they should manage human and financial resources, and they should adopt a teaching programme. Following on in order of priority are issues of accountability for outcomes that underscore the need for evaluation, strategic planning, assessment and monitoring and the use of data for improvement like the PISA results and results of national tests. The final priorities come closer to the educational aspects of school and school leadership.

The Ministry of Education issued a policy paper in relation to the School Reform (MinistryEducation, 2015). Seven themes were described that illuminate the ways the ministry sees leadership of schools: (1)

emphasis on leadership for effective learning in line with the national outcome standards; (2) production of leadership strategies for meeting the aims in a professional organization; (3) leadership based on evidence and best practice in education; (4) leaders ensure competent teachers; (5) leadership facilitates professional collaboration with experts outside schools; (6) leadership develops well-being and commitment in order to build a professional organization; and (7) leaders should open up the school to the local community, finding new, valuable learning environments for pupils.

Aims and procedures are clearly described in line with the effective, outcome-based school policy. It is clear that schools need to implement national aims and standards, but they are not asked to interpret or translate them in accordance with local and school culture, values and norms. The policy is a principal-agent policy: parliament has decided on aims and standards which schools and teachers will implement and be accountable for, mainly through national tests. A shift in negotiations of teachers' working conditions from teachers' unions and employees to individual school principals—Act 409 (Regeringen, 2013)—has caused leadership conditions that reflect, as described, OECD top-down recommendations. This has meant a major shift in leadership conditions to a situation that is similar to OECD top-down recommendations from the Improving School Leadership Project (Pont, Nusche, & Moorman, 2008).

Major aspects of the school reform are being adjusted (as of 2018), and it remains to be seen what impact these adjustments will have.

Some of the soft governance forms that produce social technologies, as well as advice employed by transnational agencies like the OECD is built on electronic data and processes.

SCHOOL LEADERSHIP FOR IMPROVEMENT

School improvement can mean very different things. If one takes as the point of observation the Democratic Bildung Discourse, it would mean empowering professionals as well as students to learn as much as possible and develop non-affirmative, critical and creative interpretation and negotiation competences in doing so. It would also mean that professionals are given the opportunity and encouragement to collaborate with other professionals.

If, on the other hand, one wants to improve school according to the Learning Outcomes Discourse, the focus should be on correct and

effective implementation of goals set at the national level for national testing and on the international level for PISA comparisons. Experts have pointed to the correct answers to their own questions, so teachers and students work towards implementation of their affirmativity.

We want to go more into detail with the discussion of the role and function of school leaders, as we can see how they are being unfolded in Denmark in the interplay between the two discourses. An oversight of school leaders' functions was found in a study of a large number of school leadership studies by Leithwood and Riehl (2005). Four functions are discussed: (1) school leaders interpret external expectation and set the direction for the school by creating shared meanings; (2) teacher education is more important than leadership for student learning and teachers need support in this area; (3) teaching and leading take place in an organization that needs to be restructured and re-cultured to further working towards goals; and (4) managing relations to the political and parental environment.

Firstly, we set out the arguments about the function of setting direction for the school: schools are working in a political and governmental environment that has expectations for work and outcomes. In the Bildung Discourse, there was generally a lot of trust between governance levels: government trusted municipalities to manage their institutions well. Municipalities trusted schools, and so on. Regulations need only to be soft and short when the next layer is responsible and works according to the general culture and norms. That gave school leaders room to interpret legislation and other expectations and negotiate the interpretations with staff so it made sense to them (Weick, 2001). With the Outcomes Discourse, trust is often replaced by mistrust and the need for documentation and accountability as has been described above. That gives much less room for manoeuvre in schools, so instead of interpretation of expectations they need to implement the legislation and be accountable through social technologies.

Secondly, the staff empowerment and support is an issue. As emphasis on outcomes is the core logic in governance and schools, together with knowledge about national competences and the use of educational data like test results. There is more interest in school leaders monitoring outcomes than on general educational knowledge and practices. Thus, there are many packages of teaching and learning assistance and guides for sale from consultancies.

Thirdly, both discourses stress developing the school culture. In the Bildung Discourse, it is often seen as the need to develop collaboration between professionals and between professionals and students in order to create inclusive and democratic communities that are open to student curiosity and critical reflections. In the Outcomes Discourse, there is more emphasis on teaching to the test and comparisons of student outcomes.

Lastly, discussion of the relations to the local community. In the Democratic Bildung Discourse, there is room for discussions with parents and local political agents because there is room for local interpretation of soft legislation and soft couplings. Much of that is substituted in Outcome Discourse by one-way information from school to community with little time or room for discussions.

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Country Report: Norway—School Leadership Conceptions Bowing to Global Isomorphism

Jan Merok Paulsen

Abstract This chapter will provide an overview of how the Norwegian school institution has evolved from the early 1980s and up to the current situation. During nearly four decades, partly as a result of economic globalization and free markets, economic norms and values have gained greater influence over school philosophy and public sector governance. Since the first PISA study in 2001 placed Norway just at the mean of the participating OECD countries, national media and politicians have focused on how to raise student achievement in basic subjects such as literacy, mathematics, and science, through curriculum reforms and a national quality assurance system. As noted in policy reviews, this development has resulted in a technocratic curriculum regime based on management-by-objectives and ranking of schools and municipalities based on student

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achievements. In a similar vein, a shift has been observed from the traditional model of public sector governing, in which standardization and equality have been prominent values, toward a service-providing model, where people are mainly seen as consumers or clients. In this institutional context, leadership roles at different levels of the school system have been redefined, and this chapter discusses this development in the light of new institutional theory.

Keywords New institutionalism • Meta-organizations • New Public Management • School governance • School leadership

INTRODUCTION

In the last decades, partly as a result of economic globalization and the public sector reforms under the label of New Public Management (NPM), economic norms and values have gained greater influence over school governance (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). In this period, the OECD established itself as the strong reform center, an international meta-organization, through a growing body of social technologies that set the direction of reforms for its member countries. Whereas the first wave of NPM initiatives in the 1980s and 1990s was targeted toward the entire public sector, in order to achieve more efficient and streamlined municipalities, counties, and state directorates, largely inspired by the corporate sector, the second wave after the millennium shift had its greatest impact on public schooling. Since the first Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) study in 2001 placed Norway just at the mean of the participating OECD countries, national media and politicians have focused on how to raise student achievement in basic subjects such as literacy, mathematics, and science, through curriculum reforms and a national quality assurance system (NQAS). Against this backdrop, the Norwegian government launched a curriculum reform in 2006 known as the “Knowledge Promotion” (K-06), and the Norwegian Directorate of Education and Training was established in the same year in order to strengthen the state’s grip on the implementation process. This semi-independent state directorate has been responsible for managing the bulk of the standardized measurement instruments, such as national achievement tests, student assessment surveys, and teacher assessment surveys, as well as centralized designed training programs for teachers and school leaders. In a similar

vein, the NQAS was launched in 2005 in order to improve the national standard of student achievement, and one of the mandatory procedures is an annual quality report by each of the circa 400 municipalities (Mausethagen, Prøitz, & Skedsmo, 2018).

BACKGROUND ON NORWAY

Norway at a Glance

Despite its relatively large surface area—324,000 km² with a distance of 1800 km from north to south—Norway is a small country with a population of approximately 5.3 million in January 2019. The population is relatively young in and around the regional centers and along the coast of Southern and Western Norway. At the start of 2019, there were 944,000 immigrants and individuals born in Norway to immigrant parents in Norway, representing 18% of the entire population. Of these, 765,000 were immigrants born overseas, while 179,000 were born in Norway to immigrant parents. In Oslo, one in every three inhabitants is either an immigrant him/herself or was born in Norway to immigrant parents, and a quarter of all immigrants and individuals born in Norway to immigrant parents in Norway live in Oslo.¹

The Historical Path of the Norwegian School Institution

Since the early twentieth century, Norwegian educational policy has been strongly influenced by egalitarian values. Equality in education has thus been a governing policy ideal for decades. The term *equality* denotes an overall goal emphasizing that the provision of the same resources and opportunities should be available to all students, independent of their socio-economic and cultural background. A central aim inherent in the unified school has therefore been to produce equal opportunities for all, irrespective of abilities and conditions. The core of this legacy reflects an ideal that the educational career of the individual would be determined by abilities and interests, not by social status and place of residence.

¹Source: Statistics Norway, see https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/_attachment/400328?_ts=16dbaa09488.

The Four-Tier Structure of Norwegian Education

The Norwegian educational system is divided into four tiers. After three comprehensive legislative reforms in the 1990s, the educational system is structured into a relatively coherent framework. A map of the four-tier structure is displayed in Fig. 6.1.

The 1990s was one of the most comprehensive structural reform periods in the history of Norwegian education, affecting nearly all aspects and levels of the system. The reform, known as “Reform 1997,” changed the period of compulsory schooling to ten years, with the obligatory admission of six-year-olds as opposed to earlier. Simultaneously, the systemic reform labeled “Reform 1994” ensured all young Norwegian people between 16 and 19 years of age the statutory right to enter upper secondary education in their home environments. In the tertiary sector, the

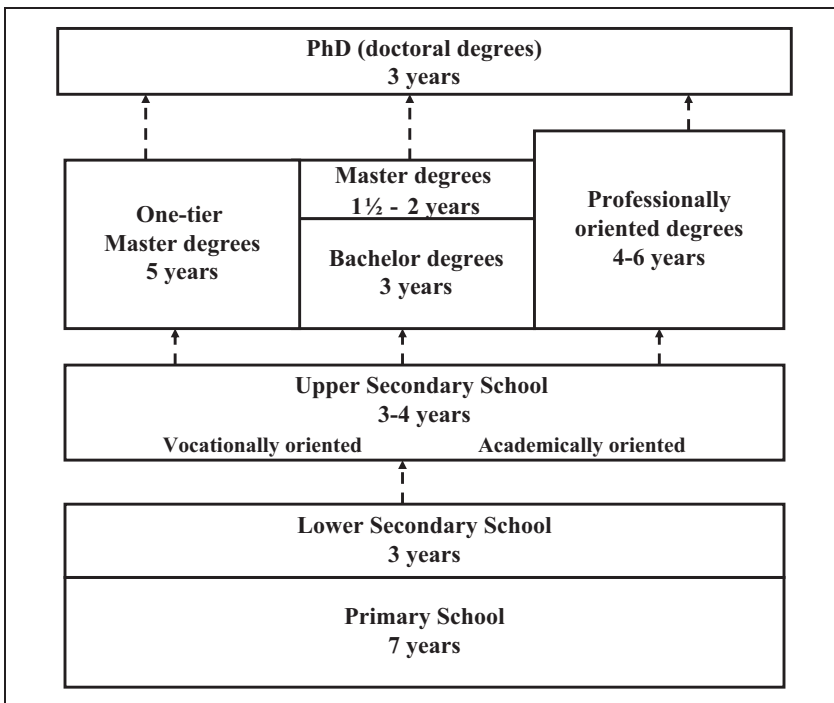


Fig. 6.1 The structure of the Norwegian Educational System

curriculum structure was streamlined through the “Quality Reform for Higher Education” that was implemented stepwise from 2003. One of the major purposes was to improve the match with international degree standards. Consequently, certificates and diplomas from Norwegian higher education institutions today are combinable with international programs.

THE PILLARS OF THE SCHOOL INSTITUTION

Following Scott’s (1995) approach, a national educational system can fairly well be approached as a societal institution grounded on three pillars: the regulatory, the normative, and the cultural–cognitive. The institutional perspective, as such, sees education not only through the lenses of structure and regulations (i.e., laws, directives, curricula, and governance structure). Instead, the perspective recognizes that dominant professional norms, belief systems, and ideologies are powerful constituents of an institution. The perspective takes into account that the behavior of educational actors is not entirely determined by regulations. Rather, it is assumed that school behavior is also significantly affected by purely social obligations, for example, dominant professional norms.² Besides, cultural–cognitive demands, rooted in ideologies and belief systems among strong stakeholders, may also impose considerable environmental pressures and demands on the individual school organization. The regulatory pillar provides legally sanctioned legitimacy for the players, built on legislation, national standards, and national curricula. But the unified school model is also a normative regime of schooling. This normative pillar is close to a social obligation to follow among the accredited actors of education, the teachers, school managers, civil servants, and trade unions. Normative rules include both values and norms, and they may take the form of prescriptive standards and credentials that guide behavior as well as schemas of how events shall be judged and evaluated (Scott, 1995). From a third perspective, the unified school model also contains a cultural–cognitive, or ideological, dimension in terms of a set of taken-for-granted assumptions, shared understandings, and common beliefs. The three pillars of the Norwegian school system are briefly described in Table 6.1.

In regulatory terms, based on PISA 2006, the OECD recommended that Norway strengthen national quality assurance of literacy art in

² See Rowan (2002); Rowan and Miskel (1999).

Table 6.1 Schools as a societal institution

	<i>Regulative pillar</i>	<i>Normative pillar</i>	<i>Cultural–cognitive pillar</i>
Basis of compliance	Expedience and purposeful adaptation of school actions to formal regulations of state and local levels	Social obligation to follow institutionalized values and norms	Taken-for-granted assumptions and shared beliefs about the rationale for schooling, including curriculum understanding
Basis of order	Regulative rules from the central bodies and the local and regional authorities	Binding expectations and norms of how schooling should be organized, led, and undertaken	Cognitive schemas established within the domain of the school system and parties at stake with schooling
Mechanisms	Coercive isomorphism	Normative isomorphism	Mimetic isomorphism
Logic of action	Instrumentality	Logic of appropriateness	Orthodoxy
Indicators	Rules, laws, sanctions, and accreditation	Credentials	Shared beliefs and understandings of schooling
Basis of legitimacy	Legally sanctioned	Morally governed and socially approved among members of the dominant coalition	Culturally supported within the field

Adapted from Scott (1995)

primary education, which later was reflected in the curriculum reform known as the Knowledge Promotion (2006) and in the testing and indirect control of literacy skills, math, and science having become a central target in the NQAS, implemented from 2006. This change in the regulatory part of the school institution has notably and visibly changed the role of the school principal toward the state expectation of a result-accountable manager who demonstrates upward loyalty (Aas & Brandmo, 2016). In many respects, this is the instrumental side of the changing demands for school leadership.

FROM SEGMENTED TO FRAGMENTED STATE GOVERNING

Research on state governing and power relations in the Norwegian society has identified a shift from a traditional governing model labeled the “segmented state model” (Olsen, 1978)³ toward a “fragmented state model” (Tranøy & Østerud, 2001). The first model, identified as the dominant model in the 1970s, was characterized by a collection of clearly defined institutional sectors, in which it was clear who belongs to the policy field (state, directorate, municipalities, and schools) and who does not. Furthermore, each segment, or policy domain, was characterized by a system-wide architecture and legal, administrative, and financial interdependence between levels of jurisdiction (state, municipalities, and schools).

As identified around the millennium shift, the model labeled “the fragmented state model” primarily conceives of public policies as “service industries.” This model is in accordance with similar labels of governing, such as “the supermarket state model” (Olsen, 1988). In addition, each policy field is populated with a range of actors on a larger number of levels than in the first model. With its emphasis on employability and many intersections between political and economic actors, a shift toward Ove K. Pedersen’s (2011) notion of “the competitive state model” has been observable, however, yet not entirely and fully developed in the Norwegian context. Civil service research in Norway has also inferred that Norway has been both a latecomer and a “slow learner” in the implementation of NPM ideas into practice (Christensen & Lægred, 2001). On the one hand, Norway is evidently affected by transnational policy trends, while norms of decentralism and local democracy are still observable in this policy field, on the other hand.

Influence from Meta-organizations

During the last decade, we have seen a shift from the traditional political and administrative government structures toward a more complex governance model in the Nordic countries (Moos, Nihlfors, & Paulsen, 2016). One aspect of this development has been the increasing influence on national and local school policies from transnational bodies such as the

³The Norwegian Power Study 1972–1978: A grand project aiming to capture power relationships and the distribution of power in Norwegian society. The first power study was followed up by the second one in 1998–2003.

OECD, not at least through the PISA rankings of national school systems based on student achievements (Meyer & Benavot, 2013). In theoretical terms, it is fair to interpret the OECD as having created a soft governance discourse, enacted through international comparisons, ranking of national systems, and benchmarking of “best practices” (Moos et al., 2016). When analyzing the findings from the Nordic research project undertaken in 2009–2016, it was necessary to take into account the increased influences of transnational bodies and professional agencies (at different levels of the hierarchy) on the local level, for the purpose of mapping the more complex picture of how schools actually were governed, as illustrated in Fig. 6.2 below.

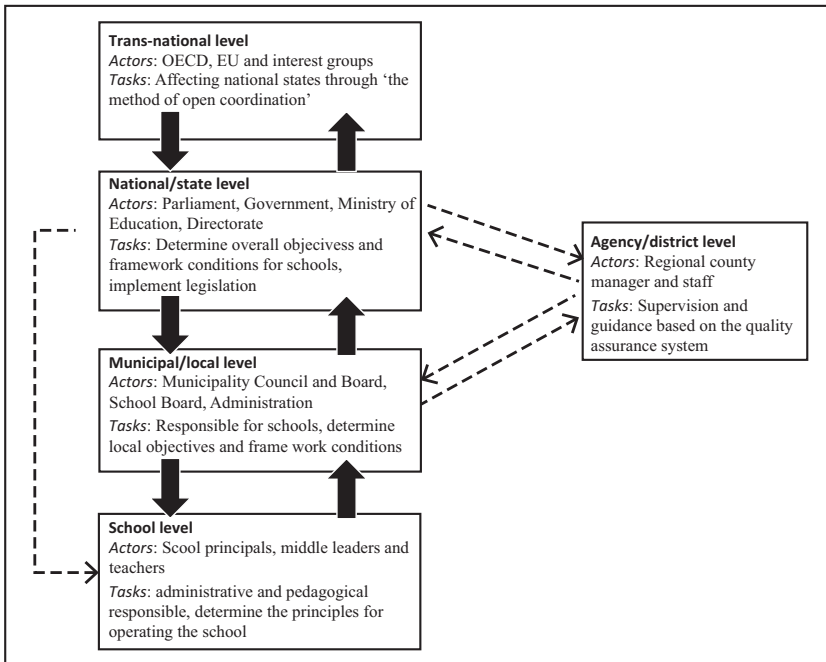


Fig. 6.2 The school governance system (Nihlfors, Johansson, Moos, Paulsen, & Risku, 2013)

Local Government in Norway

In Norway, municipalities have played an important role in the development and up-scaling of the unified public-school system, which has been a cornerstone in the welfare model. This means by implication that municipalities, through school boards and municipal councils, have enjoyed a certain degree of freedom in educational areas. Another aspect of the route toward a more complex model of school governance in the Nordic countries is the conjoint development of NQASs together with delegation of powers and authorities to the municipality sector, a twin strategy of centralization and decentralization (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013), or a blend of tight and loose couplings between the state and the municipalities (Paulsen, Johansson, Nihlfors, Moos, & Risku, 2014).

DEFINING AND REDEFINING SCHOOL LEADERSHIP

More than any other institution, the OECD has exerted significant influence over how school leadership is defined, or redefined, through the PISA rankings (Meyer & Benavot, 2013). This powerful meta-organization has, over the years, developed a range of measurement models of “best practices” of education, where PISA, Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), and Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRL) are the most well known. Particularly, PISA has created “a global field for school governance” (Møller, 2019). During the last decade, the OECD has become a strong force in educational governance, not the least through PISA studies, in terms of an international standardized reform movement toward global transparency, accountability, and de-professionalization. As argued, PISA’s dominance in the global educational discourse standardizes educational policy “*for the sake of hitching schools more tightly to the bandwagon of economic efficiency, while sacrificing their role of preparing students for independent thinking and civic participation*” (Meyer & Benavot, 2013, p. 9). The OECD influence basically takes the form of country reviews (e.g., based on PISA results) and policy recommendations advising member nations’ governments to take specific national actions, mostly based on their international standardized tests.

Comparative statistics have become the reference point when discussing effective schooling. However, the major point of PISA and international OECD studies is to create and maintain league tables that pinpoint the precise rank of each country with a statistic mean value (i.e., 500 points) as the demarcation criterion. Whereas Norway was among the

countries regarded as role models of education by the OECD in the early 1980s, it has, after the PISA shock in 2001, been treated as a country in need of international guidance, supervision, and monitoring by the OECD (Møller, 2019, p. 187). OECD performance indicators, across all policy fields, are presented as “context-free” and neutral, not “infected” by local socio-economic conditions, national cultures, policy cultures of education, local policies, or deeper institutional patterns of the school institution. As such, comparative statistics created by the OECD have established their own discourse of school policy and governance with clear implications for leadership roles of superintendents, school principals, and middle leaders.

The OECD influence on school leadership is mostly derived from the program created in 2005, “Improving School Leadership” (ISL) (Pont, Nusche, & Moorman, 2008), with recommendations such as:

- Increasing autonomy for school leaders
- New types of accountability
- School leadership training
- Leadership roles associated with student outcomes
- Competence in data use
- Supporting and evaluating teacher quality
- Strategic and financial management
- Distributed leadership
- Clarification of leadership roles

SCHOOL LEADERSHIP PROFESSIONALIZATION

From OECD to National Principal Program

When the OECD launched its ISL program, Norway was one of the few countries without leadership and management education for school principals and without clear role prescriptions. In the White Paper No. 31 (2007–2008), it became evident that Norway took some of the recommendations from the OECD into account by establishing a national training program for school principals. The program is provided by universities, after a national bid competition and accreditation process, and one of the prescriptions in the first round was the commitment from all university providers to include management consultants in the education and training to ensure a practically adapted program. The training program is also

modular includable in a master's degree in school leadership or educational leadership. In the first period, 2010–2015, newly appointed principals were the main target group, but during the last periods the main groups of participants are middle leaders and staff leaders. In that respect, the program has altered toward a preparation program for school principals.

The main ingredients of the Norwegian national training program are

- Accountability for students' learning processes and student achievements
- Management and administration (finance and law issues)
- Collaboration and organizational development
- Change and school development
- Leadership role development

These main themes are parts of a national framework that all university providers must adapt their curricula to. There are currently eight university providers offering the program that is state funded. A deliberate component is that each university has some degrees of freedom in the adaptation of the curriculum to the national framework in order to utilize each institution's core competence optimally and to give the applicants some choices, also in accordance with their preferences.

However, the program is not a mandatory requirement, and local municipalities (school owners) continue to play a key role in providing in-service training for school leaders. Today, municipalities are defined as the owners of the majority of schools by financing and employing teachers and school leaders. According to the stated purpose of the national principal training program, school leaders are expected to be “clear, democratic, independent, confident and courageous” (www.utdanningsdirektoratet.no).

When the OECD Model Meets School Leaders' Preferences

Aas and Brandmo (2016) undertook a detailed empirical test of some of the standard models of principal leadership on a sample of Norwegian school principals and students. The statistical analysis revealed that none of these models fully captured the Norwegian school leaders' perception of preferred leadership practices; only some parts of the model exposed a fit, whereas others did not create a match. In particular, two aspects of preferred leadership practices “fell out of the equation”: a strong bow

toward distributed leadership practices paired with a democratic orientation related to collaboration with their teachers. At the same time, the school leaders in the sample showed a tendency of compliance to expectations derived from the NQAS in terms of accountability for student outcomes. On the other hand, in line with the tendency of democratic orientation or preference for teachers' professional autonomy, they seldom intervened in the teachers' professional domain.

Dilemmas and Tensions

The larger and important point of the empirical test in the investigation undertaken by Aas and Brandmo (2016) refers to cultural path dependencies inherent in the normative basis of the school institution, which tend to outplay some parts of the OECD's preferred styles. However, this bow to managerial ideals also creates a lot of tensions and dilemmas inherent in the new mode of governance by the use of league tables that rank schools. Aas and Brandmo (2016) confirmed that school leaders in Norway tend to show respect to democratic ideals and professional norms of their teacher staff, and this dilemma was labeled "*compliant upwards and polite downwards*" in the hierarchy of authority, seen from the principal's office. Specifically, the governance system of school leadership and leadership training inhibits "classical" and enduring dilemmas for school leaders in their role as agents in a system where autonomy and accountability are central values.

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PART II

Thematic Chapters



The Role of International Benchmarking in the Convergence/Divergence of European Education

Maja Mihaljević Kosor, Jurica Pavičić, and Nikša Alfirević

Abstract In this chapter, the authors analyse and discuss conceptual and methodological issues related to international benchmarking and its effect on educational policy and practice in selected European countries. Benchmarking is viewed as a process of comparing educational outcomes in schooling systems, identifying strengths and weaknesses and serving as a platform to identify best-practice examples, thus providing a foundation

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for school development and other improvements in the education system. Using data from international surveys, the authors compare educational outcomes over time for a sample of European countries, discuss recent trends and identify the main similarities/differences. The data on educational outcomes come primarily from the wide-ranging OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), as well as from other relevant sources of data on European education. The chapter is concluded with the lessons learnt from international benchmarking, in the context of challenges in the social and education environment of the selected European countries.

Keywords International benchmarking • PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) • OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) • Best practices

INTRODUCTION

There is widespread recognition of the importance of education and skills in the formation of human capital and increasing pressure to demonstrate that the sizeable public and private funding of education pays back economically, socially and culturally (OECD, 2017a). A substantial amount of research has been carried out focusing on the inputs and outputs of the education system, in most cases in order to obtain some ranking of educational institutions in terms of efficiency scores. In this regard, benchmarking is viewed as an extremely important tool in improving the efficiency of the education sector.

KEY CONCEPTS AND CHALLENGES FOR BENCHMARKING IN EDUCATION

In the education sector, *economic efficiency* can be viewed in terms of alleviating the costs of the public sector, given that most of the primary and secondary schools are funded from local/regional or national budgets. Efficiency refers to the degree to which the provision of goods/services is maximised with the available resources. The commonly examined types of efficiency in education are technical and allocative efficiency. Blank (2000)

defines technical efficiency as the extent to which services can be expanded without increasing resources, or, alternatively, the amount by which resources can be contracted without reducing the services. Hoxby (1995) argues that allocative efficiency is ‘getting the amount of education right’ (p. 54), while productive efficiency concerns minimising the cost of the schooling provision. *Effectiveness*, on the other hand, ascertains whether a specific set of educational resources contributes to student performance and to what extent. As Drucker (1967) states, efficiency is about ‘doing things right’, while effectiveness is about ‘doing the right things’. Nevertheless, education performance depends on the interpretation of multiple stakeholders (students, parents, teachers, school principals, the local community and government), functioning in a network of principal-agent relationships and having different, sometimes even conflicting, objectives. In addition, educational institutions use multiple inputs to produce a range of outputs, making it difficult to assess what contribution to output is made by the education processes and/or by the enrolment of the ‘right’ students.

Education policy needs to improve the outcomes of education, while balancing the efficiency and equity of the system. In debates over the equity-efficiency trade-off, it is often pointed out that the pursuit of greater equity usually leads to a decrease in efficiency, and vice-versa. For example, in UK secondary schools, the goal of increasing efficiency may result in some form of stratification of poorer students in schools with the weakest performance, and consequentially the resources get allocated to better-performing schools (in Bradley, Johnes, & Millington, 2001). There are also some dysfunctional effects in the education sector where schools may be trying to improve their position in the league tables through ‘cream-skimming’ or grade inflation (Adnett, Bougheas, & Davies, 2002). As Hanushek (1997) notes, in the economic analysis of education, the focus has shifted from the quantitative analysis of inputs in education to the measurement and analysis of student performance and outcomes.

International benchmarking of education outcomes, especially workplace-related skills (Hopkins, Pennock, Ritzen, Ahtaridou, & Zimmer, 2008), creates a new equalising force in the policy landscape. This is especially significant for established international benchmarking studies, such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which is developed and implemented by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). It is a global

triennial survey of student performance, testing the problem-solving skills and cognition of 15-year-olds.

There is plenty of evidence of the impact of PISA on the convergence of national education policies. National responses to the release of PISA results have been diverse (Martens, Nagel, Windzio, & Weymann, 2010). Out of countries included in this study (Switzerland, Germany, New Zealand and the USA), both Switzerland and Germany prompted significant education reforms in light of perceived poor performance. This is in contrast to the United Kingdom's lack of policy response to moderate performance, which Knodel and Walkenhorst (2010) attribute to education reforms already underway in England in the years prior to the release of the PISA results. The authors of another study asked members of the PISA governing boards to comment on the effect of PISA scores on national education policies (Breakspear, 2012). Representatives from 17 countries (out of 37 that participated in the study) found PISA to be 'very influential' in informing their policy-makers, and a further three countries found PISA to be 'extremely influential' (Denmark, England and Japan). The respondents also indicated that PISA scores prompted changes in 19 countries and led to partial changes in a further 11 countries. The use of PISA data has also been criticised, even within Finland, as a country scoring highly on the PISA list(s). Rautalin and Alasuutari (2009) argue that the Finnish central government used the PISA data and reports without much critical scrutiny, attributing success in the Finnish students' rankings to their own actions, as well as blaming other actors for the shortcomings of the education system.

Other critical voices argue that the PISA methodology is not robust (Kreiner & Christensen, 2014), although there is some empirical evidence speaking in favour of the existing methodology (Jerrim et al., 2018). Some studies argue that test items might be biased, either due to translations and/or cultural sensitivities, leading to the variability of test items in different countries (Goldstein, 2017). Even if those items were removed, or reduced by improved methodology, a critical argument views that the PISA rankings provide, essentially, an extremely simplified 'black box'. The policy community should trust that these scores actually capture the complexity of education systems and synthesise the quality of a country's schooling, without complete transparency over the process of their construction and implementation. It is also noteworthy that additional country- and school-level data (coming from, e.g. PISA questionnaires for principals and students) seem to be largely ignored by the policy actors,

while some significant policy decisions, such as school funding and education staff salary increases, could be based on superficial readings of the PISA national table rankings (Sjöberg, 2016).

In addition, *international benchmarking purposefully puts the emphasis on the reading, science, mathematics and, recently introduced, financial literacy related skills, instead of traditional school curricula, that is, knowledge domains*. It could be argued that such a trans-national approach has distinct advantages in terms of transcending the traditional limitations in measuring the critical thinking and creativity skills relevant for students' future success in the contemporary world (Schleicher, 2018). On the other hand, such a methodology sends not-so-subtle signals to national educational policies regarding the importance of individual knowledge domains (Sjöberg, 2019). PISA results also reflect the institutional and political power of governments involved in the functioning of the OECD (ibid.), as opposed to alternative benchmarking studies, such as *TIMMS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study)* or *PIRLS (Progress in International Reading Literacy Study)*, which are designed and implemented by the less 'prestigious' *IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement)*.

The outcome of such a global trend in education policy convergence is most certainly compatible with the developments of directing education away from the notion of *Bildung* and ideals of democracy and solidarity towards standardised education relevant for the development of human capital (as prescribed by the labour market), but also susceptible to standardised measurement and management practices (Meyer & Benavot, 2013).

COMPARING THE EDUCATIONAL PERFORMANCE OF SELECTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

The goal of this section is to provide a comparative analysis of the educational performance of selected European countries. The data used in this analysis come from the three recent PISA rounds (conducted in 2012, 2015 and 2018). PISA data are combined with country specific data to gain more insight into the main similarities/differences in educational performance between countries over time. The strongest examples are then identified and a closer analysis of their progress in education is discussed.

In general, the PISA data are used to inform policy-makers and other education stakeholders of the efficiency, equity and the quality of education systems. Given that it is one of the most comprehensive studies of educational outcomes in the world, over the years performance in PISA has been used in different types of research, ranging from analysis of its effects on adult life outcomes, to equity in education, economic performance of countries and so on. For example, in terms of its effect on adult life outcomes and equity, a clear link was established: students who did well in PISA tests did better in the labour market or in further education (OECD, 2018). The study also found that students in Denmark who expected to work in a high-skilled job were about 40 percentage points more likely to be doing so as young adults than students who did not have such expectations (and about 10 percentage points in Switzerland). Data for this analysis are only available for four countries (Australia, Canada, Denmark and Switzerland) for students who took the test in 2000 and 2003 and were followed ten years later in their transition to early adulthood. In this case, PISA results were good predictors of success in higher education and in the job market later on. An important study linking PISA scores and other economic and education indicators found that an increase of 25 points in average PISA scores in the next 20 years would result in a combined gain for OECD countries to the amount of USD 115 trillion for the generation born in 2010 (OECD, 2010).

In the following sections, we examine the trends in the educational performance of European countries in order to establish common features and identify countries which have made rapid improvements in educational performance over recent years. PISA data are complemented with data on government expenditures on education, the number of students and teachers in secondary education, and teacher salaries. The data are for the EU-28 countries, with special focus on countries appearing in country reports and specific analyses in the earlier chapters, that is, Croatia, Slovenia, Denmark, Lithuania and Norway.

The PISA data for the EU-28 in 2012, 2015 and 2018 point to Estonia, Finland, Ireland, Poland, Sweden, the United Kingdom and Denmark as the best-performing countries, with a reading score above 500 points (the international average in reading for OECD countries is 487 points). Bulgaria, Cyprus, Romania and Malta are the worst-performing of the EU-28 countries, with a score under 450 points (in Fig. 7.1). The situation is similar in other tested areas (maths and science), where Bulgaria, Romania and Greece are the worst-performing countries. This is not

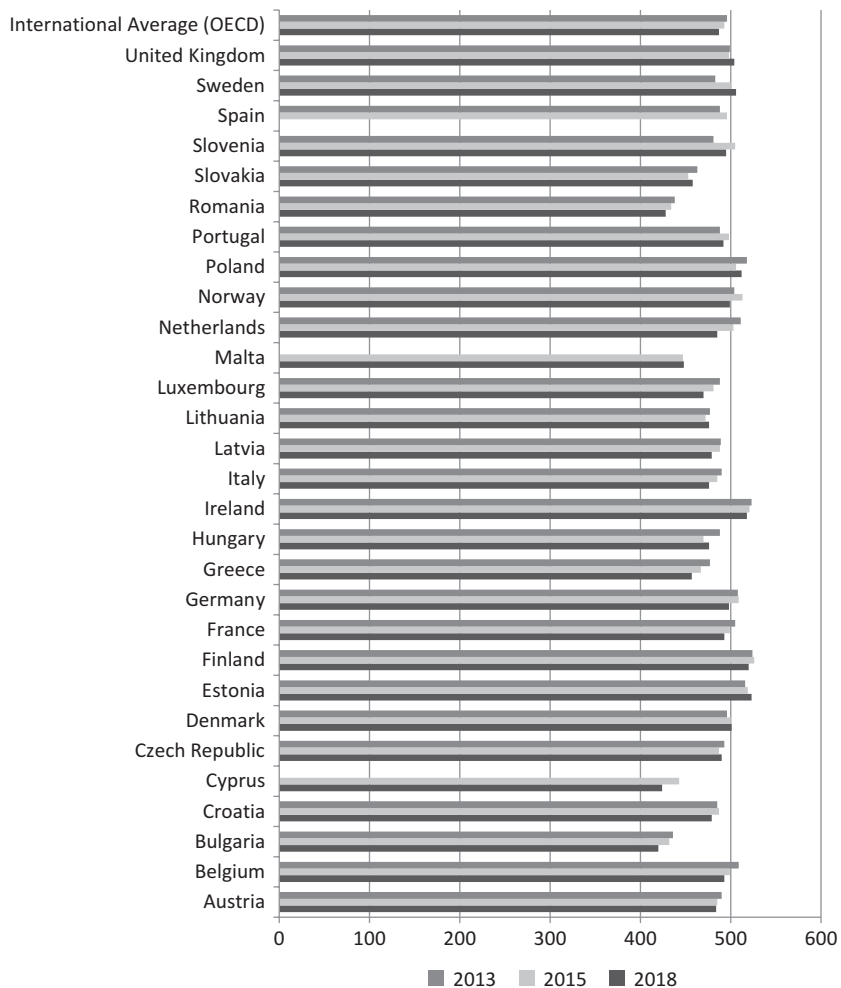


Fig. 7.1 Average PISA scores in Reading in 2012, 2015 and 2018 for the EU-28 and Norway. (Source: Authors, based on OECD data (<https://www.oecd.org/pisa/data/>)). Note: The countries are ordered from high to low scores in 2018. There are no 2018 data for Spain or 2012 data for Cyprus and Malta)

surprising, given that countries with better PISA scores are those with higher GDP per capita. The emphasis here was on performance in reading, given the focus of the last PISA round.

Nevertheless, the OECD's analysis of Skills for Jobs found that there are critical shortages in maths, science and problem-solving skills for its member countries and for the occupations related to them, such as science, engineering and the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) professions (OECD, 2017b). Considering the average score in all three tested areas in 2015, most of European 15-year-olds underperform when compared to their peers in Asian countries (European Commission, 2018). Furthermore, nearly 20% of students in OECD countries do not attain the baseline level of reading proficiency.

The situation presented in Fig. 7.1 raises an alarming issue, which points to a decrease in average performance across the majority of countries. Both OECD and EU-28 average scores decreased in 2018 in comparison to previous years. In comparison to 2012, the EU-28 average in reading in 2018 dropped by ten points and by nine points in OECD countries. The decrease in average maths scores for the EU-28 was from 491 to 489 points and from 494 to 489 for OECD countries. In science, the average score fell from 499 to 484 for the EU-28 and from 501 to 489 for OECD countries. It may be concluded that there was no real improvement in learning outcomes of students in the EU-28 and OECD countries, although expenditure on schooling rose by 15% over the past decade (OECD, 2019a).

We next turn to countries presented in more detail in this volume. We look at their mean performance in reading over time and investigate the direction and trajectory in their mean performance (in Fig. 7.2).

Croatia, Slovenia and Lithuania started participating in PISA in 2006; hence there are no previous data for these countries. Only Denmark and Lithuania had an increase in their average score in 2018 when compared to the 2015 assessment, while other countries had a noticeable drop in their average reading score. In terms of the overall direction of the trend (the sign and significance of the average three-year trends), all countries had no significant average trend. Only Slovenia had a U-shaped trend, which was more positive over more recent years.

OECD (2019a) data provide brief snapshots of trends for selected countries. In Croatia, the mean performance in reading and mathematics remained stable, around a flat trend line. The mean performance in science declined, demonstrating a widening gap in learning outcomes

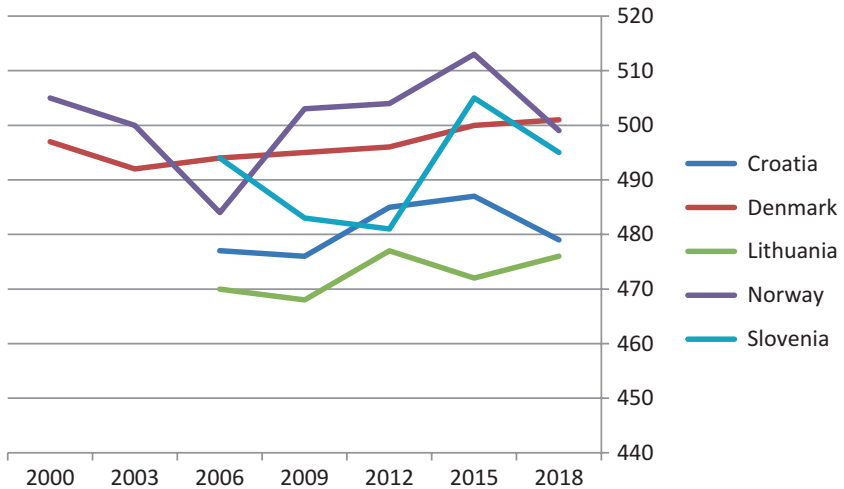


Fig. 7.2 Average PISA score for selected countries across PISA assessments. (Source: Authors, based on OECD data (<https://www.oecd.org/pisa/data/>))

between the highest- and lowest-achieving students. In Denmark, there was no overall trend in mean performance in reading, maths and science. However, the proportion of top-performing students in reading increased by 3.7 percentage points from 2009 to 2018. Furthermore, there was a narrowing gap in learning outcomes in mathematics between the highest- and lowest-achieving students in Denmark.

In Lithuania, no clear direction or change can be determined for average performance in reading and mathematics. The mean performance in science was found to fluctuate more and suggests a declining trend. In reading, the proportion of top-performing students increased by 2.1 percentage points from 2009 to 2018. Norway's performance in PISA 2018 is below its average performance in reading and science from the 2015 PISA round. When a longer time period is considered, there was no discernible direction or change. The fall in performance for Norway is to a certain extent influenced by the increase of the population of immigrant students from 2009 to 2018. These students tend to score below native-born peers.

In Slovenia, the overall performance trend in reading and mathematics is U-shaped and has been more positive over recent years, while the trend

in science is steadily negative. The performance in science was lower, on average, than in 2006 and 2015. There is an improvement in reading performance concentrated among the highest-achieving students, and the proportion of top-performing students in reading increased by 3.2 percentage points from 2009 to 2018. In contrast, the proportion of top-performing students in science decreased by 5.6 percentage points in the same time period.

Across the OECD countries, only 77% of students attained Level 2 proficiency in reading (i.e. students have acquired the technical skill to read and can use reading for learning). Only Lithuania is below this average, while Croatia, Norway, Slovenia and Denmark (sorted in ascending order) are above. Girls outperformed boys in reading in the PISA 2018 assessment, while the proportion of top performers between boys and girls increased in Slovenia and Denmark. Slovenia and Denmark also exhibited a narrowing of the gender gap in mathematics performance.

The impact of socio-economic background on average PISA scores greatly varies across countries. For example, Denmark and Norway had students with higher reading performance than the OECD average. At the same time, the relationship between socio-economic status and average reading performance in these two countries was weaker than the OECD average. Some of these differences in performance are also related to the socio-economic contexts of schools, that is, the level of social and skills stratification between schools, where disadvantaged students are more likely to attend schools with higher proportions of low-achieving students. A higher segregation of disadvantaged students is found in Lithuania, while Norway, Croatia, Denmark and Slovenia are below the OECD average. Countries also differ related to performance variation among schools. For instance, Finland has the lowest between-school variation in reading performance (of about 7%), suggesting that the closest school is always the 'best' one, while the Netherlands, Lebanon and Israel had the highest between-school variation (of about 60% and higher). The OECD average for between-school variation is 29%, and Lithuania and Croatia are just above this average (about 32%). Norway and Denmark are well below (around 10%), while Slovenia is above the average at around 40%.

In recent years, the issue of immigration in the EU has received increasing attention. The difference in average reading score between immigrant and non-immigrant students is 41 points. In most countries, immigrant students are likely to be from a disadvantaged socio-economic position, with the largest proportions in Denmark, Norway and Slovenia (along

with Austria, Finland, France, Germany and Greece). In these countries, more than 45% of immigrant students are disadvantaged. However, the performance of immigrant students varies considerably across countries. In Denmark and Slovenia, the share of immigrant students who were in the top quarter of educational performance was as large as the share of disadvantaged students who achieved that level. In some countries, like Australia, Jordan, Singapore and Saudi Arabia, immigrant students scored higher than non-immigrants. Large variations in the average performance of immigrant students remain, even after accounting for their socio-economic status and country of origin. This suggests that there may be a role for educational policy to minimise these differences.

Interestingly, countries with higher schooling expenditures do not necessarily achieve higher average performance. A positive relationship between investment in education and average performance is found, but only up to a threshold of USD 50,000 (of cumulative expenditure for students from the age of 6 to 15) (OECD, 2019b). However, some countries have exhibited significant improvement, even with limited resources. Portugal advanced to the OECD average level, regardless of the financial crisis, while Estonia gained its top position with expenditure per student that is 30% lower than the OECD average (OECD, 2019b).

The data from PISA 2015 indicate that in 34 school systems, particularly in Austria, Belgium, Croatia, France, Germany and the Slovak Republic, students who do not attend regular science lessons are more likely to be in socio-economically disadvantaged schools (OECD, 2019c). A further examination of the role of government funding and performance in PISA (in the 2012 and 2015 rounds) was analysed for a sample of European countries and reported by Mihaljević Kosor, Malešević Perović, and Golem (2019). The authors found a negative relationship between the pupil-teacher ratio and PISA scores. The direction of the influence of government expenditures on education and PISA scores was less clear, given the substantial variations between countries. Furthermore, the authors found that a smaller number of teachers is related to lower PISA scores, and higher teacher salary is related to higher PISA scores.

This analysis can be linked with the Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) which provides more information on teachers, school leaders and the learning environment in schools. In the 2018 survey, data were gathered for 48 countries. In terms of the efficient use of teachers' time, the data from TALIS find only 78% of a typical lesson is dedicated to teaching, while the remainder is the time spent keeping order or dealing

with administration. This represents a decrease in time spent on teaching and learning over the last five to ten years (OECD, 2019c), which could be linked to the education outcomes, as well.

CONCLUSION

Benchmarking provides incentives for educational systems and stakeholders to increase efficiency, in the absence of competitive pressures. PISA rankings stand out as significant instigators of change in education, although their role as an international benchmarking standard is criticised. Firstly, this relates to the accuracy of the results and rankings. There are wide disparities in PISA results across countries and these differences have not yet been conclusively attributed. Some countries have been found to select only top-performing students from educationally advantageous areas to participate in PISA, thus skewing the results (as reported in Forbes, 2017). Furthermore, a range of policies and activities that have been undertaken in light of PISA often display a low level of policy coherence (noted in Hopkins et al., 2008). Thus, international benchmarking remains an interesting and challenging topic for further analysis and educational policy-making.

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The Challenge of Digital Transformation in European Education Systems

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Abstract European education systems are facing a variety of challenges, which drive the creation of innovative education models and the establishment of supporting and competitive infrastructure. Tremendous changes in economic, social, and technological spheres pose challenges for education. A significant impact factor can be found in digital technologies whose role is twofold: digital technologies as educational content in curricula and as an instrument for the transformation of learning and teaching.

In this chapter, the authors discuss education systems and their digital transformation with particular focus on how digital technologies are integrated. The authors explore aspects and challenges relating to the digital transformation of education systems and educational institutions (EIs) and illustrate the implementation process of digital technologies as an integral part of digital transformation.

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INTRODUCTION

Digital technologies are among the main change accelerators that can drastically alter education systems. They transform teaching, learning, and assessment practices for teachers and students. These changes demand action and decisions in educational institutions (EIs). In order to stay competitive in existing markets and enter new markets, educational institutions must foster the quality of their teaching, the potential and international relevance of their research, as well as enhance their role in economic development and society. As a result, educational institutions have more complex and demanding missions, visions, and strategic planning, which means that rational decision-making must be considerably expanded.

Digital technologies have already changed education systems across Europe and will continue to do so over the long-term. They affect every level of education; from primary to secondary schools, all the way to university. There is no change without teachers with good digital skills and competencies. However, some teachers and principals have reservations about how, or whether, to incorporate digital technologies into their teaching and business processes. The digital transformation of education systems does not occur instantly; rather, it is a journey that needs a staged approach with a clear roadmap, data, and facts. It requires the involvement of a variety of stakeholders beyond internal and external limitations (Power & Heavin, 2018).

The European Commission has also recognized the significance of digital transformation in educational institutions, that is, raising their digital maturity; therefore, it offers support through its policies and programmes (Kampylis, Punie, & Devine, 2015). In the process of raising the level of digital maturity of educational institutions, there is a need for using a framework for digital maturity to foster the integration and effective use of digital technologies by educational institutions. The framework for digital maturity consists of areas and elements that contribute to the digital maturity of educational institutions as well as for planning the integration and use of digital technologies (Begičević Ređep, Balaban, Žugec, Klačmer Čalopa, & Divjak, 2017). In order to be successful in digital transformation, strategic planning relating to transforming teaching and learning

needs to play a crucial role; therefore, the frameworks for digital maturity as well as the methodology for strategic planning related to raising digital maturity in educational institutions are presented.

DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION CHALLENGES IN EDUCATION

In the new digital era, where education systems operate in a competitive environment, the innovative use of digital technologies is becoming a main tool of survival and a policy priority across Europe. From a digital education policy standpoint, the most important aspect for the integration of digital technologies into education systems is the commitment to support teachers in their efforts to strengthen their digital capacities (Conrads, Rasmussen, Winters, Geniet, & Langer, 2017).

How to integrate digital technologies in a decisive way is one of the main challenges. Digital transformation brings new digital technologies, methodologies, and even more importantly, new mindsets to the education system. The five main digital transformation trends in education for 2020 are (Newman, 2019): (1) customized learning experiences, (2) accessibility, (3) the Internet of things, (4) security, and (5) schools are strapped. Learning analytics, artificial intelligence, and machine learning are playing an important role in analysing student learning based on the obtained results in preparing recommendations on how to improve and customize learning approaches. Digital technologies can make it easier for students of different learning types to learn in a way that is most appropriate to them. For example, by using learning management systems, gamification, modelling tools, and so on, digital technologies are also the answer to accessibility issues in education. Educational technology can improve the delivery of education to some of the most underprivileged groups in society. The Internet of things as a trend for 2020 is helping save money in terms of energy and lighting usage. It is also helping to keep schools and students safer and more connected. In the upcoming years, an important trend in digital transformation will be security because there is a push for more transparency and controls in online learning. Schools must evolve to embrace new learning styles and digital technologies that can motivate students and maintain the integrity of knowledge in less attractive areas such as literature or history (schools are strapped) (Newman, 2019).

The digital transformation challenge in education *is how to improve learning and allow teaching materials to be prepared collaboratively with the use of digital technologies.* This will be an in-demand skill in the future

education system. Teachers and students and other participants in educational system who know how to work on and connect through digital technologies will have better chances in the future educational system and job market.

Nowadays, educational institutions must be innovative and strategically managed in order to fulfil their mission, vision, and strategic goals in the ever-changing landscape of digital transformation. The implementation of digital technologies in the education system boosts innovation, while digital technologies themselves become one of the key mechanisms for creating competitive advantages in strategic decision instruments. For educational institutions, *becoming innovative and strategically oriented* are also the main challenges of going digital.

One of the most important aspects for successful digital transformation is a *supportive organizational culture*. The implementation of evidence-based decision-making accompanied by an evaluation of its implementation is of the highest priority for digital transformation. *Improving the decision-making process* is another challenge. By using digital technologies in education systems and digital analytics, the quality of decisions could be brought to a higher level. A data-centric organization has policies and a culture that encourages and rewards the use of data in products, processes, and decision-making. Using data to make decisions in organizations has long been a goal of most managers because making decisions based on limited facts has serious risks. *Becoming a data-informed or data-centric organization* has become a priority for many institutions. Analytics and decision support must be aligned with business strategies in order to achieve benefits from digital transformation. Organizations can empower employees by providing access to relevant data and analytics. The key is to provide relevant data when it is needed for decisions. The decision maker remains central, but technology and analytics support are enhanced allowing for data-based decision-making.

Strong leadership and strategic planning, as well as the systematic integration of digital technologies, are prerequisites for the digital transformation of education systems (Digital Strategy for Schools, 2015). Some earlier research recognized that digital technology integration in education systems could be challenging, and that principals and their teams need guidance to achieve it. Guidance can be introduced through the *adoption of new methods and techniques in strategic planning for the integration of digital technologies*.

Digital technologies in education institutions promise to empower the transformation of business, learning and teaching processes; *to enhance the competencies and skills of students and teachers in digital literacy and beyond; to boost readiness for facing challenges in the labour market;* and to create potentials for education opportunities and improvements in the future. It enables educational institutions to implement transformation *by using innovative methods of teaching and learning* such as group learning, project-based learning, hybrid learning, Massive Open Online Courses (MOOC), the global delivery of materials, student interactions, and transforming learning communities with digital pedagogy.

The use of digital technologies and open educational resources enables self-directed and choice-based learning (Creelman, Ehlers, & Ossianniilsson, 2014; Ossianniilsson, 2016). Digital technologies can serve as tools which give learners the potential to engage with activities. The use of such tools may extend or enhance their users' abilities, or even allow users to *create new ways of dealing with tasks* (Fisher, Higgins, & Loveless, 2006).

The New Media Consortium (NMC) Horizon Report (2018), which measures the key trends accelerating the adoption of education technologies, defines "Growing Focus on Measuring Learning" and "Analytics technologies" as important developments in technology for education. As the use of digital technologies has expanded in education, the traditional classroom environment has evolved to include a range of modalities, from the traditional face-to-face approach to the use of information technology to "blend" face-to-face and online learning, through to fully online courses/programmes. Increased use of digital technologies in education generates huge amounts of data about students and their learning processes. This provides a foundation for learning analytics, and teaching staff have started using them to measure students' engagement in online contexts (Beer, Clark, & Jones, 2010).

Development and uptake of e-Learning and MOOCs, as well as advances in Technology Enhanced Learning in the last two decades have contributed to the availability of unprecedented amounts of data on all aspects of teaching and learning. In parallel, advances in data mining, big data analytics and statistics, and their application to the education and training sector have brought about educational *data mining and learning analytics. These are promising approaches to using available data to digitally transform and improve learning and teaching.*

FRAMEWORKS FOR DIGITAL MATURITY IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The European Commission has recognized the significance of digital transformation. Through its digital education policies, it encourages the use of digital technologies in education systems and the development of digitally mature schools. Most European countries have made progress in ensuring that digital competences are present in national curricula. However, their presence in content and curricula is not enough (Digital Education at School in Europe, 2019).

The use of digital technologies in educational institutions is no longer a matter of individual enthusiasm, but a systemic approach that is planned and implemented by educational institutions in accordance with state and local policies. The process of raising the level of digital maturity in educational institutions is progressing at different speeds, and with different aims and outcomes in various regions and countries in Europe (Digital Education at School in Europe, 2019). There is still a relatively low digital maturity level in the educational institutions. That has been derived from the complex nature of educational institutions and educational ecosystems across Europe. For that reason, there is a need for developing a framework that fosters the integration and effective use of digital technologies by educational institutions.

It is necessary to enable the identification of areas and elements that contribute to the digital maturity of educational institutions as well as for planning the integration and use of digital technologies. The policymakers and decision makers in the education system can exploit the existing frameworks for digital maturity in educational institutions in order to develop policies and initiatives that aim to successfully integrate digital technologies into education systems (Begičević Ređep et al., 2017).

Digital technologies are enablers of change in learning and teaching; however, change that is both sustainable and at scale requires a multi-faceted systemic approach. This includes investment in infrastructure and in teachers' professional development, curriculum change, rethinking student assessment and teachers' appraisal, making the right decisions about curriculum-related content, promoting collaboration, open content and practices, and integrating all these within an environment that ensures good governance and quality oversight (Kampylis et al., 2015). The European Commission's Opening up Education Initiative emphasizes the need for educational institutions to review their strategies in order to integrate digital technologies in their teaching, learning, and organizational practices and to become digitally mature schools.

A digitally mature educational institution is an organization with a high level of integration of digital technologies and a systematized approach to digital technology use in their teaching, learning, and organizational practices. In digitally mature institutions, the appropriate use of digital technologies contributes to an efficient and transparent management of the institution, the development of digitally competent teachers who are prepared to use innovations in their own pedagogical practices, and the development of digitally competent students who are prepared to continue their schooling and compete in the labour market (Jugo, Balaban, Pezelj, & Begicevic Redjep, 2017). It is important to stress that different maturity levels in frameworks have been established for educational institutions so that they are able to plan their journey, that is, they are aware where they are now and where they would like to be in the future. The different levels should not be read as “judgemental”, but as the stages of a maturation process.

There are several frameworks designed across Europe that focus on the digital maturity of educational institutions: Assessing the e-Maturity of your School (Ae-MoYS); Framework for Digitally competent Educational organisations (DigCompOrg); European Framework for the Digital Competence of Educators (DigCompEdu); e-Learning Roadmap; eLemer; the ePortfolios & Open Badges Maturity Matrix (ePOBMM); Future Classroom Maturity Model (FCMM); HEInnovative; Jisc Strategic Information & Communication Technology (ICT) Toolkit (JISC); Ledning, Infrastruktur, Kompetens, Användning (LIKA); Microsoft Innovation Framework & Self-reflection Tool; The National Association for Education Technology Self-Review Framework (NAACE SRF); Opeka system design (OPEKA); Up-scaling Creative Classrooms in Europe (SCALE CCR); School mentor; Vensters voor Primair en Voortgezet Onderwijs (VENSTRESS); Framework for Digitally Mature Schools (FDMS) (Begičević Redjep et al., 2017) and the self-reflection on Effective Learning by Fostering the Use of Innovative Educational Technologies (SELFIE) tool.

Based on the examination of the frameworks for digital maturity in educational institutions, the following common goals of digital transformation initiatives have been identified:

- Contemporaneity of educational processes
- Collaboration between participants and stakeholders
- Centricity on students
- Content excellence
- Creativity and innovation culture
- Commitment to continuous change

- Cooperation with stakeholders
- Concern for equal opportunities and others

The most frequently used instrument for assessing the digital maturity of educational institutions is the SELFIE tool developed by the European Commission and education experts from across Europe (SELFIE, 2019). It is based on the Framework for Digitally Competent Educational institutions published by the Commission in 2015. It is flexible enough to be applied to any educational sector. Its main purpose is to present a map of a school's digital capabilities. Schools can take a snapshot of where they stand in their use of digital technologies, and the self-assessment process can jumpstart the preparation of strategies within schools and identify potential areas for improvement. It also helps schools to monitor their digital maturity progress over time.

There are seven key areas regarding the digital maturity of schools identified in SELFIE (SELFIE, 2019): 1. *Teaching and learning Practices*; 2. *Assessment practices*; 3. *Content and curricula*; 4. *Networking and collaboration*; 5. *Professional development*; 6. *Leadership and governance practices*; and 7. *Infrastructure*.

A specific school may differ in some aspects from a typical representative at a particular level. In the process of self-assessment and the external assessment of the digital maturity level, each school receives feedback based on their characteristics and the assessed maturity level. *The framework and tool measuring the digital maturity of educational institutions* can be used to assess the school's digital maturity level, but it also allows for the identification of areas of improvement. This in turn could enable growth in the scale of digital maturity and improve the overall reputation of the educational institution.

Through the implementation of the framework and tool for assessment, educational institutions have developed their own digital strategies to enhance teaching, learning, and business processes and to perform digital transformation via digital technologies.

DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION DETERMINANTS FOR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Changes in global markets and new public governance models that are under the influence of technological development pose new challenges to education systems because they generate the future participants and beneficiaries of the social environment. Educational institutions should

address these challenges through coordinated strategic planning and the operationalization of plans, via the following priorities:

- Using modern teaching and learning methods
- Updating of teaching and related contents
- Application of digital technologies in teaching and non-teaching processes
- Encouraging creativity and innovation
- Strengthening enactment competencies and skills

By understanding transformation efforts in the economy and government, which occur by taking advantage of opportunities that are enabled by digital technologies, educational institutions can imitate and adopt some useful paradigms. The comparison of useful paradigms redrawn from digital transformation determinants (Pihir, Tomičić Pupek, & Tomičić, 2019) is given in Table 8.1. In the first column in Table 8.1, digital transformation determinants in organizations from the real sector are shortly outlined. In the second column, the mapping of the determinants from the real sector to the education sector is described in order to compare the two sectors and illustrate their similarities and differences.

Introducing digital technologies and business-related operating models into educational institutions' processes increases their digital maturity level. Going digital has become an imperative in contemporary digital societies. Consequently, the ways of acquiring competencies and skills must undergo some digitally inspired changes as well. In order to empower the educational sector to answer these new digital challenges, a methodology for transforming into digitally mature educational institutions is proposed. Its aim is to develop, operationalize, perform, and measure strategic options that raise the digital maturity of educational institutions.

The assessment of the digital maturity entry level in the digital technologies' strategy-oriented endeavour is essential for identifying potential benefit from strategic initiatives. This is needed for fulfilling an organization's mission and vision. Also, identifying internal and external impact factors is relevant for the creation of feasible strategic goals and ensuring that key tools and resources needed for the achievement of the strategy are available.

Table 8.1 Comparison of useful transformation determinants between the real sector and educational institutions (EIs)

Real sector determinants	EI's determinants
Description of the determinant's scope	Description of the determinant's scope
<p>Strategy orientation</p> <p>The vision, mission, and strategic goals for achieving business initiatives are set by management. Leadership directs efforts that are needed to accomplish goals in accordance with business models (Osterwalder, Pigneur, Bernarda, & Smith, 2014).</p>	<p>Strategy orientation</p> <p>EI's strategy orientation comprises of two perspectives: bottom-up (school to government) and top-down (government to school) visible in a clear vision, and which are translated into the EI's strategic goals (Klačmer Čalopa, Tomičič Pupek, & Begičević Ređep, 2018).</p> <p>Management is crucial for turning strategic goals into feasible actions. Leadership capabilities define the level of delivering efforts that need to be made in order to accomplish set goals.</p> <p>Equivalent business models from the real sector EIs need to question continuously their role in the society and fine-tune strategic plans.</p>
<p>Customer centricity</p> <p>Customer centricity forms the organizational behaviour in relation to customer expectations. Planning, designing, and tracking customers' experiences, as well as predicting and forming the customer's journey, impact the market value of products and services.</p>	<p>Student centricity</p> <p>Besides caring about equal opportunities for all students, the focus is on the benefits from learning introduced via a Student Centricity paradigm. The final output shows if a product or a service has any market value. To translate this paradigm into the educational sector, a student's ability to participate in the global market makes demands for a student centricity-based approach in Learning Experience Management. Identifying expectations and deliverables regarding a student's readiness to take part in the labour market, or through self-accomplishment, requires new methods and techniques in the EI's teaching processes.</p>

(continued)

Table 8.1 (continued)

<p>ICT and process infrastructure ICT resources, business processes and data infrastructure are contributing to products and services. Introducing technology into business processes increases the agility of the business to react to environmental challenges.</p>	<p>Supporting IT infrastructure; teaching and learning process infrastructure Although digital transformation is not primarily about technology, the potentials of new digital technologies need to be considered and implemented in the EI's infrastructure. This infrastructural set includes the following: (1) the operating business model (i.e. EI's processes); (2) supporting IT infrastructure (applications supporting the process execution); (3) devices and communications infrastructure; and (4) learning content management and other infrastructural subsets.</p>
<p>Talent, capability, and capacity strengthening The readiness of an organization to nurture a culture centred on the continuous upgrading of skills, knowledge and capacities needs to be used to improve organizational performance. Due to the increasing speed of introducing new technologies, the readiness to acquire new knowledge becomes essential.</p>	<p>Twofold aspect: student-related and teacher-related talent, capability and capacity strengthening Continuous efforts in acquiring new skills, knowledge and capabilities are important at several levels: at the national level, at the local community level, at the EI's level, at the employee and individual level, and at the student level. The activities related to this determinant need to be well-coordinated, strategically aligned, student-focused, talent-oriented and focused on strengthening future capacities.</p>
<p>Innovation culture and organizational commitment To ensure that work environments are motivating and supporting surroundings, a business depends heavily on the organizational commitment to innovation and change.</p>	<p>Innovation culture related to teaching and learning and organizational commitment to continuous transformation The EI's short-term and long-term commitments to encouraging creativity and innovation are essential for ensuring that the work environment is supporting innovation and change. Organizational commitment dedicated to enabling constant improvements becomes a prerequisite for transformation.</p>

Source: Authors

STRATEGIC PLANNING RELATED TO RAISING DIGITAL MATURITY IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

In the case of treating digital technologies as an instrument for supporting digital transformation, strategic planning connected to transforming teaching and learning as well as business processes plays a crucial role, that is, going digital is a necessity more than a commodity.

Strategic planning is a creative, long-term, and comprehensive process focused on the organization as a whole, which forms part of the overall management process. It is a form of educational institution improvement planning that involves models of educational institution management, the legacy of the educational institution's effectiveness, and the role of educational institution principals. The importance of strategic planning in educational institutions was recognized decades ago, but research shows that the management of educational institutions still devotes little time to planning (Thody, 1991). Today, when relatively rapid technological changes are taking place in all sectors, strategic planning for the integration of digital technologies should be one of the main areas of focus in every educational institution. With such strategic planning, educational institutions can increase their digital maturity and create a more appealing perception of the institution in the local, national, and international community. Using a strategic approach, the educational institution can also become better prepared to face new challenges and apply new approaches to learning and teaching.

An overview of the methodology for strategic planning related to raising the digital maturity level of educational institutions is given in the process model in Fig. 8.1.

The methodology steps are elaborated in detail in Table 8.2. For each methodology step (column 1 in Table 8.2), complementary well-known easy-to-apply methods and tools are listed (column 2). Further on, deliverables for each step are suggested, whereby a strong linkage to a rubric-based digital maturity assessment tool is made (Begičević Ređep et al., 2017).

The presented methodology calls for educational institutions to conduct environmental scanning, strategy formulation, strategy implementation and evaluation, and to control achieved performance indicators. This allows schools to raise their digital maturity intentionally and focuses them on strategic planning for the integration of digital technologies.

The methodology was introduced to the education system to assist principals and teachers in creating their own integration strategies for digital technologies, thereby allowing educational institutions to increase their digital maturity level according to the framework for digital maturity of educational institutions.

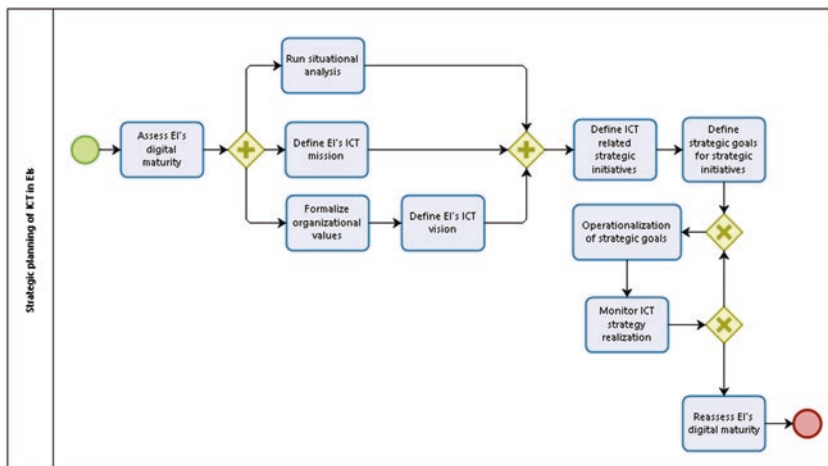


Fig. 8.1 Raising the digital maturity of educational institutions (EIs)—methodology process model. (Source: Authors)

A FINAL QUESTION: HOW TO COPE WITH DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION CHALLENGES?

The relevance of digital technologies and their influence on future workplaces and the labour market in general puts EIs in front of two major challenges: (1) how to benefit from introducing digital technologies into educational processes and integrate digital technologies into the education system and (2) how to include digital technologies into the curricula and operationalize their application in teaching agendas for future professionals.

The first challenge of transforming the educational processes themselves has already been attempted in different social environments and countries. While some countries struggle with extensive digitalization, others expect significant improvements from it. Strong leadership, strategic planning, and decision-making are prerequisites for the successful digital transformation of education systems. Guidance can be introduced through the adoption of new methods relating to strategic planning for the integration of digital technologies and decision-making on its integration. The framework for digital maturity can support educational

Table 8.2 Strategic planning related to raising the digital maturity of educational institutions (EIs)—methodology overview

<i>Methodology step</i>	<i>Methods and techniques</i>	<i>Deliverables</i>
Assess digital maturity in EIs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EI-ICT Digital maturity model (Begičević Ređep et al., 2017) 	Rubric-based digital maturity assessment report
Run situational analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concrete, realistic, energetic, dynamic, and ambitious—CREDA analysis • Strengths, Weakness, Opportunities and Threats—SWOT analysis • Political, Economic, Social, and Technological factors—PEST analysis 	<p>Identification and analysis of contextual factors by generating initiatives relevant to the EI's mission and vision:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stakeholder analysis • Identified contextual factors within EI (SWOT) • Political, Economic, Social, and Technological forces influencing the EI's environment
Define the EI's ICT mission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Custom developed guidelines • Workshops 	<p>Defined transformation mission statement of the EI, which is:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Simple and clearly crafted—short, picturesque, and accurate; it must clearly present the EI to its local community and broader. • Inspirational—encourage change; clearly defines the purpose of the EI's operation. • Long-term—consistent and serving as a criterion for educational policymaking. • Understandable and easy to communicate—easy to remember and identify with; EI's culture should be built and promoted.
Formalize organizational values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brainstorming • Custom techniques 	EI's agreement on organizational values, which will set the EI's behaviour during the transformation process and beyond.

(continued)

Table 8.2 (continued)

<i>Methodology step</i>	<i>Methods and techniques</i>	<i>Deliverables</i>
Define the EI's transformation vision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Custom developed guidelines • Workshops 	EI's transformation vision statement, which is: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concise—clear, attention-attracting, and easily memorable. • Internal and external—covers elements inside the EI (employees and students) and outside EI (relevant stakeholders). • Appreciates all stakeholders—addresses all those who are interested in the success of the institution (e.g. parents, founders, local, and national government). • Consistent with the mission and organizational values. • Verifiable—everyone in the organization needs to know if and when the vision is fulfilled. • Feasible—the vision gives a realistic picture of the EI in the future, but also raises standards of excellence. • Inspirational—it implies an employee's emotional commitment to capture an image from the future. • Achievable—it must not be a utopia, but it must change the existing state with a clear purpose. • Always imbued with the individual striving to improve the EI's management and collaboration.

(continued)

Table 8.2 (continued)

<i>Methodology step</i>	<i>Methods and techniques</i>	<i>Deliverables</i>
Define transformation related strategic initiatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business Model Canvas (Osterwalder et al., 2014). • Customer experience mapping techniques 	<p>Setting the EI's operational ("business") model in order to identify and develop initiatives covering:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key Partners • Key Activities • Key Resources • Value Propositions • Customer/Student Relationships • Customer/Stakeholder segments • Customer/Student Channels • Cost structure • Revenue Streams <p>It evaluates how the operational model contributes to improving the student experience.</p>
Define strategic goals for strategic initiatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant, and Time-related—SMART criteria 	<p>SMART strategic goals are defined for proposed transformation initiatives with responsible and contributing actors. Goals must correspond to the vision and mission statements developed in the previous steps.</p>
Operationalization of strategic goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goal cascading techniques 	<p>Deliverables from this step should include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Detailed Activity plan • Detailed Resources plan • Detailed Timeframe • Key performance indicators.
Monitor ICT strategy realization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Balanced Scorecard 	<p>Following the Balanced Scorecard paradigm, a key deliverable from this methodology step includes a monitoring model with comprising measures (key performance indicators) and values for tracking how the strategy is operationalized.</p>
Reassess EI's digital maturity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EI-ICT Digital maturity model (Begičević Ređep et al., 2017) 	<p>Rubric-based digital maturity reassessment report</p>

Source: Authors

institutions in assessing, promoting, and integrating digital technologies in their teaching, learning, and organizational practices.

The second challenge demands a student-centricity-based approach for enhancing skills and competencies aimed at preparing students for resolving complex problems in a digital environment. In order to address this challenge, strategic initiatives for digitally inspired curricula are needed.

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The Role of E-Learning and Information Culture in Educational Institutions in Transforming European Education

Sirje Virkus, Valentina Kirinić, and Nina Begičević Redep

Abstract Due to the rapid development of information and communication technology, society has had to change the way it lives, works, communicates, collaborates, educates and learns. Academic research has begun to focus on this phenomenon, which is widely known as digital transformation (DT). This chapter explores how e-learning and information culture influence DT in education. The structure of this chapter is organised as follows: after the introduction, the second section discusses the concepts of digital transformation, e-learning and information culture. The third section describes the role of information culture and e-learning in

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the European Framework for the Digital Competence of Educators and the European Framework for Digitally Competent Educational Organisations. In the fourth section, the conclusion is given.

Keywords E-learning • Information culture • Educational institutions
• Digital transformation

Due to the rapid development of information and communication technology, society has had to change the way it lives, works, communicates, collaborates, educates and learns. Academic research has begun to focus on this phenomenon, which is widely known as digital transformation (DT) (Henriette, Feki, & Boughzala, 2015). Educators globally are changing the way they think about learning, teaching and assessment in the digital environment, as well as the theories and practices related to making claims about learning based on digital evidence. Three elements have combined to form new digital pathways for learning: (1) self-organising learning groups, (2) open badges and (3) changing conceptions of education (Gibson, Coleman, & Irving, 2016; Virkus, 2019a). However, digital transformation does not only refer to a shift in technology. According to Stolterman and Fors (2004, p. 689), digital transformation can be understood as the changes that digital technology causes or influences in all aspects of human life. Thus, information culture constitutes a context of how information is communicated and shared in an organisation and how the attitudes, norms and values are developed concerning creating, sharing and using information.

This chapter explores how e-learning and information culture influence DT in education. The structure of this chapter is organised as follows: after the introduction, the second section discusses the concepts of digital transformation, e-learning and information culture. The third section describes the role of information culture and e-learning in the European Framework for the Digital Competence of Educators and the European Framework for Digitally Competent Educational Organisations. In the fourth section, the conclusion is given.

INTRODUCTION

Although digital transformation is in most cases connected to the business world, it is also discussed in the context of educational organisations, that is, institutions at primary, secondary and tertiary levels as well as internal or external providers of corporate training and human resource development services (Seufert & Meier, 2016, p. 27). In education, the topics being discussed include new formats for learning and development (e.g. MOOCs, open digital badges and micro-credentials, nanodegrees, informal learning and performance support), platforms for learning and collaboration (e.g. cloud based services) and integrated processes (e.g. knowledge maps, competency gap analyses) (Seufert & Meier, 2016, p. 27). Globally, educators are changing the way they think about learning, teaching and assessment in the digital environment, as well as the theories and practices related to making claims about learning based on digital evidence (Virkus, 2019a). Mahlow and Hediger (2019) propose to use digital transformation as an opportunity to re-contextualise learning.

There are many approaches and models of digital transformation. The digitisation and digital transformation of education is often related to e-learning. Zaoui and Souissi (2018, p. 2) note that several models are proposed in previous research, which differ in the approach adopted for the integration of information and communication technology in schools. However, they note, “there are many fundamental components towards which these models converge, among others, the pedagogic, technological or cultural axis.” According to Wang (2008), the key components of a generic model guiding information and communication technology integration in education are pedagogy, social interaction and technology. Pedagogy is the set of approaches used to teach and facilitate learning. The social aspect in a learning environment involves communication, exchange and sharing of information between individuals (Zaoui & Souissi, 2018, p. 2). The social aspect is closely linked to information culture. Seufert and Meier (2016, p. 27) note that digital transformation is rather a matter of establishing changed cultures of learning and defining new business models. Information culture constitutes a context of how information is communicated and shared in an organisation and how the attitudes, norms and values are developed concerning creating, sharing and using information (Lauri, Heidmets, & Virkus, 2016).

As for technology, it involves information and communication technology tools used in teaching and learning processes. However, digital

transformation does not only refer to a shift in technology. According to Stolterman and Fors (2004, p. 689), digital transformation can be understood as the changes that digital technology causes or influences in all aspects of human life. Looking at educational institutions more generally, digital transformation can be understood as a development affecting all major processes: educational marketing and application, student management via programme/course development and delivery, all the way to assessment, certification and alumni management (Seufert & Meier, 2016, p. 27).

One approach is to explore the competencies required for digital transformation. A large number of frameworks and characterisations have been put forward. Most of them are based on skills development and the ability to use a specific set of tools and applications (Seufert & Meier, 2016, p. 27).

This chapter explores two important aspects of digital transformation in education: e-learning and information culture, and their role in transforming education.

THE CONCEPTS OF DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION, E-LEARNING AND INFORMATION CULTURE

The Concept of Digital Transformation

Although digital transformation is a hot topic at the moment, ideas relating to digital products, services and mediums were already well understood in the 1990s and 2000s (Auriga, 2016; Schallmo, Williams, & Boardman, 2017). Many authors have attempted to define and discuss the exact notion of digital transformation, and there are many definitions and approaches on what digital transformation means.

According to Solis (2017), digital transformation may be defined as “the realignment of, or new investment in, technology, business models, and processes to drive new value for customers and employees and more effectively compete in an ever-changing digital economy.” Following this line of reasoning, from an organisational point of view, digital transformation can be seen as a deep and accelerating transformation with regard to processes, activities, competences and models. It allows organisations to

take advantage of the changes and opportunities offered by digital technologies. Uhl and Gollenia (2016) enrich the digital transformation concept and argue that the adoption of technology-based change is focused on four technology enablers: (1) cloud, (2) mobile, (3) social and (4) big data—analytics. Hence, digital transformation draws on these four pillars to place a business context over the technologies, while taking advantage of them to support innovation (as cited in Ferreira, Moreira, & Seruca, 2017; Virkus, 2019b).

Rocha, Adeli, Reis, and Costanzo (2018, p. 417) have explored various definitions of digital transformation on the basis of Institute for Scientific Information – Web of Science (ISI) and have concluded that no formal categorisation of digital transformation exists in academic literature and its boundaries are often blurred. They highlight three distinct elements used in defining digital transformation: technological, organisational and social.

From the technological perspective, digital transformation is based on the use of new digital technologies such as social media, mobile, analytics or embedded devices. For example, Stolterman and Fors (2004, p. 689) refer to “changes associated with the application of digital technology in all aspects of human life,” and Schlepp (2019) refers to “The novel use of digital technology to solve traditional problems in new ways and enable new types of innovation.” Westerman, Bonnet, and McAfee (2014) highlight the use of digital technologies to radically improve organisational performance and scope. The use of digital technology is mainly related to artificial intelligence, cloud computing, adaptive robotics, augmented and virtual reality, mobile technology, analytics, and the Internet of Things to transform society, business, education and everyday life. This dominated approach is based on technological determinism, that is, believing that the use of digital tools and the digitisation of processes lead to improved processes and services, and the organisation’s ability to change. However, several authors emphasise that the way society changes cannot be attributed to digital technology alone and that digital transformation is not just about technology. Instead, it is about the way organisations work and how society’s use of technology changes work practices (Dunleavy, Margetts, Bastow, & Tinkler, 2006; Mergel, Edelman, & Haug, 2019; Rocha et al., 2018).

From the organisational perspective, digital transformation requires a change in organisational processes or the creation of new business models. It is believed that digital transformation is the process of profound transformation. It involves business and organisational activities, processes,

competencies and models to fully leverage the changes and opportunities offered by a mix of digital technologies and accelerating their impact across society in a strategic and prioritised way, that is, with present and future shifts in mind (Attwell et al., 2015; Matt, Hess, & Benlian, 2015). Digital transformation is “a process that aims to improve an entity by triggering significant changes to its properties through combinations of information, computing, communication, and connectivity technologies” (Vial, 2019, p. 118). Attwell et al. (2015) point out five areas, in which shortcomings often hinder the adoption of new technologies: (1) attitudes and knowledge, (2) technology readiness and infrastructure, (3) data security and privacy, (4) business models, and (5) innovation take up (Rocha et al., 2018).

From the social perspective, digital transformation is a phenomenon that is influencing all aspects of human life, for example, enhancing the customer service experience (Rocha et al., 2018; Virkus, 2019b).

Rocha et al. (2018, p. 418) found that almost all of these aspects are used in the researchers’ definition of digital transformation (e.g. Fitzgerald, Kruschwitz, Bonnet, & Welch, 2014; Solis, Lieb, & Szymanski, 2014; Westerman, Calm ejane, Bonnet, Ferraris, & McAfee, 2011). Therefore, they define digital transformation as the use of new digital technologies that enable major business improvements and influence all aspects of a customer’s life. Westerman et al. (2014) conclude that digital transformation marks a profound transformation and the radical rethinking of how an organisation uses technology, people and processes to fundamentally change business performance (Virkus, 2019b).

The Concept of Information Culture

However, several researchers highlight the need for change in organisational culture. For example, De la Pe na and Cabezas (2015, p. 52) consider digital transformation to be “a necessary process of significant technological and cultural change that the whole organisation needs to carry out in order to “live up to” its digital clients” (as cited in Menendez, Maz-Machado, & Lopez-Esteban, 2016). Duparc (2013) argues that digital transformation is only achieved when the whole organisation understands and embraces the importance of digital culture and makes it their own across all levels. Thus, it is not just about technology, but rather about people and organisational culture.

Mancini (2018) highlights the important role of intelligent information management in digital transformation. He believes that the effectiveness of digital transformation is imperilled by a rising tide of information chaos and confusion. Despite major improvements in information management capabilities over the past ten years, organisations have only marginally kept pace with the new wave of “Big Content” challenges. While most organisations continue to increase the number of content systems they use, a rising portion of critical business content remains outside those content management systems (Mancini, 2018).

The rising tide of information chaos and confusion is creating a demand for new information management practices. Mancini (2018) notes that organisations need to transform, and a modern approach to information management needs to be at the heart of that transformation. He emphasises that we need to develop a new framework that considers the information management practices and methodologies that are critical to digital transformation in order to meet the challenge of radically redefining experiences with customers, employees and partners. He believes that we need a new way to talk about what organisations are doing with content and information, and how they are doing it. The framework he offers is “intelligent information management” (Mancini, 2018).

Based on all of this, the concept of information culture comes into focus. Lauri, Heidmets and Virkus state,

Information culture constitutes a context for how information is communicated in an organisation and how the attitudes, norms, and values are developed concerning creating, sharing, and using information. Whereas organisational culture has an effect on aspects of organisational behaviour, the information culture, being part of it, forms the socially-shared context for information use in organisations. (Lauri et al., 2016)

According to Choo (2002, p. 54) “information culture is reflected in an organisation’s values, norms, and practices with regard to the management and use of information.” Values are the deeply held beliefs about the goals and identity of the organisation and how it should go about attaining set goals. They could be indicated by the importance of information in organisational achievements, perceptions of information management as an organisational priority, attitudes towards new ideas and innovations, trust, integrity, openness in information creation and the use and ownership of information assets. Norms, derived from values and having more

direct influence on information behaviour, are rules or socially accepted standards that define what is normal or to be expected in the organisation. They may be informal and formal (Choo, 2002). Practices are revealed by observing or describing how people find, organise, use and share information as part of their normal work patterns. They are repeated patterns of behaviour that involve organisational roles, structures and forms of interaction (Choo, 2002).

Effective information culture requires effective communication flows, cross-organisational partnerships, cooperative working practices, open access to relevant information, management of information systems, clear guidelines and documentation for information and data management, trust, as well as the willingness to share information (Svärd, 2017).

Various authors have suggested various types of information culture. From the perspective of organisational effectiveness, Choo (2013, p. 777) has proposed four categories of information culture and related types of goals:

- Result-oriented culture: information culture pursues goal achievement and competitive advantage
- Rule-following culture: information culture pursues control, compliance and accountability
- Relationship-based culture: information culture encourages communication, participation and commitment
- Risk-taking culture: information culture encourages innovation, creativity and the exploration of new ideas

Davenport (1997, p. 84) as cited in (Douglas, 2010, p. 49) distinguishes the following types of information culture:

- Open or closed
- Factually oriented or rumour and intuition based
- Internally or externally focused
- Controlling or empowering
- Having preferences for information channels or media

Marchand (1995, p. 470 as cited in Ward & Peppard, 2002) identified four types of information culture:

- Functional culture: managers use information as a means of exercising influence or power over others.
- Sharing culture: managers and employers trust each other to use information (especially about problems and failures) to improve their performance.
- Enquiring culture: managers and employees search for better information to understand the future and ways of changing what they do to align themselves with future trends/directions.
- Discovery culture: managers and employees are open to new insights about crisis and radical changes and seek ways to create competitive opportunities.

Marchand's typology of information culture could be said to reflect best the types of information culture expected in digital transformation of education and will be used in further analyses.

Based upon key elements of information culture that have been identified in previous studies, Douglas (2010, pp. 171–173) presents the five meta-level elements of information culture:

- Strategic thinking and planning
- Leadership
- Valuing and understanding information
- Organising to find information
- Using information (synthesising)

Information culture is studied in law firms, public health agencies, engineering, metalworking, and insurance companies, small and medium-sized enterprises as well as large corporations. There has not been much research on information culture in educational environments. Information-sharing culture has been studied from the perspective of social capital in the university context in Finland (Tötterman & Widén-Wulff, 2007). Oliver (2008) studied information behaviour, values and management in universities in different cultural contexts using a multiple case-study approach. Lauri et al. (2016) explored the relationships between information culture, information management, job satisfaction, leadership style and self-reported individual performance in Estonian higher education institutions. Zamoryonova (2015) studied information culture at universities in the Poltava region of Ukraine.

Only two studies that were found focussed on information culture in schools. Mullins (2017) examined information culture in convents and industrial schools in Ireland and Kiisk (2018) in adult upper secondary schools in Estonia. Overall, there is a huge gap in the study of information culture in educational institutions.

The Concept of e-Learning

According to Sangrà, Vlachopoulos, and Cabrera (2012, para 1) e-learning is a part of the new dynamic that has characterised education systems since the start of the twenty-first century. The concept of e-learning is subject to constant change, making it difficult to come up with a single definition of e-learning that would be accepted by the majority of the scientific community. The different understandings of e-learning are conditioned by particular professional approaches and interests. The authors presented the outcomes of their project, which resulted in an inclusive definition of e-learning subject to a high degree of consensus that would provide a useful conceptual framework to further identify the different models in which e-learning is developed and practiced (Sangrà et al., 2012, para 1).

Sangrà et al. (2012) identified on the basis of their literature review different elements of e-learning. Specifically, four general categories of definitions were identified: (1) technology driven, (2) delivery system oriented, (3) communication oriented and (4) educational paradigm oriented.

Technology-driven definitions mostly include definitions from private companies and a small number of academics. These definitions emphasise the technological aspects of e-learning, while presenting the rest of its characteristics as secondary. The definitions in this category portray e-learning as the use of technology for learning. For example, one such definition states, “E-learning is the use of electronic media for a variety of learning purposes that range from add-on functions in conventional classrooms to full substitution for the face-to-face meetings by online encounters” (Guri-Rosenblit, 2005 as cited in Sangrà et al., 2012).

Delivery-system-oriented definitions present e-learning as a means of accessing knowledge (through learning, teaching or training). The focus of these definitions is the accessibility of resources and not the results of any achievements. For example, “E-learning is the delivery of education (all activities relevant to instructing, teaching, and learning) through various electronic media” (Koohang & Harman, 2005 as cited in Sangrà et al., 2012).

Communication-oriented definitions consider e-learning to be a communication, interaction and collaboration tool and assign secondary roles to its other aspects and characteristics. For example, “E-learning is education that uses computerised communication systems as an environment for communication, the exchange of information and interaction between students and instructors” (Bermejo, 2005 as cited in Sangrà et al., 2012).

Educational-paradigm-oriented definitions frame e-learning as a new way of learning or as an improvement on existing educational paradigms. Most authors falling into this category work in the education sector. Within this framework e-learning can be defined as “the use of new multimedia technologies and the Internet to improve the quality of learning by facilitating access to resources and services, as well as remote exchange and collaboration” (Alonso, López, Manrique, & Viñes, 2005 as cited in Sangrà et al., 2012).

The results of their research confirm the difficulty of devising a single, inclusive definition of e-learning that would be accepted by the majority of the scientific community. This situation has occurred due to the existence of different perspectives on this concept based on authors’ professional and academic profiles (Sangrà et al., 2012).

THE ROLE OF INFORMATION CULTURE AND E-LEARNING IN EUROPEAN FRAMEWORKS

In the context of digital transformation there are two main challenges for educational organisations: (1) competence clarification, that is what relevant digital competences in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes do students and teachers need in order to cope with digital transformation? (2) Competence development, that is how to organise, design and support learning and teaching contributing to digital competences and digital transformation? (Seufert & Meier, 2016). To cope with these challenges, a large number of frameworks have been put forward, most of them focused on developing the digital competences of teachers and students.

Digital Competence can be defined as “the set of knowledge, skills, attitudes that are required when using digital technologies and digital media to perform tasks; solve problems; communicate; manage information; collaborate; create and share content; and build knowledge effectively, efficiently, appropriately, critically, creatively, autonomously, flexibly, ethically, reflectively for work, leisure, participation, learning, socializing,

consuming, and empowerment” (Ferrari, 2012). It could be recognised that competence areas and competences focus predominantly on two types of information culture: sharing culture—where educators trust each other to use information to improve their performance; and enquiring culture—where educators search for better information to understand the future and ways of changing so that they align themselves to future trends.

The European Framework for the Digital Competence of Educators: DigCompEdu (Redecker, 2017) helps educators at all levels of education, from early childhood to higher and adult education, to assess their competence, identify their training needs and offer targeted training. It is a scientifically sound framework which helps to guide policy and can be directly adapted to implement regional and national tools and training programmes. The DigCompEdu Framework aims to capture and describe educator specific digital competences. It proposes 22 elementary competences organised in six areas: (1) professional engagement (using digital technologies for communication, collaboration and professional development), (2) digital resources (sourcing, creating and sharing digital resources), (3) teaching and learning (managing and orchestrating the use of digital technologies in teaching and learning), (4) assessment (using digital technologies and strategies to enhance assessment), (5) empowering learners (using digital technologies to enhance inclusion, personalisation and learners’ active engagement), and (6) facilitating learners’ digital competence (enabling learners to creatively and responsibly use digital technologies for information, communication, content creation, wellbeing and problem-solving).

As defined in the DigCompEdu (Redecker, 2017, pp. 16–17), areas 2–5 are the core of the framework explaining educators’ digital pedagogical competences, that is “the digital competences educators need to foster efficient, inclusive and innovative teaching and learning strategies.” Area 1 is “directed at the broader professional environment, i.e. educators’ use of digital technologies in professional interactions with colleagues, learners, parents and other interested parties, for their own individual professional development and for the collective good of the organisation.” Area 6, relates to “the specific pedagogic competences required to facilitate students’ digital competences.”

In both information culture and digital transformation, leadership plays a key role. Yang (2007 as cited in Arun, 2019) identified eight leadership roles: (1) monitor, (2) coordinator, (3) director, (4) producer, (5)

innovator, (6) broker, (7) facilitator and (8) mentor roles. He singled out the roles of mentor and facilitator to be central to knowledge sharing.

In the European Framework for Digitally Competent Educational Organisations: DigComOrg (Kampylis, Punie, & Devine, 2015), the Leadership and Governance Practices element refers to the role of leadership in the organisation-wide integration and effective use of digital technologies with respect to teaching and learning goals and activities. The element consists of three sub-elements: (1) integration of digital-age learning as a part of the overall mission, vision and strategy; (2) strategy for digital-age learning supported by an implementation plan and (3) management and governance model. A digitally competent educational organisation refers to the effective use of digital technology by the educational organisation and its staff in order to provide a compelling student experience and to realise a good return on investment in digital technology (Kampylis et al., 2015).

Besides the element of Leadership and Governance Practices, DigCompOrg encompasses the element of Infrastructure. Both elements may be seen as organisational responsibilities, while other elements such as Teaching and Learning Practices refer more to individual responsibilities (Kampylis et al., 2015). It has been emphasised that a “digitally-competent educational organisation needs a combination of strong leadership and governance (for vision and top-down strategies) and at the same time needs staff and stakeholders who are individually capable of taking responsibility for self-initiated actions and bottom-up efforts and initiatives (Kampylis et al., 2013 as cited in Kampylis et al., 2015).” This means that digitally transformed educational organisations, that is, those that are digitally competent, depend on the involvement of all stakeholders and they are responsible for the organisational culture, especially information culture. The descriptions within the DigCompOrg sub-elements mention various necessary cultural conditions that ensure digital competence. For example, with reference to sharing culture, it is stated that “A commitment to knowledge exchange through partnerships is evident.” With reference to enquiring culture, it is mentioned that, “There are twin goals of modernising existing educational provision and offering new opportunities.” In relation to discovery culture, it is stated that “Staff are partners in change.” Despite there being slight references, it must be noted that information culture as a concept is not mentioned in DigCompEdu at all.

CONCLUSION

E-learning and Information culture are recognised as important elements of digital transformation in education systems. E-learning is the delivery of education by using digital technologies; meanwhile, information culture refers to how information is communicated in an organisation and how the attitudes, norms and values are developed concerning creating, sharing and using information. To become a digitally competent educational organisation, an effective use of digital technology by the organisation must be ensured in order to provide a compelling student experience and to realise a good return on investment in digital technology. Digital transformation requires not only general skills and attitudes. It requires that such skills and attitudes are applied and used in the specific functions and professional domains that constitute the organisation. To effectively support digital transformation at an organisational level, an answer must be given to the following question: what relevant digital competences in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes do students and teachers need in order to cope with digital transformation? The digital transformation of education relies on the digital competencies of teachers as well as other school employees. In every organisation, employees play a key role in the success of digital transformation, but the process of transformation must be successfully guided by the leadership of the educational organisation and supported by a relevant and complementary organisational and information culture.

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Towards an Identification of Critical Success Factors for European Inclusive Education

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Abstract This chapter outlines a generalisable framework of critical success factors (CSFs) for inclusive education. An initial model of inclusive education and its implementation at multiple levels of the education system is proposed at the beginning of the research process, based on previous studies and a qualitative analysis of inclusive education policies in Croatia, Italy and Portugal. Existing qualitative data obtained from focus groups of policy makers, inclusive education practitioners and school

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principals in the three countries are critically (re)examined by a group of experts. In line with the grounded theory approach, the experts' evaluations are further used to identify new CSFs and propose a policy and implementation framework for inclusive education at the levels of the education system (macro), the school/education institution (mezzo) and the classroom (micro level).

Keywords Inclusive education • Critical success factors • Policy and implementation framework • Europe

INTRODUCTION

Inclusive education, when defined in terms of avoiding exclusion from the regular school system and addressing the learning requirements of special educational needs and/or disabilities, that is SEN(D) students, in regular schools (Luciak & Biewer, 2011; Mitchell, 2007), consists of multiple relevant dimensions. In this chapter, the authors adopt Mitchell's (2015) notion of inclusive education as a multi-faceted construct consisting of nine areas which are (re)considered in order to identify the critical success factors (CSFs) of inclusive education at its different levels. The objective of this chapter is to *propose an implementation framework for inclusive education policy and practice based on empirically validated CSFs* from previous qualitative research in Croatia, Italy and Portugal (Najev Čačija, Bilač, & Džingalašević, 2019).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Our initial model is based on grouping Mitchell's theoretical key areas into three dimensions: (a) *access to inclusive education* (including an *adapted curriculum*, *assessment* and *teaching* as educational components, *access* as a physical factor and *acceptance* as a social one), (b) *support for inclusive education* (consisting of *support* and *resources* key areas) and (c) the *development of inclusive education* (comprising *vision* and *leadership*).

The *development of inclusive education* refers to previous studies of vision and shared determination for inclusion (Ainscow, 2005; Mitchell, 2007, 2015) and high-quality leadership (Black & Simon, 2014; Mitchell,

2015). *Support for inclusive education* incorporates different resources and processes required to ensure successful and continuous access to inclusive education. It is not based solely on peer and institutional support mechanisms (Boyle, Topping, Jindal-Snape, & Norwich, 2012; Haug, 2017; Valeo, 2008), but also refers to the role of leadership in evaluation, individual teachers' professional development, as well as structural change at the school level (Bui, Quirk, Almazan, & Valenti, 2010). *Access to inclusive education* goes beyond physical access to education facilities and the placement of SEN(D) students in regular classes. It rather builds upon studies on the adapted curriculum, teaching and assessment (Topping, 2012; Westwood, 2004) which include actual problem solving in inclusive practice, as well as the structuring of a supportive social environment (Mittler, 2012).

The key areas are viewed at three levels of the education system, as identified by Kyriazopoulou and Weber (2009) and further discussed by Najev Čačija et al. (2019, pp. 121–122):

- The *macro level*, that is the legal framework and national resources devoted to inclusive education (Ainscow 2005; Pivik, McComas, & Laflamme, 2002).
- The *mezzo level*, which includes education practices at the level of an individual school (institution), along with leadership for inclusive education (Polat, 2011; Soodak, 2003).
- The *micro level*, where the interaction of students and teachers creates the experience of inclusive education at the classroom level (Fakolade, Adeniyi, & Tella, 2017; Harris, Mishra, & Koehler, 2009; Slee, 2011; Winter & O'Raw, 2010).

A visualisation of the framework (Fig. 10.1) is represented by the concentric circles, illustrating the development process of inclusive education (starting with the development and leadership of inclusive education, followed by the provision of support and actual inclusive practices).

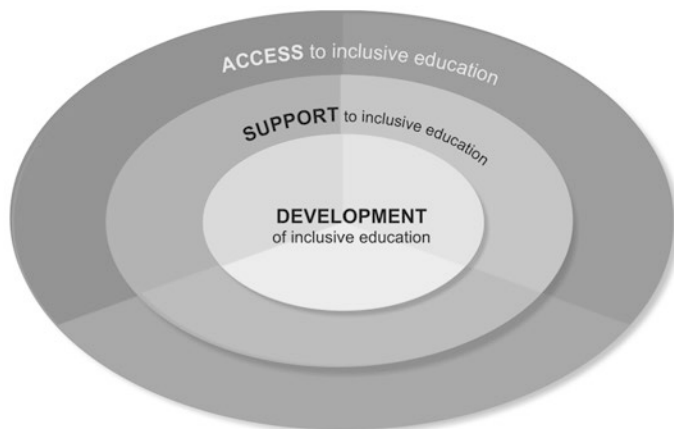


Fig. 10.1 The theoretical framework of inclusive education policy and practice. (Source: Authors)

THE GROUNDED THEORY APPROACH TO THE IDENTIFICATION OF CSFs FOR INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

Previous research (Najev Čačija et al., 2019) used the focus group approach, with multiple stakeholders involved, to identify and group inclusive education policy aspects in Croatia, Italy and Portugal. This chapter critically (re)considers the qualitative research results from the previous stage by accepting the guidelines of the grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) which has been widely applied within education studies (Lambert, 2019). Although criticised for alleged superficiality (Harry, Sturges, & Klingner, 2005), it is a solid methodological approach to the ‘messy’ and complex field of special education (Brantlinger, Jimenez, Klingner, Pugach, & Richardson, 2005).

In this chapter, the authors follow the practice of collecting data in multiple rounds in order to generate a generalisable theoretical model based on stakeholders’ and experts’ experiences (Lingard, Albert, & Levinson, 2008). At the same time, the authors use the comparative approach and critical (re)evaluation of previous empirical results. In the second stage of qualitative research (conducted in 2018), five experts with extensive experience in education were asked to (re)evaluate the focus

group transcripts (conducted in 2017), based on their experiences and attitudes/values, related to inclusive education so as to identify the CSFs of inclusive education. The authors facilitated the expert group meetings by using Skype software.

Firstly, the experts were introduced to the focus group methodology and output (transcripts) and were also briefed on previous studies. The three hierarchical levels of inclusive education proposed by the authors of this chapter were debated and re-labelled by the experts, although the authors' initial hierarchical design was accepted. In the second round of expert discussions, inclusive education policy items produced by the focus groups were critically re-examined. The very notion of CSFs was introduced into the discussion by two of the authors with a background in business research. Then, the experts *chose quotations from the focus group transcripts* which they believed represented *inclusive education CSFs*. The previous mapping of items, at the three accepted levels, was 're-shuffled' by the experts. Tables 10.1, 10.2, and 10.3 present the experts' consolidated output, along with the authors' (re-)mapping of the CSFs to the initial theoretical concept, including the *identification of new key areas emerging from the grounding process*.

At the macro level (Table 10.1), the experts recognise the significant role of the *national policy makers' vision and leadership*, especially in ensuring the principle of universal accessibility to education and developing institutional cooperation. Accessibility is the precondition for inclusive education which, unfortunately, is practised in a formalistic manner in Croatia. Macro-level leadership is required to create the required level of institutional cooperation as opposed to individual 'meddling', based on the uncoordinated work of highly motivated individuals using an ad hoc approach.

An additional CSF, emerging from the grounding process, relates to *support processes, especially in the field of teachers' continuous education*. The lack of initial, as well as continuous, teacher training seems to be a basic reason for the low level of education system performance in Croatia, as compared to Italy and Portugal.

The grounded approach *at the institutional (mezzo) level* leads to several conclusions (Table 10.2), with the *central role assigned to (school) leadership*. It is especially applied to transforming teachers' attitudes and instilling a sense of professional achievement, as well as ensuring cooperation among all stakeholders of inclusive education. The most important *support mechanism* is represented by continuous education and professional

Table 10.1 Macro-level CSFs

<i>Macro level</i>	<i>CSFs</i>	<i>(Re)mapping to initial key areas</i>	<i>Focus group quote(s)</i>
Croatia	Inadequate professional continuous education	<i>Support—continuous education</i>	‘Lectures, as the most frequent form of professional training programmes, have proven to be largely ineffective. Topics linked with inclusive education are currently insufficiently addressed. Quality workshops are seldom organised. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that we all have an opportunity for participation in professional training programmes and for professional advancement’
	Formalistic approach and a lack of focus on the implementation of inclusion	<i>Leadership (institutional cooperation)</i>	‘An adjusted and individualised plan and programme for students with SEN strives to meet formal requirements rather than to implement a plan intended to meet the requirements of students. Work with students with SEN is in general more administrative than being quality teaching’
	Lack of initial teacher training	<i>Support—continuous education</i>	‘I am highly concerned about the future of inclusion in practice. As a mentor to students, future teachers, I continuously notice their large-scale fear of students with SEN, as a result of a lack of understanding and insufficient knowledge acquired at the faculty. This is one of the reasons why they show negative attitudes towards inclusion from the very start of their career or frequently consider a change of profession. In addition, we fail to educate generations of the general public who are supposed to develop an inclusive society’

(continued)

Table 10.1 (continued)

<i>Macro level</i>	<i>CSFs</i>	<i>(Re)mapping to initial key areas</i>	<i>Focus group quote(s)</i>
Portugal	Perception of inclusion in education as a human right and a self-evident achievement	<i>Vision (access)</i>	'I do not understand why we are discussing this at all. Is it possible that there are currently people who think in this way? They need to be banned from working with children until they have been additionally trained and until their attitudes have changed. This way of thinking currently results in the ghettoisation of children and that is absolutely unacceptable'
Italy	Cooperation within institutions of the educational system	<i>Leadership (institutional cooperation)</i>	'When I get a new class and a new pupil with difficulties, it is normal that I do not know all about this issue. Every difficulty is special and even in the case of the same type of difficulty there is a broad range of differences. Nevertheless, I am not afraid because I know that I can always, within a very short time, get the type of assistance that is required. And that is perhaps the best thing in our education system'

Source: Expert output (as processed by authors)

development at the school (institutional) level, while two groups of *resources* are recognised. At the level of *individual actors*, *internal experts* are recognised as a CSF, while *specialised support centres* represent a CSF in the institutional context, due to their systematic role in developing relevant knowledge and competences. This finding also resonates with teachers' negative attitudes, feelings of isolation and dependence on individual initiatives, as identified in Croatia.

At the micro level, (re)configuration of the initial CSF grouping also emerges (see Table 10.3). *Acceptance* proves to be the most important of the initial factors, with two different forms. The first factor, '*institutional hypocrisy*', proves to be common in both Croatian and Portuguese contexts. Formal recognition of the need to provide inclusive education to SEN(D) students appears often to break down in the low level of

Table 10.2 Mezzo-level CSFs

<i>Mezzo level</i>	<i>CSFs</i>	<i>(Re) mapping to initial key areas</i>	<i>Focus group quote(s)</i>
Croatia	Negative teacher attitudes	None <i>(teachers' attitudes; leadership)</i>	'I am primarily angered and concerned by the fact that individuals are not being provided with sufficient support and encouragement for having achieved an enviable level of inclusive education in their classrooms and for the implementation of innovations in practice. Such individuals could provide excellent professional support at the level of the school. So, we always remain at the school level in classic terms, stuck and wasting our energy. This is a pity, as principals are in fact aware of the importance of inclusion, yet they are not sufficiently determined in the implementation of the required measures and in motivating those who lack self-motivation'.
	Feelings of isolation and dependence on individual initiatives	None <i>(teachers' attitudes; leadership)</i>	'There is no support. There are no didactic materials. There is no one to provide leadership on how to start or how to provide a programme. You are lucky if you have an experienced colleague'.
	Cooperation with stakeholders in the education process, primarily parents	None <i>(individual cooperation; leadership)</i>	'Despite the fact that we formally speak of partnership with parents, we are currently far from such cooperation. Generally speaking, teamwork is non-existent in schools'. 'I am angered by the fact that all the parents of students with SEN are considered tiring and boring. This is utterly wrong. One certainly cannot generalise, yet I do believe that there is a lot to be learnt from parents. They know all the strengths and weaknesses of their children, and if we listened to them we would be able to very successfully use such information'. 'When I learn or read something new or find out something new through contacts with colleagues or parents, I would like to implement it. Nevertheless, I need to carefully consider how to present it in order to avoid causing resistance, since we are all prone to resisting change to the usual ways we perform our work. However, if I manage to provide an effective explanation, I can expect support from the school principal and this will greatly facilitate my work, in addition to increasing my level of responsibility, as I need to prove in practice those things that I have implemented in my work'.

Portugal	Personal attitudes and feelings of personal professional achievement	<i>None (individual cooperation; leadership)</i>	<p>'I was self-confident, yet I made many mistakes and, of course, I blamed others for them. After 15 years I am aware that my knowledge is insufficient and I believe we can never attend enough training programmes. I am referring to quality training programmes, tailored to meet the requirements of the areas that are relevant for schools. Unfortunately, I frequently listen to the same stories and I learn the same "new" methods, since such training programmes are provided free of charge'.</p> <p>'The first working day in the classroom with a pupil with special educational needs went by as I kept going over all the previously acquired knowledge in my head and that was certainly where I acquired the skills that are required to act instantly and to use different approaches throughout the planned phases of teaching. The continuation of professional development is my personal matter, yet unfortunately all the good professional training programmes are expensive'.</p>
	The role of school leadership in encouraging innovation in inclusive education	<i>None (leadership)</i>	<p>'If any teacher comes up with a new idea, the first obstacle will be presented by colleagues who do not consider such an initiative as something that needs to be implemented, as they have not been directly instructed to do so by the management. However, I need to be sincere and say that the management or the school principal encourages teachers and frequently supports all their initiatives intended to improve their work and, being a good leader, he/she ultimately motivates all the others'.</p>
	Focus on stakeholder cooperation	<i>None (individual cooperation; leadership)</i>	<p>'We foster the approach that parents are not our enemies and need to be considered as our partners. They possess a greater amount of information about the students than anyone else. What we learn in one case can easily and successfully be adapted to another. In this way, step by step, we develop our inclusive schools on a daily basis'.</p>

(continued)

Table 10.2 (continued)

<i>Mezzo level</i>	<i>CSFs</i>	<i>(Re)mapping to initial key areas</i>	<i>Focus group quote(s)</i>
Italy	Reliance on informal learning	<i>Support—continuous education</i>	‘I attend anything that I can attend free of charge as an employee of the school. I believe it is my duty to focus on professional development and provide my students with all the knowledge that I have acquired. Nevertheless, concerning the teaching of students with SEN, I have learnt more from the experts who come to my classroom than from all the lectures and workshops that I have attended. This concrete knowledge that one can use instantly is truly valuable’.
	Active school involvement in inclusive education	<i>None (leadership)</i>	‘The school accepts families and students with SEN and it is actively involved in the creation of a positive environment. Huge attention is being paid to working with families and to the development of a network of experts’.
			‘Students with SEN should not simply be included in the classroom: The school needs to become involved in the identification of its own chances, interests, opportunities and weaknesses in order to facilitate full inclusion for these students. This does not imply levelling and erasing individual differences, but increasing pupil resources, allocating each individual one of several complementary roles and encouraging a strong network of friendly relationships. The school principal and their mode of school leadership play an important role in these activities’.
	The role of specialised teachers in the provision of support	<i>Resources (mentoring)</i>	‘Every year, regional offices and the Ministry allocate teachers for support to each school, according to the number of students and the typology of the difficulties encountered. Teachers for support are members of the team: they work with us and participate in all the activities concerning the classroom, curriculum planning and assessment. That is excellent for everyone!’
	Specialised resources, especially a decentralised, multidisciplinary network of support centres	<i>Resources (institutional infrastructure)</i>	‘Support centres are extremely useful, as they enable the use of assistive technologies for specific types of difficulties that the school does not possess’.
			‘Schools are obligated to ensure that children are approached in a multidisciplinary manner and in order to subsequently determine the type of education that is suitable for them. The school is normally primarily in charge of the educational segment, whilst medical workers are responsible primarily for the upbringing. Teachers need to provide students with modes of cooperation in the fields of education, upbringing and didactics in order to create a positive climate for integrating processes within the classroom’.

Source: Expert output (as processed by authors)

Table 10.3 Micro-level CSFs

<i>Micro level</i>	<i>CSFs</i>	<i>(Re)mapping to initial key areas</i>	<i>Focus group quote(s)</i>
Croatia	Removal of barriers to inclusion, due to the lack of institutional support	<i>Acceptance (barriers to inclusive education—‘institutional hypocrisy’)</i>	‘An education system where a parent needs to be looking for a teacher who is willing to teach their child with SEN is not a system, while the fact that such a system is simultaneously referred to with the adjective “inclusive” is hypocritical, to say the least. An education system where a school employee (a teacher, an expert associate, the management or the school principal) is allowed to state that they do not want a pupil with SEN is not a system. It is sheer manipulation intended to persuade the public about accessible education for all’.
	Removal of barriers to inclusion, due to the loss of continuity in inclusion at higher levels of education	<i>Acceptance (barriers to inclusive education—‘institutional hypocrisy’)</i>	‘I have always had students with SEN in my classrooms. Inclusion has profiled me as a professional in all aspects: the ethical, professional and humane. Nevertheless, when enrolling in higher grades, my students experience a complete lack of understanding and unprofessionalism, whilst all that we have managed to develop remains absolutely unexploited. Most importantly, both the students and their families “have a sinking feeling”—with their morale down. This is why I have been dissatisfied for years. I am deeply convinced that unless inclusive education is actually ensured throughout the education vertical, we will not move away from segregation’.

(continued)

Table 10.3 (continued)

<i>Micro level</i>	<i>CSFs</i>	<i>(Re)mapping to initial key areas</i>	<i>Focus group quote(s)</i>
Portugal	Cooperation with students as a purpose of inclusion	<i>Acceptance (barriers to inclusive education—‘institutional hypocrisy’)</i>	‘I do not see any point in discussing the importance of a continuously good relationship between students with developmental difficulties and other students, teachers and professional services. Similarly, I do not see any point in discussing our mutual cooperation and good relations. How can these relationships not be important? Is that not the purpose of inclusion?’
	Commitment to inclusion beyond the declarative level	<i>Acceptance (barriers to inclusive education—‘institutional hypocrisy’)</i>	‘There is no point in preparing a plan and programme of work only to meet formal requirements. If a pupil has problems following the content of the classes due, for example, to a sleep disorder, then efforts are made to organise classes during the period when the pupil is active, for instance in the afternoon’.
	Formal planning of inclusive education	<i>Adapted curriculum, assessment and teaching</i>	‘Inclusive education implies huge flexibility both in teaching and organisation of work’.
Italy	Removal of barriers to inclusion due to negative social attitudes	<i>Acceptance (barriers to inclusive education—‘social hypocrisy’)</i>	‘We need to understand that the experiences that most people find absolutely straightforward represent an overwhelming problem for children with SEN, unless they are provided with special educational support’.
	Formal planning of inclusive education	<i>Adapted curriculum, assessment and teaching</i>	‘An individual plan and programme is prepared and adopted in advance, so that a child joins an environment that is acquainted with them and they know what needs to be done starting from the first day of school’.

Source: Expert output (as processed by authors)

motivation and support to practitioners at the classroom level or in issues of continuity across the levels of the education system. The same applies to the constant need to formally acknowledge the student orientation of the inclusive education system, which is not especially important if inclusion is actually practised. The second factor, '*social hypocrisy*', relates to the stakeholders' inadequate understanding of SEN(D) students' needs and/or their (un)willingness to recognise them as equal members of the learning community. While accessibility proves to be more of a universal principle than a factor to ensure physical access to facilities and classes, the *adaptation of the curriculum, assessment and teaching* are mentioned in the dichotomous context. From the Italian experience comes recognition of the systematic and planned approach, while the Portuguese emphasise the need for flexibility.

CONCLUSION: A PROPOSAL OF THE CSF-BASED MODEL FOR INCLUSIVE EDUCATION IN EUROPE

The resulting model (illustrated in Fig. 10.2) consists of the following CSFs:

- At the *macro level*, emphasis is placed on the responsibility of *national policy makers* to develop *vision and leadership* to ensure accessibility as a universal value of the education system, as well as to coordinate institutional cooperation required for universal access. *Support*, in the form of *continuous education*, is required at the system (macro) level if it is to be successful.
- At the *mezzo level*, the central role belongs to *school leadership*, which needs to transform the attitudes and practices of teachers, as well as other stakeholders. *Support* at the institutional (mezzo) level takes the form of *continuous education* in schools. Two groups of *resources* relate to (a) individual actors—*internal experts* (developed within the school or assigned to it) and (b) relevant institutions, that is *specialised support centres*.
- At the *micro level*, highest importance is assigned to *social acceptance of SEN(D) students*, which is distinguished in terms of: (a) '*institutional hypocrisy*' (i.e. formal commitment to inclusive education, without relevant actions and/or implications at the classroom level); (b) '*social hypocrisy*' (i.e. stakeholders' inadequate attitudes and/or

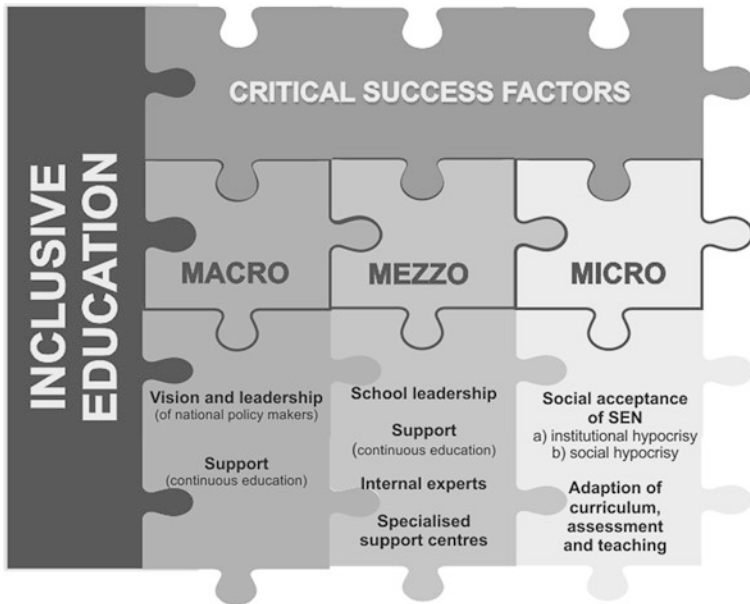


Fig. 10.2 CSF-based framework of inclusive education policy and practice

motivation, affecting classroom-level actions and/or implications). At this level of education, *adaptation of the curriculum, assessment and teaching* is identified in a dichotomous context, contrasting the need to achieve a systematic and planned approach to the need for flexibility in inclusive practice.

Further research is needed to verify if the obtained model is generalisable at the European level or valid only for the observed three South-European countries.

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Discourses of School Leadership Traveling Across North European School Systems

Jan Merok Paulsen and Lejf Moos

Abstract This chapter analyzes dominant discourses of European school leadership over the timespan of the last three decades and across the school systems participating in this research project. A large body of literature has portrayed a transition of ideas about school principalship toward the image of the school principal as a relatively autonomous and clearly result-accountable manager. In a similar vein, inherent and longstanding interdependencies between municipalities and schools, on the one hand, and political parties, teacher unions, and interest groups in the local civic society, on the other, have been downplayed in the reform rhetoric and governing principles central to the New Public Management (NPM) doctrines.

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As a result, an image of the school organization as a local and autonomous service-providing “firm” led by a relatively “sovereign” school principal has evolved in recent decades. These partial changes in the cultural–cognitive and normative basis of the larger school institution, in Scott’s terminology, have played out differently in the five systems analyzed in this book, and this chapter will analyze similarities and dissimilarities across the system cases. More specifically, this chapter will inspect how ideas of contemporary school leadership have manifested in school leadership education and training programs across the countries.

Keywords Leadership discourse • Leadership training • Educational leadership • New Public Management • Reform theory

INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyzes how the dominant discourse of school leadership in Norway and Denmark has been shaped by international trends derived from the New Public Management (NPM) doctrines. As noted by Christopher Hood in his seminal article, NPM is not a coherent framework, but a loose and multifaceted collection of different concepts (Hood, 1991) (yet strongly influenced by economic values and norms). The main ingredients of NPM are hands-on professional management, an explicit standard of performance, a greater emphasis on output control, increased competition, contracts, devolution, disaggregation of units, and implementation of private sector management tools (Christensen & Læg Reid, 2011; Pollit & Bouckaert, 2004). Scholars of political science and educational research have for a long time claimed that ideas derived from the NPM doctrine have diffused into public education and affected the discourses of school governance, school leadership, and school leadership training (e.g. Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). Whereas the flows of NPM ideas started in the 1980s, a similar set of principles of management and leadership became dominant in the OECD sphere around the millennium shift, as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) study disruptively became a benchmark for educational policy and governance throughout the Western countries (Meyer & Benavot, 2013).

From another position, the Scandinavian reform theory, a branch of neo-institutionalism, has been puzzled by the expansion of management and leadership knowledge, and specifically the structures and processes through which ideas of “best practice” are diffused across firms, sectors, and national boundaries (Sahlin-Andersson & Engwall, 2002). A core process clusters around the notion of the translation of ideas from one sphere to another, as explicated by (Røvik, Eilertsen, & Furu, 2014). This line of theorizing is evidently inspired by Eric Abrahamson’s (1996) theoretical work on management fashion, focusing on the actors involved in the spread of international and transnational reform ideas on leadership as well as the processes through which these ideas are translated. Metaphorically, in Abrahamson’s (1996) terminology, the OECD can be seen as fashion setters, whereas practitioners are fashion users. Subsequently, a range of mediating agents, such as business schools, university centers, consultants, and state agencies, act as carriers of leadership and management ideas—a necessary chain in the diffusion cycle. This paper builds its theoretical reasoning on school principal training programs in the Nordic context, specifically how recommendations inherent in OECD models of improvement of school leadership are translated.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Influence of New Public Management

After World War II, a sovereign rationality-bounded state model evolved during the growth of the Norwegian welfare state, meaning a centralized state with a large public sector in which standardization and equality are prominent values, emphasizing collective and integrative features of the political-administrative system, the common heritage, and the role of the citizen (March & Olsen, 1995; Olsen, 1988). This model, identified as the dominant one in the 1970s, was characterized by a collection of clearly defined institutional sectors, in which it was clear who belongs to the policy field (state, directorate, municipalities, and schools) and who does not. Furthermore, each segment, or policy domain, was characterized by a system-wide architecture and legal, administrative, and financial interdependence between levels of jurisdiction (state, municipalities, and schools).

Since the 1980s, the international trend in welfare state reforms has been a neo-liberal one, encompassing managerial thinking, where the private sector in some ways has become the role model for the public sector

(Christensen & Læg Reid, 2001). As identified around the millennium shift, the model labeled “the fragmented state model” primarily conceives of public policies as “service industries.” What is more, the power and capacity to make collective decisions are diffused among a variety of actors in complex networks. The civil service reform movements, labeled NPM, have weakened the sovereign state model and enhanced the supermarket state model. This model views the people as consumers or clients, and the hierarchy, in one sense, is turned “upside down” (Christensen & Læg Reid, 2001).

A new element in the “supermarket” state model is first of all transnational influence exerted by OECD through the PISA studies and similar rankings of educational outcomes among the participating nations. Moreover, the formation of policy networks has supplemented the segmented state model in many important areas (Rhodes, 1997). Policy networks are populated by policy actors, corporate interest groups, lobbyists, trade unions, and some actors in the civic communities, and they span different levels of analysis within the national governance system. With its emphasis on employability and the many intersections between political and economic actors, a slight shift toward Ove K. Pedersen’s (2011) notion of “the competitive state model” has been observable.

Traveling Discourses of Leadership and Management

Traveling Ideas Transnationally and Internationally

As noted by new-institutionalist researchers, the processes of translating and imitating reform concepts and management ideas from transnational bodies or an origin country to another national and cultural context—the diffusion of ideas—seem to follow a similar pattern to that of other processes of imitation (Røvik, 2007; Sahlin-Andersson & Engwall, 2002) or mimetic isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983): Actors within a field tend to imitate the more prestigious actors, but also those actors that they identify themselves with. Furthermore, it can be expected that as one country has imitated another country earlier, it may continue to imitate the same country, which creates a slight pattern of path-dependency. For example, reform initiated in one part of Scandinavia is often taken up by other Scandinavian countries. The imitation within Scandinavia may be explained by similarities in language, common history, and similarities in

how the public sector is structured, but also following earlier imitation and ongoing collaboration (Sahlin-Andersson & Sevón, 2003).

The Agents Involved in Traveling: The Carriers

In order to get ideas of management, reform, or school leadership to circulate across national borders, both active and passive activities are required on the recipient side. Jepperson (1991) uses the concept *carrier* to coin the activities and the actors that contribute to the flow of school leadership knowledge. Carriers are notably not passive transmitters; they are active players within institutional fields, interacting with a range of actors. Within the school leadership community at the national level, with Norway as an example, a group of carriers is important, and these are *primary carriers*, by which conceptions of school leadership are formed, translated, re-edited, and, to some extent, made sense of by practitioners. School leaders enter leadership education, master-level programs, and training programs as a group, and thus take active part in the discourse as students and practitioners. In contemporary school leadership education and training, universities have formed independent units, such as management centers or schools of management, for providing training programs. What is more, business schools have entered the arena due to their positions as owners or proponents of general leadership courses and disciplinary programs in organizational psychology, management, and organization theory. The expansion of school leadership training programs has also attracted a range of consulting firms that have adapted their repertoires of management techniques, such as 360-degree analyses, to fit the demand from school leaders. Moreover, school leaders' associations also take active part in the discourse, and, finally, some segments of mass media and professional media, such as professional magazines, take part in disseminating news about interesting cases of school leadership or examples of "what works" in practice. The model in Fig. 11.1 shows the primary carriers.

As shown in the model, the boundaries between the primary carriers are blurred. Secondary carriers are state directorates, by means of seminars; international "gurus"; and transnational and international bodies. There is evidently a strong interplay between primary and secondary carriers. For example, individuals and groups from consulting firms and associations take part in OECD seminars, and ideas from seminars literally travel with these persons.

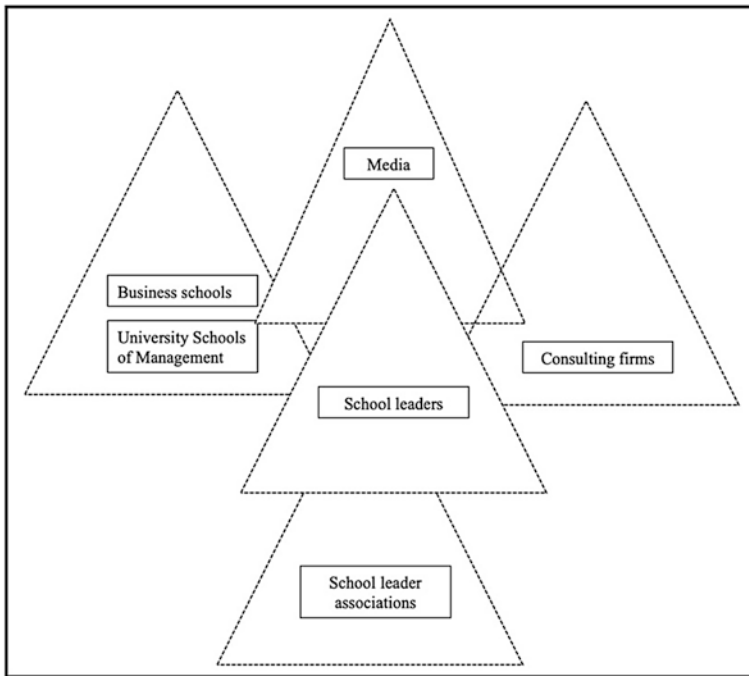


Fig. 11.1 National agents involved in traveling of school leadership concepts. (Source: Authors)

Fashion Phenomena in the Diffusion of Leadership Knowledge

In their seminal work from the 1970s, Meyer and Rowan (1977) suggested that managers create the appearance of rationality by using or appearing to use management techniques that generally are believed by organizational stakeholders in a specific context to be rational ways of managing organizations and employees. Eric Abrahamson (1996) takes this argument a step forward by suggesting this transfer of management knowledge to follow a process similar to the diffusion of aesthetic fashion, defined as “the process by which management fashion setters continuously redefine both theirs and fashion followers’ collective beliefs about which management techniques lead rational management progress” (p. 257). These shared beliefs about management progress cannot remain stable for too long; otherwise, progress will not seem to occur. A management fashion,

therefore, is a “relatively transitory collective belief, disseminated by management fashion setters, that a management technique leads rational management progress” (Abrahamson, 1996, p. 257). Abrahamson (1996) distinguishes further between *fashion setters* and *fashion users or followers*; a management-fashion-setting community shapes collective beliefs among management fashion followers that certain management techniques are “rational and at the forefront of management progress” (p. 257). The actors portrayed in the model of Fig. 11.1 can be seen as fashion setters and fashion users (school principals).

TRAVELING DISCOURSES INITIATED BY THE OECD

OECD’s Program “Improving School Leadership”

In a 2008 project, “Improving School Leadership,” the OECD published one of its analyses of the current challenges of school leadership alongside their policy recommendation (Pont, Nusche, & Moorman, 2008). The image of the school organization as presented by the OECD author is one of an autonomous “firm” in which school principals have to manage the school “like a small business.” Central leadership issues are furthermore strategic planning, data use, and monitoring results. The core element of the “small business model” is shown in Table 11.1 below.

Table 11.1 OECD notion of school leadership challenges

<i>Changes in school leadership roles</i>	<i>Descriptions</i>
School autonomy	Site-based management: “Running a small business” Financial management Human resource management (HRM) Continuous local adaptation of teaching programs
Accountability for outcomes	A new evaluation culture Strategic planning Assessing and monitoring of student achievements Data use for school improvement External collaboration with partner schools
Learning-centered leadership	Leadership focus on how to raise student achievement and how to deal with diversity Standardized approach to teaching and student learning

Source: Authors

The recommendations discussed by the report cluster and cohere around:

- Increasing autonomy for school leaders
- New types of accountability
- School leadership training
- Leadership roles associated with student outcomes
- Supporting and evaluating teacher quality
- Strategic and financial management

As noted by the authors, “Policy makers can enhance the financial management skills of school leadership teams by providing training to school leaders, establishing the role of a financial manager within the leadership team, or providing financial support services to schools. In addition, school leaders should be able to influence teacher recruitment decisions to improve the match between candidates and their school’s needs” (Pont et al., 2008, Executive summary). Added to the strategic focus is also an emphasis on external collaboration with partner schools in order to support innovation.

National Principal Training Programs for School Principals

In 2009, the Norwegian Minister of Education and Research, influenced by the OECD project “Improving School Leadership,” launched a national education program for newly appointed principals to improve their qualifications as leaders and to support national policies. However, the program is not a mandatory requirement, and local municipalities (school owners) continue to play a key role in providing in-service training for school leaders. Today, municipalities are defined as the owners of the majority of schools by financing and employing teachers and school leaders. According to the stated purpose of the national principal training program, school leaders are expected to be “clear, democratic, independent, confident and courageous” (www.utdanningsdirektoratet.no). On the one hand, leaders are expected to be accountable for student achievement on national tests. On the other hand, they are expected to obtain the commitment of teachers working within the organization.

The Danish government was also inspired by the OECD leadership project when it described the expectations authorities had toward school leaders in the School Reform of 2012 (Education], 2015).

By comparing the OECD frame (Table 11.1) with the national demands for school principals (Table 11.2), it seems evident that the notion of the

Table 11.2 Demands for school principals

<i>Prescriptions and demands for a Norwegian school principal</i>	<i>Descriptions</i>
Accountability for student learning and student achievements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accountable for student achievements and student learning environment • Responsible for the school ensuring all teachers' supervision and support in their endeavors of creating learning processes for all students • Responsible for developing professional learning opportunities for staff
Human resource management and professional judgment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsible for ensuring professional legitimacy in order to allocate human resources of the school organization effectively • Responsible for leading staff in accordance with national and local policies
Management and administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsible for the execution of the school's societal mandate, on behalf of the central and local authorities • Being competent in law issues and accountable for steering, management, and internal control of the school's resources
Collaboration and organizational development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing professional communities of the school organization, including the capacity to inspire staff and resolve conflicts • Responsible collaborating with other schools within and outside of her or his school owner system
Adaptation, development, and change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsible for development and change in the school organization in order to adapt to changes in the environments • Responsible for the school's collective capacity to master current and future tasks • Responsible to map societal changes and adapt the school organization to an altered group of students, parents, and technological change
The leadership role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A principal is expected to define and re-define her or his leadership roles and conditions for appropriate school leadership and to make appropriate professional judgment

See: <https://www.udir.no/kvalitet-og-kompetanse/etter-og-videreutdanning/rektor/krav-og-forventninger-til-en-rektor/>

Source: The Norwegian Directorate of Education and Training

school principal as an autonomous manager—accountable for the outcomes of classroom work in terms of students' exams and test achievements—has gained hegemony in the Nordic context, at least at the rhetorical level. Although financial management is not put at the forefront in the Norwegian and Danish national training program, every principal is accountable for the school's budget and financial reporting as an accountable agent in the municipality's governing structure.

Learning-centered school leadership, the third OECD component, has, during the last decade, come more to the forefront in the Norwegian and Danish school leadership context as part of the "global" spread of meta-analyses from New Zealand (e.g. Hattie, 2009; Robinson, 2011). A major component of this "what works" movement is the use of effect sizes in the ranking of effective teaching practices and effective leadership behavior, in a format close to a league table of sport. From a theoretical perspective, the rapid and wide diffusion of recommendations to practitioners (based on effect sizes derived from meta-analyses) can fairly well be viewed as management fashion in Abrahamson's (1996) and Røvik's (2007) terminology, where international "gurus" act as effective fashion setters.

DISCUSSION

A short period after the OECD launched its school leadership model for principals, the Norwegian and Danish state directorate conducted a national training program for school principals, where central OECD components were visibly included: The image of an autonomous and result-accountable school principal who can be armed with the necessary tools to adapt her or his school to rapidly changing environments. In this conception of school leadership, several contingencies seem to have "fallen out of the equation." First, the image of school leadership as a set of practices decoupled from professional knowledge—that is embedded in values, ideologies, and norms of the larger school institution—seems to be widespread. This "rationalized myth" in Meyer and Rowan's (1977) terminology undermines the fact that the leading school is, in its nature, a professional project. Second, as underscored in scholarly literature and empirical studies (Louis & Murphy, 2017; Tschannen-Moran & Gareis, 2015), leading schools are, in their origin, morally grounded and trust-contingent, where school leaders in the day-to-day practical life depend on a certain level of trust given from teachers, parents, and students, based on the principal's ability to act in accordance with professionally ethical

standards. Third, running through different educational sectors, teachers and principals have a stronger preference for a collaborative leadership style than “heroic” principalship, which makes the borderline between leaders and “followers” more blurred. This Nordic emphasis on collaboration and school development may be seen as a wider path-dependent factor emerging from the wider working life culture (Irgens, 2017).

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Discussion: The Space for Manoeuvre Between Autonomy and Autocracy

Lejf Moos

Abstract This discussion builds on the analyses in the chapters in this volume. As the OECD has been and remains a powerful agent in the development of public governance, and thus in education governance, the discussion is also structured on the basis of OECD governance and leadership reports. Some of the results from those reports are used but that does not mean that I think the agency is the sole influencer on national governance. It has, however, formed the developmental discourse in the member states and been an important factor in developing new national governance structure and form. It has, therefore, created a relevant structure for this discussion. A number of themes are chosen from thematic chapter and country reports: autonomy and autocracy, levels of decision making, modes of decision making: New Public Management, education reforms, and leaders in leadership functions.

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As the material from the chapters is condensed here, I want to indicate that the following discussion must be my sole responsibility as I have interpreted the message in the chapters. Therefore, the chapter authors are not held responsible for the texts.

Keywords Manoeuvre • Autonomy • Autocracy • Decision making • Social technologies • Transnational influence • National policies • Leadership

AUTONOMY AND AUTOCRACY

The question about distribution of power and decision making is a generic dilemma in government and governance. Should decisions be made at the national top, the parliament and government or would it be better for them to be made at the lower regional, municipal, or institutional level? Should decisions about education be centralised or decentralised? Usually the kind of distribution is used to form our understanding of the nation as a democracy or a dictatorship.

The OECD has been very active in this discussion. One sign of this is the report from 1995, 'Governance in Transition. Public management Reforms in OECD Countries', (OECD, 1995) which summed up the analyses in eight pieces of advice. Two of them seem to contradict each other. The first heading is, '*Devolving authority, providing flexibility*' and number eight is, '*Strengthening steering functions at the centre*'. So, the first one says that governments should decentralise while the last says to centralise.

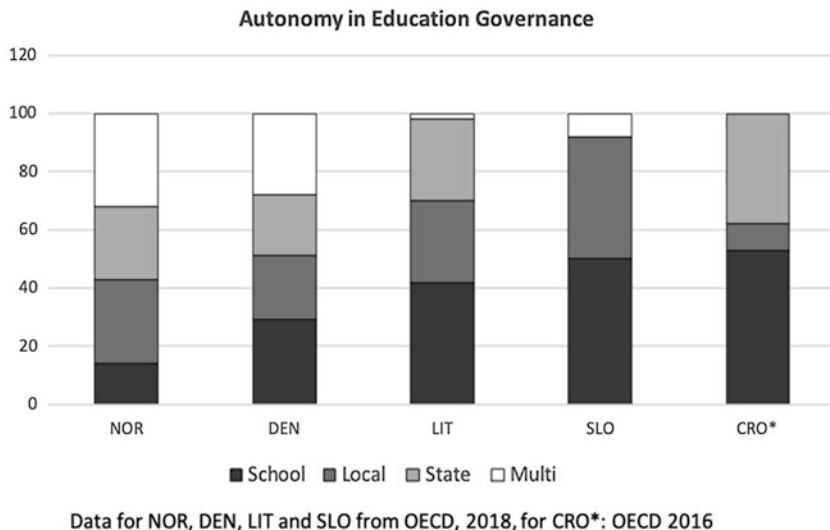
The OECD has conducted studies almost every year to follow up on this advice, ranking the level of decision making in member countries and publicising the comparison as annexes to the annual 'Education at a Glance' or in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) results report. Here, they use the concept of autonomy: the degree to which nations have local and institutional levels make decisions about education governance and practices. At least two effects are visible when choosing the concept of autonomy in comparisons of the continua between centralisation and decentralisation: decentralising is conceived as positive because personal autonomy, the field where the concept is normally used, is seen as quality in education and upbringing in modernity. Therefore, the degree of autonomy at the local level can be very small and still be termed autonomy, while it would be reasonable to name the same situation centralisation. We could, therefore, name the central end of the scale, the centralisation, autocratic. That would give us a scale from

autocratic to autonomous. The public agencies used in the comparisons are the state, local authorities, and schools. Table 12.1 with data from Norway, Denmark, Lithuania, and Slovenia has data taken from the 2018 comparison (OECD, 2018). The data from Croatia was not available here but was included in the PISA (OECD, 2016b). Unfortunately, at that time, the OECD did not have the category of ‘multiple’ agents. Therefore, the Croatia column may be less accurate.

Trends

Table 12.1 gives an overview of the relations: the Nordic countries have around 50% of the educational decisions decentralised to school or municipal levels; Lithuania has 70% at local and school levels; Slovenia has more than 90% at those levels; and Croatia has 60%. Generally, the North West countries have less decisions decentralised than the Baltic and South East countries.¹

Table 12.1 Autonomy in education governance



Source: Authors

¹The OECD reports are built on four domains:

1. Organisation of instruction: school attended, grouping of students

LEVELS OF DECISION MAKING

Relations between national governments and other governments and transnational alliances or unions are conditioned by historical decisions. Croatia and Slovenia were part of totalitarian Yugoslavia until 1991. In that period, education was treated as a regional issue that was relatively autonomous in part on the background of long prior histories of strong governments.

Slovenia's policy makers are still proponents of a strong state; however, centralisation in education is not strong. Croatia (Chap. 2) argued why they chose the direction of their nation building after having been part of the socialist Yugoslavia until 1991. In order to 'escape the Balkans', the normative policies turned towards 'Europeanisation', the European integration of the country, 'returning to Europe', and EU membership in 2013. Europeanisation became a central force of projected political and social convergence among the countries in the European periphery since they do not have enough motivation and/or capacity for full implementation of EU legislation/policies/standards or to establish robust public administration.

Lithuania was declared an independent state in 1918, after having been a kingdom or a duchy for centuries. It was occupied by the Soviet Union from World War II until the independent state was restored in 1990. The nation building that began then was focused on building a democracy, where education was meant to be an important aspect of the socio-cultural reform. Many policy makers and agencies participated in or supported the reform, many of them from outside the country, like the OECD, UNESCO, and World Bank. Although the policy makers wanted to underscore the socio-cultural aspects of education, the economic perspective was also disseminated, and education was seen as a neoliberal service.

Two examples of Northern countries, Norway and Denmark, have a long history of national autonomy, although Norway was for several centuries subordinate to Denmark. Nation building has more been a matter

2. Personnel management (in 2018 it was split into management of principals and management of teachers): hiring and firing of staff, duties, conditions of service, and salary levels
3. Planning structure: study programmes, subjects taught, and course content
4. Resource management: for teaching staff, professional development

Data for each of the domains are very diverse.

of Nordicness (an expression of the cultural-political alliance between Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden) and individual country identities. However, things have changed over the last 50 years as both countries have worked at different paces towards reforming societies from being social democracies towards being competitive states in the global marketplace.

As mentioned, the OECD reports acknowledge in the 2018 version that traditional levels of governance are being changed when it took into account the category of multiple level decision making of government or educational authorities. This means that in many cases countries use more flexible power relations in their governance. The traditional chain of governance—between government, local authorities, and institutions—is broken down and policy networks are formed with participation of one or more of these agencies: formal agencies and authorities at several levels, policy makers, unions, national and international consultancies, private enterprises, foundations, and so on (Moos, Nihlfors, & Paulsen, 2016; Winton & Pollock, 2016). One example of this is the networking for school improvement between schools and training institutions in Slovenia.

One level of governance, however, is *not* visible in all of the OECD's tables: the transnational agencies. Regarding education, the OECD is maybe the most important agency, producing those tables and making them public working on a 'name, shame or blame' production right here (Brøgger, 2016). Comparisons on autonomy, and the PISA comparison, and the annual Education at a Glance and country reviews, are powerful soft governance tools or technologies (Moos, 2009).

All countries—except for Norway—are members of the European Union. Norway is a member of the [European Economic Area](#) (EEA), and the country is often more eager to comply with European Commission (EC) regulations of public sectors and social technologies than member states.

The European Commission has also looked into the question of autonomy—autocracy (Commission, 2014), using other categories with schools at the centre: decisions on core curriculum are in all countries taken above school level and decisions about teaching methods are given to schools (Table 12.2).

The autonomy categories are very soft and open to interpretation and thus made for soft governance that can make governments reflect over their situation.

MODES OF DECISION MAKING: NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

The OECD (2018) identifies modes of decision making (Table 12.3) which distinguish between full autonomy to schools, decisions made locally within frameworks set by higher levels, and decisions made by higher levels. Here, the domains are involved, and so there are images of influences pertaining to instruction, personnel, structure, and resources.

Full autonomy is a minor part in most domains but larger in respect to resources.

The category of ‘other’ indicates the same tendency as the Multiple Level Decisions in the former paragraph.

Modes of decisions at school and local levels across four countries are shown (Table 12.4). Full autonomy is the biggest in Lithuania. Decisions made by schools within frameworks set by higher levels together with decisions made at a higher level are by far the biggest overall image. Thereby, the steering at central level is kept strong.

The Modes category here is again rather empty as there are no indications of *ways* in which decisions are made or *who* are involved in them.

If I use policy concepts, I may come closer to significant images: where hard governance is used (regulation, act, budgets, and structures), where soft governance is used (discourses, advices, and comparisons), or in many cases overlapping with social technologies (means, mechanisms, procedures, and instruments (Dean, 1999, p. 31)) (see Introduction in this volume).

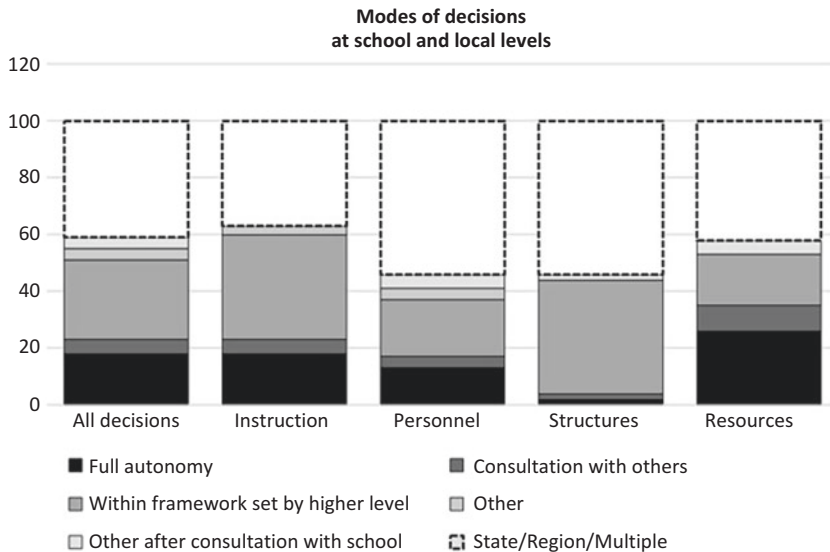
Table 12.2 School autonomy indicators

School autonomy indicators, 2014		Compulsory core curriculum	Content of optional subjects	Choosing teaching methods	Choosing textbooks	Pupil grouping for compuls.	HR Selecting principal	HR Selecting teachers	HR Dismissing teachers	Fin. Use of public funds
HR	Croatia									
SI	Slovenia									
LI	Lithuania		*							*
DK	Denmark									*
NO	Norway									

	Little/no autonomy
	Limited autonomy
	Full autonomy
*	Decision making powers may be delegated by the local authority

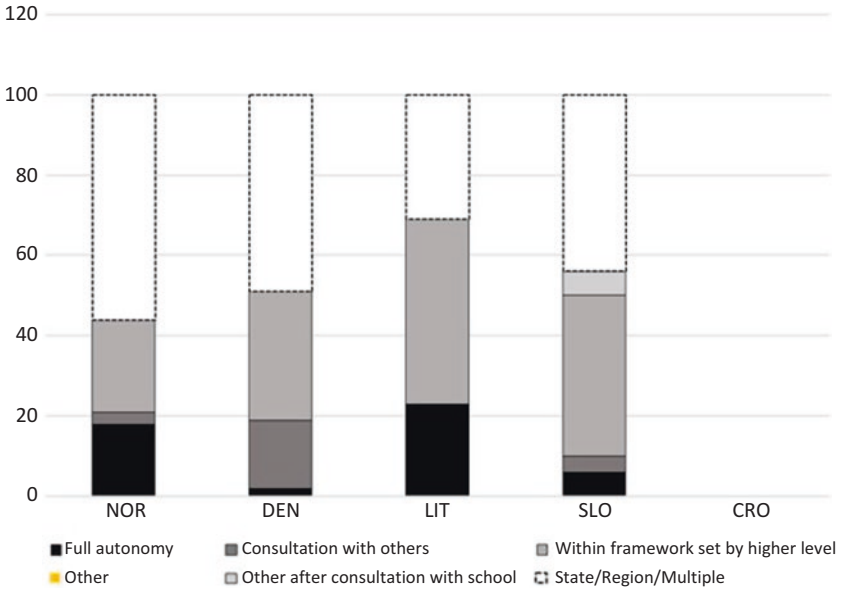
Source: Authors

Table 12.3 Modes of decisions



Country reports discuss the influences of national and transnational agencies and neoliberal marketplace politics because the influences from agencies outside the national states are increasingly stronger, in particular since the neoliberal turn in the 1980s initiated by the UK, New Zealand, and the USA—and shortly thereafter described by researchers (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992) as New Public Management (NPM). One can assume that one reason for the fast spread of ideas was that they included the most important government issues at the same time and that they were built on economy and the idea of a global marketplace.

One of the aspects of the NPM was to learn from private enterprises and focus on customers, local leaders, splitting government agencies from each other, and on managing by objectives. This was described as contract-management and brought many new structures: ministries and local authorities were divided by department and agencies, and contracts between them were written, negotiated, and signed annually. That meant that there was a need for detailed and well-described aims so that the outcomes or results of the work were measurable.

Table 12.4 Modes of decisions—countries

Source: Authors

Contracts are often used in education as well, and therefore learning aims and measurements need to be described in detail. The PISA—and other transnational and national measurements—are some of the social technologies that proved useful for this exercise. As described in the Introduction, three themes characterise the NPM (Dunleavy, Margetts, Bastow, & Tinkler, 2005): *disintegration* of public sectors into semi-autonomous units at several levels: national, regional, local, and institutional. At each level there are also initiatives that involve private companies and consultancies that enter the broad *competition for contracts*. Relations between areas are guided by competition between providers and by contracts between levels (OECD, 2016a). Competition is supported by *incentivization*, with pecuniary rewards based on performance.

In the Norwegian report, the new state form that is mainly built on contracts and social technologies was named the ‘fragmented state model’; in the Danish report, it is named as the ‘competitive state model’. The technologies used in both reports are national benchmarks, standards, and

measurements of outcomes, but also evidence-based practice and best practice programmes (Moos & Wubbels, 2018).

Trends

I see the emergence of global competition and accompanying new technologies and understanding of governance and relations between policy agencies as a ground-breaking development in the post-WWI era in European and other Western government systems as a shift of paradigms. In Chap. 7 on international benchmarking and convergence of European education, *‘Benchmarking is viewed as a process of comparing educational outcomes in schooling systems, identifying strengths and weaknesses and serving as a platform to identify best-practice examples, thus providing a foundation for school development and other improvements in the education system’*. The technology discussed here is PISA measures and comparisons. The discussion refers to results from all PISA reports from 2000 for the North Western countries, from 2006 for the South Eastern Countries, and up to 2018 for the countries in our study. PISA’s role as an international benchmarking standard is criticised for not producing accurate results and rankings. One major effect of PISA, the possible convergence of European education, is also discussed.

EDUCATION REFORMS

School reforms in all of the study countries are clearly influenced by transnational trends as demonstrated in the chapters. The transnational reform discourse about effective and efficient learning and market-oriented education policies is considered, interpreted, transformed, and put in action by national policy makers and professionals because the discourse meets national traditions, culture, and policies, and it is also confronted by divergent discourses of education.

One reason why the trends are translatable at the national level is that the transnational agencies like the OECD and the European Commission (EC) cannot issue regulations and demands to national governments. They can only use soft governance like discourse and social technologies called ‘peer-pressure’ by the OECD and ‘open method of coordination’ by the EC (Moos, 2009). Therefore, the international tests and comparisons and the displays of best practice and what works are mostly seen as

good ideas to be adopted at governments' discretion and made into national legislation or inspiration.

The transnational reform discourses emphasise the focus on learning outcomes to be achieved on the basis of evidence-based research models like school effectiveness concepts and quantitative methods. The reform discourse has been substantially transformed by the advancement of institutions and tools of the transnational governance, insisting on the production of action-oriented, applicable knowledge.

Croatia: in Croatia, the idea of a 'comprehensive curricular reform' (CCR) in the national press and policy documents has been instrumental for achieving system-wide changes. Lately, the globalisation of education policy and benchmarking of education outcomes have provided inspiration to the process in the country. The Croatian education system is under-performing due to the limitations of the public administration, as well as the political context. However, the state is working at several levels, among them the government and the professionals in schools, and they do not always agree on reforms: the school staff is often motivated for improvement, but they do not get support from policy makers. The policy actors follow the patterns of nominal acceptance of Europeanisation but seem to remain without a strategic vision (Chap. 2).

Slovenia: the Slovenian parliament adopted a legislation package in 1996 which made the school system undergo major changes. The package embraces a legal framework and defines organisational, financial, and curricular issues. The overall philosophy, values, and core principles forming the basis for the renewal seem to be a mixture of transnational trends and ideas with local visions: accessibility and transparency of the public education system; legal neutrality; choice at all levels; democracy, autonomy, and equal opportunities; and quality of learning to take precedence over the accumulation of facts. The main aim, however, according to the country report, was to increase elementary school from eight to nine years of schooling.

The interplay between autonomy and autocracy is often managed through networking between schools and between schools and government agencies. School networks have since the late 1990s been seen as a means of facilitating school improvement and innovation but also as contributing to large-scale reforms. Networks have recently become ever more popular by educational politicians. It started with an extensive reform of basic education where a group (network) of schools piloted the new curriculum and organisation (Chap. 3).

Lithuania: over the last three decades, Lithuania has struggled to be recognised as a full member of the OECD and the European Union and, thus, has had to adjust legislation, including educational legislation and discourses to the principles, laid out by those transnational agencies. UNESCO expected access to education, equality, and equity in education, while the EU and OECD expected lifelong learning and efficiency with accountability, autonomy, and leadership. An example of this is that in 2018 Lithuania introduced new criteria of funding, the ‘quality basket model’, that link funding to quality indicators. While the nation building discourse stressed the socio-cultural aspects of education, the legacy from 40 years of being a part of the Soviet Union and the influence from an economic, pragmatic-technological stream have created a constant battle in educational policy. One example of this is that contemporary school leadership forms have been overruled by traditional, hierarchical forms.

Denmark: over a 20–30-year period from 1990, more detailed national outcomes, aims, and tests have been politically decided in Denmark, culminating with the School Reform of 2012. The political arguments for reforming in this way were the mediocre PISA test scores. The national standards were made detailed—approximately 3000—and they were made compulsory together with 46 national tests. Another initiative, with relation to the reform, was Act 409 on teachers working conditions, which moved many decisions from the field of negotiation between the ministry, municipality, and the teachers’ union to national framing and school leaders’ decisions. The reform built on what can be named ‘Outcomes Discourse’ because the fundamental outcomes of education in this discourse are the students’ measurable learning outcomes.

Another, competing, discourse, ‘The Democratic Bildung Discourse’, focuses on general and comprehensive education because the intention is to position children in the world in democratic communities and societies in ways that makes them competent in understanding and deliberating with other people.

The general governance model that was developed over the same span of years is governance by contract. Schools signed contracts with municipal authorities who signed contracts with the agency of the ministry. Here, aims and benchmarks, as well as methods of measuring and documenting results, were detailed. The organising plans, areas of focus, and methods are left to practitioners to decide as long as they stay within the overall framework.

In most cases, a degree of self-evaluation is built into the social technologies in the contract. This type of leadership, through values, means that organisations and individuals must take over the values and norms laid out by the superior level. They must do so to such a degree that they internalise them and make them their own values.

A contemporary version of the Learning Outcome Discourse is the global *eduBusiness*. This discourse and practice build on two foundations: the commodification of education that brings education into the centre of the global marketplace, and new interest in the education market that is being taken by large international consultancies² and private foundations. The players are interested in harvesting big data for profit and the influences they can gain from and in the educational market (Moos & Wubbels, 2018).

The Danish project on learning platforms was intended to support the School Reform. It is constructed on the basis of national standards, test, and digital learning material plus plans for the school day, student plans of learning progression, data on outcome results, digital working rooms, documentations, and assessment. It is compulsory for all schools, teachers, parents, and students.

Norway: the first PISA study in 2001 placed Norway just at the mean of the participating OECD countries. It was made a political platform for agreeing on curriculum reforms in 2006 and in a national quality assurance system. The Norwegian Directorate of Education and Training was established in the same year in order to strengthen the state's grip on the implementation process. This is now a semi-independent state directorate.

Municipalities, with school boards and municipal councils, have enjoyed a certain degree of freedom in educational areas. Another aspect of the route towards a more complex model of school governance in Norway is the conjoint development of a quality assurance system with strong relations to international testing and comparison systems. At the same time, some powers and authorities were delegated to the municipality sector and thus constructing a twin strategy of centralisation and decentralisation.

The national educational system can be approached as a societal institution grounded on three pillars: the regulatory, the normative, and the cultural-cognitive pillar.

² Examples: MacKinsey, Pearson, Rambøl.

Trends

The advice referred to in the OECD report (1995), decentralisation and centralisation, can be traced in all educational systems in our study. The social technologies employed to further the split aim can also be seen in diverse forms in all systems: accountability, standardisation, contracts, competition, and comparisons.

One of the pieces of advice in the aforementioned report was to optimise information technology in governance. Over the years, this advice has been extended to almost every activity imaginable, also education and schools. Chapter 8 on digital transformation in European education systems explores and presents aspects and challenges relating to the digital transformation of education systems and educational institutions. A significant impact factor can be found in digital technologies whose role is twofold: digital technologies as educational content in curricula and as an instrument for the transformation of learning and teaching. Many aspects of this transformation are analysed and presented: challenges in education, frameworks for digital maturity, transformation determinants, and strategic planning.

Chapter 10 discusses many perspectives on the role of e-learning in digital transformation. The theme is interesting and important because due to the rapid development of information and communication technology, society as a whole is changing the way we live, work, communicate, collaborate, educate, and learn. Furthermore, educators around the world are changing the way they think about learning, teaching, and assessment in the digital environment, as well as the theories and practices related to making claims about learning based on digital evidence. Digital transformation can be seen as a deep and accelerating transformation with regard to processes, activities, competences, and models in order to take advantage of the changes and opportunities offered by the inclusion of digital technologies into an organisation.

Digital technologies are important aspects of school reforms, mainly because technology is an overwhelming feature of our life in society. That is often the argument for taking them in to schools and education. For many years, a mainstream approach to digital technology was to ask thus: we have this technology, but what can we use it for? This was instead of posing the education question: we have these educational challenges—in subject matters, social behaviour, collaboration, communication, to mention only a few—can we use digital technologies to find solutions or to handle them?

LEADERS IN LEADERSHIP FUNCTIONS

The section headline suggests that leaders and leadership are two different concepts. And they are of course. Being a formal leader does not automatically include doing leadership. Only if (s)he in one way or the other reaches out to followers/staff/colleagues is there a chance for doing leadership. This also implies that leaders are leading if they have other people following them or responding to them. Leadership is in my understanding a relational concept where the power, the energy, of leadership is the communication and interplay between people. A metaphor could be that of orchestras an orchestra conductor: without musicians, there is no music.

In most chapters in this volume, we use leader and leadership interchangeable. This may be an effect of using OECD data and reports and also the fact that most leadership training is in fact education of principals.

Slovenia: Slovenian education is based on principals' and teachers' autonomy with strong system trust in their professionalism and with weak control. School inspection has a limited role, mostly focussing on checking the formal legal demands when they have to act.

Diverse forms of networks, including schools and thus principals, have been developed over the last decade, which have informed policy makers that in order for networking to become a sustainable and effective mechanism for school and system improvement, professional collaboration between different actors is crucial.

Slovenia joined the globalisation in educational leadership in the mid-1990s, when national school for leadership in education (NSLE) was established as a governmental institution.

Extensive international activities began in 1999 and continue up to the present day. The institution is thus balancing its efforts between monitoring international trends, national studies and the practice of training head teachers—areas which are difficult to equally maintain.

Croatia: at the school level, a review of available empirical studies hints at relatively low leader autonomy, although followed by an increased interest for contemporary management and marketing tools. However, there are clusters of school leaders with easily identifiable good practices, but also clusters with traditional leadership practices, as well as those of extremely poor leadership.

An attempt to increase the autonomy of school leaders, according to the country report, by introducing the standards and procedures for licensing education institutions' principals, has been lingering since 2005.

Within the historical account of the licensing process, the role of multiple international experts and organisations can be recognised. However, this has not yet led to the proposal of a coherent national licensing framework for school principals.

Lithuania. Lithuanian schools still have the traditional school management (teams of formal principals, principal, and deputy headmistress) which exists in most European schools. Also, a culture of teacher leadership based on collaboration continues to persist, but it is not easy to develop teacher leadership. The standardisation process in Lithuania creates the conditions for the Introduction of the ‘teach for test’ principle in educational practice. In the context of Lithuanian education policy in the last decade, both models have coexisted: socio-cultural and economic. Only human and material resources in schools are closer to Scandinavian models; other domains, such as school leadership and level of autonomy, assessment, school selectivity, and ability grouping pertain more to the Anglo-Saxon liberal model.

Denmark: the OECD vision, which has been very influential in Danish policy making, was mentioned in the Introduction.

The Ministry of Education issued a policy paper in relation to the 2013 School Reform with a number of themes that illuminate the ways the ministry sees school leadership. The inspiration from the OECD frames is strong.

By tradition, Danish school leadership has been positioned in more autonomous than autocratic functions. With the school reform and the legislation that came with it, principals received more room for manoeuvre with regard to managing staff working conditions and less on curriculum interpretation.

Norway: the OECD influence on school leadership is mostly derived from the ‘Improving School Leadership’ programme (see Introduction).

Strong traditions for distributed leadership practices paired with a democratic orientation related to collaboration with staff. At the same time, principals showed a tendency of compliance to expectations derived from the ‘national quality assurance system’ (NQAS in terms of accountability for student outcomes. This situation created dilemmas for school leaders in their role as agents in a system where autonomy and accountability are central values. The dilemma was labelled ‘*compliant upwards and polite downwards*’ in the hierarchy of authority, seen from the principal’s office.

Trends

All country reports underline strong, but diverse, lines from transnational influences towards national policies on school leadership between running small businesses, supporting teachers' work in classrooms, and managing the efforts to raise student learning outcomes. School leadership has been constructed as a very important link between the policies of national and local policy makers and the inner life of school.

The country reports and the OECD reports on autonomy in education governance (presented in the beginning of this chapter) give diverse images of political trust in leadership. Reading the reports and Chap. 10 on critical success factors for European inclusive education give strong indications of school leaders' willingness and motivation for actively accepting the challenges.

Chapter 11 on discourses of leadership traveling across Denmark and Norway in North West Europe gives a perspective, not used in the other chapters, to analyses on the emergence of dominant discourses through neo-institutional theory. A large body of literature has portrayed a transition of ideas about school principalship towards the image of the school principal as a relatively autonomous and clearly result-accountable manager.

In a similar vein, inherent and longstanding interdependencies between municipalities and schools, on the one hand, and political parties, teacher unions, and interest groups in the local civic society, on the other, have been downplayed in the reform rhetoric and governing principles central to the New Public Management (NPM) doctrines.

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