Educational Governance Research 16

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The Cultural and Social Foundations of Educational Leadership

An International Comparison

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Educational Governance Research

Volume 16

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Foreword 1: Principled Autonomy and Educational Leadership

Writing in 2011, in the wake of the financial crisis then recently experienced, there was some optimism that public services like education could discover a better way than the neo-liberal, marketised and performative path they were taking in many countries (Woods, 2011). At the time of writing this Foreword, in 2020, there are similar expressions that opportunities for progressive change in education and educational leadership are opened by the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic (e.g. Harris, 2020; Zhao, 2020). Part of the drive for change is an enduring concern that, as I put it in 2011, people are organic beings, but everywhere they find themselves corralled into impersonal systems and into following instrumental procedures and techniques (Woods, 2011: 7). However, it is also true that people are not simply inhabitants of given political and ethical educational environments; they are creative interpreters and shapers of those environments in small and, sometimes, large ways. People ascribe meaning to their lives and have the capacity to be enriched by deep impulses to 'find ways of orientating to ideals and the transcendent – the importance of love, truth, beauty, goodness' (p8). Such constraints, capacities and possibilities apply to those exercising educational leadership – which includes teacher leaders and other pro-active school stakeholders, as well as senior school leaders.

This book throws a transnational light on underlying social and cultural factors that shape the ways in which school leadership is seen and enacted in school systems embedded in an environment where political and economic influences promote neo-liberalism and competitive values. Educational leaders experience the constraints of impersonal systems and the pressures of competition and performative requirements. Many are pulled by the needs of institutional survival towards adopting in some degrees the role of competitive, calculative and performative actors, with concerns about the consequences for reducing collaboration between schools, narrowing conceptions of learning and widening inequalities; equally,

within otherwise unpropitious contexts, educational leaders are capable of being change-agents for collaboration, social justice and progressive education.[1]

Much attention in contemporary educational policy is given to the exercise of autonomy by schools and by senior school leaders and other education professionals (Gobby et al., 2018, Woods et al., 2020). The concept of autonomy would seem to be an apposite way of thinking about the agency of leaders in the school system – as not only inhabitants of their social and educational environment but also creative interpreters and shapers of that environment. However, claims that there is meaningful autonomy are contentious. Serious questions are raised about whether autonomy is real for some, but for others, because of the resource and policy constraints they face, a mythical aspiration, and whether autonomy is so heavily regulated as to be meaningless.

Despite the practicalities and contingent constraints on autonomy, arguably there is an ethical imperative that requires the exercise of moral autonomy in decision-making. Acting with some degree of autonomy is not simply about being able to follow one's preferences or professional knowledge as educators and leaders. Autonomy is essentially a matter of being able to determine what constitutes ethical action in the context we find ourselves in. Advocacy of autonomy for educational leaders is, then, an argument in favour of leaders deliberating upon and making reasoned ethical judgements that then guide their leadership practice.

From this perspective, autonomy is at heart a matter of *principled autonomy* – that is, it is a process in which the educational leader consciously seeks to examine and articulate the justifications for the ethical principles they adopt to guide their practices of leading – principles which they continually interrogate and think through in a reasoned way, rather than adopting them on the basis of habit, enthusiasm or unreflective subservience to an authority, such as that enshrined in a policy directive, or to market pressures (Woods et al., 2020). This does not mean principled autonomy is an individualistic matter. Individuals make choices, but in particular communities, contexts and cultures that shape them. The exercise of principled autonomy by educational leaders is therefore both an individual endeavour and an intersubjective phenomenon.

The focus of this book is pertinent to furthering the understanding of principled autonomy. It examines how educational leaders are guided by different moral grammars, how these are embedded in national, transnational and cultural contexts, and the implications for understanding the moral dimensions of leadership. A range of topics and themes are addressed and explored. These include notions of caring and moral integrity; constructions of social distinctions such as race, class and gender; principles of justice; the diversity of common goods; and the moral capacities drawn upon in educational leadership which include ethical motivations, intentions and volition and moral values and aspirations. A nuanced and critical understanding of all of these notions and their interpretations, and how they are shaped by different

[1] For insight into some of the issues, complexities and range of leadership strategies and interpretations, see, for example, Angelle (2017), Barnett and Woods (in press), Greany and Higham (2018), Keddie (2018), Woods and Roberts (2018).

national and cultural contexts, is essential to developing an insightful appreciation of the practice, demands and possibilities of principled autonomy. If there is to be progressive change in education, leadership is required at all levels that not only seeks to exercise principled autonomy but also endeavours to learn from the different ways that principled autonomy can be interpreted and practised.

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Foreword 2: Situating Educational Leadership in the Nation State

Writing a foreword is always a delicate endeavor, all the more so when writing based on an ambitious book project proposal. Where some might see challenge, I embrace the opportunity it affords, celebrating this bold project and engaging with the generative ambiguities about educational leadership that the volume surfaces. Romuald and colleagues have engaged in an impressive and important project to explore the cultural and social foundations of educational leadership in eleven countries (separate chapters focus on the US and New York City). To do so, they wisely embarked on an edited volume, bringing together an accomplished group of international scholars to explore educational leadership in such far flung places as Sweden and Singapore, New Zealand and Norway, Finland and France. The volume offers readers an opportunity to learn about educational leadership in particular nation states but, more important still, by engaging in comparing educational leadership work across different political jurisdictions in Asia, Europe, and North America. I urge readers to embrace the challenge and do the hard work of systematically comparing educational leadership across the 12 chapters.

Overall the volume focuses on educational leadership and its relations to the goals of schooling, contrasting an "instrumental perspective" that has emerged with the rise of technical rationalization in the education sector with a perspective that focuses on developing human beings to learn and live together; a tension that I refer to elsewhere as schooling the "academically tested child" versus the "developmentally unabridged child".[1] A quarter century of government policy-making in several countries around the globe, often encouraged by international agencies, increasingly hold school educators accountable for their performance on a few metrics, typically student achievement in a handful of subjects. These tensions that are anchored in the different and often conflicting goals of schooling (e.g., democratic, social efficiency, social mobility, colonization) are not new though they have

[1] Spillane, J. P., & Sun, J. (2020 forthcoming). School principals' practice and the rise of technical rationalization in the public sector: Rediscovering dilemma management in leadership practice. In L. Moos, E. Nihlfors, & J. M. Paulsen (Eds.), *Re-centering the critical potential of Nordic school leadership research: Fundamental but often forgotten perspectives.* Dordrecht: Springer.

become more pronounced in recent decades in many countries.[2] Public schooling has contended variably with these competing goals from its inception in different countries around the globe, though the tensions have manifest differently depending on the country and its cultural, social, and political traditions as well as its structural arrangements for governing and guiding instruction.[3] Hence, the editors shrewdly note that understanding educational leadership needs careful attention to both the historical and current circumstances of schooling in different nations. I agree!

Framing educational leadership in this way, the volume captures how the situation (social, cultural, political, and so on) of educational leadership is not simply a backdrop for educational leaders' work but rather is fundamentally constitutive of educational leadership practice inside and outside of schools. The mostly taken for granted (social, cultural, political, and so on) situation contributes to defining leadership practice by framing and focusing interactions among school educators and other key educational stakeholders as they work to support and improve instruction, maintain instructional quality, and strive to address inequities in students' opportunities to learn and develop as citizens. And, they do so differently, depending, in important part, on the nation state. Each of the chapters that make up the body of the volume explores the cultural and social foundations of educational leadership in a different country or other political jurisdiction (e.g., New York City in the US). The volume offers twelve different portrayals of educational leadership in different Asian, European, and North American political jurisdictions, underscoring that although educational leadership may be a reasonably widely embraced idea or construct globally, at least of late, it is far from a monolithic construct. Instead, though there are similarities, leadership is understood and gets constituted differently as one moves across international borders.

While the individual chapters offer rich country-based accounts of educational leadership, to appreciate and take full advantage of the learning opportunities the volume offers it is important to compare across these different accounts attending to not only what is argued in the individual chapters but also to the silences – what is not stated – across the chapters. I urge readers to embrace this opportunity and immerse themselves in learning by comparing educational leadership across different nations. Doing so will help the reader learn lessons about how social, cultural, and political circumstances matter by enabling and constraining educational leadership practice in schools. It will also help in articulating questions that the chapters may or may not answer, but when they do not offer answers, they will likely generate the foundations for future research and potentially fruitful research agendas on educational research cross nationally. The table of contents in itself offers an important lesson about research on educational leadership in that it suggests that the

[2] Cohen, D. K., Spillane, J. P., & Peurach, D. J. (2018). The dilemmas of educational reform. *Educational Researcher*, *47*(3), 204–212; Labaree, D. F. (1997). *How to succeed in school without really learning: The credentials race in American education*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

[3] Cohen, D. K., & Spillane, J. P. (1992). Chapter 1: Policy and practice: The relations between governance and instruction. *Review of research in education*, *18*(1), 3–49.

relevant unit of analysis is a challenge as one moves across countries, and likely more than a methodological issue – why a chapter on the US and on New York City? Some might suggest an anomaly. I suggest because it foregrounds a larger issue – whether it is the nation state, or something else, or perhaps both in interaction. I would bet on the latter! What this volume surfaces is a fundamental problem with much scholarship on educational leadership – an inattention or mistreatment of the situation of educational leadership work or, more precisely, practice. What is local (i.e., the micro) is also fundamentally the meso or macro, be it the state, provincial, national, or federal. Such complexity is not to be factored out as error but to be engaged as fundamental to explanation of educational leadership.

Taken together the chapters in this volume offer a strong argument for the importance of taking what my colleagues and I refer to as, "a multilevel distributed" approach to the framing of educational leadership for research or diagnostic purposes.[4] A multilevel distributed framework sees educational leadership *systemically* – as a systemwide phenomenon – by focusing on how actors and artifacts at multiple levels of an education system interact to constitute the practice of educational leadership on the ground. This framing centers on how actors and artifacts at different levels of an educational system *interact* not only within but across levels of the system and the broader society to constitute educational leadership practice. It allows for actors and artifacts interacting differently depending on the educational system and on the particular 'national' educational sector in which a system operates. The educational sector consists of all organizations and institutions engaged in work related to delivering, regulating, and providing essential services for education including, in addition to schools and educational systems, professional development providers, community and professional organizations, unions, philanthropy, research firms and institutes, supplemental educational providers, and so on. There are government and non- government actors, and other agencies, non-profit and for-profit, and hybrids of the two. Educational sectors more or less differ from one country to the next, likely in part reflecting social, cultural, political, and legal differences. Educational sectors also differ structurally across nations.

Taken together these differences are consequential for the work of educational leadership in schools in different nation states, or perhaps education systems. Comparing across chapters, readers can work to get a sense about how the work of educational leadership in the schoolhouse is shaped by the broader educational sector in which schools operate, as these sectors are far from monolithic as documented by the authors. Relations to authority and hierarchy are different from one country to another, and these differences constitute or define interactions among teachers, students, school leaders, and other educational stakeholders, thereby structuring

[4] Spillane, J. P., Morel, R. P., & Al-Fadala, A. (2019, November). *Educational leadership: A multilevel distributed perspective.* WISE, Qatar; Spillane, J. P. (in press). Educational leadership from a distributed and multilevel perspective. In N. C. Strauss & N. Anderegg (Eds.). *Teacher Leadership: Leading school as a community.* Bern: Hep, der Bildungsverlag*;* Spillane, J. P., Morel, R. P., & Al-Fadala, A. (2020, August). *Making educational leadership policy: The case for a multilevel perspective.* Seminar Series 297. Melbourne: Center for Strategic Education.

relationships that fundamentally shape interactions and conceptualizations of educational leadership.

Thinking prospectively, rather than retrospectively, I urge readers (and indeed the authors and editors as they think about their next writing projects on educational leadership) to engage the ideas in this ambitious volume by contemplating, what next? Specifically, given the learning from this volume, in particular the learning by comparing across chapters, what are the most pertinent questions about educational leadership for a new research agenda moving forward. In doing so, I urge them to not only look at educational leadership as a function of the nation state but also to consider how the education system itself, in interaction with the nation state, enables and constrains educational leadership inside and outside of the schoolhouse around the globe. While authors write in the singular – 'Swedish School system', 'Finnish Education system' and so on, as a community of scholars interested in educational leadership we might entertain another sampling mechanism moving forward, one that does not assume that the education system is always synonymous with the nation state and that, in turn, these circumstances are consequential for robust, empirical cross-national work on educational leadership. While the nation state and education system may be more or less roughly equivalent in some countries such as Sweden or Finland or Ireland, this does not hold globally. The US is a case in point, though not the only case, as it would also hold, though differently, in the Netherlands or even Singapore.

Specifically, multiple educational systems often operate in the same nation state and as scholars it behooves us to systematically examine the interaction between national educational sectors and the different educational systems that operate in these sectors, and most important to do so comparatively. Indeed, as my colleagues David Cohen, Donald Peurach, and I have argued, we might learn tremendously about educational leadership (and other matters about improving teaching and learning in schools) through a program of comparative research on the role of educational leadership in educational system building cross-nationally, where both the nation state and the educational system are critical considerations in sampling sites and designing research studies.[5] Comparative research programs of this sort, as it will take several to generate a robust empirical knowledge base, should include nation states where the education systems are roughly contiguous, but it should also include nation states where this is not the case. Indeed, we might think about studying comparatively educational leadership in the same or similar education systems operating in different nation states to examine how they are constituted differently and, more particularly, how educational leadership is constituted similarly and differently across educational systems. While the educational system may be roughly synonymous with the nation state in some countries they are not so in all and that offers up a rich opportunity for cross national comparison across countries: how does educational leadership practice get constituted similarly and differently in

[5] Spillane, J. P., Peurach, D. J., & Cohen, D. K. (2019). Comparatively studying educational system (Re) building cross-nationally: Another agenda for cross-national educational research? *Educational Policy*, *33*(6), 916–945.

diverse educational systems in similar and different nation states. Think about it – it is ripe for multilevel cross national and cross system work on educational leadership.

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Foreword 3: The Betweenness of School Leaders

Whenever I read a study about schools, school systems, or education reform, a main finding, either front and center or buried in the discussion, is a statement about the essential importance of leadership. It doesn't matter if the study is about the leaders themselves, or if they have an ancillary or even nonexistent role in the story, the authors always seem to discover that leadership plays a crucial part in how things go. What is it about the leaders themselves, or leadership more generally, that we always gravitate towards leadership as an integral part in just about anything that happens in our field? One possibility is that the power imbued in leaders gives them outsized influence in the generally flat organizations with steep hierarchies that are schools. Another possibility is the increasingly encompassing way that we have come to define leadership, such that leadership is not just the domain of an individual or role, but that it is found everywhere in the actions and interactions amongst all of an organization's actors (Spillane, 2012). Still another explanation is the 'between' space that leaders occupy, which gives them a unique vantage point from which to integrate, or otherwise influence knowledge and ideas that are passing in all directions throughout their education ecosystems.

Betweenness refers to both the physical and conceptual space that provides leaders with vantage points in education systems. The between space of leaders allows them a perspective to connect across the myriad of people and ideas that flow through an environment. This allows them to be privy to what is happening in different spheres, to make connections and translate across boundaries, to reshape ideas and enable possibilities. Different traditions of research call this idea different things. For social networkers, betweenness is an indicator of an individual's connectedness to disparate clusters (Kourtellis et al., 2013). Geographer and sociologist Nicholas Entriken (1991) considers betweenness as the intersection between physical and theoretical space and "between subjective and objective perspectives" (p. 6). Organizational theorist Ikujiro Nonaka (1988) refers to it as the place where managers helped to "solve and transcend the contradictions arising from gaps between what exists in the moment and what leaders hope to create" (p. 17). In doing so, Nonaka saw these middle leaders at the vortex of 'middle-up-down management,' which accelerated knowledge creation and sharing within organizations. School

leaders play a similar role in education systems, in that they are positioned at the nexus of invisible and fluid boundaries that form the pathways by which ideas and knowledge in the education system flows and is interpreted.

Leader betweenness comes in many forms. As examples, they are policy navigators positioned between policy and practice; educational purpose interpreters situated between different societal values of the objectives of education and their enactment in schools; and developmental mediators located between adult learning conceptions and student learning experiences.

In the first of these examples, school leaders stand between the policies of the state (i.e. the ideas which those policies are intended to carry) and the schools they steward. Policymaking (with a capital P) is a relatively rational business, as those who create it are seeking to use instruments of authority – generally edicts and incentives (both positive and negative) – to encourage or discourage the behavior of policy targets. This is generally viewed as an instrumental approach to shaping the culture and function of schools to conform to the larger goals of society. By contrast school leaders spend their days in buildings brimming with the emotions and concerns of adults and children, since schools are fundamentally social places where the complexities of adult communities are mirrored by the ways that adults engage with students and students interact with their peers. Policy appeals to the rational side of educational systems, while practice is steeped in the human side of schools.

As school leaders are the sentinels of their buildings, they hold important influence over the extent to which policy ideas infiltrate the gates. School leaders can choose to deemphasize policy ideas, and in so doing buffer their faculties from the press of policy; or champion policy ideas, thereby easing their adoption. More likely, as much research on policy implementation has shown, leaders can interpret policy to fit their own needs and contexts. This is where school leaders are policy makers (with a small p) as much as policy targets. Take external test-based accountability policy, which is fairly ubiquitous policy approach around the world designed to direct the attention and efforts of educators within a system. Evidence of the effects of these kinds of outcome-based accountability policies on school performance is quite mixed (Bruns et al., 2011). While accountability often changes the priorities of schools; it often does so inequitably, as schools with different internal capacity and different levels of risk of not meeting accountability targets respond differently. In addition, the culture of schools, in terms of the degree of individual responsibility and collective expectations, influences response to external accountability (Abelmann, & Elmore, 1999). Perhaps the real purpose of accountability policy is as a signal of policy-maker control of schools (Supovitz, 2009). Amidst all of these contested interpretations, we can see how school leaders' views of accountability policy shape their organization's response.

As a second example, school leaders stand between different and sometimes competing purposes of education that are evident in the differing priorities of interest groups within their society. Different groups prioritize and advocate for alternative conceptions of the essential purpose of schooling (Collier, 2002). Some see the predominant purpose of education as the means of preparing students to participate in the national workforce. Others emphasize the import of civics, and view

education systems as the bastion of cultivating an informed citizenry. Still others view education in the light of social fracturing and see it as one of the few remaining common experiences where youth can develop a social sense of ethics, morality, and duty. As school leaders sit at the nexus of these sometimes competing impulses that hold out different priorities for schools, they play a key role in how their school navigates the different preferences reflected in these value systems.

As a third example, school leaders are also important liaisons between the adults in the building and the children, where there is a vital connection between the culture and learning of the adults and the learning of students. Ash & D'auria (2012) call this the fractal nature of schooling, in which the design of a part mimics the whole and is also replicated in sub-systems. An example of an educational fractal is how schools where risk-taking and innovation are encouraged amongst the adults are more likely to see teachers encourage students to leave their comfort zone, learn new skills, and try out uncertain ideas. By contrast, if the culture is threatening and intimidating, educators will shy away from robust attempts to discover new strategies and approaches to teaching within their classrooms and transmit this risk-adversity to students. Similarly, the mindset research of Carol Dweck (2000) suggests that the mindsets educators bring to their work are implicitly conveyed to students. School leaders, in turn, are impacted by the culture established by the systems above them. How leaders understand and navigate their betweenness has important consequences for the types of educational opportunities that students experience.

Leaders occupy a special space between different communities that often have different beliefs and perspectives. Each community has its own language for communicating its ideas and its own touchpoints and lodestones. The lattice of philosophies, beliefs, ideas, paradigms and values that intermingle within each context create a mélange from which educational leaders are both influenced and have a distinct positionality to affect. As you read the different chapters in this volume, I urge you to consider how both the physical and conceptual positionality of educational leaders affords them a special vantage point from which to influence the ways in which education systems evolve.

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Part I
Introduction

Chapter 1
An International Comparison of Cultural and Social Foundations of Educational Leadership

Romuald Normand, Lejf Moos, Min Liu, and Pierre Tulowitzki

Abstract This volume identifies cultural and moral foundations of country-specific school leadership and it presents the foundations and principles of social justice and the diversity of common goods that often guide leadership practices in schools.

Political and cultural backgrounds for educational and leadership policies, that frame the practices of leadership differ from country to country and even within countries and with neo-liberal influences from transnational agencies. Over time, we see developments of basic logics and ideological discourses like traditional general education moving towards outcomes-based leadership.

The social dimension of school leadership is not only the very core of leadership practice. They are also issues related to equality and equity, or social inclusion. The capacity of leaders to promote civic-mindedness and social cooperation, consensus and acceptance of others, the right balance between freedom and duties, and reciprocity of obligations, are essential for maintaining democratic education and democratic rights against marketization and for facilitating a life together while

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respecting ethnic and cultural differences instead of standardizing them. The book therefore gathers contributions from a range of international authors capable of reporting these moral and cultural features, while broadening the research perspectives on school leadership beyond an instrumental and neo-liberal vision. It contributes to an existing research field that studies diversity and ethical leadership in schools.

Educational Leadership in Political Contexts of Accountability and Marketization

Across the globe, education systems have shifted towards more competition, accountability, and standardized testing (Sahlberg, 2011). Policymaking is often imposing a technocratic and autocratic vision for education in the name of accountability, expressed through benchmarking approaches like the PISA survey but also marketization and privatization inspired by neo-liberal ideologies (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009). This instrumental perspective, strengthened sometimes by evidence-based education techniques, can be considered as distant from the way human beings develop their capacities to learn and to live together in schools (Biesta, 2010). Inspirations, visions, commitments and ethics shared by professionals tend to be ignored although international research findings demonstrate the importance of taking ownership of school reforms in local contexts, the disadvantages of one-size-fits-all measures and quick-fix solutions (Stoll & Myers, 1998). Top-down policies tend to increase competing pressure without making real changes, if not more stress and loss of meaning among educators and students (Day et al., 2007; Fullan, 2012). 'Isolated' school autonomy or bottom-up processes without support and professional development and without social recognition and community engagement run the risk of being ephemeral and being disconnected from global developments crucial for student learning.

These mismatches between decision-making and implementation show the importance of leaders and leadership skills to enact relevant policies (Ball et al. 2012), to buffer negative neo-liberal effects (Tschannen-Moran, 2004) or to improve policy implementation and to reduce the implementation gap, but also to give a more human and social dimension to professional and teacher-student relationships. The challenge is to promote social skills (or the 4 Cs: critical thinking, creativity, communication, collaboration) at different scales to ensure a collective responsibility in school improvement while education systems are facing new challenges in terms of equality of opportunities and social inclusion (Jefferson & Anderson, 2017). To this end, the contributions of leadership theories developed over several decades are essential and thus should be better assimilated by policymakers and officials getting them taking their distance from neo-liberal and

blinded visions related to accountability and evidence-based policies (Ärlestig et al., 2016).

Multiple Governance Regimes Under the Influence of the Neo-Liberal Turn

We have contributions from a broad spectrum of countries: Nordic countries (Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland), Continental Europe (France, Switzerland), Anglo American countries (UK, USA – New York and Boston and New Zealand) and from Asia (Singapore and Mainland China). Most of the countries belong politically to the Western hemisphere and are thus subject to similar neo-liberal influences from international and trans-national systems and thinking, but they have very different historical and cultural backgrounds. They have – possibly with a different pace and maybe with different effects – developed national educational systems conducive to neo-liberal politics carried by International Organizations. This also seems to be the case with the Asian systems.

A main instrument for transferring knowledge from one country to another, or for learning from other policy systems, are international comparisons (Moos, 2013). They are both employed as tools for research on education and by policymakers (Steiner-Khamsi, 2010). Comparative researchers use comparisons to sharpen their view in order to get a clearer picture of practices and politics, while policy makers use comparisons, when setting neo-liberal policy agendas based on marketplace logics, evidence, best practices, or standards and benchmarks. This comparative turn has acquired particular traits as schools and education policies have circulated worldwide where Anglo-American advocacy networks have been particularly influential (Krejsler, 2019; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). However, as Gita Steiner-Khamsi (2010, p. 332) argues, policy transfer is not a passive process. It is mediated, shaped, and given form by local policymakers, so the traveling reform undergoes many modifications depending on the political and local contexts, while some of the neo-liberal logics within interpretations of evidence and best practice are still prevailing (Normand et al., 2018).

Stephen Ball (Ball et al., 2012) demonstrates, that because educational institutions most often are only loosely coupled to the political system, policies need to be enacted by the institutions: they interpret and negotiate policies, they 'do' policy, in order to make it fit to practices. This underscores the need to explicate and investigate contexts as well as multiple levels of governance.

This globalizing trend is interpreted and translated differently from country to country because they all build on their history, culture, institutions etc. These dimensions are intimately linked to cultural and political traditions governing schools and the society in national contexts (Blossing et al., 2014). In countries represented in this volume, we consider multiple models of government and governance: top down, hierarchical *chains of government* from parliaments and through ministries

but also regional and local school authorities with a relative autonomy (Moos et al., 2016). Under the influences and inspirations from trans-national agencies and consultancies new models of *governance networks are also emerging*. This often named soft governance is based on social technologies which shape new relationships between the State and civil society, while a movement toward privatization is perceptible in many countries under the hidden influences from international consultancy groups and foundations like Pearson, Google, Amazon (Moos, 2020; Williamson, 2017).

Educational Leadership and Its Social, Moral, and Cultural Components

Facing these neo-liberal trends, the social dimension of education is at stake not only in terms of equality and social inclusion, even though they are important goals for education systems. The capacity of these systems to promote civic-mindedness and social cooperation, consensus and acceptance of others, the right balance between freedom and duties, and reciprocity of obligations, are essential to maintain democratic rights and facilitate the life together while respecting ethnic and cultural differences (Moos et al., 2013). Teaching and learning must also help students mature and to consider what is good and right, provide stimuli to familiarize themselves with different cultures, to care for and respect others, to promote humanistic and ethical values. That is also why adults in schools have to endorse leadership roles in building a democratic space nurtured by an informed discussion facilitating a broad and critical participation of the local community members (Woods & Gronn, 2009).

But this conception of leadership as a process of influencing and capacity building to improve student achievement, and further to improve general education or Democratic Bildung (Moos & Wubbels, 2018) raises an additional question: what does this influence means in a specific culture and the type of social connections that link people together? Similarly, theories of leadership underline the moral sense and professional ethics shared by both principals and teachers (Niesche & Keddie, 2016). They consider that it is an important driver for motivating and engaging people in planned or distributed school activities.

However, the theorization of these cultural and moral components remains weak due to a lack of empirical evidence and comparative perspectives within the research literature. Our underlying framework aims to think how leaders are guided by different moral grammars and directed towards diverse common goods, while they are shaped by local cultures and histories (Walzer, 1995, 2002).

For Walzer, the originality of contemporary democracies does not lie in the individualism of their members, but in the kind of relationships which link them, which are those of voluntary association. People deploy passions and energies in their associations, which today give meaning to their common experience, and guarantee

pluralism in society. In a world where civil society is weakened, there is a great risk that the State will be transformed into a tyrannical power. Especially when it contributes to the monopolisation of certain goods by certain groups or gives them dominance in a given sphere of justice. Voluntary associations must therefore campaign for "complex equality" ensuring that no sphere overwhelms the other, but also that there is no monopolisation of one sphere over the other.

Thus, the market and money cannot regulate political life or the trade of human beings. Corruption must be limited and speaking in the public space must not be based on monetary exchanges. Political power cannot discriminate against certain social and religious groups, or restrict academic freedom, or censor the public debate. Opportunities to share and exercise power should not be monopolised by a caste or an oligarchy based on wealth, titles or degrees. Social belonging and assistance must be combined in such a way as to ensure that people live together well and are entitled to the same conditions of security, well-being and citizenship.

In education this implies that some form of autonomy of the educational community must be guaranteed to protect it from the intrusion of the logics of social status and wealth, but, more generally, from the market and religious, ethnic, dynastic domination, in order to avoid the tyrannical effects of disrupting the distribution of educational goods. In the same way, according to Walzer, one cannot reproduce, within the education system, segregative logics or tolerate the existence of multi-speed teaching nor tolerate the existence of ability-groups among students. In the same way, allowing the public education service to be weakened by a lack of resources would lead wealth, social status, cultural singularity and other spheres of justice interfering in education.

Walzer's philosophical theory invites us to some reflexivity about the tacit and assumed knowledge that makes school leadership more or less accepted according to contextualized moral and cultural interpretations of the common good (Geertz, 2008). It also helps to characterize the embeddedness of leadership practices within school organizations in relation to ethics and the sense of social justice, and to highlight some areas of tension between, the State and the market, communitarian and nationalistic traditions, authoritative and comprehensive stances with a certain openness to a more democratic and reflexive modernity (Wagner, 2012).

Considering Educational Leadership Beyond the Critique of Managerialism

Critical theories of leadership underline some paradoxical injunctions in which leaders would be placed, between some instrumental mechanisms carried by accountability policies and some ethical concerns for supporting and caring after teachers and students (Gunter, 2009). They show that leadership can serve as a rhetoric for a neo-liberal enterprise in empowering people to undermine the workforce and to weaken its collective solidarity and resistance (Gunter & Rayner, 2007).

They make apparent certain links between leadership theories, knowledge and policymaking. However, if these criticisms are relevant in some Anglo-Saxon contexts, they tend to discard other national contexts in which the moral ontology of leaders, their reflexive capacities, and their desires for creative and transformational actions counterbalance some side effects and policy intents. In this case, this criticism could be strengthened by paying more attention, as this book suggests, to the power of moral capacities that direct people to common goods and allowing them to take initiatives and responsibilities within the school organization. Different moral grammars coexist within societies and shape the foundations for living together in schools beyond conflicts. Limiting these social relationships to an agonistic vision means ignoring certain attitudes and behaviours related to solicitude and compassion.

Recently developed theories of leadership emphasize the principal's skills for empowering teachers in school improvement but also for sharing roles and responsibilities in data management, network development, professional learning (Bush et al., 2019). The school unit is now facilitating different modes of coordination between autonomy and accountability while the implementation of digital technologies requires new practices of teachers and school leaders for developing skills related to working in the knowledge society (Håkansson Lindqvist & Pettersson, 2019).

Current research on educational leadership has studied the impact of accountability and its contrasting effects on leading practices (Easley & Tulowitzki, 2016). It underlines the relative limitations of management when it addresses expectations and requirements which do not meet human and social dimensions. Indeed, relationships between educators in and out of schools are embedded in ethics and values, which are extremely important for principals in capacity building and school improvement (Biesta, 2004). Beyond animating pedagogical teams, principals need to conceptualize and design spaces for communication, creativity, reflexivity all the while responding to accountability requirements (Moos et al., 2013).

As it can be observed in several English-speaking countries, school organizations have been extensively transformed. A system of bureaucratic hierarchy was reformed towards more decentralized decision-making and more autonomy (Leithwood et al., 2002). However, accountability has sometimes put sometimes an excessive pressure on educators while it has strengthened competition and market mechanisms against the sense of local community (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009). Other countries may be viewed as "lagging behind" as they kept a relative bureaucratic organization, despite the emergence of New Public Management, and some of them move towards decentralization without any marketization (Normand, 2016). Others still went on a transition that was originally driven by Anglophone research and policies but is now in a state of emancipation (Ingþórsson et al., 2019). Different trajectories can be observed in education reforms that explain heterogeneous changes in school organizations, professional skills, roles, and responsibilities shared between teachers and principals (Alerstig et al., 2016).

Educational Leadership Embedded in Common Life, Ethics and Principles of Justice

The notion of leadership itself is a generally accepted vision internationally but it raises some problems of interpretation and it occasionally causes misunderstanding in some countries (Starr, 2014). As executives are accustomed to certain administrative and legalist traditions, or to managerialist ones, they can reject corresponding alternative conceptions. This weak reception of the concept, and its underlying theories, can sometimes create resistance and criticism by some professional groups but also by researchers (Gunter, 2001; Thrupp & Wilmott, 2003). Assimilated to a neo-liberal orthodoxy and an attempt to indoctrinate teachers or principals, leadership is also sometimes poorly distinguished from management or even administrative tasks.

For these reasons, the aim of the collective volume is to study the cultural and moral foundations of country-specific school leadership to illuminate how leadership structures relationships within the educational community according to ethics that are often forgotten in main analyses and discourses (Gross & Shapiro, 2015).

As sociologists, psychologists, historians, and philosophers explain, the conception of rules and common life differ from one society to another, and individuals and groups can guide themselves according to different values and principles of justice (Walzer, 2008). These moral feelings and attachments shape their conduct but also their relationships. They contribute to categorize the social world in affecting their judgements on situations, their sense of good and evil, honor and dishonor, respect, and difference, but also emotions (Honneth, 2004; Fraser, 2014). It can be assumed that relations to authority and hierarchy, command and entrepreneurship, consensus and conflict, equality and recognition of differences, the community and the local, may change from one country to another, in determining different types of interactions between teachers and principals (Woods, 2005). Likewise, the history of the country, its political representation, the structuring of interests and power relationships, the degree of institutionalization of some practices or values, can shape certain interactions and conceptualizations of educational leadership.

Recently, some research has focused on the notion of ethical leadership, showing the importance of beliefs and values, such as the dignity or the right of others, in the moral guidance of school leaders (Shapiro & Stefkovich, 2016). Trust, consideration, esteem, the sense of justice, are important dimensions to make decisions accepted by others but also to empower people for school improvement (Bell & Harrison, 2018; Theoaris, 2007). Similarly, the notion of caring as a core principal of educational leadership has recently been highlighted by various scholars (Smylie et al., 2016). The issues of race, class and gender, are structuring managerial relationships in schools and can maintain some stereotypes that undermine the common understanding and balance between people (Theoaris & Scanlan, 2015). The diverse meanings given to notions such as moral integrity (against corruption), public interest (or private), discipline (or autonomy), inclusion and social exclusion, also affect

the behavior of leaders according to their belonging to different educational and cultural systems.

Educational Leadership at the Crossroads of Moral Conventions and the Sense of Justice

Moral and political philosophy has shown the diversity of moral assets to which human beings are related. The issue of agreement and building a consensus from common principles is a constituent of living together in a democratic society (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006).

As Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot's theory demonstrates that people justify their actions towards others by referring to normative principles that they consider – contextually or universally – defensible. But many disagreements and conflicts arise so that they cannot formalize an agreement between them because they make different judgements related to their situations and experiences. Ordinary people are therefore endowed with a critical, moral and judgmental capacity that enables them to participate – actively and reflectively – in the meaning and construction of different forms of living together and to define a common horizon of justice to get out from disagreements and conflicts. These activities of justification are structured by rationalization, argumentation and valorization logics that allow to identify conventions at work in their discourse and actions. Boltanski and Thévenot show in their theory how different cities can be considered as social worlds capable of establishing different magnitudes (orders of value) with different conceptions of the common good, whose validity can be confirmed or invalidated by means of different tests. They then study meaning and value-laden interaction practices relating to moral grammars and justification processes. The identify multiple normative orders which correspond to regimes of justification and modes of evaluation. Six "worlds" with related "value orders" are particularly important: "the inspired world", "the domestic world", "the civic world", "the world of opinion and fame", "the market world" and "the industrial world". These aims for the common good are essential to the building life together, but they depend on the material, cultural and symbolic circumstances that enable individuals to use their moral capacities and make judgements about their actions and those of others through multiple social interactions.

The way to achieve these aims is different from one country to another. Some of education systems will emphasize the commitment of citizens to the nation as a community of destiny, others value the closeness to a local community. Some educational systems accept market competition as part of a necessary freedom and choice among pupils or parents, while others emphasize principles of solidarity and redistribution as an expression of equity. The place of tradition and hierarchy also differs from one education system to another as well as the relationship between tradition and modernity within school organizations. The acceptance or rejection of

entrepreneurship shows also important cultural differences while religion may influence ethical preferences and moral attitudes. Some education systems are more open to cultural and racial diversity than others, some of them have a strong immigration tradition with a hybridization of cultures while other systems are more homogeneous and protective.

In following these ideas, contributors to the volume have elaborated on the principles of justice and the diversity of common goods that guide leadership practices in schools (Wang, 2016). The notion of leadership partly reflects these moral capacities and the strength of collective commitments that allows people joining together on behalf some common goods (Sergiovanni, 1992). But research has developed little knowledge about ethical volitions, motivations, intentions as well as their moral values, aspirations, and principles by which principals and teachers are leading. These moral capacities shape assuredly some situations of social cooperation and professional relationships based on values of solidarity and reciprocity that can be found in many cultures (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1999). They permeate the school organization (Biesta, 2015). They are at the core of innovative practices enhancing professional creativity and ingenuity and overcoming the tradition (Stoll & Louis, 2007). Moral capacities are also active for exploring and inquiring into different human, material, and informational environments while it makes the strangeness acceptable (Wenger, 1998). These moral capacities can also be found in leadership practices supporting and caring after people with some concerns about their well-being and personal integrity.

Moral capacities of leadership, applied in different situations, for example from exploration to innovation, or from care to social cooperation, also determine ethical dispositions and attitudes in relation to others and the community. Recognition and self-esteem, but also shared respect are important drivers for committing people. Trust in establishing lasting and reciprocal relationships is another driver. Imitation gives importance to exemplarity but also to some interpersonal identification and comparison which helps to learn together.

The reference to tradition or an inherited culture define a set of mutual expectations from the past. Community is valued as a mean to share responsibilities and to delegate them among people. Rationality leads to a reciprocity in terms of intelligibility and shared cognition to produce common meaning about practices. Principles for discussion and deliberation are also important to forge a compromise or consensus between competing interests. Human action, dialogical and rational in practice, is nevertheless guided by a sense of social justice and equity that underlies some personal and professional ethics.

Then, it is possible to identify moral conventions for leadership that mix professional situations and some references to common goods and which are related to moral capacities shaped and performed in different contexts as it is indicated below. Using Boltanski and Thevenot's conceptual framework here provides only a limited list and there could be some potential for additional conventions, overlap and variations in cultural contexts according to studies developed in other research areas.

This is only an attempt to explore some potentials of cross-over perspectives between professional situations in which school leaders could be involved and some

references to common goods that could motivate their action and judgement. This exploration would need to be pursued through empirical studies of leaders' practices in various social and cultural contexts. Far from adopting a universalist and global stance, these categories would need to be confronted with different educational traditions but also with experiences shared by practitioners and current school organizations. However, this link between cognitive categories, moral judgements, and professional paves the way to rethink communities of practice and their sense of justice from an international comparison.

The following table offers several examples of what could be studied in a more systematic way. Situations of cooperation between leaders can be justified according to different common goods in different countries and professional cultures. For example, the sense of community might be stronger in the United States and Northern Europe than in France or Germany. On the other hand, the reference to tradition might be more pronounced in Europe and Asia than in the United States or in New Zealand. Attention to others from leaders may be strongly supported by conceptions of equality and social solidarity in some countries, while other education systems value schools as spaces for discussion and dialogue guided by mutual respect and trust. Issues of freedom, choice or recognition or diversity may give rise to very virulent public debates, but they can serve also as basic principles for interpersonal relationships in schools. The emphasis on innovation, change, creativity can be the result of a rational and planned management, but also it can be based on a communitarian vision open to peer learning, or it mays correspond to a traditional and shared sense of entrepreneurship and risk-taking. These are complex situations that deserve to be better analyzed and exemplified, but they show that leadership practices remain at the crossroads of multiple sets of moral conventions and common goods that give different meanings and scopes to leaders' actions in schools.

		Common good			
Moral conventions of leadership		Community	Rationality	Discussion	Tradition
Professional situations	Cooperation	Equality	Reciprocity	Dialogue	Legacy
	Innovation	Trust	Change	Learning	Creativity
	Exploration	Project	Plan	Freedom	Experience
	Care	Solidarity	Support	Recognition	Respect

Below, the table shows some additional examples of this complex situations, leaving the reader imagining how these categories might apply to cases studied or encountered in his or her country. They should be taken more as questions than answers and they do not pretend to be universalistic. A community organizing itself around a project to explore some possibilities is a frequent case in the United States, but it is rare in France. Welcoming the experience of elders for cooperation and care is a tradition in China but not in every country. Innovation and discussion involving peer learning, reflexivity and professional development of leaders is often observed

in New Zealand, as well as being part of a process of exploration and inquiry. All of these actions have moral implications, and they are also rooted in certain visions, values and principles of justice.

Moral conventions of leadership		Common good			
		Community	Rationality	Discussion	Tradition
Professional situations	Cooperation	A community of leaders in cooperation	Reciprocal exchanges of knowledge and skills	Regular meeting to make the point	The legacy of situations and experiences shared by experienced people
	Innovation	The support of the community and its trust for innovation	Innovation to change the school organization or some of its components	Innovation related to professional development and reflexivity	Innovation experienced as creativity to overcome tradition
	Exploration	The community organizes itself around a project to explore some possibilities	The exploration has several steps and lines of inquiry	The exploration allows discussion to make choices	Exploration can be supported by narratives
	Care	The care includes people into the community on behalf solidarity	The care requires adjusted, reflexive, and expert support	The care opens a dialogue to strengthen self-esteem and to allow social recognition	The care in its solicitude and compassion shows respect for experienced people and past activities

These cultural and moral dimensions have an influence on the way leaders exercise their responsibilities and engage teachers in different forms of action and coordination within schools. They strongly influence the social construction of visions about leadership, but these aspects have been poorly studied by existing theories. What are the cognitive and emotional components of these visions? On which values are they based? What kind of individual and collective representation are underlying these visions and attitudes? How do they differ from one country to another?

Contributions in this book therefore proposes a provisory and partial answer. They gather various authors capable of reporting these moral and cultural differences, while broadening the research perspectives on school leadership. The book contributes to an existing research field that studies diversity throughout the world and ethical leadership in schools. The idea is also to nurture a discussion with other

types of research findings in social psychology, social and cultural anthropology, sociology, philosophy, social and cultural history.

Contributors answer a common set of questions: what are the main cultural characteristics of school leadership in their country? What are culturally dominant moral foundations from which school principals assume their responsibilities and lead teachers? How do leaders have different ethics that differentiate their ways of engaging with others? What are culturally bound conceptualizations of ethical leadership? How are issues in leadership and management considered from a moral standpoint by educators? How does the culture of teachers and managers influence their conceptualizations or representations of authority, hierarchy, respect, solidarity, trust, commitment, autonomy, responsibility? What cultural specificities can be found in the professional development components surrounding educational leadership?

The Chapters

The chapters are structured into different topics to ensure some harmonization in the exhibition of cultural and moral features of school leadership in each country. Each chapter is developed in the following way:

- a brief overview of the historical and cultural embeddedness of the educational system in each country (traditions, links between education and culture, shared values, main institutions and regulations)
- a presentation of constituents and principles of school organization and responsibilities of leaders from a social, moral and cultural point of view
- a characterization of the concept of leadership as it is understood in the culture of the country and by educators, according to some linguistic and cultural equivalencies and distinctions made by people
- the illustration of values and great principles of justice on which leadership practices are based within the educational community (principals, teachers, parents, students, other partners)
- an explanation of some modes of agreement or compromise, and conceptions of common goods shared within the educational community

There are several reasons for the choice of countries. Firstly, our aim was to study the differences between countries with liberal, communitarian and nationalistic traditions. For this, the book combines approaches to leadership from English-speaking, Northern European countries with France, China and Switzerland, which have specific political configurations, including the pre-eminence of a statist order in the French and Chinese context. Secondly, within each bloc of countries, it was interesting to specify differences in the cultural and moral arrangement of leadership practices that are partly linked to a specific social and political context (racial discrimination in the United States, ethnic and cultural dualism in New Zealand, the importance of welfare and social inclusion in Nordic countries, the weight of civic-mindedness and equal opportunities in France and China, linguistic particularism in

Switzerland). The third reason relates to different forms and contents of leadership practices in different countries: instrumental leadership oriented towards accountability and what works in the English-speaking world, participatory and democratic leadership in Northern Europe, bureaucratic and authoritarian leadership in France and China). These contrasts and differences seemed to be adapted to the description and analysis of different moral grammars and conceptions of the common good, which vary strongly from one country to another.

Overview of Chapters

Section 2: Nordic Countries

The second chapter by Lejf Moos: '*School leadership in Denmark: between two historical and contemporary discourses'* outlines the recent history of society, culture and institutions in Denmark: Post-World War II analyses of society and education can be characterized as a struggle between two dominant discourses: a democratic *Bildung* discourse in the Welfare state and a competitive outcomes discourse. The former discourse was dominant until the mid-1990s, but over the subsequent twenty-year period, the competitive outcomes discourse began to take centre stage. Societal, political and economic developments were the driving force behind this shift. Institutional and municipal levels of governance have been strong over the years. School leadership requirements also changed towards a more technocratic, outcome-based and economy-focused management practice. This chapter serves also as a reference to describe the neo-liberal turn that affects other European countries.

In Chap. 3: '*Culture, structure and leadership in Sweden – national accountability and local trust',* Olof Johansson and Helene Ärlestig write, that education was for many years embedded in a society based on agriculture and industry related to forestry and mining. After World War II policies were striving to build a welfare state and thus to create a compulsory school that would work to build democratic citizens through focus on principles of justice related to excellence and equity. Up until the 1990ies, the school governance was very centralised with detailed curriculum and state agency inspections of the schools. Over the years, decentralisation of decisions from state to municipalities took place, at one point also to privatization. Neo liberal accountabilities and international testing are also part of contemporary educational governance which impact on national leadership education. Balances between neo liberal centralised accountability on one hand and decentralised, trusting governance is often replaced by models of civic cooperation characterizing the maintenance of a certain common good.

The fourth chapter by Jorunn Møller is entitled: '*Images of Norwegian educational leadership – historical and current distinctions.*' It situates cultural and moral dimensions of Norwegian educational leadership within the broader social and

political environment and in relation to political-ideological transformations towards a welfare state that have taken place over the past 70 years. Relations between institutional, municipal, and state levels are shifting over time. The analysis draws on historical and contemporary research on education policy and leadership. These findings indicate which conditions are present in Norway for the adoption of theories of school leadership and governance that have been circulating internationally in research networks. A discussion is carried out regarding how the moral and cultural dimensions and key principles for organising and leading schools intersect with current globalised policy trends, and where there is likely to be tensions between these global neo-liberal trends and the political, cultural, and historical imperatives of educational leadership and schooling according to a diversity of common goods.

In Chap. 5, Eija Hanhimäki and Mika Risku explore: '*The cultural and social foundations of ethical educational leadership in Finland'*. At the outset it is stated that Finland is often seen as an outlier as predominant transnational trends are recognized but they tend to reach the Finnish welfare state and its agencies and institutions with a delay and manifest themselves somewhat differently from the mainstream. There are contextual and geopolitical reasons for the deviance. The municipal level of governance has been strong over years. This analysis hereof makes use of contemporary education policy documents including legislation and trade union ethical recommendations for educational leaders as well as of research on them. An empirical inquiry describes how educational leaders define moral professionalism as a part of their educational leadership and ethics embedded in professional development plans. The sense of justice is also a main driver of daily leadership practices.

Section 3: Continental Europe

Romuald Normand writes Chap. 7: '*Leadership and French principals: an unthinkable and paradoxical moral agency.'* The chapter demonstrates why the notion of school leadership is difficult to understand and accept in France along historical, philosophical, cultural, and political rationales. Historical because of the significant nature of the royal and republican heritage that tends to heroize the "providential man". Philosophical because the "enlightened man" is thought as an autonomous and reflexive subject. Cultural, because the notion of leadership, that cannot be translated in French, comes up against representations of authority and hierarchy enshrined in a bureaucratic and centralistic state organization. Political and ethical heritage, because the leader's moral sense must serve the public interest without being able to recognize local attachments to a singular community. These different rationales are producing tensions in the stance of French principals.

Chapter 8, *Images of Educational leadership in Switzerland*, is written by Olivier Perrenoud & Pierre Tulowitzki. This chapter presents the cultural and social foundations of educational leadership in Switzerland, a federalist state with 26 cantons

and as many education systems in three major linguistic regions. The conception of the role of the school leader is illustrated in this multi-level context and where the notion of leadership is accepted in its moral and cultural vision. Education systems focus on promoting democracy, coexistence at the level of the state, the cantons, and the language regions as well as at municipal and institutional levels. Public governance in Swiss education is thus stretched across multiple levels and demands exercising control by setting rules, standards and objectives and bringing together different actors, but also administering space by managing the local and social relationships between the actors.

Section 4: Anglo-American Countries

In Chap. 9: '*Self-interest and altruism: how English school leaders navigate moral imperatives in a high stakes culture,'* Ruth Luzmore and Chris Brown explore the experience of educational leadership in schools in England. Public governance and education have for centuries been organised along the lines of social class. Private schools – named public schools - were created for the upper and middle classes, state schools with links to municipalities and state, were for the working-class. For the past decade the links have been weakened or cut and schools were organised in semi-autonomous academies. School leaders work under what could be considered high accountability and high autonomy. The creation of market approaches to education is based on the principal of parental and student choice over which school they attend. This has led to a new moral environment for school leaders driven by survivalism and self-interest which undermine the vision of common good and shared ethics.

Chapter 10 by Jacob Easley II, Kimberly White-Smith, Nilda Soto-Ruiz is named: '*School Effectiveness in U.S. Amid Crisis: Moral Capacity Building for Social Justice Leadership'*. The USA has no overall education system. Governance of education is left to school districts in individual states, but with neo-liberal programs like 'No Child Left Behind, the federal administration moves little by little into education governance. Generally speaking, the success of schools, the School Effectiveness measurements of students' achievement, is largely dependent upon the knowledge, skills and finesse of the school leader. To be effective is also a question about acting on structural inequities and maintaining a sense of social justice and local community. At present, the COVID-19 pandemic together with a national cry for racial justice have further exposed racial and economic disparities across schools.

Rebecca Lowenhaupt writes Chap. 11 called: '*School Leadership in the United States: Evolving Responsibilities in Times of Change'*. The chapter examines how demographic shifts have led to growing diversity across the country. At the same time, an expanding accountability system has put pressure on administrators to demonstrate academic achievement. Balancing the competing values of embracing diversity and accountability pressure, challenges leaders to take moral

responsibility for building school cultures that promote learning for all students. Helping educators to adapt instruction to incorporate language, identity and socio-emotional learning, leaders are ethically responsible for supporting professional learning within schools. Grounding their work in the needs of their local communities and working toward the common good, they also serve as bridges to external resources and support to promote social cohesion and justice.

Chapter 12: '*Educational Leadership for Social Justice: Bringing Connection, Collaboration and Care from Margins to Centre (New Zealand)*' is written by Rachel McNae and Shelley Barnard. New Zealand is bicultural, build on indigenous and on European descents. At the same time, it was one of the frontrunners in developing neo-liberal governance from the 1970ies on. Educational leaders are called to action by the very nature of their jobs, to address issues of social inequity and injustice. This chapter examines ways New Zealand educational leaders lead for social justice and ethics. It outlines social, moral, cultural and personal dimensions which support and constrain their socially just leadership overall. We explore the situated meanings and understandings of socially just leadership, and how it manifests in these key areas across different education settings.

Section 5: Asian Countries

Clive Dimmock, Cheng Yong Tan and Charleen Chiong argue in Chap. 13: *'Social, Political and Cultural Foundations of Educational Leadership in Singapore'* that school leadership reflects fundamental socio-political values underpinning Singaporean governance: these core values are built on three pillars – the developmental state, neo-liberalism and meritocracy. The analyses of the historical development of education and leadership since the foundation of Singapore as an independent republic in 1965, conclude that the instrumentalist imperative of education (preparation of a suitably qualified workforce, and cultivation of a loyal and harmonious citizenry) has dictated the purpose of schooling and thus the approach to leadership and common goods in Singapore's education system. The chapter concludes by powerfully illustrating how a 'state-citizen compact' based on values of trust, dependency and self-responsibilisation are reflected in the wider community, even in the lives of low-income, ethnic minority families.

LIU Min writes Chap. 14 named: *Educational Leadership and reforms of governance in China*. This chapter focuses on the historical and cultural evolution of educational leadership in China. It analyzes especially educational leadership in governance, from macro- meso- and micro perspectives. China is considered as a traditional centralized country. But a policy-reform in the 1980s the decentralization of educational governance has become a trend. Wider decentralization was considered effective to improve education, but China did not abandon thoroughly all the traditional roles of the Ministry of Education. A mixture of hierarchical leadership and distributive leadership formed a harmonious and complementary model in China with a strong sense of ethics and moral values. Self-development, shared

value and goalsetting, communication, openness of will and heart, all these characteristics of Chinese ancient thoughts show in educational leadership.

Section 6: Discussion

The editors (Romuald Normand, Lejf Moos, Liu Min, Pierre Tulowitzki) have given the discussion the heading: *'School Leadership in search of common goods and complex equality: an alternative to neoliberal vision.'* The discussion argues, that similarities and differences are found within the geographical-political categories but also across those. There is a proper and recurrent 'moral agency' of leadership related to some common behaviors, practices and values. It can be stated the permanence of a 'humanistic' dimension and 'common dignity' among leaders' lives, despite variations in communities and societies, against successive instrumental and performative turns. The idea also is alive that leadership can help to preserve and maintain the sense of living together according to different common goods in the maintenance of public interest against neoliberal and populist drifts.

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Part II
Nordic Countries

Chapter 2
School Leadership in Denmark: Between Two Historical and Contemporary Discourses

Lejf Moos

Abstract Looking back at the history of society, culture and institutions in Denmark can produce snapshots of the foundation of education and educational leadership. In some respects, the history of culture, society and education goes back at least 200 years. Educational theories, institutional structures and leadership practices can be framed as a quest for democracy, participation and knowledge, often based on the ideals of child-centred education and a school for all. School leadership was only a minor concern during this period.

Post-World War II analyses of society and education can be characterised as a struggle between two dominant discourses: a democratic *Bildung* discourse and a competitive outcomes discourse. The former discourse was dominant until the mid-1990s, but over the subsequent 20-year period, the competitive outcomes discourse began to take centre stage. Societal, political and economic developments were the driving force behind this shift. School leadership requirements also changed towards a more technocratic, outcome-based and economy-focused management practice.

Keywords Societies · Discourses · Contracts · Relations · Creativity · Participation

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Introduction

When investigating the roots of school leadership, its cultural and societal foundations, we need to be aware that both culture and society are historical and contextual features that change over time – sometimes quickly and sometimes more protracted. Every now and then, it seems that changes occur over night, such as when certain nationalist, populist world leaders seem to suddenly change the structure and culture of their nation. However, the new situation always has roots in what came before; we just need to be able to see them. Change is not only initiated through legislation, governance or management; it is also dependent on the ethno-symbolic features (Matas, 2017): the myths, memories and traditions embodied in the state and its institutions. Symbolic forces shape the nation and the school, meaning that certain values, norms and practices endure while assimilating new demands from the outer world of state and school. For a period of time, the old and the new exist side by side and struggle to assert their dominance over behaviour and practice.

The analyses and discussions of societal and cultural foundations in this chapter will therefore examine past traits to discover current sources shaping leadership in education. We need to look at developments at a societal, transnational, institutional and professional level because social relations, policy, culture and educational values are the basis for educational discourses (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

Two Societal Governance Discourses

Contemporary societal and cultural analyses are framed by two dominant discourses in: the welfare state discourse and the competitive state discourse. The welfare state discourse emerged shortly after World War II, while the competitive state discourse gained prominence in the 1980s. However, rather than the competitive state discourse replacing the welfare state discourse, the two have functioned side by side, albeit with the former gaining dominance within policy and, more gradually, practice. Both discourses are based on a set of political, moral and ethical values or norms that are often not made explicit to the public. Through analysis, this chapter seeks to uncover these values and the interplay between them. Many of the values and norms inherent to the welfare state discourse have been carried over to the competitive state discourse.

Danish society has undergone two major changes in the period since World War II. Initially, successive governments strived to establish a welfare state based on principles of international collaboration. From the 1980s, political interests began to change towards a transformation of state and society into a competitive state (Pedersen, 2011) that could survive in the competitive global marketplace. These societal changes were accompanied by changes in educational and leadership policies.

Following the experiences of the Second World War, there was a global interest in collaboration across borders with most countries joining the United Nations and other international agencies. At the national level, the welfare state vision was first and foremost developed as a project of the Danish social democratic party, which wanted to build a society grounded in science, rational thinking and democratic participation. The state should provide its citizens with healthcare, social security and education. Education was expected to be an important resource in reducing social inequalities, increasing social mobility and teaching democratic values. Therefore, the state was increasingly seen as the most important party in transforming the school.

In the 1980s, a new powerful discourse developed, primarily in the UK and the USA; the governments in both these countries wanted to develop a new neo-liberal world order where the market would have more room for manoeuvre and the state less. Proponents gained crucial assistance from recently formed transnational agencies such as the World Bank, the World Trade Organization (WTO), the European Union (EU), the United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) – all of which were established in order to further the vision of a global marketplace. Denmark, like other nations, produced political and economic programmes for the modernisation of state and society. The fundamental principles for this process were grouped together under the term New Public Management (NPM) (Hood, 1991; Moos, 2019), which meant governance built on:

1. market thinking: decentralisation, competition, freedom of choice (Moos, 2000);
2. product thinking: outcomes, benchmarks, standards and accountability (Lugg et al., 2002);
3. customer steering: free choice (Andersen & Thygesen, 2004); and
4. new governance and leadership forms: low trust, plans and documentation (Moos, 2016a).

Societal Background in the Welfare State

It is possible to provide a summary description of Danish society and education prior to the 1980s. This is best achieved through comparison; we have chosen to compare to the USA as, already at this stage, the US was very close to be a competitive state.

1. *Social relations:* Social relations in Denmark were characterised by a gradual increase in equality, while the already considerable social divisions in the US continued to grow. Trust was higher in the Denmark than in America.
    - *Equality*: The Gini coefficient: 27/100 in Denmark and 41/100 in USA. (100/100 representing total inequality and 0/100 total equality) (WorldBank, 2015).

- General *trust* in other people. In Denmark, 89% of the population say they trust other people, while this only applies to 49% in the US (OECD, 2011).
- *Power distance* refers to the way in which power is distributed and the extent to which the less powerful accept that power is distributed unequally. In Denmark 18/100, and in the USA 40/100 (Hofstede, 1980)

2. *State-market relations:* From WW II onwards, Denmark, like the other Nordic welfare states, was built on principles of a strong state and strong local communities, such as municipal authorities. In Denmark, a welfare state model with relations between the labour market and the state characterised by 'flexicurity' (a flexible labour market with state compensation for unemployed citizens) has been a cornerstone for many years (Andersen et al., 2007). In the same period, the USA developed a liberal state based on principles of individual rights, a strong market and a weak state.
3. *Education:* A firm belief in comprehensive education developed in Denmark. The main aim of so-called progressive education was to educate for participation in democratic communities, often labelled 'Democratic Bildung.' Educational thinking in the US was characterised by ideas of a science-oriented curriculum with a focus on national goals and measurable outcomes. The main aim was to educate for participation in the labour market (Blossing et al., 2013).
4. *Professionals:* In Denmark, many curriculum decisions were decentralised to schools, school leaders and teachers in order to further the democratic approach to education. Relations were built on trust in professional expertise. In Anglo-American educational systems, less was left to the discretion of local agents in schools because national standards and monitoring were core components of the efficiency-focused, science-oriented approach.
5. *Comprehensive schooling or streaming*: In the Danish system, streaming was gradually abolished in the post-WWII period. In the USA, the system continued to practise segregation.

Two Educational Discourses

The Democratic Bildung Discourse

A discourse is here understood as a way of describing and structuring the world. At present, we see two prevailing educational discourses. The first of these emerged from the welfare state model and may be called the *"democratic Bildung discourse."* It is constructed on the basis of legislation, general development and oft-used theories and practices. The political intentions of the educational system are set out in Article 1 of the Act on the Basic School, the *Folkeskole* (Education, 1993), which states:

> The school shall prepare students for active participation, shared responsibility, rights and duties in a society based on freedom and democracy. The school's teaching and everyday

> life must therefore be based on intellectual freedom, equality and democracy. (Author's translation) (p. 1)

This discourse advocates for democratic equity and deliberation in society and its institutions and is in line with the general societal welfare discourse and describes the post-World War II nation-building endeavours. For students to become competent members of a democratic society, they must acquire knowledge about the parliament, the government, the judicial system, the police, and so on, but they themselves should experience and live a democratic life: *"A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience"* (Dewey, 1916, p. 87). This is particularly important in relations at school, meaning that not all methods of instruction and types of teacher behaviour can be considered appropriate and acceptable.

Education includes the acquisition of skills and the development of proficiency, the assimilation and construction of knowledge, and the development of motives and values. It involves what are traditionally called (school) subjects, liberal education and *Bildung*. A mainstream theory on education stipulates that children must learn to become human beings, and therefore they must be educated so that they are able to function independently in the culture and society in which they live. This and similar theories were devised during the Age of Enlightenment at the end of seventeenth century and are based on a vision of society as enlightened and democratic. Therefore, the ideal human being, the goal of education, was the democracy-minded citizen who was willing and able to be a qualified participant in the local community and in society as a whole (Moos & Wubbels, 2018).

The democratic *Bildung* discourse was developed with inspiration from a broad spectrum of theories, including John Dewey's ideas of democracy and experiences (Dewey, 1916/2005), and German 'reform pedagogy', '*vom Kinde aus*' and didactics (Klafki, 1983). Gert Biesta (2009) provides an inspirational summary of this longstanding, and ongoing, discourse when he argues that schools should concern themselves with three interlocking functions of education when striving for a democratic *Bildung*: students' qualification, socialisation and subjectification. When focusing on qualification, schools emphasise students' need to acquire knowledge, skills and judgement that enable them to act in different spheres of life, be it the sphere of work, the private sphere, the cultural sphere or the political sphere. Socialisation enables students to become members of a diverse range of communities, each with specific values, norms and behaviours. Qualification and socialisation are pivotal in education as they enable students to enter into societies as we know them. However, it is also important to acknowledge each and every unique student as they undergo a process of subjectification, thereby becoming unique and self-acknowledged subjects who are competent in questioning society's order of knowledge and community, and who can and should be both critical and creative in respect to the "givens" of civilisation (Biesta, 2009).

One of the features of the welfare state school is the 'class teacher'. She/he is responsible for the well-being of students, individually and in class groups, and for the collaboration with parents. One lesson was scheduled per class group per week

for pastoral care and discussions between students and their class teacher (Moos et al., 2009).

The Outcomes Discourse

The second discourse is tied to the competitive state model (Moos, 2017a), regarding students' measurable learning outcomes as the fundamental objective of education. In Denmark, the foundation for this discourse developed gradually during the 1980s, to some degree in parallel to the economic and societal development at the time. The trend to standardise learning and measure outcomes at the national level first began around 1990, but was solidified as part of a coherent vision with the Danish school reform of 2013 (Moos, 2016b).

In the outcomes discourse, education is constructed along 'management-by-objective' lines: The government draws up detailed objectives – the 2013 school reform included more than 3000 – and measures the outcomes by prescribing more national tests than ever before, while schools, teachers and students need to learn to answer the test questions correctly. Frequently, the curriculum that is developed in this situation has a scientific structure: experts know how to attain their ends and detail every step to be followed by schools, teachers and students. There is a focus on 'back to basics' and 'back to skills', as such skills are easy to measure compared to the more abstract goals of democratic *Bildung* (Blossing et al., 2013).

The competitive outcomes-oriented discourse and associated practices are subject to a greater number of social technologies at the national level than 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 practitioners – and specify ways of acting. As such, they point to a non-deliberative practice that is steered and managed from the top down (Dean, 1999). The inspiration for many of these social technologies comes from transnational agencies like the OECD. This means that education aims originating in different national contexts are 'going global' and thereby contributing to the spread of a global education marketplace along with tendencies to commodify education:

> The concept discusses social relations conducted as and in the form of relations between commodities or things. … In fetishizing commodities, we are denying the primacy of human relationships in the production of value, in effect erasing the social. (Ball, 2004, p. 4)

The PISA comparison has been imported into the European space as an important means of governing education, providing a readymade package of standards or indicators for learning, measurements of outcomes, and tools for comparing students, schools and countries. This was anticipated, as a working paper produced by the OECD shows (Wilkoszewski & Sundby, 2014).

School Leadership Relations

Relations in education emerge through aspects of equality, trust and power distance. As the data in bullet 1 shows: Danish society in the welfare state epoch is characterised by equity through low power distance between societal groups and individuals, very low GINI and high trust in fellow citizens (Fig. 2.1).

The theme of social conditions, relations and differences. Building on materialistic, sociological theories (Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977), it is reasonable to take the social conditions in which education is situated as a jumping-off point for educational analysis – it is likewise crucial to remember these conditions when discussing school leadership. The societal relational structure is the foundation for educational relations.

The welfare state, with its efforts to promote equality in society, both in terms of social class and gender, was a very important foundation for school leadership. This is illustrated in the figure above with only three layers in the school hierarchy. This structure shapes the ways school leadership can be conceived of and practised. Democratic leadership or distributed leadership are easy choices.

As mentioned, economic and social policies changed in Denmark, in line with transnational trends, as neoliberal marketplace logics emerged and spread. Schools and other public sector institutions were increasingly treated as small businesses, producing commodities for sale on the competitive marketplace.

Danish public governance was increasingly constructed as contracts, with sharp divisions between levels of governance (Moos, 2020): At the national level between ministries and ministerial agencies, at the municipal level between local councils and education authorities, and at school level between (school)board, principal, deputy, heads of department, team coordinators, supervisors and teachers (only very few professionals are shown in the figure below). Students are always left out (Fig. 2.2).

Such contracts allow many initiatives and social technologies and are therefore a good arena for discussing school leadership's room for manoeuvre and present practice:

– *Objectives and outcomes* are described clearly and in great detail by contractors. They often refer to league tables from transnational comparisons, such as the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) standards, benchmarks and tests. The school reform of 2013 was actually named 'The School Governed by Learning Outcomes'. School leaders need to lead according

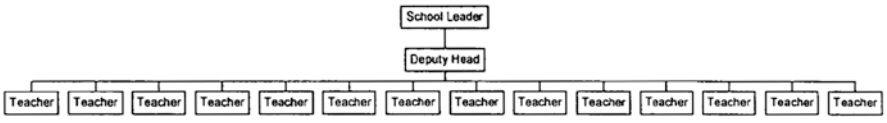

Fig. 2.1 Leadership structure in schools within the welfare state

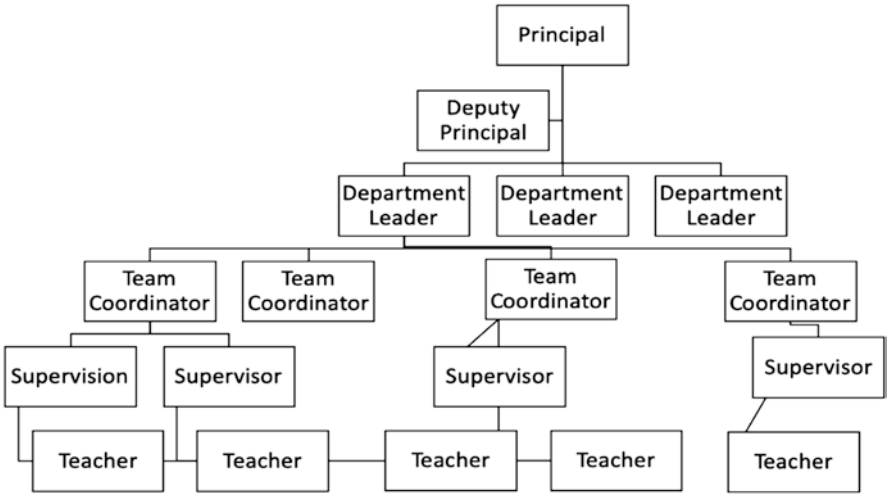

Fig. 2.2 Leadership structure in schools within the competitive state

to these specified goals and measurements hereof instead of in accordance with the previously comprehensive goal of democratic *Bildung*.

- *Numbers:* Policymakers focus heavily on outcomes and evidence as expressed in numbers. They point to the OECD idea of data-driven leadership, where leaders must refer to student outcomes in tests like the PISA comparison (Pont et al., 2008). They are also advised to include examples of international 'best practice' and 'what works' programmes with evidence taken out of context and generalised to global level.
- *Disintegration* of the coherence within schools and the education sector (Dunleavy et al., 2005): leadership relations and communication are replaced by technocratic technologies and competition between actors at each level and between levels. This involves a shift from practising leadership in schools by including all actors in deliberations and decision-making to individual leaders exercising their leadership influence and power. Schools are less likely to develop into democratic communities characterised by democratic practices.
- *Learning focus:* The standards- and outcomes-based school underscores individual student learning and neglects teaching and teachers. Tests and other social technologies promote and ask for individual work in school. Basing classroom practice on the belief that students learn best as individuals, and thus producing and using learning material and methods like electronic tablets, gives teachers a new role and function. They should not interfere in students' learning processes, only assisting if learning problems occur. This has been and remains problematic for many teachers, who view learning as social and contextual (Dewey, 1916/2005).

Relations in Contracts: Mistrust and Trust

The divisions between actors and levels that are created or widened through contract governance produce new relations between leaders and staff. As mentioned, the cracks are mostly papered over using social technologies of benchmarking, measuring and comparison. *Benchmarking* is the process of identifying the level of outcomes seen as satisfactory by the authorities in very narrow areas of basic skill,. These targets are assessed by *measuring*, using measurements that are efficient and fast, target individuals and are expressed in numbers with several decimals (in order to appear more scientific: 'evidence-based'). These numbers are used for *comparison* and for 'naming, shaming or faming' (Brøgger, 2016).

Much of the division between leaders and staff stems from contracts designed as technocratic relations without human interference. Relations and power are hidden or disguised as non-human and value-free technicalities, while at the same time being transformed into monitoring, control and accountability - in short into mistrust.

However, educational leadership in democratic societies must be seen as an issue of trust. Social relations are a fundamental aspect of society and thus of public organisations. According to Warren (1999), democracy is about political relations: social relations characterised by conflicts over goods. Thus, power is a fundamental aspect of social relations. As a result, the social conditions for trust seem to be weak in political contexts, because: *"Trust … involves a judgment, however tacit or habitual, to accept vulnerability to the potential ill will of others by granting them discretionary power over some good. When one trusts, one accepts some amount of risk for potential harm in exchange for the benefits of cooperation…* (Warren, 1999 p. 311).

Traditional and inherited social relations are being contested and are thereby transferred into a political field that is characterised by challenges and conflict, but at the same time by new developments and change. Politics is oriented towards the future. Challenges can bring about change, but also cause uncertainty and risk. Trust is necessary because politics is oriented towards the future. Stable and predictable situations, on the other hand, which secure the conditions for trust, would render trust superfluous.

Warren distinguishes between two forms of trust: firstly, *particular* trust – confidence that emerges in face-to-face situations between people who have common interests, who depend on the same things or who are bound by culture. Particular trust builds on *affective* sources (such as love, friendship or child-parent relations). Secondly, *generalised* trust, which is developed when a society depersonalises functions. Generalised trust must build on cognitive sources: institutions, strangers, business associates and political representatives. An example would be trust in abstract systems (Giddens, 1991).

As such, one can distinguish between *confidence* that is based on experience and, as such, on the past, and *trust* that is not based on experience but rather on the belief that the other person is not going to disappoint expectations.

Trust is a modern phenomenon, according to Seligman (in Warren, p. 323), because with Modernity came individuality as an element of human activities that is not totally congruent with the role one plays. An element of choice, discretion and freedom has been injected into social relations. Here, morality, and thus trust, enter into the picture.

Today, confidence must be supplemented by trust. Luhmann (in Warren, p. 323) writes that the complexity of the social order creates a need for more coordination and therefore the need to determine the future; this in turn creates a need for trust because the need for future coordination is seldom met with confidence. As such, there is a need for new forms of trust that no longer emerge from an immediately experienced world and are no longer secured by tradition: *"In democratic relations, trust ought to have cognitive origins because individuals ought to be able to assess their vulnerabilities as one dimension of self-government"* (Warren, p. 331). The truster needs to be able to judge the *interests* of the trustee without losing the advantages of trust: *"The benefits of cooperation, the possibilities for new kinds of collective action, the securities of reduced complexity for the individual, and the advantages of increased complexity for society as a whole"* (Warren, p. 332).

There are, writes Warren, important and clear connections between democratic institutions and trust. Institutions rely on trust and, through communication with their environment, can strengthen and support the development of trust by negotiating with individuals and through the transparency and legitimacy of their decisions. At the same time, trust can lend support to deliberation as a way of solving political conflicts, and political discussions can generate trust (Ibid. p. 337).

More than many other institutions, educational institutions rely on trust and, by communicating with their contexts, by negotiating with individuals and through the transparency and legitimacy of their decisions, can strengthen and support the development of trust.

Relations: Sensemaking

Considering the 'new' hierarchy in schools and the gaps between levels, we need to reconsider the importance of formal positions: People in leading positions do not automatically perform leadership or power. Power is relational, according to Foucault (Foucault, 1976/1994). Power is the energy, the glue, that sticks relations together and defines the poles, the positions. A person is only a leader if she/he reaches colleagues, followers; if his/her actions reach and include other actors, first and foremost teachers. School leaders are members of a professional group, an organisation, who communicate and interact with each other and their environment to make teaching and all other educational activities work. According to Weick, the formal structure of schools is not the organisation. He argues that the concept of the organisation needs to be changed to organising: It is not important to have fixed structures and provisions; it is important to remember that organising is about communication:

> An organization is 'a network of intersubjectively shared meanings that are sustained through the development and use of common language and everyday social interaction' (Weick, 1995) quoting (Walsh & Ungson, 1991)

Ten years later, Weick put it as follows:

> When we say that meanings materialize, we mean that sensemaking is, importantly, an issue of language, talk, and communication. Situations, organizations, and environments are talked into existence." (Weick et al., 2005, p. 409)

Organisations and positions need to be replaced with organising and communication: They are not permanent features, but are constantly recreated through sensemaking processes where participants strive to make sense of their situation, relations and practices. This is one reason why we often talk about distributed leadership, leadership stretched across several actors (Spillane et al., 2004).

Weick point to insights that are also pivotal to education generally: Students need to participate in sensemaking communication with each other and their teachers in order to gain deep knowledge. Learning is social and thus communicative (Dewey, 1937; Moos & Wubbels, 2018). A focus on organising and sensemaking may give school leaders – at all levels - tools for managing hierarchies.

Education for Creativity

Multiple analyses have shown that testing – and especially high-stakes testing – is changing the ways educational systems, schools and teachers conceive of and practise teaching (Hopman, 2008; Lund et al., 2011; Nichols & Berliner, 2007). Tests can make teachers think and act more narrowly or distort curriculum in such a way that issues of content are vulgarised, focusing on facts and instrumental skills rather than problem-based learning and creativity, which are key elements of a democratic *Bildung* discourse. Political statements on the need to get back to basics, for instance by focusing on literacy skills, underscore a tendency to teach to the test; teachers want to support their students in line with official expectations and to perform well in the national league tables.

When the core emphasis in schooling shifts from learning processes to the outcomes of learning as measured in tests and the like, there is a risk that teachers will adapt their teaching to the ways the tests are constructed. As most standardised tests test skills and active knowledge that can be reproduced on command, there is a tendency to hand over the information to students, leaving little time or space for creativity: for curiosity, testing ideas in practice, experimentation and self-reflection. Creativity can be defined as a combination of cognitive-social processes and personal competencies, defined as the ability to think outside the box and conceive new ideas, methods, materials, products and actions (Norden, 2011).

Closely related to the concept of creativity is the concept of innovation: a social process in which risks and possibilities are identified and creativity is used to find new solutions or products. This concept is more often connected to industries and

labour: the development of products and services for an ever-changing market. An overarching concept is entrepreneurship, which is sometimes understood as the competencies to start up a new enterprise, and sometimes as the competencies to be flexible and creative when encountering and coping with social and economic changes (Norden, 2011).

The basis for creativity is a critique of the existing state of affairs (Lundvall, 2008). In schools, culturally diverse environments leave more space for creativity if they build on respect for other cultures. Education should be based on practical and experimental educational theory, with room for experiments, mistakes, criticism, reflection, deliberation and collaboration. Innovation involves the creation of new knowledge or new combinations of existing knowledge. It is the result of interaction between people with diverse talents, interests, insights and experiences in open communication: generalised trust and participatory democracy contribute to creativity.

In many ways, ideas about the purposes of schooling follow ideas about the functions of states and their institutions. Societies are facing major challenges today: environmental problems, climate changes, migration, poverty and inequality – or the UN Sustainable Development Goals. We do not need past solutions because they did not solve problems. We need more people to be creative and critical. We need to be critical in order to better analyse what is needed, and we need to be creative in order to find new solutions. The contemporary OECD-initiated ideas of education point in the wrong direction.

Education for Equality

The formation of class groups has gone from streaming into two student-groups on all levels toward a non-streamed, comprehensive school. The pro and cons in the discussion framing this development were extremely complex: Students' social background and cognitive capacities, and political and educational ideas and visions are just some of the relevant aspects. Therefore, in the following, I can only outline this discussion briefly and somewhat superficially.

One key topic of debate has been the exclusion or inclusion of student in mainstream schools and classes. Since the UNESCO conference on special needs education, the Salamanca agreement (UNESCO, 1994) stipulated two needs that must be followed: Governments should ensure that no child is excluded from the community while also being attentive to the rapidly increasing costs of special needs education.

Another aspect is the ideal that education ensure social equality. Such arguments have been presented in various ways, as a moral foundation for society or as a means of producing capable citizens. The dominant political buzzwords of the sixties were *'social equality through education'* (Hansen 2003, s. 101) and *'mobilization of the pool of talent'* (Olsen, 1986, p. 83; Husén, 1968). As pointed out by the Swedish researcher Torsten Husén (1968, p. 19), *'capable hands are in short supply and the economy expects the educational system to tap the pool of talent, more*

efficiently'. One of the premises for this was found in a flexible school system, in which a definitive choice between various educational paths was postponed for as long as possible. In such a system, it was considered possible to take better care of talent from all walks of life than in a rigid system with an early selection, largely dependent upon social background.

The development towards the comprehensive school was slow and cautious. Agreement to group by ability was obtained by making it a general principle, but giving schools the possibility to refrain if they chose to do so. By means of this compromise, it was expected that schools would gradually become more comprehensive through school practice, which is exactly what happened.

In the following years, a number of schools refrained from ability grouping in the four subjects. This was not necessarily due to a conscious belief that schools should be comprehensive; the omission of ability grouping was also due to certain pedagogical considerations, and due to the fact that more pupils than expected chose advanced courses. Thus, classes following the basic course were often very small and the ability gap among students following the advanced course was be just as great as on non-streamed courses. On this basis, many schools contemplated whether it would be better to abandon ability grouping. As such, in practice, the flow of pupils had a considerable influence on school structure (Olsen, 1986).

During the last decade, there has been a lengthy discussion about education's inherited social inequality: Education, say critics, was developed in accordance with middle-class values, language and qualifications, what Basil Bernstein (2000) named elaborated codes, and education therefore failed working-class students, who were thought to learn according to restricted codes.

The Danish Ministry for Education commissioned the 'National Research Centre for Welfare', VIVE, to evaluate the outcomes of the 2013 reform after 5 years of implementation. The report was published early 2020 by (Jensen et al., 2020).

The report's overall conclusion is that student learning and well-being have not improved based on the results of national tests constructed on the basis of aforementioned the 3000 national objectives. Policymakers drew up the legislation in the hope that schools and teachers would integrate these objectives in their daily work.

The 2013 school reform did not explicitly address the comprehensive-streamed challenge; nor did it tamper with parents' longstanding option to choose their child's school – and to establish private, contract-governed schools. The legislation also gave schools the continued option of forming special classes in music and sports.

Education for Community Participation

The welfare state needed education to support its nation-building processes in order to gain acceptance and support from all citizens. The main aim of this education was education for active participation in a democracy; thus, it builds on a social-democratic concept of strong relations between individuals and communities, leaving many curriculum decisions to professional teachers in collaboration with

students and parents. Danish education was for decades part of the Nordic education history. In an analysis of 'The Nordic Model in Education', Telhaug and colleagues write:

> In the golden age of Nordic social democracy, social virtues such as equal opportunity, co-operation, adaptation and solidarity were considered to be the main goals of compulsory schooling. Mainly for this reason, the ideal was that the adaptation of education to the individual should take place within the framework of the school class. The argument for the comprehensive school was made both directly and indirectly, using, in addition, a third objective to which considerable attention was paid in the post-war period. This was the political objective, or the democratic socialization of pupil. (Telhaug et al., 2006)

Based on European educational theories, one can describe the Nordic approach as a *Bildung* approach; the purpose of education is comprehensive *Bildung*. According to this understanding, children need to understand themselves as members of larger communities and, at the same time, as authoritative individuals by acquiring common knowledge, insight and historical, cultural and global understanding.

Classrooms as Communities

Teachers and educational researchers have known for at least half a century that the ways life in classrooms is arranged, the ways teaching is conducted, and the ways students' learning is organised have a profound impact on what is learned. In his seminal study of what he termed the 'hidden curriculum', Philip W. Jackson (1968) showed how students learned to be patient while waiting for teachers to find the time to communicate; to practise self-control as members of a large group of peers; to distinguish between work and leisure-time activities; to get used to being bored etc. through common approaches to the teaching of literacy and other subjects in 1960s US classrooms.

Today, classroom observations and analysis show similar results: When students are asked to write assignments individually, or take tests individually, it accustoms them to working and thinking individually. This individualistic trend is not only seen in classrooms; it is also a very common societal and cultural trend (Baumann, 1999) that is reinforced in schools.

One of the challenges in teaching classes is to establish and maintain good working, teaching and learning conditions for everybody. This seems to be a universal challenge, but it is addressed using different means and different social technologies across different times and cultures. Per Fibæk Laursen (2007) has made a very interesting analysis of the ways Danish teachers have tried to maintain good working conditions over time. From the beginning of the nineteen century and for a 100 years or so, there were strict rules for good behaviour in classrooms and teachers made students obey them using corporal punishment and humiliation. From the beginning of the twentieth century, a new set of social technologies was developed: classroom discipline. Across the board, actions were based on a code of behaviour

that the teacher prescribed or negotiated with students. For some 20 years now, we have seen the emergence of a spectrum of classroom management or leadership styles. At one end of the spectrum, there is a continuation of the disciplinary trends, often labelled classroom management; at the other end are approaches characterised by more inclusion, more negotiation and interaction between students and teacher.

Subjectification

At the core of contemporary educational thought is the belief that children have to learn to become human beings and must, therefore, be educated to function independently in the various communities to which they belong and in the wider society. They cannot live with their parents indefinitely, but must eventually leave the childhood home and make a living and have a family of their own. However, this ideal rests on a fundamental paradox that continues to occupy theorists and practitioners to the present day:

> How is it possible – through external influence – to bring human beings to a state where they are not controlled by external influences? (Nelson, L. (1970) in Oettingen (ed.) (2001), p. 9)

This perplexing question, first addressed by educational theorists a century ago, is still at the heart of the debate about schooling in a democratic society. We know from experience that young children are not able to take care of themselves; they must be educated. Parents educate children and expect schools and other institutions to educate on their behalf. Education is, inescapably, an external influence. As such, how is it possible to provide a truly liberating education?

Von Oettingen (2001) suggests two fundamental principles in resolving this paradox: the '*Bildsamkeit'* of the child and the request for 'self-reflection'. *Bildsamkeit* refers to a fundamental, innate ability to be open-minded and to participate in a shared praxis. The concept acknowledges the child's 'not-yet-condition' – it has not yet become what it is going to be, but it must participate in the educational interaction in order to become human. The second principle is *self-reflection,* which means that the self is able to focus its attention on something in the outer world and at the same time on itself. This ability enables the human being to act and to reflect on the action and thereafter initiate other actions. A primary task for teachers is, therefore, to encourage and help children to engage in self-reflection (Moos, 2003).

Communication and Participation

For students to develop the necessary competencies to function in the globalised world, they should not only be taught how a democratic society functions at a structural level (i.e. acquiring knowledge about one's own parliament, about the

government, the judicial system, police, and so on); they themselves should experience and live a democratic life, accruing communicative experiences (Dewey, 1916/2005, p. 87). This means that not all methods of instruction and types of teacher behaviour are appropriate and acceptable.

Education for the communities thus needs to build on forms of democratic *Bildung* in order to capture the cultural understanding and acknowledgement of "*the other*" (Kemp, 2011; Moos, 2017b). Furthermore, it should include a global worldview and the idea of a global community in education, rather than an approach to globalised education based only on common standards and measurements drawn from comparison tools such as PISA. Democratic education (Moos, 2014) is described by Gert Biesta (2003, 2009) as *"creating opportunities for action, for being a subject both in schools and other educational institutions, and in society as a whole"*. Besides the opportunity for action or participation, the most important concepts related to democracy are critique and diversity, because they give a more precise direction to the concept of participatory and deliberative democracy.

The theoretical or philosophical background for these educational theories (Moos, 2006, 2013) is a basic understanding of democracy and communication developed by the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas. In his theory of universal pragmatism, communication is seen as legitimised if it strives for *"the strange unconstrained force of better argument"* (Habermas, 1996, p. 306). Communication is in the centre of Dewey's pragmatic understanding of learning (Dewey, 1916/2005). This means that communicators must aim for mutual understanding and empathy while minimising domination in what, in bureaucratic organisations, will always be asymmetric relations. The potential for rationality in communication is inherent in communication itself. Thus, communicative rationality refers primarily to the use of knowledge in language and action, rather than to a property of knowledge.

In order for an argument to work as a better argument, it must build on a thorough knowledge of the content at hand, and of the culture of all parties in communication – both one's own and that of the other. Building on this line of argumentation, general education should strive to further students' capacity for deliberation and assessing the better argument as one major aspect of democratic citizenship education.

The interplay with peers and, most importantly, with teachers is pivotal. School leaders must collaborate with teachers to develop school practices that support students' democratic *Bildung*.

Borrowing: Comparisons and 'Best Practice'

International comparisons act as mirrors – just like educational outcomes or best practice – enabling policymakers to reflect on the level of educational outcomes in their own systems and decide on appropriate reforms. Increasingly often, we see policymakers argue for the need to comply with global or international standards or best practices, such as PISA (Normand, 2016). Policymakers want ground-level

practitioners to comply fully with policy regulations and intentions. However, as Gita Steiner-Khamsi (2010, p. 332) argues, policy transfer is not a passive process. It is mediated, shaped, and given form by local policymakers, so the travelling reform undergoes many modifications depending on the political situation. This means that, unless we refer to local contexts, structures, cultures and values, any comparisons made in an international research project will be complicated, intricate, senseless and absurd: *"Without contextual comparison it is impossible to understand the political and economic reasons why traveling reforms are borrowed"* (Steiner-Khamsi, 2010, p. 339).

If we change our point of observation from top-down interest in governance towards bottom-up interest in the inner life of institutions and agents' points of view, we can take individual, social and institutional contexts into account. As a result, 'the "policy activity" of negotiations and coalition building that somehow links texts to practice are erased' (Ball et al., 2012, p. 2). If these processes are seen only as implementation processes, linear links between text and practice, pivotal aspects of practice are ignored: the insights into how policies become 'live' and enacted, or not, at schools when practitioners 'do' policy, as Ball et al. frame it.

By introducing the concept of 'policy enactment', Ball et al. wish to remind us of the complexity of schools and education, and of teachers' and principals' agency and professional histories. Schools do not have one culture and one mode of practice, or even one policy, but (in most cases) a myriad of cultures, traditions, communities of practice and artefacts (buildings, material, furniture etc.) that coexist at any time. Likewise, teachers have diverse educational backgrounds, experiences, educational and human histories, and worldviews (Coburn, 2004, 2005). We need to look at agents, at other governance levels, in much the same ways.

Policies are negotiated, interpreted and contextualised through 'enactments': collective and collaborative interactions and inter-connections 'between diverse actors, texts, talk, technology and objects (artefacts)' (Coburn, p. 3). One might add the schools' 'infrastructure' (Spillane et al., 2015) that is made into schools' and teachers' property or rejected, reformed, mediated, translated (Røvik, 2011). Enactments also involve different groups, teams, combinations of agents, interests and artefacts, meaning that many cultures and policies are active at any given time. These processes may be seen as micro-policy, and thus as erasing the sharp demarcation between policy and implementation, in very sharp contrast to the basic ideas of contract governance, where policy is produced at the top and implemented down the hierarchy among ground-level practitioners.

Going back to the basics of governance: How do certain educational agencies/agents try to influence other educational agencies/agents to think and/or act in specific ways? We can see similarities and differences between a post-structural, Foucauldian perspective and a critical political perspective. The similarities are that these approaches are essentially concerned with similar questions, while their differences lie in their perceptions of the size of the room to manoeuvre at the individual, organisational and societal levels:

> Policies do not normally tell you what to do, they create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed, or particular goals or outcomes are set … and that putting policies into practice is a creative and sophisticated and complex process. Policy work has its pleasures, satisfactions and seductions and for some it has personal benefits. Policies are suffused with emotions and with psychosocial tensions. (Ball et al., 2012, p. 12)

Taking the perspective of policy enactment, it is still important to remember that governmental agencies and agents strive to influence how schools and educational professionals work, reflect and negotiate. To this end, they do not only make use of financial frameworks and other regulations, but also of discourses and other soft means of governance, and they increasingly do so through the use of social technologies such as contracts based on testing of national standards and national measures, as well as various manuals, guides, learning materials and digital learning tools and platforms.

Transnational and national policymakers are working hard to construct governance tools that work according to their intentions by detailing and describing prescriptions, manuals and social technologies again and again.

One can only hope that educational practitioners will prove that Gita Steiner-Khamsi and Stephen Ball are right.

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Chapter 3
Culture, Structure and Leadership in Sweden: National Accountability and Local Trust

Olof Johansson and Helene Ärlestig

The Swedish Educational Policy Context

Analysis of Swedish educational policy will start the importance of some state commissions on education. The first one was published in 1946 (SOU, 1948:27) and the second in 2017 (SOU, 2017:35). The first commission's main aim was to form democratic citizens, while the second focused on equity in learning opportunities. Both state commissions had the ambition to contribute to reforms that would help to widen support for students from low socioeconomic backgrounds to achieve academic success. In between the commissions, there was another important state investigation between 1970 and 1974 called *The school's inner work* (SOU, 1974:53). Based on the report, the parliament took important decisions in relation to students in need of extra support. These ideas can also be found in the reformed Educational act and curricula from the 1990s, including analysis of the independent school reform that was introduced in 1991.

These commissions led to decisions and new laws with the aim to change both structure and culture of the Swedish school system. We can see that the national accountability system many times have been challenged by a local government that trust their leaders and because of this situation progress have not always been in the direction of the political intentions. The chapter will focus on describing the struggle between democratic schooling, school for equity and academic susses for all children.

The progress of each society as well as of organizations are complex processes with norms and values intertwined in structures and procedures. As society changes, there is a drift in the understanding of what is relevant knowledge, and this drift

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affects norms and values. What is considered politically correct is challenged by the progress of our societies. Changes are sometimes rapid as we see during the Covid pandemic, but they are more often they are incremental with small and formative changes (Kotter, 2012). Sometimes these changes are not accepted by members of society even if they are based on new knowledge. This is obvious when the transition of the society challenges political, religious or ideological beliefs (Begley & Johansson, 2003). Schools are mainly organizations with stable structures and processes. Looking at the development of school organizations over time, one can see that many attempts to change schools have both planned and unintended effects. Over time, the content of learning processes has changed reflecting changes in society, but the structure of schools has not changed in the same way. We still recognise the building of a school and the structure of the activities. When we look closer at the learning process, we understand that even if the structure is the same, the norms and values behind the activities has changed the old artefact that at first glance looked familiar.

Leadership is often a struggle to balance dichotomies. To follow our chapter, it is necessary to refer to several perspectives that at first sight seem contradictory. Leadership can be seen as the relation between structure, culture and leaders (Yukl, 2013; Höög et al., 2005). It is a social relation where someone acts in a specific direction. Public norms and values form the reforms and actions to create a school that provides students with knowledge for a modern society. This requires leaders who work both with maintaining positive, well-functioning parts and changing the non-functioning parts of schooling (Zachrisson & Johansson, 2009).

In the ambition to govern education, the relation between theory and practice has been emphasised. One way to understand the complexity in leadership and decision-making may be to compare it to a flower, where the petals are perspectives that in combination form the foundation for a decision or for deeper understanding (Fig. 3.1).

Decisions as well as development are often a combination of educational policy, earlier research, theory and school practice which are the front petals in the flower. These perspectives guide current knowledge and debates. Depending on positions, interest and competencies, perspectives can have a strong impact or almost be forgotten in both political and civil servants' decisions and analyses. To understand fully the complexity and effects of the perspectives in the rear petals with their historical dimensions is difficult and sometimes understood through a membrane of obsolete knowledge. This is one reason why they slow down all changes. Even if there are logical and rational arguments, old habits, values and norms form our actions and understanding (Johansson & Bredeson, 1999). As we describe transformation phenomena in larger contextual perspectives it becomes easier to understand and balance contradictions in organizational behaviour.

One of the main drivers in the development of the Swedish education system is the striving for a democracy-building discourse (Moos et al., 2020) paired with effectiveness (Pashiardis & Johansson, 2020). The arguments as well as their connected norms and values are reactions to the social injustices of education that are seen as unfair and not functional. Depending on perspective, actors will argue for

Fig. 3.1 Theoretical and ideological perspectives in relation to leadership, learning and decision making. (Johansson & Ärlestig, 2020b)

their understanding of social injustices in the school system, and this will lead to their actions (Åstrand, 2020). If research and theory continues to be a ground for impending decisions among politicians and practitioners it is necessary for us as researchers to use several perspectives when analysing the empirical data we use in reports, but the complex must marry with the simple to effect a change in society as a whole (Fullan, 2015).

The Swedish Education Context

Historically, Sweden's economy was based on agriculture and forestry together with products from mining. Sweden is sparsely populated, with the larger cities in the south. Higher education was also mainly located in the south. The first university in the north of Sweden started in Umeå in 1965; before that, there were only a few teachers' colleges situated in the north of Sweden. When the first compulsory school system in Sweden was introduced in 1842, the main purpose was to educate all students and give them basic skills in reading, writing and mathematics, as well awareness of current societal norms and values. The church had a central role, and the village priest was central in daily operations. At this time, society and church had mutual norms and values. Teachers had a traditional way of teaching and were the main authorities in society. At the same time, there were limited possibilities for teachers to do anything outside of the curriculum without the local priest's approval.

After World War II there was a national effort to build a democratic welfare state, and education was an important building block. A driving force in this change was

the National School Commission in 1946 (SOU, 1948:27). The commission's main idea was to create compulsory schooling for all students. The commission was influenced by what was considered modern pedagogy at that time, and they argued that the school system should be compensatory for students from different social backgrounds. It strongly argued that learning should be joyful and introduced the concept of lifelong learning. Besides reading, writing and mathematics, aesthetic subjects such as the arts, sports and crafts were important and are still part of the curriculum. They should be taught based on values that build democratic citizens, where cooperation and learning are important. "The democratic schools' task is to develop independent human beings for whom cooperation is necessary and a joy" (SOU, 1948:27, p. 20, own translation).

This was a successful strategy, and schools and teachers had high status because the system contributed to many students becoming the first person in their families to obtain university degrees. This was very significant for the period from 1965 to 2000, and after 2000 fewer university students came from low socioeconomic backgrounds. One reason was that it had been easy during the previous decades to find well-paid work without academic degrees. Additionally, the burden of costs for student loans was harder to accept in low socioeconomic families.

Up to the 1990s, there was a clear division of labour and responsibility between the state and local schools. The state controlled the school activities through a very detailed Education Act and other policy documents. The curriculum included extensive descriptions of pedagogical processes. Based on these documents, principles were developed to decide the local school budget. The system was centralised with a control structure with regional inspectors who visited all schools. Schools were mainly financed with state money.

The state questioned this system, and a new Education Act and curriculum was introduced in the early 1990s. Decentralisation was the key word, and the state began providing a lump sum to municipalities for financing local schools, but the state also allowed municipalities to support the schools with additional local tax money. The municipalities acquired full responsibility for organising and implementing school activities in 1991. This included the municipality becoming the employer, responsible for principals and teachers and the daily functioning of schools.

In 1992, independent schools were introduced in Sweden and were given the same rights as public-sector schools; they were financed by a voucher system from the municipalities. The following year, Sweden introduced the right of parents to free school choice, including both public and independent schools within the municipality where they lived. This gave the municipalities a new role. They would be both the owner of public schools and would transfer student financial vouchers to the independent schools in the community (SOU, 2015:22).

The rights of parents and students to choose their schools increased the demands on the municipalities' leadership and planning capacities. The planning horizon for municipalities and independent school owners became shorter. They could never be sure how many students would choose each school, and consequently, they did not know the financial situation for the following year. The change caused problems for

the municipalities because they still had the obligation to arrange education for all students in the municipality, and independent schools could select or refuse students (Åstrand, 2020).

The belief behind the political arguments for the introduction of independent schools was that they would start cooperative staff-run schools and schools run by the cooperatives of stakeholders. Instead, many schools became limited companies, and some of them were bought by larger companies, which today is a common association form for schools. Today, 15% of all compulsory-school students and 27% of all upper secondary students are enrolled in independent schools. These independent schools must follow national laws and national curriculum but are independent from municipal, political school board governance (Åstrand, 2020).

One unintended effect of independent school reform is that schools have become more homogeneous within the same school and heterogeneous between schools in the same municipality. This is seen as a problem in reports from the National Education Agency (Skolverket, 2020, p. 1) and from different state commissions, as it affects the equity of the school system. Even if politicians agree and see the problem, it seems difficult to re-regulate the right to choose schools. The reform is seen as a freedom reform that gives parents influence over their children's education pathways and cannot therefore be rolled back. A state commission from 2020 (SOU, 2020:28) discussed current problems and suggested various solutions, most of which probably will be rejected by parliament.

Policy on Teachers and Principals

Significant to the development of the Swedish school system is also teacher education, which today is available in almost all Swedish universities. Since the 1950s and until today, there have been many reforms and changes in Swedish education. The purpose has been to adjust teacher qualifications to the dominating ideas of how school activities and students' learning should improve. At the same time, there has been criticism that there are too many reforms and that they have not had the intended effects.

One example is the Teachers Salary Boost (TSB – *Lärarlönelyftet*). This was done to encourage school owners and school boards to give particularly skilled teachers a higher salary, with the aim of strengthening the quality of teaching and learning, thereby improving academic outcomes and improving local schools (SFS, 2016:100).

The national initiative was followed by resources to select a limited number of teachers. Many principals described in conversations and interviews the challenge of interpreting and drawing the line between the third of teachers seen as particularly skilled and the two thirds who were not. This, together with other teacher reforms, created different teacher categories. We can identify five hierarchical categories of teachers: authorized teachers, unauthorized teachers, first teachers with special skills, salary boost teachers and teachers with qualifications too low for

advancement. This has created relational challenges among teachers in many schools, which in turn has had negative effects on school development (Ahlström & Danell, 2019).

State involvement in the training of school leaders was introduced at the end of the 1960s in Sweden with the provision of short-term courses in several pedagogical and administrative areas. During the first half of the 1970s, the Commission on the Internal Work of Schools (SOU, 1974:53) emphasised the need for a national foundation training programme for principals.

The latest curriculum from 2011 and the Education Act both emphasise the role of principal as both manager and leader of all educational activity in a school. The principal must be familiar with everyday work in the school and must promote educational change for school improvement. This means that Swedish policy still focuses on and expresses a belief the principal has an important role as pedagogical leader.

In 1976, a national principal programme was introduced as in-service training for leaders holding a principal position. The state offers a mandatory National Principal Training Programme for newly hired principals. The state funds tuition, while the municipalities and other school owners accept the costs of travel and subsistence allowances, stand-in teachers and reading material. The National Agency for Education defines the goals of principal training and distributes state funding allocated for this purpose. Today, courses are carried out at six universities. The agency is also responsible for the follow-up and evaluation of the training on a regular basis (Johansson & Ärlestig, 2020a, b).

To have state control over teacher and principal education is a way to govern schools from a distance. Today, national recommendations and policies have high status, even if resources mainly come from the municipality level. To ensure that the municipality level adheres to the parliament's ambition, more and more national money is distributed with requirements on how it can be used.

The Swedish Curricula

From both philosophical and educational perspectives, the 1994 curriculum was very different from earlier Swedish curricula. Vygotskij's sociocultural theory significantly inspired the revisions of the curriculum, where a high degree of student interaction and participation was seen as important. Students were seen as competent individuals; everyone, with the right support, had the possibility of succeeding. Most educational goals were formulated in general terms so that teachers and principals together could formulate practical pedagogical activities. This was a challenge for the staff, who earlier had been accustomed to a very detailed curriculum. The important change from a democratic perspective was that the practical and pedagogical decisions were to a higher degree distributed to teachers and principals. In summary, the curriculum text placed high trust in the capacity of local school actors' to translate their curriculum into the best possible learning activities for

students and opened the possibility for parents and students to be active in the formulation process. These ideas were later codified into an extended educational act (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000).

One of the first chapters in the curriculum describes the overall goals and guidelines to which everyone working in schools needs to adhere. They include norms and values; knowledge; responsibility and influence of pupils, schools and home; transition and relation; the school and the surrounding world; assessment and grades; and responsibility of the principal (U2010/5865/S).

The national curriculum also includes syllabi, timetables and grading systems (Proposition 1992/93:220). In addition, the state guarantees that the international declarations and agreements that Sweden has signed are applied in the school sector. For example, the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child became law in Sweden 2020.

Many teachers and principals thought these requirements were too challenging and asked for more detailed information, and in 2010, a revised and lightly extended curriculum was published. The reactions from teachers and principals were very positive. They said that the curriculum was clearer and provided advice to them in their teaching. Our interpretation is that teachers and principals appreciated this second version was because they started to understand the ideas behind the 1994 version; therefore, the second version was easier to interpret. The question still remains whether this second version affected teaching in local classrooms.

The fundamental values that schools should rest on are still based on democratic values. The first paragraph in the Curriculum for the Compulsory School states the following:

> The national school system is based on democratic foundations. The Education Act (2010:800) stipulates that education in the school system aims at pupils acquiring and developing knowledge and values. It should promote the development and learning of all pupils, and a lifelong desire to learn. Education should impart and establish respect for human rights and the fundamental democratic values on which Swedish society is based. Each and every one working in the school should also encourage respect for the intrinsic value of each person and the environment we all share. (U2010/5865/S)

These democratic values include understanding and compassion for others, objectivity and open approaches, equality in education and rights and obligations. One interesting consequence of this shift was that the schools stopped offering level grouping in various subjects.

In line with the democratic ideals of a school for all and the focus on lifelong learning, there was one other important decision. Grades were abolished up to year eight in the nine-year compulsory school system. Instead, student-centred meetings with teachers, parents and students each semester should inform parents and students on student progress. The decision to abolish grades was contested by the liberal and conservative political parties in parliament. The liberal party made the lack

of quality control measured by grades an important political question in the 2006 election.[1]

Sweden fell from a top position in PISA at the beginning of the millennium, which sparked a demand from national politicians to improve academic results (SFS, 1997:702). The catchphrases were school improvement and systematic quality assessment. The starting point in the process was self-evaluation of school quality, which was reported in a municipality quality report. The report had to include a section where the schools described their aims and how to improve results.

In 2008, a new state inspectorate was created with the purpose of providing a correct picture of the situation in the local schools and identifying which measures different schools should take to improve results.

During the first years, the national School inspectorate focused their inspections of schools and school owners solely in relation to the Education Act. The rights of the individual child were in focus, including topics such as bullying, social integration, extra support to underperforming students, and provision of student health care, both physical and mental.

Most schools received critical reviews and were provided with various items on which they had to improve during the coming years. In some cases, the problems were so severe that the schools were threatened with fines if they did not take adequate measures. At the start, these reviews were considered something that gave schools an independent external opinion and helped the development of their work. Over time, the critiques have increased. Although the focus of the inspection and routines has changed, today, there is a more divergent picture of the schools inspection work.

Small schools and municipalities in particular are critical of the inspection reports. They have difficulties dealing with all the demands on top of the ongoing everyday work. Many have problems with finances and recruiting approved teachers. Inspection reports together with the current situation create pressure on local schools. The demand for school improvement from the state and the school owners has become a ricochet and not a way forward.

The second Swedish school commission on education quality and organisation was published in 2017 (2017:35). The purpose of their work was to submit proposals that could improve learning outcomes, the quality of teaching, and equity in Swedish schools. The commission report contains proposals for improvement and a schedule for their implementation, as well as for the necessary amendments to statutes.

Some of the serious systemic weaknesses in the Swedish school system as identified by the commission consist of the following deficiencies:

- Inadequate capacity and accountability among many education providers
- Shortcomings in resource allocation

[1] Today there is grades from year six and it is voluntary for schools to give grades from year four. An opportunity that very few schools use.

- Inadequate skills supplied to the teaching and school leadership professions and inadequate conditions for professional development
- Shortcomings in results information that hamper quality management
- School segregation that leads to differences in quality between schools
- Problems with the learning environment
- National governance of schools that is fragmented and has been inconsistent over time (SOU, 2017:35, p.34)

In the commission report, there are many suggestions to solve these identified problems. The combination of all these suggestions will probably improve Swedish schools if they are implemented in the near future; still, 4 years after the report was published, most suggestions are awaiting approval.

The commission report was published when the political debate was focused on Sweden's immigration policy. The reason was the massive number of incoming refugees in 2015. Sweden has long been an open country for refugees seeking asylum. Therefore, Swedish municipalities have a long history of helping refugees to become part of Swedish society. It is still a challenge to determine the extent to which previous experiences of diversity may play a role in creating socially just school leaders committed to fostering inclusive, respectful and effective environments for the diverse populations they serve, and who are steadfast in advocating for students and families, regardless of their race, ethnicity, language, nationality or religion (Merchant et al., 2020).

Socially just leaders are important, particularly in these polarizing times with an increase in the nature and extent of hostility related to how schools handle these students. It is obvious that students who come to Sweden have problems if they are not fluent in Swedish. For those who need extra support, there is often a lack of resources, even though the school act stipulates that anyone who needs support has the right to receive it. The academic results of these students impact the overall success level of the school system.

The possibility of student success still depends on each student's family situation. There is a clear connection between a student's socio-economic situation and school results (Åstrand, 2020). As mentioned earlier, Swedish school results in PISA and other international comparisons declined, which the government was determined to change. Therefore, in 2015, the Swedish government started a nationwide improvement project, Cooperation for Better Schools (CBS), with the purpose of improving academic results and increasing the equality of those results within and between schools (Rönnström & Johansson, 2020). Schools selected to take part in the CBS project have problems with helping underperforming students to pass all subjects. The participating schools are those with poor academic results and too many students who do not complete the Swedish basic education program. The programme is a cooperation among the National Board of Education, the state school inspection agency, the universities, municipalities and the local schools. The theory of action underlying the CBS programme is the assumption about the roles and responsibilities of key stakeholders (Johansson & Ärlestig, 2020a). Selected Stakeholders will receive support over a three-year period. The results so far show

a widened and more explicit discussion on accountability processes and an increased understanding of why these schools have lower results than expected over a long period.

It remains to be proven whether the improvement project may succeed and contribute to improved quality in the governing chain from the school board and responsible local administrative authorities such as the central school office to local schools and active, good learning environments for the students.

The latest challenge in the Swedish school system is the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has been handled in different ways at the compulsory and upper secondary levels. Younger students have gone to school, while older students have engaged in distance learning. This situation with little classroom teaching has forced teachers and students to improve their digital competencies. We can conclude that this has been a very important side effect of the pandemic that has worked well (Ahlström et al., 2020).

Purposes, Common Goods, Values and Moral Foundations

The Swedish government decided in the late 1980s to reform governance in the education sector and share more responsibility between the state and the local municipalities. At the same time, the state wanted to maintain control in a more decentralised system. This is accomplished through laws and regulations that municipalities and other associations are supposed to uphold. Therefore, the School Act and curricula are revised regularly. There are yearly updates and changes in paragraphs of the School Act, thereby adjusting to new ideas and problems. The School Act was introduced in 1985, but the process of decentralisation was not complete until the national agency was reformed in 1991. Nevertheless, after 1991, the municipality and other independent associations became the authorities responsible for running primary and secondary education in Sweden. In 1994, there was a large revision of the Curriculum for the Compulsory School, where both knowledge and values were emphasised. This is an example of state involvement; even though the responsibility for schools was at the municipality level, the state took responsibility for pedagogical content.

When Moos and Carney (2000) summarised the tasks of Nordic school leaders, they emphasised that the work of schools has become more complex and demanding, as has the nature of school leadership and school management or administration. New forms of public management have encouraged accountability, effectiveness and competition. Looking at principals sometimes as leaders and sometimes as managers has created problems. The leadership of principals is linked to democratic leadership with a high amount of trust and involvement, whereas the principal as manager is more often linked to accountability for school activities with the responsibilities of fulfilling the School Act and curriculum as well as implementing and following local political decisions.

Governance structures have been strengthened with the delegation of powers to political members of governing boards and municipal leaders. This creates a situation in which national and municipal objectives and aims sometimes compete, sometimes overlapping and sometimes contradict. Today, school leadership is a balancing act between administrative regulations with a focus on effective administration and regulations based on fundamental values and a democratic workplace. A high national aim for school improvement is reflected in the school act that regulates values to create the best school for all students.

The situation today cannot be understood without knowledge of historical development after World War II. In the table below, we give an overview of the different leadership ideas that have dominated (Fig. 3.2).

Over time, value drift and changed ideas have led to a rise in local site-based management, where the leader is empowered with direct responsibility for school quality and performance (Uljens et al., 2013). The new public management style might have been discussed in political quarters in Sweden, but it has never really been implemented as the norm for principals on the local level.

Over time, it has become clear that principals are expected to take greater personal responsibility for all school matters, and especially for students with special needs. This can be seen in the current curriculum, which highlights the role of the principal as the responsible pedagogical leader. It is also demonstrated in the way economic resources for the school are allocated. The principal plays an important role in financial matters. The new approach to school leadership presents the leader as a key resource for building and maintaining teams of educational professionals, as well as for achieving change and reform in an effective and efficient way. In this sense, the work of school leaders has become much more dynamic and complex. In the new decentralised structure, principals are expected to make use of the formal structures, to interpret the goals and objectives, and to develop the skills and insights

1945 to 1991	1991 to 2000	From the beginning of 2000	Trends from 2010
National centralized governing by laws, and regulations via state ordinance	Decentralization from the state to municipalities combined with governing by goals and objectives by laws and ordinance	National re-centralization from the municipalities combined with governing by goals, objectives and results in laws and ordinance	Continued National re-centralization with governing by goals, objectives and results combined with new ideas like governing via thrust, professions, information and knowledge

Fig. 3.2 Swedish national governing principles in a historical perspective. (Ärlestig & Johansson, 2020)

necessary to motivate and empower their colleagues (Bredeson et al., 2011; Day & Johansson, 2009).

In the process of decentralisation, new demands and new expectations were placed on principals. First, the principal is the guarantor for a nationally equivalent education. Every school is required to meet the national standards, regardless of where it is situated geographically or the conditions under which it is working. Second, the principal is the guarantor for students' and parents' rights as laid out in the National Curriculum. Third, the principal is the guarantor for education in his/her school meeting national quality standards. It is also clearly spelled out that the principal is responsible for leading the development of educational activities at the local school (Nygren & Johansson, 2000).

During the last decades, the focus on schools has shifted. Support for individual students, student health and inclusion has been important. Results in relation to improved teaching and learning have led to a quest for better data and analyses, as well as in-service training in literacy and mathematics. Many schools have worked on how to improve immigrants' skills in the Swedish language, and all schools have been offered training in how to use digital media in a better way. Even though there have been many offers and opportunities, many teachers and principals struggle and report an increased workload, as well fatigue with general reforms (Robinson, 2017).

Principles of School Organisation and Leaders' Responsibilities

In the Swedish school system before 1991, policy documents made it clear that the principal was the key person to ensure high academic results in an equivalent school system. Principals were employed by the state, and their tasks were regulated in laws and formal documents. The ongoing decentralisation of the school system since the mid-1980s has blurred this role. Today, the principal is employed by the municipality and is responsible for ensuring that the local school adheres to national regulations. The position of the principal has become more complex (Johansson & Kallós, 1994). Reasons include the roles of both manager and leader and the ability to combine expectations from both the national and municipal levels to achieve high academic success effectively with limited resources. Another reason is the quick change in both values and prerequisites, globally, nationally, and locally.

Before the 1990s, principals could rely on support from the state for their decisions. If, for instance, a principal had to make public that a local political board or the municipal council had made a decision that conflicted with the intentions in the national curriculum for the schools, the principal was protected by the state because he or she was a state employee. According to the current Swedish Education Act (SOU 2010:800), principals should act as managers and administrators responsible for day-to-day operations and as pedagogical leaders in relation to teaching and learning activities. They should also have a strong obligation to facilitate the

improvement of these activities to develop the quality of education. This places great responsibility as well as high expectations on the principal to carry out a complex and multidimensional task.

Principals need to use all their professional competence to inform the superintendent and other municipal employees so that they can provide information to the political school board as a base for their decisions but without any real support from the state besides the legal documents. If a municipal council, for instance, decides to cut the budget to such an extent that the schools cannot uphold good quality, then the principal is in trouble. The only way out is to try to explain the consequences to the superintendent and, together with other principals in the municipality, describe the effects of the budget cut on the quality of education. In a situation such as this, the new governing system for schools demands a much more political role on the part of the principal than the old system did (Bredeson et al., 2009).

This shows that the principal is dependent on the school board's decision and needs to have a good working relationship with the school superintendent. In Sweden, this is a central position in every school district as policy maker, implementer and gatekeeper, and as such it is an essential link in the chain of command (Johansson & Nihlfors, 2014).

A superintendent is employed by the municipality, and today, has a variety of titles decided by each municipality or independent school owner. Earlier superintendents of education worked solely with educational matters, but today, they are highly involved in overall municipal affairs. An alteration of the Swedish Education Act in 2018 forced all municipalities to re-establish a superintendent role. The re-established superintendent primary function is to ensure that national laws and regulations are followed by local government. The new position as superintendent can be seen as a control function of the state, which was discussed in the latest school commission as one way to strengthen the link between local political decision-making and the state's national intention formulated in laws and curricula (SOU, 2017:35). Sweden is a decentralised welfare state, and local governments are self-governing bodies with strong financial and political autonomy. Therefore, the reform might have implications on the relationship between the superintendent and principal as it imposes a balance between control and trust. At the same time, the superintendent is employed by the municipality and is obliged to implement not only national laws and regulations but also municipal education policies. Thus, both leadership roles imply handling competing objectives, norms and values that may contest leadership ideals. Furthermore, educational quality can have various interpretations, which creates problems in evaluating whether the cuts in the school budget will have negative effects on the standard of education in the school (Johansson & Lundberg, 2002; Johansson et al., 2021).

Almost all municipalities have assistant superintendent positions. They can have responsibility for a regional area of the municipality, for a specific school form, for quality or for budget and economy. This means that there is a layer of sub-superintendents between the superintendent and the principals. The most important function of these sub- superintendents relates to equity in learning opportunities,

quality of results and improvement processes at local schools (Johansson & Nihlfors, 2014; Johansson et al., 2021).

We would also argue that even though running the schools is now a municipal responsibility, most teachers still look to the state for guidelines and support. The municipality's power over the schools is linked to budgets and organisation, but not to the basic values and tasks of the school. Teachers' unions argue that schools should solely be a state responsibility. In the last few years, we have seen increased attempts to strengthen influence at the national level. Currently an investigation is looking at how the Swedish school agency can be regionalized. The aim is to intensify conversations among the state, the municipality, the local schools and the community, including universities. There is a movement in which local politicians would need to move from a traditional form of steering to one based on a dialogue with the schools and national representatives around systematic quality work and school improvement (Johansson & Nihlfors, 2014).

Values and great principles of justice within the educational community.

In the National Head-Teachers Training Programme, the vision is to create a school leader who is democratic, learning and communicative (Regeringskansliet, 2000). Democratic means that the leader him/herself leads the school in accordance with democratic ideas and understands that school democracy applies to all who are working in the school. The democratic, reflective school leader understands that it is not sufficient enough for education to impart knowledge of fundamental democratic values. It must also be carried out using democratic working methods and prepare pupils for active participation in civic life. By participating in the planning and evaluation of their daily education, and exercising choices over courses, subjects, themes and activities, pupils will develop their ability to exercise influence and take responsibility. This requires intentional work with school culture and school structure (Fig. 3.3).

One important leadership perspective is to understand the relationship between structure and culture (Ärlestig et al., 2015). The relationship is complex, but it is not possible to have a democratic school culture or democratic leadership if the effort for democratic action and democratic values and norms are not supported by the structure of the school. By structure, we mean how the curriculum translates into inner organisation and schedules. It is necessary that the schedule allows teachers and principals to meet and discuss teaching and learning, that there are enough

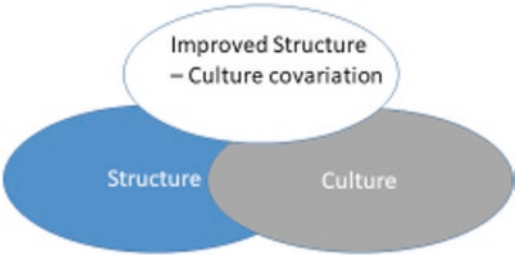

Fig. 3.3 The relation between culture and structure of schools

qualified teachers and that the principal has time to support the teachers, as well as an overall working environment that supports students' learning.

Values are basic assumptions about desired actions; values become the mental map that leads a person's actions and the base for what might influence others (Leithwood, 1995). Principals' own motivation is of great importance for how people use their knowledge, values and attitude as a base for action (Begley, 1996). There are many reasons why a principal needs to have a clear map of action because values interact in various ways in all decision-making. Some examples of the complex situation are given below:

- Most problem-solving activities are performed through a valuation process.
- There is strong evidence that the rationality link to administrative behaviour dominates because most administrative decisions have a moral and ethical dimension.
- In modern society, principals work in and with conflicting cultures, for example youth, ethnic and religious cultures.
- Democratic decisions about schools are not always accepted by all stakeholders in the school. In these cases, it is important for principals to have clear understandings about their schools as democratic institutions that can guide necessary activities and processes.
- There is sometimes a tendency to use *ritual rationality* to achieve desired results. Principals need to be able to see through ritual rationality by using their democratic roadmap and to argue openly based on knowledge and values.
- The roadmap should also be a way to disclose that ethics and values are sometimes linked more to what is good for the individual than what is good for society.
- A successful principal can handle conflicts in values and has the ability to understand other people's standpoints to explain the way forward by focusing on what is good for the school and society (Begley & Johansson, 1998).

The democratic dimension of power struggles is about how the agents handle their relationships and positions. In all educational systems, there are different approaches to the leadership role. Some leaders do not want to engage in the power struggle; they deny it. Some leaders take overall power, not giving teachers any latitude for influence or dialogue. In addition, some take on the responsibility to initiate a continuous professional discourse about developing and ensuring quality in schools. A principal can – and should, because of the democratic objectives of the institution – act democratically. The principal is responsible for making stipulated values public and visible so everyone can influence and be heard in relation to various processes and decisions. This contributes to the professional dialogue in school and to educational practices. The democratic, reflective school leader's task as a supporter and promoter of interactive professionalism is essential, and therefore training in communication skills is of great importance (Johansson, 2003).

During the last few years, the principal's role has been clarified in the Education Act (SOU, 2010:800) and national curriculum (U2010/5865/S.). Principals are accountable for local decisions that include interpretation of curricula and other policy documents, resource distribution and personnel. The national mission focuses

on pedagogical issues as well as school improvement. Quality assurance and the ability to analyse are important parts of a principal's work. The focus on student achievement means that principals work with student health, and students in need of extra support take a lot of the principal's time. Principals are supposed to work closely with teachers and support the development of teaching and learning in the classroom. Parallel with pedagogical issues, principals have administrative duties as managers for all activities. This is because Swedish school organisations are hierarchically organised, and principals are the link to the political school boards in the municipality and for principals in the independent schools, the link to the school owners.

Principals are supposed to be relational and communicative. Principals have frequent interaction with teachers, students, parents and community agency representatives. There is a tradition of oral communication that is based largely on trust, even if it is completed with written documentation. A principal's work is expected to be based on research, theory and models, as well as applied experience, in the same way as other school activities (Hörnqvist, 2019).

The state has maintained control over the principal training programme because it is the programme viewed as a good way to improve the competence of principals in relation to the national goals and structures of the national school system. This possibility for the state to influence acting principals is very important in the decentralized school system, where principals and teachers are employed by the municipalities and free school organisers.

Conclusions

In summary, all the decisions described above have been taken and implemented to improve schools' academic results and strengthen equity and democratic values. Sweden has followed a new public governing logic to govern less through municipalisation, delegation and decentralization, and more through goals, inspections, evaluation and, in many cases, specific grants for which certain criteria have to be met. One consequence of this strong belief in commissions and open law processes is a school system driven by laws and regulations that describes and aims at an ideal democratic model society. One example is the explicit statement in the School Act that students have the right to extra support to pass all subjects. At the same time, statistics tell us that between 15 and 20% of all students do not pass all compulsory school subjects. The final question is what would improve if all followed the intentions of the School Act and the curriculum?

The key word in Sweden since the 1950s has been democracy, and therefore, values and norms, equity and quality of school processes are important concepts. Academic results have always been important, as there are restrictions on how many students can be admitted to popular university programmes. This also puts a focus on how to integrate and support students from other ethnic backgrounds because the main aim is equity and excellence for all students (Ärlestig & Johansson, 2020).

All educational leadership is about constant learning, and that is especially the case for school leaders. They are leaders for highly educated people with an intellectual assignment to teach students and positively influence their growth. To be able to lead such a group, the principal must be a learner in relation to the goal of the curriculum.

For a principal to live up to the demands of the national curriculum, he or she must be a learner and understand that governing power is not power over money, buildings and people; it is authority based on discursive power. If he or she is to live up to the very high demands of a democratic leadership environment in the school, where everybody can feel appreciated for who they are, the school leader must be the change he or she wants to see.

School leaders should be both democratic and reflective in these matters, people who create and merge school cultures and structures by rethinking and leading through the power of dialogues and discussions. However, a leader should also be aware that the learning process and the control of related emotions and anxiety affect educational leadership. The democratic, reflective school leader's task as a supporter and promoter of interactive professionalism is essential.

It is obvious that ideology, norms, values and culture significantly affect what is ideal both in relation to democracy in schooling as well as students' academic achievements. Academic results should focus in accordance with changes in policy on giving every student the same chance to be successful, which is a central part of national policy when the schools of tomorrow are described. Different policy documents emphasise how tomorrow's leadership and governance should be conducted and restructured today. Figure 3.4 below illustrates the challenge of adjusting today's school practice to tomorrow's policy thinking and decisions, and the insight is that the future will always have to improve and change according to political ideas and decisions, which mean that we will never have a school system totally attuned with the future demands on education. Interesting here is also that policy can be described as equal to interpretations of national legalisation and be understood as the local interpretation of national policy or reforms in schools or at the municipal level. In the second case, these interpretations might represent a policy drift away from the reform intention.

Democratic values contribute to an ambition at every level to take responsibility and come up with solutions as part of the professional function for all work in the school, especially in the professional activities of principals and teachers. We can see how governance over time has varied between being too detailed and too

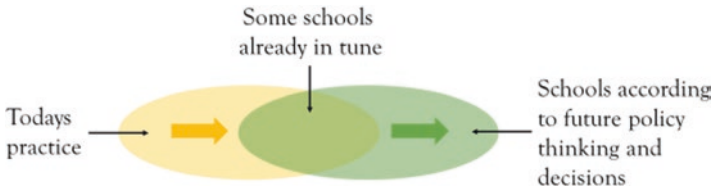

Fig. 3.4 The connection between todays practice and future policy thinking and decisions

trusting. This puts focus on communication and cooperation, not only inside organisational levels but also between levels and perspectives. In Fig. 3.1, we discussed and argued for different perspectives in decision-making processes and that it is of great importance to understand both the present situation and the historical and ideological background before we can draw relevant conclusions about how to organize school activities.

Swedish national policy is well formulated, and the success of the implementation process is dependent on how actors throughout the chain of governance understand intentions and are able to transform visions and objectives into actions and processes in their professional activities. Change takes time, and the distance between knowing what should be done and having the competence to accomplish new policy and decisions is and will always be a challenge in schools and public administration.

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Chapter 4
Images of Norwegian Educational Leadership – Historical and Current Distinctions

Jorunn Møller

Abstract This chapter aims to situate cultural and moral dimensions of Norwegian educational leadership within the broader social and political environment and in relation to political-ideological transformations that have taken place during the last 70 years. The analysis draws on historical and contemporary research on education policy and leadership. I start by drawing attention to some aspects of the ideology and history of Norwegian education to demonstrate the historical, political and cultural embeddedness of the education system. Purposes, curricula and moral foundation will be highlighted, and this analysis will be followed by a presentation of key principles for organising and leading schools today. I will use findings from three comparative research studies among school leaders to illustrate and discuss changes in conceptualizing educational leadership over time, and why. These findings indicate which conditions there are in Norway for adoption of theories of school leadership and governance that have been circulating internationally in research network. Finally, I will discuss how the cultural dimensions and key principles for organising and leading schools intersect with current globalised policy trends, and where there is likely to be tensions between these global trends and the political, cultural and historical imperatives of educational leadership and schooling.

Keywords Social democratic welfarism · Education as public good · Social justice and democracy · New public management

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Introduction

Public schools reflect society's values and mirror which principles and norms a society has chosen to cultivate in its citizenry, as well as deep-seated assumptions about the purposes of public schooling. In this chapter, I examine cultural images and approaches to educational leadership in Norway over time. The aim is to situate cultural and moral dimensions of educational leadership within the broader social and political environment and in relation to political-ideological transformations that have taken place during the last 70 years. While recognising the transnational dimensions of new public management that have travelled across national boundaries I will offer insights into the importance of national contexts in mediating this development. The following research questions will guide the analysis: How do changes in the policy environment influence school principals' framing of mission and mandate and their way of conceptualising educational leadership? Which cultural traits of school leadership is it possible to identify regardless of new governance structures that provide a particular context for leadership and reforms?

The argument developed in this chapter draws on different resources.

First, I draw on historical analysis of Norwegian education conducted by leading researchers in Scandinavia (Sejersted, 2004; Telhaug et al., 2006). This includes an informative historical analysis of 'a common school for all' as part of the Enlightenment project, forming an important contextual background to more contemporary transformations. The analysis contributes to understanding the role of the Norwegian educational legacy in mediating the influence of adopting managerial reform policies as the roles that principals may play are historically and culturally contingent (Carpenter & Brewer, 2014).

Second, I draw on research on educational leadership and school reforms in a Norwegian context during the last 20 years. To address recent changes in the political economy that have challenged the idea of education as 'public good' – a key feature of the Norwegian educational legacy – I will include findings from empirical studies. The first focuses on how Norwegian school principals in different career phases frame their professional identities and career trajectories. The study is informed by the theoretical work of Wenger (1998) and Bourdieu (1996) and provides a grounded vision of leadership as practised and perceived in Norway over time until the new millennium (Møller, 2004, 2005). The second research inquiry draws partly on findings based on Norway's participation in the International Successful School Principalship Project (ISSPP) during more than 15 years (e.g. Møller & Eggen, 2005; Møller, 2012, 2017), and partly on research within the network "Leading Democratic Schools" (LE@DS) that situates educational leadership in Norway in relation to political-ideological transformations that have taken place over previous decades (Skedsmo & Møller, 2016).

The third study investigates how school leaders make sense of social justice and democracy in their practice and is grounded in the assumption that social justice is not possible without deep democracy and vice versa. Both concepts constitute moral purposes of schooling, and the frame of deep democracy suggests a processual

striving toward social justice in school (Furman & Shields, 2005). The study includes outsiders' interpretations and conceptions of the main cultural traits of school leadership in Norway based on their observations and reflections after visiting Norwegian schools (Trujillo et al., 2021). It contributes to show how principals may enact their roles in ways that are largely defined not just by their historical and cultural foundations of educational leadership, but their macro-level political contexts.

The selected studies show changes in ways of framing and practising educational leadership over time, and the analysis provides a basis for discussing how and why our cultural understanding of educational leadership with a focus on education as a public good is in a state of becoming contested (Møller, 2007; Møller & Rönnberg, 2021; Skedsmo & Møller, 2016). In sum, the analyses will demonstrate how and why school principals negotiate multiple purposes of education, and how principals mediate between values that prevail in local contexts and those that weigh on them from afar.

The structure of the chapter is as follows. I start by drawing attention to some aspects of Norwegian ideology and history to demonstrate the historical, political and cultural embeddedness of the Norwegian education system. The purposes, curricula and moral foundation of this system are highlighted. After depicting key principles for organising and leading school in the current situation, the following section focuses more specifically, on how school principals have conceptualised and framed their leadership role and activities over time based on empirical research. The chapter ends with a discussion of tensions connected to political and ideological transformation that have taken place during previous decades.

The Social Democratic Welfarist Legacy

In the late nineteenth century, Norway was a poor country with no traditional aristocracy nor economic elites. Anti-elitist lay religious movements constituted a special form of popular resistance. Through participating in these movements, the Norwegian people learned to argue against the rulers and stand up for their own arguments. This implied broad public involvement in both economic and educational developments (Stugu, 2001). Out of this mobilisation grew political parties and parliamentary governing by a silent revolution (Sejersted, 2004). Local teachers, who had the cultural and social capital to act on a trans-local level and to mobilise people to move on, became agents of the civic society. Often, schoolteachers became involved in a variety of activities in the local community, running local youth clubs, sport activities, mission societies and other charities (Hagemann, 1992). Norway's many small local communities gave the society a distinctive character, and nurturing a national identity played an important role in the construction of a national curriculum and a common school for all. Even though the role of teachers and school leaders as tenets of civic society declined after the Second World War, such images of educational leadership continue to influence the

expectations of teachers and school leaders, particularly in the rural areas. So, as a background for understanding the conceptualisation of educational leadership in Norway, one must know that Norwegian schools and their teachers played a crucial role in nation-building processes and in the shaping of national identities.[1]

Although the meaning of democracy or democratic schools is ambiguous (Apple & Beane, 2007), Norway's historical development as a nation has established a way of understanding democracy in the workplace. A strong welfare state has simultaneously played a powerful role in shaping job security. It has been, and continues to be, important for everyone to have a sense of control over their working conditions, and, to some extent, there has been a similarity of lifestyle between managers and workers. Resilient unions are important elements in our way of framing legitimate leadership and management in schools as well as in other organisations. The unions have contributed to robust elements of negotiations in the workplace and to a form of institutionalised trust relations (Sejersted, 1997, 2004).

Until the 1970s, Norway was also quite homogenous in its ethnic, linguistic and cultural circumstances, and the vast majority of the population were members of an Evangelical-Lutheran state church. In the Education Act, it was emphasised that education should be based on fundamental Christian and humanistic values and should uphold and renew our cultural heritage to provide perspective and guidance for the future. The period from 1945 until about 1970 is often labelled the golden era of social democracy, in which the national state became the framework for restructuring the society and the school (Telhaug et al., 2006). Equity was one of the distinctive features of the Norwegian education model and concerned the educational system's ability to distribute financial and economic resources in order to meet the needs of all users in a way that provided equal opportunities. As such, it was associated with the democratic ideal of social justice. It implied that one of the main responsibilities of school principals, teachers and other school staff is to focus on promoting democracy, social justice and equity in school as well as in the wider community (Møller, 2006). It also included equity at the individual level, addressing student diversity and therefore the necessity for unequal treatment in order to meet individual learning abilities (e.g. greater resources for greater needs).[2] School access for children from all socio-economic groups, free of charge, was – and still is – considered important, and schools should prepare children to become able employees as well as to play constructive roles in a democratic society (Møller, 2009). As such, the ideological tradition emphasised the role of educational institutions in the making of a civic society, one built on ideas of comprehensiveness and egalitarian values.

[1] At the same time, the nation-building project tended, in the past, to exclude the cultural rights of ethnic minorities in education. This was the case, for instance, for the Sami people and the Kvens (Stugu, 2001).

[2] In the new millennium, the individual aspect of equity in public discourse has increasingly been restricted to discussions about student performance in both national tests and international comparative assessments and to the demand for school choice (Volckmar, 2019).

Due to a strong argument that children should attend their school without having to leave their families, there are a large number of small schools in remote and sparsely populated areas.[3] Another argument was that attending the same school across different socio-economic groups is of great value, as it would enhance collaboration, solidarity and national integration in the society (Volckmar, 2019). The cornerstones were education as 'public good' with the aim of securing equality in terms of equal opportunities, citizens' equal rights, state responsibility for the welfare of all citizens, narrowing income gaps, and promoting equity and social justice.

Another aspect of the development of the comprehensive school system in Norway is connected to the unique tradition of consensus-seeking politics in education. Both the right- and left-wing parties have sought compromises and agreements on educational reforms. This has its historical roots in the political mobilisation of and alliance between the farmers and the workers. It does not mean absence of conflicts, but there has traditionally been a political will in Norway to ground decisions in education on consensus. The farmers organised themselves in the Liberal Party in the late nineteenth century, and many were recruited to the government. Their political involvement had a basis in social-liberal values closely linked to the labour movement. The Social Democratic Party was not rooted in radical socialism; and after the Second World War, the workers were able to ally themselves with the growing white-collar middle class, and they welcomed a strong state (Sejersted, 2004). In this case, the state played a role due to the expanding public sector and influenced the development of a non-selective comprehensive school system, supported by the labour market model, with collective bargaining in co-operation between governments and labour organisations (Telhaug et al., 2006).

The Growth of Neo-Liberal Reforms in Education

In the 1980s, a wave of neo-liberal reforms gained ground internationally, and an interest in principals as managers gathered momentum in Norway 10 years later. This interest was largely influenced by the new public management (NPM) discourse, with its focus on strong leaders and entrepreneurs as a vehicle for the modernisation project in education. It was argued that the welfare-state project had turned national and local authorities into unresponsive, bureaucratic organizations (Møller & Rönnberg, 2021). The NPM agenda did not directly challenge the established tradition of schooling during the 1990s, but it did have consequences for the restructuring of the local educational administration at the municipal level in terms of deregulation, horizontal specialisation and management by objectives (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). However, the launch of the first report based on findings from the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) in 2001 accelerated the

[3] In 2019–2020, there were 792 schools with fewer than 100 students out of the total 2800 compulsory schools; 195 schools, most of which are located in the Oslo area, had more than 500 students (UDIR, 2019).

shift from more input-oriented policy instruments towards a more output-oriented policy. New titles were created for managers at the municipal level, who were trained and accredited as managers using business models. Master's programmes in educational leadership and management at the university level were first launched in the beginning of the new millennium. Some years later, a national programme for newly appointed principals, one which contains key elements of NPM, was introduced (Møller & Ottesen, 2011). Increasingly, school principals were trained as managers. Moreover, rising immigration and the related challenges of educating an increasingly heterogeneous population, as well as heightened global attention to international rankings of assessments of basic skills, have coalesced to strengthen Norwegian policy- and law-makers' concerns about the most efficient means of maximising school quality and improving test scores.

The interplay between such changes in school governing and current distinctions of understanding educational leadership in a Norwegian context is an empirical question. Is it, for example, possible to identify some main cultural traits of school leadership regardless of new governance structures that provide a particular context for leadership and reforms? This question will be analysed and discussed in the following sections of this article. First, however, I will shortly describe key principles for organising and leading schools of today.

Key Principles for Organising and Leading Schools

Even though neo-liberalism, emphasising competition, privatisation and marketisation, has influenced Norwegian educational policy during the last three decades, the education system in Norway is still predominantly public. The Directorate for Education and Training is the executive agency for the Ministry of Education and Research and is responsible for the development of primary and secondary education, while municipal authorities are in charge of running most compulsory schools. The establishment of private schools is strictly regulated by law, and currently only 4% of the school-aged population is enrolled in private elementary schools and 8% in private upper secondary schools (Statistics Norway, 2018).[4]

Local municipalities have played a strong role in school governance. The leadership responsibility at the municipal level is shared between professional administrators and elected politicians. Through this linkage, education is related to broader community affairs. Municipalities finance the schools and perform a key role in providing in-service training. Central government requires that municipalities establish a system for evaluating and following up on the schools' quality of education and students' academic performance. The local educational authority in each municipality employs principals and teachers. Principals must have pedagogical

[4] There is, however, immense regional variation. While 16% of the upper secondary students in Oslo and Hordaland (including Bergen) attend a private school, fewer than 1% do so in Finnmark.

qualifications and the necessary leadership abilities. They might be appointed on fixed-term contracts, but lifetime tenure has been more common. The municipality is also in charge of hiring teachers; normally, principals have a voice in the hiring process, although they highly depend on effective collaboration with their superintendent. It is demanding to terminate principals (or teachers) unless they have committed a criminal act.

Legal regulations of Norwegian schools represent one of the main pillars in the governing architecture of schooling within which the leadership role is embedded (Karseth & Møller, 2018). Schools are regulated by many rules, and practitioners in schools are expected to know and understand the law in order to attend to their role as civil servants. Primarily, legal regulation of teachers in education has been achieved by means of normative values and self-regulated motivation, and the interpretation of legal standards is usually highly situational, i.e. not based on strictly legal considerations. Furthermore, teachers have traditionally been rather autonomous (Ottesen & Møller, 2016). The Education Act regulates some leadership practices to ensure democratic representation from teachers, parents and students in the governance of the school, and it requires that each school create formal bodies for user participation. For instance, a coordinating committee should be present at each school, with two representatives for the teaching staff, two for the parents' council, two for the students, two for the municipality, and one for other employees,

Today, schools are experiencing increased centralised regulation in terms of coordination by measuring, monitoring and evaluating educational outcomes, and national inspection as a governing tool is being used to control the legal practices of municipalities and schools (Hall, 2016). Pressure for increased school accountability has become a distinctive hallmark of the development of a new educational reform in the new millennium. New assessment policies with an emphasis on performance measurement, expectations about the use of data to improve education, and emerging accountability practices have characterised the transition process over the last decade (Skedsmo & Møller, 2016).

Conceptualising Leadership Over Time

Principals' individual learning trajectories and attendant identity constructions, with a particular focus on the interaction between persons and contexts, can help us to understand how school leaders are shaping and are shaped by the contexts in which they live and work. The findings presented below draw on a series of interviews with samples of principals, including early career (up to three years), mid-career (4–15 years) and late career (more than 15 years) principals, with data collection occurring during 1998–2000. Constructing their professional identities can be seen as a device for justifying, explaining and making sense of their conduct, career, values and circumstances. Their stories reveal something about the relationship between their personal values and cultural traits of school leadership over time

(and more generally, about the relationship between the individual and the society) as well as how they cope with changes in the political environment (Møller, 2004).

Tracing Learning Trajectories and Attendant Identity Construction

Up until the 1990s, trust in teachers' work was a tacit dimension in principals' approach to leadership, establishing accepted zones of influence (Berg, 2000). This meant that the school principal was 'first among equals' and suggested a flat organisational structure for the school, with little or no formal distinction among members of the teaching staff. The titles of the formal leadership positions in schools mirrored this feature. For instance, up until the late 1960s, the title *overlærer* (head-teacher) was used in Norway for the person in charge of leading compulsory schools. Teachers did not welcome a leadership profession that could influence their control over classroom activities (Tjeldvoll et al., 2005), and the dominant teacher unions strongly contested the need for formal, university-based preparation programmes for school leaders until the late 1990s (Hall et al., 2017; Møller & Schratz, 2008). The framing of leadership as 'first among equals' can be illustrated by an excerpt from an interview with Birger (a pseudonym), a Norwegian late-career principal (Møller, 2004).

Birger was educated as a teacher and started his career in the late 1960s at a small primary school located in a rural area an hour's drive from Oslo. When the serving principal retired, his colleagues encouraged Birger to apply for the job. Before that moment, Birger had never thought of becoming a principal:

> My colleagues persuaded me to apply for the post, and after a while, I thought it could be a good idea. Before that, it never struck my mind. Well, then I, as a rather young man, was appointed as a head. […] By that time, I had no thoughts about leadership, not at all. I was a teacher with some administrative duties in addition to teaching. In my first years as a principal, I still had extensive teaching duties, and I did not have any help from a clerk. I did everything myself and was comfortable with that. In fact, I still felt like a teacher who, in addition, had some work to do with budget and time schedules for teachers.

As the excerpt shows, when Birger started as a principal, he looked upon himself as a teacher with some administrative duties in addition to teaching. In the 1970s and 1980s, he attended different leadership courses, but only gradually did he reframe his understanding of school leadership. Reflecting back, he assumed his perception of leadership was partly shaped during his years in military service, partly by his participation in different communities of practice, and partly by his own experiences at school and from feedback he received from friends and colleagues. In a similar way, principals in their mid- and early-careers emphasised that they did not reflect on becoming a school principal when they started their career as a teacher, and it was possible to identify a link between their vocation as a teacher and their later vocation as a school principal.

Birger described how his basic beliefs drove his actions, and this characterised most veterans who participated in the life history study. He wanted to retain the kind of psychological rewards he received as a teacher, framed as 'stay in touch with the kids'. In contrast, the mid-career and newly appointed principals told stories about establishing professional accountability, but they, too, wanted to create close relationships with the students. Simultaneously, the study demonstrated that the discrepancy between school principals and staff remained relatively small, reflecting the historical collegial tradition. Instructional leadership was primarily the teachers' responsibility and domain. There was little or no intervention in classroom practices from principals or local authority, unless the parents had voiced complaints about the teachers (Møller, 2004).

Until the early 1990s, it was taken for granted that schools lived up to their public mandate, and the authorities did not see any need to look into matters other than organising a national final exam for students in central subjects. The teacher unions also played a powerful role in framing the ideology of educational leadership until the new millennium. Professional accountability has been valued and encouraged, but standards of good teaching and leadership have been until recently implicit. Hence, the distinction between professional and personal accountability was blurred.

In addition, the principals' stories demonstrated that they did not have to pay special attention to managerial accountability, and veteran principals in particular seemed to have a rather relaxed attitude (Møller, 2005). Even though an analysis of the policy context during the 1990s demonstrates that the discourse of NPM had a rather strong influence on how the municipalities organised and governed the schools (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013), it was difficult to trace this discourse in the stories told by the principals. Both veteran and mid-career principals conveyed an ironic tone when describing their relationship with superiors at the municipal level. It was as if they had distanced themselves or blamed the municipality for establishing managerial accountability in a way that could harm the school. Their position has a connection to the history of Norwegian education, in which the State has played a strong and authoritative role. However, those in their early careers seemed to take managerial accountability for granted and related this attitude to being professional.

Framing Successful School Leadership

During the 1990s, and in the beginning of the new millennium, both parents and people outside schools started questioning the individual autonomy each teacher had in his or her classroom, and they challenged established zones of control (Møller & Schratz, 2008). The power relationship between the parents and the school shifted as more emphasis was given to the external control of educational processes. Strongly influenced by NPM discourse, which focused on strong leaders and entrepreneurs as a vehicle for the modernisation project in education, interest in school

leadership in Norway began to gather momentum in the late 1990s. This shift essentially moved the principal from being 'first among equals' to being a manager in the dominant discourses and in national policy documents; but also, among many school leaders, an understanding of leadership as *primus inter pares* was often recognised by the principals as a romanticised, old-fashioned view of leadership in schools (Møller, 2004).

The ISSPP study, which included case studies of successful principals based on interviews with principals, teachers, students and parents, provided a window into the lived experiences of school principals who were considered successful by the educational authorities across more than 20 countries. The Norwegian principals emphasised how mutual trust and respect between school leaders and teachers were at the core of what they thought should count as a successful school. They were primarily driven by their commitment to making a difference for children, and they worked hard within the system to balance all of the demands placed on their shoulders in order to ensure more equitable learning environments for all students. Although we could discern a greater awareness of student outcomes in Norway because of the continuous debate about the PISA findings in the media, the current climate of managerial accountability does not seem to influence the principals' stories of their approaches to leadership. None of the principals participating in this project limited their understanding of success to student academic outcomes but instead took the students and the school context into consideration when they defined success. Matters of care were a main concern, and the principals emphasised that both teaching and principalship demands dedication, hard work and commitment to the development and well-being of children (Møller, 2006).

Overall, the study showed how school leadership in a Norwegian context is an interactive process involving many people and players. The terms 'team leadership' or 'team on top' capture a striking feature of collaboration and teamwork in all Norwegian schools that participated in the ISSPP study (Møller, 2012). The findings demonstrated how school leadership constituted a mixture of both 'power over' and 'power with' models of leadership, in which leading and following was a fluid, interactive and reciprocal process. The following quote from a teacher in one of the participating schools captures this framing: 'There is a combination of flat and hierarchical. Everybody is co-responsible and has an opportunity to influence, but simultaneously there is a structure' (Møller & Eggen, 2005, p. 340). The school leaders recognised that they had power in their formal position – but at the same time, they were aware of the relative nature of power. They partly presented themselves as strong and visible through stories influenced by public discourses of heroic leadership, but, through highlighting working in teams, they mainly interacted with the notion of distributed leadership. The strategies they chose differed due to local cultural contexts, as well as due to their understandings of limits and opportunities. They all told stories of how they worked hard to mediate government policy and external changes to integrate demands with school values. Their stories were linked

to codes on professional ethics and values as well as to a concern for the students' best interest.[5]

Leadership for Social Justice and Democracy in the Context of Managerial Demands

As already mentioned earlier in this chapter, the political environment has changed substantially over the last decades, and the government has invested much faith in assessment tools that provide data and information to improve practice. Both national and local levels use results from national testing for benchmarking purposes (Skedsmo, 2011). This use of new evaluation technologies by principals and managers at the municipal level to monitor student outcomes represents a shift towards what has been termed 'organisational professionalism', which incorporates standardised work procedures and relies on external regulation and accountability measures (Evetts, 2009). It echoes the management discourse promoted by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), where a performance orientation is one of the main pillars, closely connected to output control. Educational authorities, both at the central and local levels, have introduced multiple managerial devices to address achievement gaps across different social and cultural groups, and national testing and performative accountability are now framed as a means of providing universal access to education of equal quality, prioritising the need to identify and support low-performing students. The knowledge produced by these test data impacts education policy, demonstrating its potency as a policy instrument. To some degree, the public debate about equity and quality has been re-articulated to performance indicators based on national and international tests (Camphuijsen et al., 2020).

However, although the government looks to standardised test results as a measure of effectiveness, schools and principals do not experience heavy-handed consequences for low performance on national tests, and leadership for social justice and democracy is still an integral part of the mission of Norwegian educational professionals. It is also emphasised in the Education Act and the recently launched national curriculum. A study based on observation and reflection data from two international principal exchanges more recently (2016–2017) emphasises this aspect and has also provided rich evidence for tracing national ideologies and values to daily schooling practices (Trujillo et al., 2021). Most prominently, American principals have observed comparably low levels of attention to standardised testing in the Norwegian schools they have visited. While Norwegian school leaders acknowledged that policymakers and politicians were increasingly focusing on

[5] The principals who participated in the LEXEL project from 2012–2016 told similar stories when they argued that feeling safe and confident, both academically and socially, served as the foundation for students' well-being (Ottesen & Møller, 2016).

national and international test scores, the test results were of little consequence to their practice or their professional well-being. Their colleagues from USA underlined this aspect when they observed that the Norwegian government's policies were not highly punitive towards educational leaders. Instead, they found that Norwegian principals were provided professional support if their school had low test scores; in other words, their system relied on more carrots than sticks to steer schools and their principals' practices. This probably reflects the ideology of the social democratic education model, which frames education as crucial for cultural and political citizenship. However, these dynamics were not evenly distributed throughout the country. In large cities, greater attention to test performance was a common theme for secondary schools, much like what was observed in the US.

When the Norwegian principals were asked explicitly about education for democracy, they called attention to the importance of protecting the common good, as well as to enacting their collective responsibilities to one another. One of the Norwegian principals crystallised most of her colleagues' thoughts when she reflected on such notions in the following way:

> Nowadays, there is a strong focus on individual rights; it is me, me, me and my rights, but we should focus on common duties. It should not be survival of the fittest, and we should not only listen to those with the strongest voice.

Typical for all US leaders' reflections was that they were impressed by the way democracy seemed to be a fundamental value in education, and they in particular commented on how the student council was organised. In a comment to these reflections from outsiders, a Norwegian upper secondary principal emphasised the following (Trujillo et al., 2021):

> Democracy should be lived in schools… For example, when students say they are not involved [in decision-making] and demand a meeting, or if they complain about differences in the teachers' way of assessing their work, we have to listen carefully. However, they should also learn that democracy includes rules, procedures and structural mechanisms of accountability; they have to attend to timing, such as when it is possible to negotiate and influence decision-making. The same rules apply to the teachers.

Despite all American principals' consistently positive impressions of the centrality of structures for practising democracy, two Norwegian leaders reflected more critically on their country's treatment of democratic principles in schools. They interrogated the belief that every school fully utilised student councils for students to participate in decisions that affected them (as they should). Overall, the findings showed how the participating principals repeatedly emphasised the ideological purposes of education in Norway focus on promoting democracy as a fundamental value and an ethical guide to citizenship, and the welfare state was reflected in their understandings about the purposes of public education. In addition, the study shows political contexts and educational policy structures shape schools capacity to cultivate democratic communities, how school leaders may assume different purposes of schooling when they are held to account to different educational mandates.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter aimed to situate cultural and moral dimensions of Norwegian educational leadership within the broader social and political environment and in relation to political-ideological transformations that have taken place during the last 70 years. The following questions have been explored: How do changes in the policy environment influence school principals' framing of mission and mandate and their way of conceptualising educational leadership? Which cultural traits of school leadership is it possible to identify regardless of new governance structures that provide a particular context for leadership and reforms?

Policy analyses have demonstrated how the Norwegian development of leadership models during the last decades has incorporated managerial elements such as a combination of performance measurements, quality indicators, target settings, accountability, and incentives and sanctions (Hall et al., 2017). Today, an overall tension can be distinguished between those who argue for top-down conceptions of 'strong' leadership and those who argue for a participative approach and distributive leadership. Overall, the changing social environment in Europe in general has led to new governance structures that provide a particular context for educational reforms, and the OECD seems to play a powerful role in driving and attenuating policy across nation states (Møller, 2017). These structures are also affecting the roles and responsibilities of school leaders as well as the approach to leadership development. Norwegian school leaders have, like their colleagues in other countries, taken on many more administrative and managerial tasks. Their superiors, in addition to teachers and parents, all expect far more of them now than ever before. However, while Norwegian principals acknowledged that policymakers and politicians were increasingly focused on national and international test scores, the test results seemed to be of little consequence to their practice or their professional well-being.

Constructions related to classical professional ideals are still present, but teachers have also become more proactive in terms of creating legitimacy for their work and are currently redefining their understanding of professionalism under this new governing regime (Mausethagen, 2013). Another study designed to disentangle the complexity of legal standards and school leaders' professional judgement demonstrated, for example, that even though managerial devices have entered our educational policy and schools are faced with dilemmas of discretion based on economic constraints, there is a significant space for discretionary decision-making at the local level (Karseth & Møller, 2018; Ottesen & Møller, 2016).

Policy documents include tensions. On the one hand, education as a public good (Englund, 1994) has more or less been taken for granted in the policy rhetoric, on the other hand, the overall policy direction has clearly promoted the idea of education as a private good. In current policy documents, it is argued that education policy should simultaneously be driven by values of social justice and inclusive education as well as by the market. Politicians do not see themselves as tearing down the welfare state. On the contrary, it is argued that marketization reforms can mobilise teachers and school principals to do better than before. There is, however, an uneasy

tension between public and private good embedded in such arguments (Møller & Rönnberg, 2021).

Although the reported studies were not designed to generalize to all Norwegian schools, the findings confirm how principals mediate between values that prevail in their local contexts and those that weigh on them from afar. To some extent, new managerial elements, particularly performativity, have challenged traditional egalitarian values and the conceptualisation of equity. Nevertheless, the narrative of a common public school for all remains strong, and there is a significant space for discretionary decision-making at the local level. The international dimension is both important and constitutive, but there are national and historical particularities, as well as more overall ideologies on what constitutes 'successful' education, that contribute to the framing of educational leadership. Although it is possible to identify a growing homogenisation of approaches to governance due to global forces, local traditions ensure that these approaches play out differently in different national contexts. The reported studies support arguments that school leaders function as political strategists, who negotiate among competing interests and conflicting efforts by different groups. However, changes in the political economy are challenging the idea of public education, and in the future school leaders will have to deal with the realities of national manifestations of marketisation and privatisation. Therefore, it is an open question whether Norway in the future will continue to maintain its legacy of valuing the common school for all as a tenet of equal educational opportunity.

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Chapter 5
The Cultural and Social Foundations of Ethical Educational Leadership in Finland

Eija Hanhimäki and Mika Risku

Abstract This chapter provides the Finnish scope on cultural and social foundations of ethical educational leadership. Finland is often seen as an outlier. Predominant transnational trends are recognized but they tend to reach Finland with a delay and manifest themselves somewhat differently from the mainstream. There are contextual reasons for the deviance. We will present these focusing on how cultural and social aspects have been evolving in Finland. Furthermore, we will analyse the constituents, organisation and responsibilities embedded in the Finnish education system. This analysis makes use of contemporary education policy documents including legislation and other regulations, curricula, and trade union ethical recommendations for educational leaders as well as of research on them. In the analysis, we illustrate values and general ethical principles behind educational leadership practices in Finland. In addition, we describe recent empirical results on how educational leaders define moral professionalism as a part of their educational leadership competences and professional development plans. As a conclusion, we provide a characterization of the concept of educational leadership as it is understood in the culture of Finland and by Finnish educators. These are based on the analyses for the present study supported with other relevant contemporary research.

Keywords Educational leadership · Finland · Foundation · Culture · Society · Ethical leadership

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Overview of the Historical, Political and Cultural Embeddedness of the Educational System in Finland

Finland is often seen as an outlier in international studies on education (Simola et al., 2017; Risku & Tian, 2020). One can identify similar transnational trends as elsewhere, but they tend to reach Finland with a delay and to realise differently from the mainstream (Risku et al., 2016; Risku & Tian, 2020). This also affects Finnish ethical educational leadership.

According to Simola et al. (2017), the Finnish deviances derive from Finland being geo-politically peripheral and socially flat. One can simplify the historical development of independent Finland into three societal periods. The first one focused on nation building from 1917 to the 1960s (Risku, 2014). The second one strived for the Nordic welfare state model from the 1960s to the 1990s (Stenvall et al., 2016). Since the 1990s, Finland has been finalising its urbanisation and opening up economically and culturally (Risku & Tian, 2020; Simola et al., 2017).

We will begin our overview with Finland's efforts to attain the Nordic welfare state. According to Hargreaves and Shirley (2009) modern welfare states are products of the Second World War era. In general, the concept of welfare state refers to societies providing their citizens as a basic right sufficient standards of living and minimum levels of security to the risks of life (Pusa, 1997). How societies try to do this varies. What characterises Nordic welfare states is the inclusiveness and depth of the role of the state in the effort (Hilson, 2008).

Typical of Finland, its effort started later than in the other Nordic countries, but when it started, its essential reforms were implemented rapidly (Siltala, 2017). Due to the later start, the Nordic welfare state developments are more recent in Finland than in the other Nordic countries. (Simola et al., 2017). Hence, it may be that their effects also continue to be more intensively embedded in the Finnish culture and politics.

In relation to education, it is important to note that education policy was regarded as a vital part of social policy in the effort to reach the Nordic welfare state (Tian & Risku, 2019). Furthermore, within education policy the abolishment of the parallel education system and the implementation of the comprehensive education one were one of the most fundamental reforms for the Nordic welfare state (Ahonen, 2012).

The grounding principles of the Nordic welfare state model that have been steering developing Finnish society and education system particularly comprise of striving for equality (Risku, 2014), developing society with peaceful measures through legislation and policy-making (Katajala, 2002), and practicing trilateral collaboration amongst the state, employer and employee organisations (Pusa, 1997). These principles in several ways also construct the main principles for the Finnish educational ethical leadership.

According to Simola et al. (2017), the Finnish characteristics of the Nordic welfare state model have established a strong belief in societal institutions and in the ideology of corporatism. These can, in turn, be linked with the concept of trust often referred to, when discussing the Finnish education system.

The Finnish understanding of corporatism emphasises the state to include various societal actors in political decision-making, and to allow them autonomy in their own areas (Simola et al., 2017). However, as Simola et al. (2017) state, the transnational notion of corporatism stressing the role of corporate interest groups in public decision-making has not made Finland a strong civil society. Rather, Finland has been characterised by strong state governance. For example, the Nordic welfare state, and especially the comprehensive education system, were implemented with a predominantly centralised state-driven system-oriented governance (Risku, 2011, 2014).

At the turn of the 1980s to the 1990s, Finland began to meet with demographic, economic and ideological changes that dramatically altered the cultural and political embeddedness of the Finnish education system that existed when constructing the Finnish welfare state (Risku et al., 2016). As for the demographic changes, the aging and move of population to cities and particularly to southern Finland reached levels that began to endanger local authorities' capacities to provide public welfare services, including education (Risku, 2014). This challenge was stressed by the economic depression in the 1990s, and this stress has continued with the economic recession since 2008 (Simola et al., 2017).

The 1995 accession in the European Union signified Finland's cultural, economic and societal opening up in the international community. However, due to its historical development, Finland adopted the prevailing transnational trends, like neo-liberalism, somewhat later than most European countries, and due its demographic and economic challenges in a different manner. (Risku, 2014; Simola et al., 2017). Regarding the latter, neither neo-liberalism nor New Public Management, for example, were able to fundamentally alter the ethos of comprehensive education (Ahonen, 2001). Furthermore, instead of merely diminishing and making state administration more efficient, it centralised power to it and within its consistently streamlined governance (Yliaska, 2014).

One of the reasons for Finland adopting neo-liberalism later than most other countries was it attaining the Nordic welfare state later than the other Nordic countries (Risku et al., 2016). Another reason was that Finland had for a long time Left-Centre governments that were not inclined to Right-Wing ideologies. This changed in 1987, when Finland got its first Right-Centre government after the long recess. (Simola et al., 2017). The changes that the 1987 government and its successors have influenced school leaders' ethical leadership in several ways. We will describe this in more detail in part 4.3.

The governments of the last decade of the 1900s and of the first decade of the 2000s, typically of Finland, rapidly reformed the centralised state-driven and system-oriented governance into a decentralised information-based and result-oriented one (Risku, 2014). In this process, the labour division between the state and local authorities was radically rearranged (Risku et al., 2016), as well as the system for educational governance, which today can be presented like in Fig. 5.1 (Risku, 2018).

Due to the historical, cultural and political development, the present system for Finnish educational governance comprises four main lines. They represent the state,

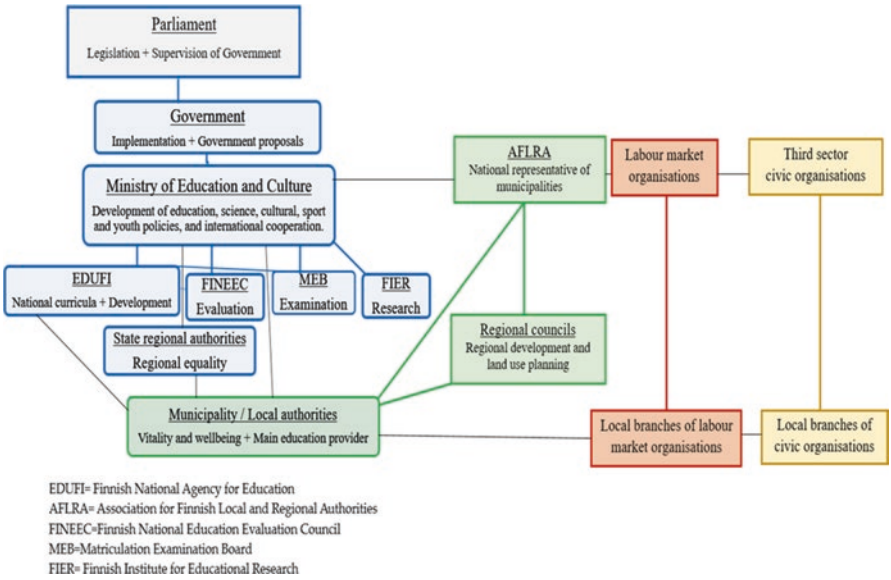

Fig. 5.1 Governance structure for Finnish education system (Risku, 2018)

local authorities, labour market organisations, and civic organisations. All the four lines of governance typically but incoherently include the local, regional, national and transnational level.

There is a strong tendency for enacting principles of democratic individualism and corporatism in the overall educational decision-making (Risku, 2014; Ryynänen, 2004; Simola et al., 2017). All actors and institutions in all governance lines and on all their levels can interact and form alliances to advance their own agendas with whatever actor and institution in the system (Risku & Tian, 2020), as well as bypass hierarchy (Paulsen et al., 2016; Norris et al., 1996). This also constantly takes place (Risku et al., 2016; Simola et al., 2017) making the system both dynamic and complex. This also creates constant challenges how to balance governance, as stakeholders' relationships alter all the time. (Risku & Tian, 2020). The state does not bear similar financial responsibility for providing educational services nor provide earmarked funding for education as it used to, but various education providers bear the responsibility for providing the mandated services (Aho et al., 2006; Risku, 2014). The transnational deregulation has discontinued various regulations, for example, for class sizes and inspections replacing them with national and local evaluation. (Kanervio & Risku, 2009; Lapiolahti, 2007; Laukkanen, 1998; Risku, 2014).

Finland has not followed the transnational strict accountability and quality assurance trend though (Risku et al., 2016; Simola et al., 2017). This is often rewarded to the notion of the Finnish trust. There may be other reasons, too, however. In the midst of the economic distresses and New Public Management streamlining of public services, the number of administrative people on all levels has been constantly decreased hampering how to follow up and especially document following-up

educational services (Hirvi, 1996; Kanervio & Risku, 2009; Norris et al., 1996; Rajanen, 2000). Furthermore, administration, follow-up and its documentation have been delegated to all actors on all levels to such a degree that there is perhaps no need for extensive external evaluation systems. A light national one may be sufficient. However, it may not be able to offer the detailed evaluation data as more rigorous evaluation systems in several countries. (Risku, 2014).

For school leaders, the autonomy and responsibility in the complex and dynamic governance system creates ample space for school leadership, and, hence, challenges for their ethical educational leadership. For example, the Finnish curriculum system comprises of the national and local level, extended usually to school and increasingly to regional level to allow decision-making on the various levels. The national core curricula demand education providers and schools to include various stakeholders and interest groups in their curriculum compilation, enactment and evaluation processes. The National Agency for Education, responsible for the core curricula, consistently does this, too, when reforming and developing national curricula. On all levels, there is a lot of space for decision-making. Alliances are formed, for example, to improve and increase services, and to save money. (Tian & Risku, 2019).

Brief Characterization of the Concept of Education in Finland

Finnish education system has been famous for its good learning results, even if school contexts have become more challenging in recent years. The results of PISA (Program for International Students Assessment) have shown that Finland is a model country of basic education. Finnish students' reading and problem-solving skills, for example, were excellent in PISA (Finnish Institute for Educational Research, 2020; OECD, 2001, 2004).

Behind of this success are, for example, Finnish teachers and teacher education that have contributed to students' abilities to achieve these results. Finnish teacher education is research-based and has high standards. Finnish teacher education offers teachers tools for inquiry-oriented, reflective practice and the continuous development and innovation of their work. Thus, Finnish teachers and school leaders can be called reflective professionals and practitioners, and enjoy pedagogical autonomy, even if evaluation and national examinations somewhat limit it (Estola et al., 2007). How ethical educational leadership is conducted in Finnish day-care centres and schools is something that school leaders and teachers try to do together.

As for the concept of *education,* it is a complex one in Finland, as in all countries. Increasingly complex it becomes, when trying to describe it in the English language. We will here describe *education* as corresponding to the Finnish concept of *koulutus*. Lehtisalo and Raivola (1992) regard it as the overarching concept when using education policy terminology.

How Finns conceive *education* is increasingly challenged by how they view *learning*. According to Heikkinen and Tynjälä (2012), *learning* comprises of

formal, non-formal and informal learning. *Education* is often interpreted as confined to formal *learning* in Finland. Hence, Finns are trying to renew how they provide *education* to include in it also non-formal and informal *learning*. Heikkinen and Tynjälä (2012) refer to this tendency as informalisation. There are also efforts to formalise non-formal and informal learning so that their outcomes can be both recognised and accredited in the education system. The covid-19 pandemic explicitly has showed how extending the conception of education is also an ethical matter. Schools have to be able to increasingly both provide and recognise various kind of learning and support it.

In accordance with the Nordic welfare state model, *education* is very much about *socialisation* in Finland (Kivistö & Vaherva, 1972). After the nation-building period of 1917–1960s, the societal focus moved to establishing equality based on the Nordic welfare state model. As in other societal developments in Finland, education policy has had a significant role in attaining the overall societal goals. (Tian & Risku, 2019).

The general aim has been that all citizens can educate themselves.. The parallel education system was replaced with the comprehensive education one in 1972–1977 leading into a holistic unified education system with no dead ends. Despite of this, marginalisation is still a challenge for the Finnish education system. As one effort to diminish marginalisation, the present, prime minister Sanna Marin's government, extended free compulsory education to upper secondary education starting in August 2021. In addition, the Finnish education system is free from pre-school to higher education, and supported with extensive student-care and financial aid. (Aho et al., 2006). These have all a significant role in Finnish ethical educational leadership how this system supports equality.

In addition to bringing all children and youth within the same education system and schools to grow and learn together, the Finnish education system attempts to advance equality by following the radical conception of equality. According to it, equality is not an empirical but a moral concept. The education system is to be able to rectify societal injustices with positive discrimination. This means that resources and support are directed to where they are needed most. The education system has to be able to identify people's needs and to meet them with corresponding support. In accordance, the Finnish conception of equality is not the same thing as uniformity. (Lehtisalo & Raivola, 1992.)

In fact, as the world is becoming increasingly diverse, how public services, like education, support people has to be able to take into consideration the growing diversity in people's needs and goals. This is challenging and transforming how public services, including education, have to be organised and enacted. As one result, rules and regulations no longer suffice to steer public administration, but values obtain a larger role in how governance functions (Ryynänen, 2004).

In a multi-layer educational conceptual context like this, it is necessary to define the main concepts of moral and professional dimensions in education because teaching is a moral profession (see, e.g., Sockett, 1993; Carr, 1996, 2000; Hansen, 2001a). The concepts of *ethics* and *morality* have been used with different emphases in many studies (Tirri, 1999a). According to Colnerud (2006, 367), ethics refers to

"the theory of morality and the considered principles of conduct" while moral has come to stand for "every day, not often reflected, conduct".

In other words, ethics can be understood as a scientific discipline and a more abstract concept that investigates the moral practice of ethical premises. Hansen (2001b, 827) has investigated teaching practices and work as a moral activity. He prefers the term 'moral' to the term 'morality', when referring to the teaching context. According to him, morality refers to a particular set of values of a particular group, community or society, whereas "the idea of teaching as a moral endeavour" provides an opportunity to view both an orientation toward practice and the significance of work, as well as a specific family of values.

In addition, the moral dimension is evident in a larger sense in the educational context, not just in teaching. Zubay and Soltis (2005, 3) stated that the moral dimension is present in education because "education itself is a moral endeavour". The moral dimension is evident, for example, in classroom instruction, in the development of human beings and in discussions between students and teachers.

Moral interactions occur between school leaders and teachers, as well as amongst teachers, between teachers and their other cooperation partners, and in relation to students and parents. An open discussion between school leaders, teachers, students, parents and administrators is needed in moral education how to find common values in the teaching of ethics and in ways to enlist the cooperation of the whole school community in moral discussions, and in sensitive interactions. (Zubay & Soltis, 2005, 4.)

In this chapter, *moral* refers to the educational practice, such as moral leadership and moral roles, whereas *ethics* and *ethical* correspond to more philosophical and abstract concepts, such as professional ethics. When referring to previous research, we use the concepts of moral and ethical in the same way as the researchers used them in their studies.

Presentation of Constituents and Principles of School Organisation and Responsibilities of Leaders from a Social and Cultural Point of View

The Finnish education policy and governance system steer from the top and construct from the bottom, thus following the Hargreaves and Shirley (2009) Fourth Way Model. This establishes the essential social and cultural standpoint for Finnish schools and their staff.

In accordance with Fig. 5.1, the state steers the education system in collaboration with the other actors. Legislation and other regulations mandate education providers, but they have autonomy to determine how they organise their provisions of education. Legislation and other regulations do not obligate local educational staff directly but via the local decision-making. Hence, school leaders and teachers do

not serve the state but the education providers. These are mainly local authorities. (Risku & Tian, 2020).

According to legislation (e.g. Basic Education Act, 1998/628), every school has to have a principal, and the principal is responsible for everything that takes place in the school. Regarding personnel, legislation merely states that there has to be sufficient staff. What this all means in practice is determined in local steering documents as obligated in legislation. These include, for example, the local ordinance, annual work, biannual equality and four-year security plan. In addition, the regulations obligate education providers to together with their staff agree and document how employees are involved in decision-making, and how to handle matters like discrimination, improving and maintaining employees' competence, occupational safety, and employees' privacy at work. (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, n.d.).

The two-, and in practice three-tier, curriculum system (national-local-school) allows education providers and their schools a lot of autonomy how to interpret, translate and enact education. For example, the 2014 national core curriculum for comprehensive education includes 180 issues that have to be decided locally. (Tian & Risku, 2019). Similar to cooperation within educational organisations, legislation and other regulations require education providers and schools to agree and document plans how to cooperate and guarantee involvement with students and their parents.

Furthermore, the Administrative Procedure Act (434/2003) describes the foundations for good administration determining how educational staff is to conduct its work. The key principles (values) include following legislation, serving in an appropriate manner, providing advice, using appropriate language and cooperating. The leading principle is that public services are to function and treat people as they expect them to do based on legislation and other regulations. As Ryynänen (2004) states, it is no longer enough to master and follow legislation and other regulations; school leaders and teachers have to know and understand their spirit, and to act in accordance to their values.

Within this frame of the education system, members of school communities encounter moral dilemmas caused by, among others, diversity in everyday school life. Moral dilemmas concern what is the right and just thing to do, for example, when integrating multicultural families into the school communities or settling the differences between the staff (Hanhimäki, 2011). Moral issues are always complicated to solve because they handle our rights, duties and obligations to one another. In addition, moral principles affect solutions to moral dilemmas. Thus, it is important to clarify and justify one's own personal and professional moral principles because different moral principles can conflict in real life moral dilemmas, and people have to think about the priorities of such principles (Strike et al., 2005). According to Nash (2002, 1), the idea of "real world" ethics describes this reality as "a complex admixture of personal, social, and professional morality". Moral and morality are very complicated and contextual concepts, and definitions of these concepts vary across cultures and contexts. However, moral always has something to do with values, with dilemmas and with right and wrong.

According to Sockett (1993, ix, 9), Hoyle (1980) stated that when the aim is in "the quality of a person's professional practice", which is judged by professional standards, it is a question of professionalism. According to previous Finnish studies, the basis for educational leaders' and teachers' moral professionalism and professional ethics is their values (Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2008, 2009; Husu & Tirri, 2007; Tirri & Husu, 2006). Hence, moral professionalism can be defined as the quality of educators' professional practices (Sockett, 1993), which are judged by professional standards and codes of ethics, and become evident in educators' moral practices and roles in the everyday life of schools (Hanhimäki, 2011).

However, teachers are unfamiliar with the moral form of discourse and do not possess the vocabulary of moral language (Sockett, 1993, 13–14; see also Lyons, 1990; Tirri, 1999b). The concept of teaching as a moral profession is still in the midst of complexities and tensions, in spite of the research evidence. According to Campbell (2008, 4), "despite the ethical nature of teaching as a moral profession, the maintenance of a clear moral orientation to the practice of teaching is not a guaranteed characteristic that is naturally embedded in the role of teacher". In addition, there should be more ethics teaching in teacher education. Even ethically developed teachers can also have "blind spots": teachers cannot always recognize the moral dimension of their practice because educational language concentrates on problems that can be solved technically (Buzzelli & Johnston, 2002, 25; Huebner, 1996, 268).

To support and guide their members in ethical matters, several trade union associations have established their own ethical guidelines that reflect common professional values and principles, which should be visible in their members' work. In the field of education, Finnish teachers got their own codes in 1998 with an update in 2014, principals in 2018, municipal directors of education in 2019, and early childhood education professionals in 2020.

The Code of Ethics for Finnish Teachers (1998, 2014) is defined by the Trade Union of Education (OAJ). The beginning of the code emphasises that educational professionals must have both good professional skills and ethical principles, and that these cannot replace each other. Norms and legislation define via education providers' steering documents teachers' basic tasks and responsibilities, and the contents of teaching is specified in the curricula. Behind the ethics lies neither compulsion nor external control, but a foundation based on international agreements, as the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and on national ones, like the Administrative Procedure Act (434/2003), as agreed on the local level.

Four main values lie behind teachers' professional ethics: human worth, honesty, justice and freedom. Teachers' ethical principles concern both teachers' relationships with themselves and with other people, like pupils and colleagues, as well as their relationships with work and in cooperation with homes, the surrounding communities, and with the larger society. (Code of Ethics for Finnish Teachers, 1998, 2014.)

The main contents of the Principal's Ethical Code (2018) by the Finnish Association of Principals (SURE) state that schooling is at the core of principal's work. In addition, the code emphasizes that the principal's profession is caring in

two main meanings: it is both communication between the school community and the society, and taking care of one's own school community. Furthermore, the code underlines equality, respect, encouragement and hope.

The Code of Ethics for Finnish Municipal Directors of Education (2019) by the Finnish Association of Educational Experts describes what ethical duties the municipal directors have. These essentially include promoting and securing the fulfilment of citizens' cultural rights. The main values are equality, respect, encouragement, trust, professional and sustainable development, and hope.

Finally, the Ethical Principles for the Professionals in Early Childhood Education (2020) by the Trade Union for the Public and Welfare Sectors have as their starting points children's rights, respect for people and environment, and support for staff. The main values of these principles, in turn, are respect, equality, cooperation, encounter, professional development, responsibility, trust, and wellbeing.

Illustration of Values and Great Principles of Justice on Which Leadership Practices Are Based Within the Educational Community

In the educational context, the values of educators are always in a dialogue with parents' and children's values. Hence, educators must be aware of both their personal values and the ethical standards of the teaching profession (see Tirri & Husu, 2002). Educators can have different moral orientations towards moral dilemmas, such as orientations of justice, care and truthfulness. Equal respect and the ideal of reciprocity are essential for the justice orientation, ideal of attention and response to need in a care orientation (Gilligan & Attanucci, 1988), and for the aim of truth in education in truthfulness (Oser, 1991). In mature moral thinking, justice and caring are connected (Juujärvi, 2003) and complementary.

Day's (2005) multi-perspective study on successful principals in challenging schools revealed that vision and distributed leadership are accompanied by strong core values and beliefs, an abiding sense of agency, identity, moral purpose, resilience, and trust. These characteristics could also be heard in educators' moral voices in Hanhimäki's (2011) study on challenging Finnish urban schools. Principals constantly mentioned values and moral purpose in their narration. Similarly, teachers and a deacon reflected these concepts in their experiences with their principals and in school life (Hanhimäki, 2008a, b; Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2008, 2009).

In the focus of ethical leadership, there is the creation of an ethical and educational community in which people "live well together and in which children learn how to live well together in the larger community" (Strike, 2007, 146). According to Strike (2007, xv), ethics concern the question "How shall we live well together?". Since "schools should be good educational communities", Strike (2007, xv) stated that school leaders should obtain information on the study of ethics from the viewpoint of "what makes a school a good educational community", and this way create

good moral education (Strike, 2008). Hanhimäki (2011) used the concept of moral leadership more than that of ethical leadership, because the focus of moral leadership is on the practice of teaching and leadership. In other words, moral leadership describes how ethical norms are applied in everyday school life in principals' work, in their interactions with others, and in the creation of an ethical and educational community.

Hanhimäki (2011) investigated educators' moral professionalism in challenging urban Finnish schools. The main research themes in the original articles considered moral leadership, teachers' ethical sensitivity in critical incidents, and cooperation in moral education between school and church (Hanhimäki, 2008a; Hanhimäki, 2008b; Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2008; Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2009). The term educator refers to all educators working within the school: principals, teachers and a deacon in the context of four urban schools (Hanhimäki, 2011).

Hanhimäki's (2011) study formed part of the international Socrates Comenius project (2005–2008), which aimed to investigate urban schools as challenging learning environments in nine European countries. The main purpose of the project was to explore principals and their successful leadership in challenging urban schools. Two of the four published articles were about principals, their moral roles and profiles in challenging urban Finnish schools (Hanhimäki, 2008b; Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2008). In addition, principals and their moral leadership were considered in other original articles (Hanhimäki, 2008a; Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2009).

The Finnish educators' moral voices in relation to themselves, to other people and their work, and to society emphasized nine main themes that described moral professionalism in interaction between educators and their urban school contexts. These themes were moral leadership, the development and evaluation of process, moral sensitivity, gender, values, student well-being, multi-professional cooperation, families and parental involvement, and moral school culture. The loudest moral voices heard and repeated most often in the educators' narration were caring, cooperation, respect, commitment and professionalism. (Hanhimäki, 2011.)

For the purposes of the present chapter, we analysed 11 portfolios of ethical leadership. The students in the intermediate studies of Educational Leadership at the Institute of Educational Leadership, University of Jyväskylä made the portfolios as their final assignments for their course on ethical leadership (5 ECTS credits) during the academic year of 2019–2020. The course aimed at supporting students to understand the meaning of ethical questions and values for the development of their own professional identities and educational leadership. In addition, the course was to assist them to recognize, analyze and interpret ethical phenomena in their own working environments, to specify the characteristics of the ethical atmosphere of their organizations, and to lead value discussions in their organizations.

The students, who were practicing educational leaders in various positions and levels of education, made two pre-assignments before writing their portfolios. The first one handled their career path to leadership, self-knowledge, capabilities and humanity. The second one was about easy and challenging ethical dilemmas that they had encountered in their work as an educational leader or teacher.

In the portfolios, the students were asked to use both their pre-assignments and literature, when they were describing and considering their work as ethical leaders and the ethical leadership of their organizations. In addition, the students could choose their own points of view on ethical leadership: what was interesting for them and for their professional development.

At the Institute of Educational Leadership, one of the main learning theories used is integrative pedagogy, which is a model for expertise development. In this model, expertise is constituted by four basic elements: theoretical and conceptual knowledge; practical and experiential knowledge; self-regulative knowledge; and socio-cultural knowledge. These forms of knowledge are closely integrated with one another in high-level expertise (Heikkinen et al. 2012). Integrative pedagogy combines these forms of knowledge in learning situations, and this model of pedagogy was also the lens for these final assignments.

The portfolios were at least 15 pages long each, and the students emphasized different personal themes of ethical leadership in their texts. Altogether, the data were about 170 pages. All these students, except for one, worked as educational leaders in their schools or municipalities, and the one who did not work as a leader had a long teaching experience.

The students' definitions of ethical leadership were both very positive and unanimous: every one of them included a definite meaning of ethics in their leadership. Their descriptions of ethical leadership were multidimensional and personal such as "Ethical leadership is like a glue that makes leadership consistent and streamlined and creates trust and well-being at the same time." (female vice-principal), "Ethical leadership helps to build the best possible working community where everyone can do together and in a constructive way work for the basic task." (male teacher), "Ethical leadership affects behind everything in my leadership. It is one of the cornerstones in good leadership but personally the most important one for me." (male principal).

Some of the students told that they had already put the Principal's Ethical Code (2018) on their wall, and all of them defined their own codes of ethics in their portfolios. One student wrote: "The Code of Ethics for Finnish Principals will go with me throughout my leadership career. I will rewrite it in the future so that it will look like me with examples and nuances." (male principal). All the students described how they have to develop their ethical leadership during their whole careers, for example, "I hope that I could develop my ethical leadership, so that all members in our school community both the staff and students could feel safety and learn and grow as human beings." (female principal).

The students positively described their assignments that combined different forms of knowledge. During their studies, they had made their own professional development plans and each of them thanked for the portfolios commenting that they were a great finalization for their studies, for instance, "With the help of this portfolio, I have analyzed my ethical leadership and increased my self-knowledge and maybe my self-confidence as a leader a little, too. I believe that it is easier to justify my own ethical point of view with the help of the thinking work of this course." (female principal), "My aim in this portfolio was to clarify for myself what

kind of an ethical leader I am. This assignment was a great possibility for that. Making this portfolio brightened things that have been important ones in my leadership work. At the same time, ethical leadership became a more casual concept and tool for me. Theories melted into practices and helped me to describe what is important and inalienable in leadership for me." (female principal).

Characterization of the Concept of Ethical Educational Leadership as It Is Understood in the Culture of Finland and by Finnish Educators

When we describe the concept of educational leadership from the Finnish point of view, we simply refer to the phenomenon of leadership in the field of education (Risku, 2020). In relation to ethical educational leadership, we can see certain main values and ethical principles throughout the educational system.

First, striving for equality based on the Nordic welfare state ideology constitutes the fundamental ethical principle on all levels of our educational and societal system. Second, taking care of all individuals in their individual educational and life paths in accordance to their own needs and goals characterises our system in addition to equality. Third, multi-professional collaboration to support the well-being and development of people of all ages has a long tradition in the Finnish educational system.

As the rearranged labour division between the state and local authorities provides a lot of space for ethical educational leadership, it also challenges every educational professional's agency and autonomy. This demands sophisticated abilities for ethical consideration and for moral practices. This, in turn, creates challenges for our educational system how to support educators and educational leaders in their professional development.

In previous research as well as in our empirical findings, we can see the growing role of value-based leadership at the same time when complexity, unexpected changes, diversity and different individual needs increase. When we think about our current and future society and citizens, we can influence our students' ethical, intercultural and inter-religious skills by emphasizing citizenship education in the curriculum and implementing it at the practical level in schools (Holm, 2012). There is a need for education for future educators and educational leaders to prepare them to face this cultural and religious pluralism (Hanhimäki, 2012).

Overall, we have to develop our educational leadership and teacher education so that it can better respond to the needs of professional development, in order to make it flexible and to be able to cope with the consistent challenges and continuous changes. As our Institute of Educational Leadership case study showed when students have possibilities to make reflective ethical studying as part of their professional development closely connected with their moral practices, the results can be very promising. Reflection on moral virtues and the moral dimension of leadership

should be an integral part of educators' and educational leaders' education to support their value-based leadership work (Eisenschmidt et al., 2019). Citing Institute of Educational Leadership, University of Jyväskylä students, ethical leadership can modify the cornerstone for educational leadership that carries and supports individuals and communities during both good and bad days.

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Part III
Continental Europe

Chapter 6
Leadership and French Principals: An Unthinkable and Paradoxical Moral Agency

Romuald Normand

Abstract French principals are exposed to paradoxes. Their ethics and values lead them to maintain a republican moral stance by affirming their attachment to public services and secularism. Their membership to a professional group within a bureaucratic organization does not predispose them to endorse managerial ideas and practices. However, as the New Public Management enters the education system, they are increasingly being required to focus on school organization and improvement. They have therefore to assume hybrid roles and responsibilities, between administration, management, and leadership, while the organizational structure remains relatively inflexible, and resources such as support are lacking. This creates a series of tensions that are presented in this chapter along with the moral agency that many principals adopt in their relationships within schools. Between hierarchical prescription and autonomy, between cooperation and conflict, between citizenship and pedagogy, they seek ways for capacity building and school improvement in a civic and egalitarian perspective. Although they are trained mainly as administrators and State representatives, they learn by doing to become managers and leaders without much recognition for their creativity and innovation. They also hardly reflect on themselves as leaders despite leadership practices that can be observed in their daily activities.

Keywords Bureaucracy · Organisation · Leadership · Principal · Ethics · Agency

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Introduction

In the French language, the French principal is name as the "*chef d'établissement*" (chief in the sense of commander). It is therefore a cultural and moral stance in line with the past authoritarian and commanding military organization which inspired the building of the French administrative State. In education, some observers use the term "Red Army" to describe the " battalions" of executives and its 800,000 teachers who are working as civil servants for the Ministry of Education in a centralized, hierarchical, and bureaucratic administration.

In this type of organization, it is difficult to perceive the notion of "leadership", which appears as an exotic vocabulary referring most often to the personality, exceptional traits, talents, and charisma demonstrated by some people. It also characterizes an elitist position and authoritative relationships according to the French education context. But understanding this cultural difference requires an historical explanation, since history had a strong influence on the French vision on education, and it continues to shape categories of thought among educators. In fact, the school system and its administration are linked to the affirmation of a republican project which, despite its failures and uncertainties, gives sense to everyday practices.

This historical detour will enable us to figure out the continuity of certain moral behaviours and professional attitudes among French principals, and more broadly among executives at the Ministry of Education. Indeed, the exit from professional bureaucracy challenges values and ethics shared by corporatist groups which embody a certain Statist representation hostile to New Public Management. While it is variously felt and experienced within these groups, it shows however a cultural reluctance and mistrust against managerial ideas. Hence the following paradox: principals must increasingly behave as managers in their school, but the ministry has not yet developed training contents, skills and an organizational structure that enables them to think of themselves as managers. According to the ministry's lexicon, principals are named alternatively as "executives" or "senior staff" but more rarely as "managers".

What about "leaders"? As we shall see in this chapter, French principals, in their daily activities, adopt some leadership practices. But the word "leader" is rarely used by the Ministry and professional groups. It is therefore difficult for principals to build their moral agency as "leaders" or even to gain reflexivity about this professional stance and its related skills. The problem refers to a kind of moral ontology and the impossibility for principals to give a meaning to contextualized practices. In other words, we could say that the essence of the " chief" precedes the existence of the "manager" and prevents any recognition of the "leader". There are a lot of explanations behind this and some of them are presented successively in this chapter. We hope that, at the end, the reader will be able to better understand the unthinkable and paradoxical moral agency experienced by French principals in their daily practices. It is also a contribution to the emerging research field on school principal's identities (Crow et al., 2017).

These reflections are developed from different research projects I led on French principals and the expertise developed in their initial and further training for local authorities and our national training institute. French leadership research literature is almost non-existent. The first section of the chapter provides a brief archaeology of the republican project, at the core of the French education system, because it is essential to understand the vision and values shared by educational executives, particularly their attachment to public services and secularism. The second part focuses on the moral and political dimension of the ministerial technostructure and its professional bureaucracy, but also on ideologies hostile to managerial ideas despite the current implementation of New Public Management. The third part is devoted to the roles and responsibilities shared French principals and their difficulties to assume managerial and leadership positions in schools, due to specific organizational constraints and a lack of resources and support, but also due to a particular social and moral agency.

French Education Between Tradition and Modernity: A Brief Archaeology of the Republican Project

Understanding the moral agency of the French principal requires an historical perspective. The history of the French Republic, what it carries in terms of values, principles of justice, hopes and collective imaginary, is a prerequisite before underlining cognitive categories and practices shared by executives. This cultural anchoring determines their vision and social relationships. It also structures the State administration and its mode of governance. The building of the republican project in education is a mix of legacy and modernity (Bell, 2003). This brief archaeology serves to illustrate a common sense and heritage still shared today within the French education system.

The Heritage Values of French Education as a Common Background

The values of the French society are attached to the revolutionary ideals and the formula “Liberty, equality, fraternity”. Liberty, as an emanation of the political and economic liberalism that was developed from the eighteenth century, is also a legacy of the American independence and its first constitution. Equality was founded through the abolition of aristocratic privileges, the affirmation of universalistic rights against the divine and royal power, but also after a social struggle, relayed by socialist ideas and the labour movement, which was extended throughout the nineteenth century. Fraternity refers to successive battles waged against enemies inside and outside the French Revolution and later. This value was then affirmed as a

nationalistic and patriotic vision, but also as a collective imaginary aiming to emancipate European peoples from tyranny. These values are now reflected in education.

Liberty, strengthened by constitutional rights (freedom of opinion, belief, speech, and association), is institutionalized in schools particularly through the recognition of students' rights and citizenship. It is also expressed in school choice, even though the education system is essentially public. A State contract is established with most private providers, mainly Catholic ones, to guarantee the delivery of a national curriculum.

Equality remains the dominant value with a strong commitment of educators in promoting equality of opportunities. Although it is far from being achieved, it has become a "necessary fiction" and an overriding perspective for educational policymakers. It impacts strongly on education governance. For the time being, the egalitarian treatment of students, enshrined in the Education Code and the principles of public service, requires a standardized school provision throughout the country, particularly in curricula and teaching.

Fraternity, although it has lost its warlike vision, is praised as a civic principle that must shape a national community of citizens and maintain a secular spirit. This principle is rediscovered and praised by secular associations (such as the *Fédération des Oeuvres Laïques*) but also by philosophers in the media, and even the French Ministry of Education is developing an "education for fraternity" programme.

These "republican" values are also taught in different parts of the national curriculum, particularly in history and philosophy, and sustained by an education for citizenship under the responsibility of a specific service within secondary schools without much equivalence in Europe: the school life service dealing with the management of students' absences, discipline, and the educative life outside classrooms.

Napoleon's Legacy in Educational Administration

Napoleon the First holds a special place in the history of France and, despite debates surrounding his heritage, it partly explains the French passion for "Great Men" (Lyons, 1994). It entails a cultural bias about the notion of "leader" attributed most often to politicians or leading public figures (the opinion leader). The Emperor's influence is very much due to his modernisation of the State at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Green, 1990). The Napoleonic State enacted the Civil Code and codified laws and regulation for the French administration. Therefore, the Education Code and the *Bulletin Officiel de l'Education Nationale* stipulate, week after week, duties and obligations for civil servants in education (executives, teachers, and all staff).

It was during these years that the major bodies of the State administration elite were formed, such as the *Conseil d'Etat* (the State Council which settles conflicts between citizens and their administration at the top) or the *Cour des Comptes* (the Accountancy Court which regularly issues reports and recommendations for the improvement of public accounts), still both active in education (Suleiman, 2015).

The Napoleonic state also created the General Inspectorate of Education, which still today fulfils a role of control and evaluation of the education system. The French education system also owes Napoleon a certain form of administrative and departmental organization of education, which still has an impact on the governance of primary schools.

More generally, this Napoleonic legacy is felt within the French education system where rules are extremely codified by legislation and the ministry, and where governance is conceived in a centralized, top-down and hierarchical way while giving considerable power to the central administration (named by insiders the "power plant").

The Philosophical Tradition of the Enlightenment as a Republican Project

There is no doubt that philosophy has played a great role in the creation of the French educational vision and the building of the State (Keohane, 2017). At the end of the nineteenth century, the founders of the Republican school system were inspired by the neo-Kantian philosophers like Charles Renouvier and Albert Fouillée, but also Léon Bourgeois 's concept of "social solidarity", Auguste Comte's positivism, or Emile Boutroux's spiritualism. These philosophies promoted a conception of morality and the progress of reason that had considerably influenced school curricula as well as training contents for primary education teachers.

Previously, the philosophy of the Enlightenment, endorsed by the French Revolution in 1789, had drawn a horizon of emancipation for which education should serve the new society. Condorcet, a mathematician but also a great defender of "political arithmetic" as the State governing science, defended public education to support "the progress of the human spirit".

Voltaire did not stop fighting against religion that he considered as alienation and servitude. His militant secularism led him to a permanent attack against the Church and clericalism which, according to him, had oppressed the individual. In the nineteenth century, the philosopher's ideas fed antagonistic passions about the State's secularism (Stock-Morton, 1988). They still resurface in recurrent debates on public education (Normand, 2009).

Finally, Rousseau, from his idea of "social contract", established principles for a social organization based on equality and freedom among citizens, who renounce their individual freedom to delegate a mandate to representatives defending public interests above private ones (Masters, 2015). This conception was at the foundation of the French republicanism, its constitutional principles, and institutions, enshrining the rule of law and a national community of citizens. This civic spirit is still present in the public discourse and widely taught in schools. On the other hand, the second Rousseau, who wrote "Emile or on Education" did not have the same fate. The idea of focusing education on the child's environment and learning, making the

educator staying back, has certainly fuelled a worldwide movement for active pedagogy, including Dewey, but the imaginary of the teacher as a "secular priest", according to Emile Durkheim's words, "transmitting knowledge" to "enlighten" students and make them "citizens" remains shared by most French educators (Dill, 2007).

A Second Modernity: Education as the State Case Against Catholic Interests

The "French spirit" in education cannot be understood without mentioning a second modernity which, after the heritage of the Enlightenment and Napoleon, laid down the principles of public education.

It corresponds to the long revenge of secular reformers against the Catholic Church who had concentrated all powers in education until 1870 (Doyle, 2017). Jules Ferry's laws making education free (1881), compulsory, public and secular (1882) were an important break. Following the military defeat against Germany, these laws expressed the conviction that the gradual introduction of republican ideas into education could build a new citizenship while strengthening the patriotic sentiment. To this end, the Ministry of Public Instruction created a body of civil servants, the first schoolteachers or "black hussars" responsible for evangelizing municipalities in a backward rural France by transmitting the "secular faith" (Alix, 2019). The Ferry Laws, which founded the "Republic of Teachers", resulted in an almost complete schooling of children (literacy and "francization" of local languages) seen as a partial achievement of the Enlightenment project.

A few years later, the 1905 Act enshrined a definitive separation of the Church and the State, another fundamental pillar of French republicanism in education, while at the same time it proclaimed freedom of conscience and religious worship. This Act of Separation established the French secularism. It remains today a strong principle within the French education system.

The Ministry has recently set up a National Commission to ensure that this principle would be respected. This mechanism includes a *Council of Wise Persons* bringing together experts to reflect on ensuring respect for secularism in schools, a national team supporting State local authorities to make alerts and draw up a precise inventory of incidents, and local teams providing support to schools and teachers when the principle of secularism is contested. To this end, the Ministry of Education has designed a whole policy of intervention and training throughout the national territory to fight against the rise of "Islamism" and "communitarianism".

Professional Bureaucracy, Corporatism, and Reluctance to Managerial Ideas

In France, the education State is centralized and bureaucratic. Rather than describing this well-known governance structure (cf. Normand, 2020), this section is focused on the professional and ideological culture shared by executives from different interest groups. This culture shapes a specific moral agency that is quite reluctant to managerial ideas and practices. Navigating between professional bureaucracy and corporatism, French principals and inspectors must meet New Public Management requirements (Normand, 2017; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). This paradox is illustrated in the last section of this chapter.

Technostructure, Professional Bureaucracy and Corporatism

The Minister of Education is at the head of a technostructure, broken down into directorates and departments, which reformulates, through administrative norms, decisions taken within the cabinet. A hierarchical chain of command, from the top to the bottom, relays these decisions and regulations. This centralization is coupled with the standardization of qualifications, missions, responsibilities, and tasks on behalf of delivering public service in education and treating all students equally.

The French education system works like a professional bureaucracy: it is up to the State to prescribe norms and to civil servants to implement them, but the latter have an autonomy and an expertise legitimized by their membership to a professional body (Ambler, 1985; Dobbins, 2014). This body selects and recruits its members through "competitive examinations" and in an endogenous way for upper positions. Qualifications are certified by the State as an entrance in a long-life civil service.

It entails a certain moral stance and vision shared by these professional groups: a commitment to the public service and interest, a shared conception of secularism, mutual respect and solidarity within the group, and indifference to differences in social, religious or cultural backgrounds.

But, as many observers point out, professional bureaucracy has its own setbacks: the fall back into professional bodies that defend their corporatist interests above all, a blindness to differences in school contexts, a secular and proselytist vision that sometimes turns into a caricature, a professional segmentation that prevents any transversal cooperation, a lack of transparency due to endogenous control in the promotion and career within professional bodies. This professional bureaucracy is compounded by a trade unionist culture, and sometimes political allegiances, which do not facilitate authentic discourses and often mask some shadow interests despite generous claims for universalism.

Modernizing Policy, Accountability, and Reluctance to Managerial Ideas

In recent decades, some modernizing principles have been adopted by reformist policymakers (Derouet & Normand, 2011, 2016; Normand et al., 2018). There are at least three reasons to explain these changes according to the national context (Hall et al., 2015): the failure of the French-style comprehensive school incapable of reducing educational inequalities between students; Europeanization that changed the trajectory of the French education system by aligning it with the Open Method of Coordination; and the introduction of New Public Management (NPM) leading the education system towards a post-bureaucratic accountability.

These changes are hardly perceptible as they are mediated by ideological quarrels locked up within the national space (see below). They are mitigated by some buffering tactics from senior officials and policymakers who seek to implement reforms adjusted to their political values and ideological interests while facing strong trade unionist pressures (Normand, 2020). The slowness and inertia of the ministerial technostructure contributes also to silent transformations that can only be interpreted through close scrutiny of some administrative and legal texts, in looking at the overall reform of public services beyond education.

The attention paid to this ideological, bureaucratic, and legal prism helps explain why reforms have been focused primarily on curriculum and basic skills (due to the ideological predominance of academic knowledge transmission over pedagogy and learning). It clarifies the interest of policymakers in student guidance, the reduction of dropouts (an indicator of the European Open Method of Coordination) and social inclusion (due to the legal importance of equal opportunities in policy reforms). But policymakers were more reluctant to give more autonomy to schools (due to their Statist, bureaucratic and centralized vision), to restructure roles and tasks among and between principals and inspectors (due to corporatism and trade unionism), or to give more room to innovation and creativity (due to the standardized and national school provision).

Beyond a movement towards accountability without marketization and decentralization, cross-sectoral collaborative practices and networking remain rare and heavily framed by hierarchical and bureaucratic control. The transfer and dissemination of professional knowledge from one school to another is hardly considered by State local authorities. Parental involvement remains very limited at local level. Schools' interactions with research are random and episodic, generally dependent on programmes decided by the ministry and they changed according to political alternatives. Human Resources Management also remains highly top-down and corporatist.

Under these conditions, the term "management" does not have a good image: many principals prefer the words "steering" and "monitoring" which are also used by the Ministry and its officials. We shall come back to this later, but before, let us consider some ideological debates that are taking place on public education. They

often guide the moral postures and social behaviours adopted by French principals and inspectors alike.

Public Education as an Ideological Battlefield for Interest Groups

A first debate historically opposes the "republicans" and the "pedagogues". The pedagogical movements never succeeded in establishing themselves in French public education even at the height of the comprehensive school because officials as well as educational scientists have always defended the importance of the "transmission of knowledge". This strongly disciplinary-based teaching, strongly promoted by interest groups (inspection bodies, associations of school subject specialists, teachers' unions, researchers in didactics, policymakers, learned societies and institutions) resisted all attempts to diversify and simplify school curricula. Even during the recent reform of the baccalaureate, an underground battle for the national curriculum has continued, with a National Council for the Curriculum (*Conseil National des Programmes*) subject to political influences and alternatives. The voice of pedagogues, more concerned about student learning and less focused on academic disciplines, is making itself heard as an activist digression, close to the reformist Left, but these activists remain a dominated minority group within the public space.

Another battlefield concerns local school autonomy. For a Jacobin Right or Left, any delegation of responsibilities to the local would weaken the State and its authority. In this respect, their representatives are opposed to the "Girondist" vision that would promote devolution and administrative decentralization by entrusting more powers to independent local authorities (especially in workforce management). The Jacobins use the equality argument to justify maintaining a national and centralized curriculum as well as the State's monopoly in Human Resources Management. They are joined by trade unions and some General Inspectorate's members, who see decentralizing as losing their influence and bargaining power with the ministry. Increased autonomy is also criticized as a risk of putting schools in competition and developing school market that is a scarecrow for most educators. Indeed, they are strongly statist and opposed to neo-liberal and managerial ideologies. School choice, management, accountability, and autonomy are perceived as a neo-liberal package that equates school with business and distorts its missions of a free, disinterested and universalist public service.

A last issue, which is also subject to ideological and outbidding debates, is related to the sense of "community". Because of the historical mistrust against local and religious authorities, and problems raised by the emergence of Islam which challenges the Republican pact forged by the 1905 Act, and against a background of religious demands and the development of radical Islamism, the community is often equated with 'communitarianism', the enemy of the Republic. The latter only

recognizes a 'national community of citizens' without differences of any kind. Even the notion of an 'educative community' that is supposed to give life and meaning to social and civic relations within schools, while giving more voice to parents, is struggling to become an effective reality at local level.

Caught up in issues of national representation, school stakeholders are not very interested in fuelling local discussions on, for example, the school project or the development of partnerships in reciprocal exchanges. This reciprocity, although it emerges sometimes, is largely mediated by national interests that predominate over local agreements.

Finally, this rejection of community and the lack of local openness is strengthened by the revival of national and patriotic sentiments, named as "*sovereignist*", which, through discourses from the Right to the Left, disqualifies the European building and criticizes globalization and its effects. At the opposite, these groups maintain a populist vision of national identity, of the State back in, and declare their resistance to any "foreign hold and hegemony", be it "Brussels" and/or the "big business", and/or "waves of immigration" that would threaten the "French exceptionalism".

Could "Managers of the Republic" Be Considered as "Leaders"?

At a time when the French governance of the education system is being transformed under the effect of New Public Management, which challenges the civil service's tradition and statuses, "management" is emerging as a negative externality for which the "Republic" was hardly prepared (Normand, 2012). In the French language, the term "management" is often translated into "*gestion*", which comes from the Latin "*gestio*" and means "administration" and "control" more that "management" per se. "*Gestion*" is considered as noble because it served the State and the public whereas "management", necessarily imported and foreign to French culture, is assumed to be neo-liberal in essence and it risks to corrupt the republican ethic as well as the spirit of public services.

This semiotic tinkering must be taken seriously, as it is a strategy and means to deal with problems or obstacles in conducting reforms. For example, the technostructure at the French Ministry of Education has been able to invent the notion of "Human Resource Management of Proximity" because it was unable to promote directly managerial practices at local level and to decentralize its workforce management by bringing it closer to schools. The term "Manager of the Republic", coined by a French renowned sociologist for describing the stance of principals, reveals a tension, clearly expressed in her book, between bureaucratic and administrative practices in schools, subject to obedience and command from the hierarchy, and strictly managerial practices in leading change and team work from ministerial impulses and reforms inspired by New Public Management (Barrère, 2006).

French Principals and Their Difficult Relationships with Management

If we go into details about the "management" experienced by French principals in secondary education (since primary school principals do not have yet a status and institutional recognition even if a bill is under review for this), their activity is quite different from a principal abroad. To illustrate this, let us draw a comparison with the leadership skills expected from a Norwegian principal. According to the official Norwegian framework, there are at least 8 skills.[1]

Certainly, French principals are *coordinators*: they organize teaching, particularly in setting teachers' timetables, and they manage projects proposed by the teaching team, as well as the school development plan. French principals are also *directors* in setting plans that are negotiated with their hierarchy but also with an administrative council including representatives of teachers, parents, and independent local authorities. However, tasks as *supervisor* are limited, since principals share this activity with the inspectorate and they are not recognized as skilled in pedagogy, except in their ability to organize regular pedagogical council meetings. But French principals have no power to enforce any decisions because of teachers' pedagogical autonomy and freedom codified by the law.

Are they *producers* so they could influence and manage resources effectively? In fact, their power is very limited due to administrative and national standards. The use of resources is highly regulated and not very flexible (national curricula frameworks, standardized hourly volumes for each school, standardized budgets per student, etc.). Principals as *brokers* and *innovators* also face important limitations. Although some local partnerships can be built, the financial margin is limited and subject to an approval by the hierarchy as well as agreements with partners. As innovators and agents of change, principals are capable to empower their teams and making them work differently, but they are limited by a highly standardized and inflexible environment, limited resources, and a lack of ongoing support. So, capacity building and differentiation from other schools is very restricted. Finally, there is no regular mentoring among principals, nor are they recognized as agents for teachers' professional development.

Regarding New Public Management principles (Economy, Efficiency, Effectiveness), cost control is imposed by the Ministry without the possibility of local adjustment, the search for efficiency is carried out without the possibility of

[1] 1) **Mentor**: interaction, participation and openness 2) **Facilitator**: team building, participatory decision-making, ensuring commitment and managing conflict 3) **Supervisor**: monitoring and documenting individual, group and organizational performance 4) **Coordinator**: teaching organization and project management 5) **Director**: having a vision, setting goals, implementing plans, assigning and delegating responsibilities 6) **Producer**: developing efficiency and effectiveness, managing time, workload and resources 7) **Broker**: increasing resources and influence, introducing new ideas and partners 8) **Innovator**: challenging creativity and willingness to change, agent of change. Source: Taipale, A. (2012). International survey on educational leadership. *A survey on school leader's work and continuing education. Finnish National Board of Education*.

modifying the organizational or human structure to any great extent. Effectiveness is measured through crude indicators of student progress in exams and national assessments, limitations of dropouts or retention, without data being sufficiently detailed and relevant to reflect on school improvement and change focused on the teaching-learning core. Budgetary pressures and cost control outweigh the margins for autonomy and bottom-up projects, and projects are often boiled down to the 'doing more with less' in principals' mindset.

Overall, principals consider themselves more as "victims" than "agents" in implementing New Public Management. They spend a lot of time passing on information to the "power plant" without getting feedback, follow-up, and support over time. It could be said that New Public Management has stopped at school gates because the school organization and professions remain in line with professional bureaucracy. Hence the poverty of the language used by principals, who often prefer to use the term "steering" or "monitoring" to qualify their actions rather than "management". Event if it is ideologically discarded, the notion does not correspond to their experience in daily activities (Normand, 2018). The French principal remains first and foremost an "administrator" as a civil servant and a "State's representative" rather than a "manager" within the school organization.

The Leadership of French Principals and Some Tensions in Their Professional Stance

Beyond this mediate position as a representative, an administrator, and a manager with limited powers, it seems difficult to characterize the French principal as a "leader". Moreover, the word "leadership" does not appear anywhere in official and legal texts prepared by the Ministry of Education and is hardly at stake in the training content of principals and inspectors even if the notion of "pedagogical leadership" is emerging.

A quick analysis would lead to assert that there are no leaders in French schools. But there are some principals who are closer to their teaching teams than others, who provide more support for teachers, who develop more school projects, and who are better appreciated and respected by their educative community. Supervisors know this, and they make an extensive use of this tacit knowledge to appoint the best principals in challenging schools or to give them extensive responsibilities. As a result, there are leaders in the shadow of the hierarchy, but their leadership qualities and skills are not really recognized and promoted.

Firstly, most principals are led to endorse the stance of the 'heroic' or 'charismatic' leader, even if we know it is a "myth" (Manz and Sims, 1991). Indeed, their initiatives often come up against opposition or resistance from teachers eager to affirm their pedagogical autonomy. It is well described by the professional literature which makes a difference between principals' sense of 'authority' and their 'legitimacy'. The former means that they are mandate by the State. The latter means that

they must convince, persuade, and gain support from teaching teams to lead projects. Success is therefore closely associated with the principal's character, style, and personality while teachers maintain a vision that separates "them" from the "administration" embodied by the principal.

Another side of French principals' stance can be identified as "transactional leadership" (Leithwood et al., 1999). The success of their initiative is largely determined by their negotiating skills, which may take various forms: following up teachers' demands for additional resources (teaching hours, support), designing of a new training provision, rewarding overtime hours for those who are most committed and innovative, buying social peace by organizing regular meetings with union representatives and satisfying their demands, arranging timetables to meet certain personal or corporatist requests.

But leadership is also affirmed by the administrative and legal recognition of principals' supervision as "pedagogical and educational pilots" (or "pedagogical leaders") in their school, as enshrined in official texts. This distinction between "pedagogy" (teaching) and "education" (discipline and the making of citizenship) corresponds to this organizational particularity of the French secondary schools with its "school life" service (or pastoral care). The "Education Adviser" (*Conseiller Principal d'Education*) and his team manage students outside classrooms (supervision, monitoring of absences, extra-curricular activities) because teachers only take care of pedagogy in the classroom and not of "education". To channel teachers' availability, principals rely on formal and planned meetings (class council, pedagogical council, governing board, curriculum meetings) because, outside their class hours, teachers do not feel obliged to remain in schools. Usually, principals can only rely on a few voluntary and committed teachers who agree to do more than their statutory teaching service. Then, they delegate them a certain number of tasks and responsibilities for leading projects or pedagogical innovations, cultural outings, trips abroad, etc.

This leadership is not "distributed" because teachers do not work as autonomous and decentralized teams in schools (Spillane & Diamond, 2007). There are one-off actions, hardly sustainable beyond one project, and dependent on the goodwill of teachers who are often paid overtime. It would be possible to describe principals' stance as 'partially shared leadership' or 'autocratic leadership' (Wallace, 2005): according to Harris's framework, the structure of the school organization remains unchanged, but the participation and involvement of members is encouraged (Harris, 2013). However, the rigidity of the organization limits any development, change, and improvement of practices. Teaching work is coordinated but its impact is more additive than transformative, i.e. many teachers are involved individually or in a very limited groups that do not consider others.

Principals balance this weakness in practising leadership by developing rhetorical skills (propelling, convincing, persuading) and holding discourses that are assumed to make teacher joining their aims and plans. But this ethic of discussion faces limitations because it navigates between a hierarchical and command position to implement the Ministry's decisions and some concerns about supporting teachers' bottom-up initiatives facilitating creativity and innovation. Nevertheless,

consultation with teachers' representatives (trade unions or representatives of a discipline), informal meetings in corridors or in teachers' staff-room, and impromptu meetings give opportunities for influencing, creating empathy, and negotiating changes by defusing potential conflicts and avoiding rumours while principals believe that trust is important (Johannson et al., 2009).

How Do French Principals Think About Their Moral Agency?

The sense of command, obedience, and authority, which belongs to the tradition of French-style administration, is widely shared by school principals and inspectors. Mentioning inspectors is important in the French context because this professional body prevents the full recognition of principals as leaders. Indeed, the latter do not have the pedagogical legitimacy attributed to inspectors who remain the representatives of an academic discipline. Principals must share teachers' assessment with inspectors, even though a new common grid is considered by the Ministry as a cooperative tool between the two professional bodies. But this grid has a limited overlap specifying the share of responsibilities between them. Principals are also subject to the supervision of part of the inspectorate specifically in charge of school governance. In addition, the principal is often considered as a subordinate by inspectors, rather than as a "primum inter pares". This divide is also evident in the initial and in-service training of education executives, which tends to strengthen value and jurisdictional conflicts.

However, despite these professional differences, the republican culture and ethic remains firmly rooted among inspectors and principals. They share the same attachment to equality, secularism, and authority. The French notion of "*cadre*" (executive) is itself taken as a framing of behaviours and structures. Command does not only call for obedience according to hierarchical relationships. It corresponds to some planning activities and a division of labour which require a "rational" method based on "principles". This is the essence of "French rationalism". It also explains why, in principals' mindset (and in inspectors' ones), objectives and plans take precedence over more "pragmatic" and contextualized accounts.

Entangled in their universalist values and main principles, French executives rely on rhetorical formulas, sometimes relatively empty, to justify a moral stance or a 'categorical imperative' that often keep them at distance from practice (Moos et al., 2008). And, as the French philosopher Pascal wrote, the "spirit of geometry", which marks a relative abstraction in the face of emerging problems, prevails over the "spirit of finesse" which could be based more on feelings and intuition, or the "heart" described by some management theorists. The idea of "problem-solving" and "managing emotions" is alien to principals, who rather think their actions in terms of a "free will" reasoning that links their decision to main principles, in compliance with laws and regulations.

However, French principals, although driven by their own "rationality", do not live in a "monad". They are therefore obliged to meet others, especially teachers, to

determine their plans and to fix their decisions (Helstad & Møller, 2013). The search for agreement, or consensus, is inherent in a properly political dimension of principals' action in schools. Here, the conception of the representative and the assembly, which no doubt comes from the Greek city, helps to regulate conflictual relationships which themselves, while being part of French history, are rooted in an argumentative debate inherited from the Hellenistic era. Therefore, principals are expected to convoke a teachers' assembly at the beginning of the school year and, quarterly, a pedagogical council considered as spaces for public discussion. In this proceeding, they have to master the art of rhetoric and to be able to "persuade and convince" their teaching staff to follow them, even to justify decisions in which they sometimes hardly believe.

Obviously, teachers' representatives, who are in the same vision of agnostic relationships, are fanning the flames of their arguments to oppose decision-making and resume their trade unions' key positions at national level. Principals therefore need a good deal of cunning (*metis* in the Greek sense) and "*kairos*" (seizing opportunities) to advance the school project. This explains why part of their training is delegated to "crisis and conflict management". However, in this face-to-face confrontation between principals and teachers, as among executives themselves, who are far from having an authentic relationship, a kind of "aristocratic hypocrisy" is at work, which consists in masking one's intentions, maintaining a meta-reflexivity about the situation and intentions of others, in order to better circumvent them or diminish their powers and influence. French Principals are far from democratic leadership (Woods, 2005).

An Ethical Principal at the Boundaries of School Leadership

At the end, French principals do not assume the whole range of school leadership practices and skills because of some limited responsibilities within the school, the maintenance of a standardized and bureaucratic organizational structure, no local autonomy. There is also a lack of training in these matters and a widespread distrust towards managerial ideas. Principals are note equipped with the "school improvement" and "professional learning community" tool-box (Stoll & Louis, 2007) while these concepts remain largely unknown within the professional group.

However, they hold principles of justice in their daily actions that maintain close ties with leadership issues in constructing a public face (Møller, 2012). The first principle, which overlooks others, is fighting against inequalities and improving the achievement for all students. The idea is also largely shared among principals that schools must educate the future citizen for being included into the national community. It explains their special focus on school dropouts and absenteeism, but also violence and indiscipline, as well as school climate and student well-being. French principals are also attached to values of public service: universality, neutrality, equal treatment, respect for the law.

It they cannot really think the school as a local community, they give great importance to the balance and arbitration between interests, particularly those of teachers and parents, and to a dialogue based on mutual respect, solidarity, and social justice. Effectiveness is not reflected in a frantic search for performance and outcomes, but principals are concerned by reducing the achievement gap between students in rejecting any related sanctions and rewards. On the other hand, teachers' merit and civic commitments are praised.

Reference to tradition is also very present and corresponds to the heritage dimension of French education. The history of the school is often celebrated, and former students are often praised in official ceremonies when they have become public figures. The awarding of medals and decorations to the staff for duty is part of republican rites and Napoleonic survival. Similarly, there is often an official graduation ceremony for students who have completed their baccalaureate. The term "*proviseur*", still in use to describe principal in upper secondary schools, comes from the Middle Ages and meant at this time the head of a religious hospice. This domestic dimension remains: some executives name the French Ministry of Education the "Big Home".

Beyond this civic and traditional dimensions, most French principals are open to discussion with teachers. However, this discussion remains formalistic, owing to the cultural and philosophical heritage of the "*disputatio*"based on arguments and contradiction. It is based on the legitimization of the "assembly" as a mechanism for collective debates, representation of interests and decision-making. French principals' ethic of discussion is therefore not very sensitive to a communicative action based on intersubjectivity and deliberation (Moos, 2011). So, reaching an agreement or a consensus on common aims is quite difficult within the school because of a discussion largely framed by national administrative and legal norms (Johansson, 2004).

This discussion leads hardly to "capacity building" because principals have no resources for it. Only a few of them take the risk of sustaining creativity and innovation by stepping outside the framework (Moos, 2015). But it remains costly to face professional groups' orthodoxy and hierarchy, with uncertainty in terms of recognition and legitimacy. When principals manage to lead their teaching staff in an exploratory approach, this is quite different from an inquiry or continuing professional development from which new professional knowledge and practices would emerge (Timperley, 2011). French principals' pragmatism is often limited to a diagnosis of school strengths and weaknesses shared with teachers, but school improvement is hardly conceptualized. There is a lack of tools and support to nurture this reflexivity, even though a school self-evaluation 'protocol' is currently developed by the Ministry and the newly established National School Evaluation Council.

Conclusion

The French government has just announced a third step for decentralization. In education, until now, local independent authorities have only been responsible for building and equipping schools and managing the maintenance staff. Will this new decentralization policy transfer teacher management to the local level? Will it move towards a diversification of schools? No one really knows. For the time being, the Ministry of Education policy is based on two pillars: a skills-based curriculum and an accountability system based on national assessments according to a very top-down policy. This instrumentalism, which relies on Directorate of Assessments and Forecast, its monopolistic management of data and statistics, is complemented by evidence-based education promoted by the National Scientific Council convinced that the dissemination of an "evidence-based toolkit" to teachers will make them more effective.

In these circumstances, school principals' voice does not carry very far as they had to deal with repeated strikes and the VIDOC epidemic crisis-19. There is a lack of support for schools, and even if the current minister wants to promote a "trusting policy", the distrust towards ministerial intentions is predominant. The authoritarian and hierarchical conception of administration prevails over the consideration of local contexts and differences between schools. Decentralization would have many advantages: shorter decision-making processes, less corporatism, proximity between decision-making and stakeholders, adaptation to the local labour market, recognition of schools' local identity. It could also have unintended consequences: development of the school market and competition, increased inequalities between students, differences in teacher qualifications, lack of coordination between local policies.

Between allocations and costs on the one hand, and the reduction of the inequality gap on the other, the issue of reforms could be that of school organization. The COVID crisis has revealed the importance of face-to-face teaching and teacher's relationship to students. It also showed the diversified use that could be made of digital technologies with teachers who, although poorly trained, were quite inventive and flexible. The school organization in France is still that of the nineteenth century. The decompartmentalization of spaces, the adaptation of timetables to student needs, the disconnection between places and times for a curriculum more focused on learning, long-term support for training in and out of schools, and networking between schools are all important issues for moving away from standardization.

This is where the French principal could be called upon to exercise distributed, even systemic, leadership while leading the school towards organizational learning. It would also be the end of professional bureaucracy. Changes emerge in training contents designed by the *Institut des Hautes Etudes en Education et Formation* (National Training Institute for Educational Executives). The notion of leadership appears in skills expected from principals and inspectors even if it is mixed with some administrative and traditional references. The idea of focusing management

and leadership on school improvement is also perceptible in professional standards. The next trained generation should better endorse managerial ideas and develop leadership practices. But these changes would take several years to be implemented. In any event, as the Chinese proverb says, “with time and patience the mulberry leaf becomes a silk gown”.

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Chapter 7
Images of Educational Leadership in Switzerland

Olivier Perrenoud and Pierre Tulowitzki

Abstract This chapter presents the cultural and social foundations of educational leadership in Switzerland. Switzerland has the particularity of being a federal state with 26 cantons and as many education systems that are different in their specificity and similar in their common and harmonized foundations. We will present the Swiss system and its articulation by linguistic regions before showing how the conception of the role of school leaders is illustrated in this multi-level context and how the notion of leadership is accepted within schools and school principals.

Public governance in the field of Swiss education is stretched across multiple demands: exercising control by setting rules, standards and objectives within the space that brings together different actors, but also administering said space by managing the relationships between the actors and by following the evolution of the system, all the while ensuring its effectiveness. In this context, the coordination of actions within schools is a hybridization between a structural management logic that is still hesitant within a teaching community in which the notion of leadership remains a hidden dimension, and a leadership logic consisting marked by a vision of service in the development of a common good and the trust in professionalism of teachers. Local governance is often no longer linked to the pilot but rather to the purpose of the steering and control arrangements, while leadership is built in a matrix way within each institution.

Keywords Educational leadership · Principal · Switzerland · Governance · Distributed leadership

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Overview of the Educational System in Switzerland

Founded in 1848, the Federal State of Switzerland, which developed from a loose association of independent states (cantons), is characterized by the two principles of subsidiarity and federalism. With the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the Confederation was given some central rights and duties that were previously under the responsibility of the cantons. A revision of the Federal Constitution in 1874 contained an article regulating primary education for all cantons. Article 27 stipulated that the cantons should ensure sufficient primary education, exclusively under state control. Henceforth, primary education was declared to be compulsory and free of charge in public schools. The public schools were to be opened to members of all denominations without any impairment of their freedom of belief or conscience. Cantons that failed to meet these requirements were threatened with consequences by the federal government. Through several extensions, Article 27 remained in force until the total revision of the Federal Constitution in 1999 (EDK/IDES, 2007).

By adopting the education articles (Art. 61a et seq. BV), endorsed by the people and the cantons, the Confederation and the cantons committed themselves to ensure high quality and permeability in the Swiss education area within the scope of their competencies. Still, possibly as an expression of the federalist nature, the primary authority for educational matters remains within the cantons (European Commission, 2017b). The predominant pattern of competence distribution can be understood as self-organization along a militia system in which lay participation plays an eminent role. According to this principle, capable citizens still take over certain duties in the organization of the state. In Switzerland, all executive and legislative bodies at all levels are staffed by laypersons, so that no professional expertise is required for election to these bodies (Hangartner & Heinzer, 2016, p. 34).

Historically, Switzerland's state structure followed a strong federalism with shifting distribution of competencies based on three levels: the Confederation, the cantons and the municipalities. During the nineteenth century, local school boards were set up at the municipal level in many of the Swiss cantons. They represent one element of the municipal self-administration in form of lay participation since no particular qualifications are required for a candidacy. However, anyone wishing to apply for a position on the school board must be of Swiss nationality and reside in the municipality concerned. During the 19th and 20th centuries, school boards played a vital role in the organizational structures of education policy in many cantons. Their remit included leadership and accountability, while responsibility for curriculum compliance and quality of teaching laid with the cantonal school inspectors (Quesel et al., 2017, p. 586).

Over time, a process of "professionalization" has taken place around school governance: First, many cantons began as early as the nineteenth century to transition from a layperson school board to more professional types of school oversight. Secondly, a process of professionalizing the school management function through dedicated school principals began at the end of the twentieth century. The image of

the school that is organized by the people themselves can therefore nowadays be called into question (Quesel et al., 2015, p. 232).

The introduction of new public tasks in the Swiss education system and their division between the Confederation and the cantons has been the subject of repeated political debates since the founding of the federal state. In the context of harmonization efforts, there are agreements arranged between the cantons that contribute to a certain convergence in various areas of the education system. Based on cantonal sovereignty in the field of education and the diversity of levels of responsibility, there is a considerable need for coordination in the Swiss education system. The Cantonal Ministers of Education of the 26 cantonal governments form a political authority at national level, the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education (EDK), founded in 1897. Its task is to represent the cantons towards the Confederation and to mediate solutions in those matters where responsibility is shared between the Confederation and the cantons (European Commission, 2017a).

In 2006, a major revision of the education provisions in the Federal Constitution (BV Art. 61a ff.) was accepted in a referendum. While retaining the core distribution of responsibilities according to which on the one hand the sovereignty over education lies with the cantons, and on the other hand the cantons and the Confederation work together as partners in the post-compulsory area, some of the amendments proved to be significant: Moving forward, quality and permeability were to be understood as guiding objectives in the Swiss education system. The explicit obligation of coordination and cooperation, agreements on duration and objectives of the educational levels as well as harmonized regulations of the school entry ages were developed, designed to contribute to achieving these objectives (EDK/IDES, 2007). While the training of teachers and school principals differs between cantons, all cantons have ratified mutual recognition agreements. In addition, in order to fulfil their harmonization mandate, the language regions, i.e. the Conference of Directors of Public Education of German-speaking Switzerland (EDK) and the Conference of Directors of Public Education of French-speaking and Italian-speaking Switzerland (CIIP) have each drawn up a common study plan. These study plans for each language region contain the national educational objectives, the areas of basic education and the basic parameters of language teaching.

In all cantons, children become subject to compulsory education by the age of four and attend kindergarten, which is considered part of the education system. The primary school period, which lasts six years, is followed by three years of lower secondary education, structuring teaching at different levels of learning (EDK General secretariat, 2017). Compulsory education ends at the age of 15/16. The majority (about 95%) of the students attend a public school, which is free of charge. Results of international comparative studies indicate that Switzerland is one of the few countries in which students of public schools perform better than those attending private schools (OECD, 2011).

Brief Characterization of the Concept of Education in Switzerland

Being a diverse country with four official languages, which in addition to German also include Italian, French and Romansh, Switzerland unifies not only different cultural characteristics but also educational systems. The ideological goals of education in Switzerland focus on the promotion of democracy, a respectful co-existence and life of community and the development of each individual as fundamental values of society. These principles are reflected in national coordination, coordination between the cantons, and in the curricula of each of the language regions. In addition, there is the tradition of education as a public good that guarantees equal opportunities and social justice. These aspects are anchored in the federal constitution and supported by the monitoring of education with national tests and educational standards. These elements are also included in the cantonal education projects of each canton, which strengthen the link between education monitoring, quality of public service, performance indicators and the partial autonomy of schools.

The cantons and their municipalities are in charge of educational matters and bear 90% of the public education expenses, unless the Federal Constitution specifies the Confederation to be accountable. In accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, the federal state, as an association of cantons, should only intervene when the individual cantons are dependent on its support. Similarly, the cantons should only take decisions if the municipalities cannot progress on their own (Hangartner & Heinzer, 2016, p. 33).

The Confederation and cantons are partners in responsibility in cases of upper secondary schools, vocational education, and universities, while municipalities take on various tasks – especially in compulsory schooling (European Commission, 2017). Overarching concerns of the cantons that require joint action are coordinated by the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education (EDK) and in some cases result in intercantonal agreements, so-called concordats (State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation, 2020). In 2011, the EDK approved the first national educational targets (educational standards) for compulsory schooling at a plenary meeting. These describe the basic skills that students should acquire in school language, foreign languages, mathematics and science by the end of the 4th, 8th and 11th years of compulsory schooling.

Under the Federal Constitution, the cantons are obliged to harmonize the objectives of the educational levels (BV Art. 62 para. 4). Setting out the basic competencies to be attained in four subject areas is a contribution to this. With this so-called HarmoS Concordat, the EDK has created the legal basis for the development and future application of national educational goals for compulsory schooling. The technical term “educational standards” is used in Article 7 of the HarmoS Concordat (EDK General secretariat, 2011).

Also, on the basis of the HarmoS educational standards, the most comprehensive coordination project in recent decades has been implemented through the regional study plans (Lehrplan 21 or Curriculum 21, Plan d’études romand PER, Piano di

studio). These curricula, which apply to primary and lower secondary schools, were developed in participatory processes within each of the language regions. In each case, they were developed with the participation of politicians, recognized experts and representatives of professionals in the field.

In their revised forms, based on learning objectives and the acquisition of "competencies", i.e. on output rather than input factors, the new curricula go beyond a mere harmonization of the existing cantonal curricula (Heinzer & Hangartner, 2016, p. 45). The submission of Curriculum 21 was approved by the Swiss-German Directors of Education in autumn 2014. Each canton decided on its introduction in accordance with its own legal basis and regulations (D-EDK, 2015). As of today, 21 cantons have adopted the "Curriculum 21" and published individual curricula aligned to it. The French-speaking region has gone a step further by means of a *Convention scolaire romande*, establishing an *Espace romand de la formation*. The *Convention scolaire romande* is an agreement between the French-speaking cantons which regulates areas of compulsory cooperation and deals mainly with the harmonization of length of schooling and study plans, teaching methods, reference tests, teacher and head teacher training. This convention was adopted in its final version in May 2010 and then gradually implemented between 2011 and 2014. The convention provides for 15% of the study plan beyond the common objectives to be handled in a flexible manner in order to be able to take into account regional and local specificities. Moreover, the study plan for French-speaking Switzerland (PER) was designed from the outset as a rolling plan and periodic modifications are made under the supervision of a specific commission in charge. Finally, the Italian-speaking region of Switzerland has carried out a similar development work. Its study plan has been available since 2015, while implementation took place over the period 2015 to 2019. In the conception of these three curricula, education is understood as an open, lifelong and actively designed process of human development.

In this context, the school represents a decisive part in the life of the students, in that they are expected to gain and keep up not only professional skills but also diverse experiences of social coexistence. The age-appropriate participation of the students at class, school and teaching level reflects the subsidiarity principles of the Swiss state. The school is intended to contribute to students experiencing and learning the ability to cooperate, to build relationships and to assume responsibility at an early age. Mutual appreciation, joie de vivre and a positive attitude are important values in this respect. The teaching of subject-related and cultural skills can be seen as the foundation of education in the Swiss school system. The socially supported teaching of skills is based on the level of development of the students. Learning opportunities should take into account the different levels of learning and achievement and the heterogeneity. In all of this, the commitment to performance and learning are to be demanded and encouraged. Accordingly, the educational institutions should enable students to explore their potential in intellectual, cultural and personal terms, to develop it and to create their own identity in interaction with society. With regard to the educational mandate for compulsory schools, the intercantonal agreement on the harmonization of compulsory schools (HarmoS Concordat) is formulated as follows:

> Art. 3:
>
> *1. In compulsory education, all pupils acquire and develop basic knowledge and skills as well as cultural identity, which will enable them to learn throughout their lives and find their place in society and working life.*
>
> *2. During compulsory schooling, each pupil shall acquire the basic education necessary for access to vocational training or general education at upper secondary level, in particular in the following fields: languages, mathematics and science, social sciences and humanities, music, art and design, physical activity and health.*
>
> *3. Students are supported in their development into independent personalities, in the acquisition of social skills and on the path to responsible behavior towards fellow human beings and the environment.* (D-EDK, 2015, translation by the authors).

The reconfiguration of governance structures has been accompanied by new procedures for quality assessment and assurance. With the development of national educational objectives in the shape of core competencies, a foundation has been created that allows for comparability and permeability between cantonal educational structures. Both internal and external evaluation procedures are now widely used at all levels (Hangartner & Heinzer, 2016, p. 14) and an education monitoring system has been put in place since 2010. This monitoring reflects the joint will of the Confederation and the cantons to ensure the quality and permeability of the "Swiss Education Area". The monitoring tools reflect a transformation of the role of the state. The State establishes a series of indicators to measure the performance and functioning of institutions. These indicators include, for example, the thresholds for mastery of a nationally standardized study plan. The work of teachers and, a fortiori, school principals, is therefore increasingly marked by a requirement for accountability, a characteristic of this new governance "by numbers" (Felouzis & Hanhart, 2011). The governance of the education system and the external management of schools are taking on the appearance of a more flexible form of supervision that goes hand in hand with an increase in regulations and a desire to monitor education through standardization that emphasizes regulations and structures. These regulations and structures are put in place notably with a view to encouraging coordination of actions between actors.

Public governance in Swiss education is therefore marked by several challenges: on the one hand, to exercise a steering role by setting rules, standards and objectives within the space that brings together different actors, and on the other hand, to administer this space by managing relations between actors and ensuring the evolution of the system, while ensuring its effectiveness and respect for a school for equality.

Presentation of the Constituents and Principles of School Organization and Responsibilities of Leaders

Since the early 1990s, many European countries have been undergoing a reform movement that has led to some drastic changes in school systems. In Switzerland, the increasing decentralization of educational systems and the growing autonomy of

individual schools were hoped to contribute to the development of market-like conditions, where school development and quality improvement could take place. These reform efforts have been summarized under the term *New Public Management* (NPM) that basically refers to the application of instruments and principles that have their origin in economics and are transferred to the public sector (Tarazona & Brückner, 2016, p. 77). Swiss schools, too, were increasingly expected to recognize themselves as service providers, orienting towards their "customers" and adjusting accordingly.

From the end of the 1990s, the first cantons began to establish the position of principals whose activities included not only administrative or organizational tasks, but also pedagogical and personnel management functions, as well as school planning and development tasks (responsibilities for school guidance, pedagogical leadership, human resources (personnel), school management, communication) (Leder, 2009). At the level of compulsory schooling, the duties of the principals have, at least in part, been significantly expanded. Indeed, with the evolution of learning environments and the decentralization of the system embodied in a reinforced and supervised autonomy of schools, school management is becoming increasingly complex and relies more and more on intelligent actors such as headteachers. Whereas historically the task was to organize timetables and manage the occupation of buildings by embodying the figure of a resource manager, current Swiss policies and directors of education are calling on principals to become agents of pedagogical innovation and the academic success of all students. In this sense, the Swiss education system seems to adhere to the ideas of the OECD (Pont et al., 2008) by considering school principals no longer simply as managers who run the school, but also as leaders in implementing reforms, improving teaching-learning conditions and transforming schools into learning organizations. Professional associations of headteachers adhere to the same ideas, claiming the improvement of the quality of the services provided and innovation for the evolution of the organization as one of their main missions (CLACESO, 2018; VSLCH, 2015).

In the light of these developments, the definition of a further training profile to become a "school principal (CDIP)" was officially accepted in 2009 at the federal level. The profile thus established enables training institutions in German-speaking Switzerland or a training consortium in French-speaking Switzerland to offer country-wide recognized training for these leadership functions.

This training develops the knowledge and skills deemed essential to lead a school in terms of pedagogy, human resources, organization and administration or to assume a function in a management team. In view of the multiple tasks that school leaders have to carry out, the range of training content extends from educational, personnel and organizational development to budgeting, accounting, cost control, accountability, school and personnel law, to evaluation procedures for school and educational quality development. The training thus enables school principals to acquire a solid foundation of knowledge and reflection to enable them to carry out the tasks entrusted to them. Although practice-oriented objectives and contents have been defined in the profile and must be covered by the training, the profile does not contain a definitive curriculum (Krüger & Tulowitzki, 2019). The concept of the

course of study and the development of the curriculum are the responsibility of the institutions offering the training in order to enable them to take account of cantonal specificities, in collaboration with the training services concerned. Here we find the central principle of subsidiarity in the functioning of the multi-level education system with a minimum common basis. Although the Swiss school system is harmonized and the training of head teachers is based on a common educational profile (EDK, 2009), each canton still operates differently with respect to its principals. Some are attached to the communal level while others depend on the cantons. The resources allocated and the exact duties expected of them can also vary greatly. This is also reflected in the rhetoric of each of the cantons with different job titles with, for example, terms such as "chef d'établissement", "responsable d'établissement", "directeur" ou "recteur" for similar principal functions in French-speaking Switzerland.

The implementation of school leadership systems, the rearrangement of competencies between schools, school management and school authorities, the degree of implementation of standardized performance comparison procedures at the end of a learning period and the elements of output control differ across cantons (Altrichter & Maag Merki, 2016, p. 22).

In all cantons, the reforms over the course of the decentralization policy were primarily aimed at strengthening and empowering the schools, but also had an impact on the municipalities. Changing responsibilities, new procedures for quality assurance and control, and the requirement for customer orientation proved to be a challenge for the municipalities' organizational structures (Hangartner & Heinzer, 2016, p. 12), notably because it has been necessary to reorganize the responsibilities between school, municipality and canton by touching on the responsibilities of each and the identity of the actors, and to accept the transformation of the function of headteacher or principal within the municipalities.

With the introduction of professional school principals, traditional role relations in which lay participation through school boards as a form of local self-government was of considerable importance, were now questioned. Nevertheless, the request to grant more autonomy to schools and to establish professional school leaders was made in particular by the municipalities (Nägeli & Appius, 2018) or by the cantons for the French-speaking part of Switzerland. Although the entrustment of school boards with the tasks of strategic management is still being discussed but also advocated by directorates of education in many cantons (Quesel et al., 2017, p. 587) and professional association of principals, the role of the school management, which was previously carried out mostly by members of the teaching staff in the nature of a *primus Inter pares*, has now acquired a new significance within educational reforms.

In Switzerland, the duties of principals typically include the operational management of the school in addition to leading and developing it although (a part of) the strategic management and development responsibilities often lie with the school authority (for example the school board) in the German-speaking part and are shared between the canton and the principals in French-speaking Switzerland. Responsibilities include in particular the external representation of the school,

technical and administrative management with the exercise of financial competence, personnel management, evaluation, selection and appointment, as well as cooperation with parents and with institutions outside the school (Nenniger, 2012, p. 29). As the range of responsibilities of school leaders in Switzerland, as in other countries, has expanded over time, some cantons have granted more autonomy to school leaders in financial and/or staff matters. While these developments have generally been accompanied by enhanced accountability mechanisms related to the performance of schools in internal and external evaluations, the Swiss system of accountability in the education sector can be considered as low stakes overall (Hangartner, 2019). Although monitoring and steering by indicators through standardized tests have appeared in Switzerland, schools and principals are not subject to strong accountability principles. In the event of a school's poor performance, the tendency is rather for the state to provide additional resources in order to ensure once again greater equity and social justice in the functioning of the education system.

School principals therefore have a key role to play in shaping everyday school life. According to the professional mission statement of the Swiss Principals' Associations, effective school management is based on decisions which – as far as possible – are developed in a participatory and transparent manner. According to this understanding, principals lead and support multi-professional teams, which are shaped by various characters and personalities. The heterogeneity of the staff as well as the student body requires the school management to be flexible, accessible and creative, linking individual and institutional objectives. In order to be able to meet these demands, specialized management qualifications and continuous further professional development are indispensable (CLACESO, 2018; VSLCH, 2015) and are recognized both by directorates of education and the professional associations of principals, working together in this direction.

It should also be noted that principals are recruited almost entirely from among the teaching staff. The bias of education systems here is an acculturation (Cuche, 2001) to the school environment even before entering a leadership position. This principle is based on the need recognized by directorates of education to have been a teacher before becoming a principal in order to ensure sensitivity to the specific culture of the teaching environment and the microcosms that schools represent. The entry into office is then accompanied by training, the objectives and contents of which are largely defined in the training profile for school heads (EDK, 2009) and which, after 10 years of existence, is currently being revised to ensure that the training content matches the concerns of the field. This adequacy with the concerns of the field is also reinforced by the participation of the professional associations of principals in the training monitoring commissions and in the reflection on the evolution of training.

The foundations of these changes are based on the central idea that "leadership is not teaching [...] it is another profession, therefore a new profession for even an experienced teacher, one that requires other skills, another relationship with reality, another identity, other relationships with pupils, parents and teachers" (Perrenoud, 1994, p. 6, translated by the authors), relationships that are based primarily on a

service ethic and principles of quality and fairness, but at an institutional level. However, the current training profile emphasizes a rather technocratic vision of management, which at present encompasses little of the ethical and cultural dimensions of leadership.

Illustrations of Values and Great Principles of Leadership Practices

The growing complexity of work situations, the concern to agree on good practices and the slow erosion of the traditional legitimacy of the school are some of the factors that have forced a rethinking of the question of governance and the basis of the authority of school heads in Switzerland. Swiss federalism and the particularities of each of the cantons highlight the fact that there is no real shared national culture that influences the conception of leadership in Switzerland. The cantonal and local culture has a great impact on the way business is managed or handled, on how leadership is exercised, sometimes more performance-oriented in German-speaking Switzerland and sometimes more oriented towards autonomy and individual well-being in French-speaking Switzerland or Ticino.

A measured evolution thus marks the shift from a very vertical and hierarchical conceptualization of leadership, in which the search for influence is limited to getting others to do what we want them to do, to a more transformative and more participative form. This shift has led to a consensus which now seems to be established around the main symbolic values and missions which underpin the function of principals in French-speaking Switzerland and Ticino. On the basis of work by the Latin Conference of Principals (CLACESO) and the Association of Principals Switzerland (VSLCH), four dimensions are recognized in the missions of the principals:

- recognized basic training and continuing education.
- support for school users and the professionals who work there.
- promotion of the education system and related policies.
- guarantee of quality and performance of the system, as well as innovation for the evolution of the organization.

In order to carry out such tasks, principals are required to exercise authority and leadership. The somewhat taboo nature of the term and of the exercise of hierarchical power within schools is rooted in the history of the education system: On the management side, the system was marked by a very flat structure and a posture of *primus inter pares* principals with a role revolving mostly around organization. On the teachers' side, there was and is a strong sense of autonomy. In recent years, the principles of the NPM have strengthened the role of principals with an extension of their duties, which sees a dimension of support and control of teacher work strengthened and a school autonomy that gradually encroaches on the individual autonomy of teachers. These developments occur in a context where the legacy of individual

teacher autonomy is still prevalent and a legitimacy to intervene in teaching practices has yet to be built. Therefore, principals often tend to exercise "soft leadership", aimed at not offending teachers' sensibilities and maintaining a consensus of an ethic of service for student success left to the teachers' sole appreciation. The leadership exercised thus appears to be very consensus oriented. As such, although principals may readily speak of leadership, rather than power in the face of their desire to influence teaching practices, the very term leadership is absent in discussions with teachers. In this regard, it is well known that principals systematically seek to rely on cantonal frameworks and willingly adopt the position of a multiplicator of a policy that would be decided upon higher up, i.e., at the cantonal level. There is a strong tension here between recourse to the higher authority to justify its orientations and the desire to influence teaching practices on the basis of ethical or moral principles specific to the head of the institution. In the end, most teachers and principals avoid explicitly addressing notions of power and leadership, possibly for fear of revealing a suspicion of authoritarianism on the part of the principals. We also find in the justification of this modest authority position the idea of reaffirming the democratic character of society and the school.

The governance of schools is undergoing a kind of silent transformation through the evolution of supervisory structures and the steering of education systems. In this context, principals stress that they have new power to influence teachers' working conditions and, indirectly, their practices. The strategies to which they refer reflect the diversity of local cultural contexts and their own conceptions of the relationship with hierarchy. However, most principals seem to refer to ethical principles derived from the teachers' code of ethics and the principle of service to students. The principals can rely on a formal and statutory authority entrusted to them by the system, which seeks to strengthen their role at the same time as school autonomy is strengthened within each of Switzerland's cantons. However, their power remains limited by the supervision of this autonomy by the cantons and the tradition of personal autonomy for teachers. Moreover, the legitimacy of exercising formal leadership and building school policy systematically comes up against teachers and their distrust of a position of authority based solely on status and thus associated with power relations between the protagonists. The majority culture in schools is one of conflict avoidance and horizontal relations, which obviously comes into tension with a system that is moving towards more explicit steering and school leaders with new responsibilities over teaching staff. Indeed, teachers expect to be supported rather than supervised by principals. Principals have integrated this dimension and embody a supportive or laissez-faire stance, while remaining aware that this is only one facet of their specifications, which also include the need to monitor and evaluate teaching activity.

We can also note that the associations of school principals are seeking recognition of the movement to professionalize their function and that they are increasingly building their identity through numerous partnerships with teachers' associations and educational institutions present in the French-speaking part of Switzerland and in the Swiss education space.

Characterization of the Concept of Educational Leadership as Understood in the Culture of Switzerland

Within schools and the professionals who work there, leadership is still a concept that is disputed. Some voice concerns that it may harm the collegial, informal environment that often is the school world. Others view its Anglo-Saxon nature as culturally too different to "function" in the Swiss context.

In the Swiss context, the coordination of actions within schools is still a hybrid between a logic of hesitant structural supervision within a teaching community in which the notion of power remains a taboo dimension that evokes resistance, and a logic of leadership practices with a vision of service in pursuit of a common good (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012) and a confidence in the professionalism of teachers.

Those in charge of training institutions are thus called upon to convey a leadership role that does not act with hierarchical authority, but seeks to build a work organization, a school climate and collective spaces conducive to the improvement of the services provided (Leithwood et al., 2004; Mintzberg, 2003). Indeed, teaching and pedagogical practices are difficult to manage in a managerial and administrative sense. It is therefore difficult for principals to provide supervision to promote student success, since success here does not mean passing the evaluation or tests of international studies, but rather acquiring new skills defined by the legal framework. It therefore comes down to influencing structures and practices in order to tend towards the implementation of effective practices in terms of learning, school success and equality.

There might also be a bit of hesitation as more explicit notions of leadership and management force us to acknowledge concepts of authority and power that are still largely taboo in the school world. This is also what might lead Swiss culture to adopt the term leadership, thus avoiding translating it as power or authority (Progin & Perrenoud, 2018). While the German-speaking part appears to be more open to a more "classic", Anglo-Saxon oriented form of leadership, the French-speaking Switzerland tends to have a relatively hybrid conceptualization of leadership: On the one hand, distributed leadership and service leadership are supported and on the other hand, whether in training or in actual practice, we see very strong signs of a conception oriented towards leading, leading people and managing the school, in which distributed leadership is reinterpreted as a strategy of delegating tasks or projects (Perrenoud, 2019). Even if the two positions of responsibility are not antagonistic, it appears that principals navigate between these conceptualizations and that teachers sometimes lock them into one or the other by their expectations.

In our observation, in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, the principals rely on non-formal leadership to exercise what could be called 'shadow leadership'. It stands to reason that for them, making authority over teaching practices explicit and highlighting it in a formal way amounts to cementing a hierarchical relationship that they themselves do not want to accept when it concerns their practices. A common strategy therefore consists of organizing, supporting and dialoguing a lot as a principal and exercising leadership discreetly through these actions (see also

Tulowitzki & Progin, 2021). These understandings underscore the expectations of service leadership within institutions. This is the secret of the French-speaking influence on practices, which middle managers call shadow leadership or service leadership. Mintzberg (2003), taken up by Gather Thurler, Pelletier and Dutercq (2015), already stressed the position of a leader who does not act by trying to force obedience, but by organizing work and professional space in such a way as to aim for constant improvement in performance.

Similarly, some principals of German-speaking cantons have been known to exercise shadow leadership in a bottom-up trajectory: while – in many instances – major strategic decisions are usually the matter of the school boards or local school authorities, there have been instances where principals have laid out courses of action to their superiors in such a manner that made it likely for these authorities to then decide that the schools should follow said course, thereby discreetly taking over strategic decision-making beyond their formally assigned authority.

Thus, we perceive educational leadership in the Swiss context as based on a matrix intelligence in which principals see themselves as conductors who consider and work with others and seek to create harmony, diffusing and creating meaning for the environment and people. This conductor's stance is reflected in particular in the asserted desire to make effective use of the professional capital that exists or is in the process of being developed. Within this framework, leadership in schools cannot therefore depend on a single person and corresponds to the co-construction of a social process (Bolden, 2011), or a conception of leadership as a shared process (Gather Thurler et al., 2015; Progin & Perrenoud, 2018; Perrenoud, 2014). "The role of leadership can then be variable or shared among several people in a group, according to their abilities and the conditions of the moment [...]; its effectiveness is not so much in a particular individual as in a collective process, essentially in the community" (Mintzberg, 2008, p. 17). We are in the expression of leadership perceived as a process of deliberate influence to structure activities and relationships in an organization (Garant & Letor, 2014; Yukl, 2006). We also find the dimension of systemic leadership in the sense of Pont et al. (2008) aimed at fostering greater collaboration within the school. We had already noted (Progin & Perrenoud, 2018) the paradox of training only managers in distributed leadership, without taking an interest in the skills teachers might need to thrive in such a dynamic. Leadership can, however, be exercised by any teacher who is in a position of responsibility or who takes initiatives aimed at the development of the school, its organization and teaching services. Teachers then have a role that they can use to bring about change in the school. They can give impetus to developments and innovations in a collective action for the common good.

Finally, it should be noted that there is still no systemic management of the system at principal level and that it is still confined to silo-based management of the schools, whereas the systemic management of each school is supported by cantonal directives and the statements made by the management in place.

Concluding Remarks

Swiss culture has gradually abandoned the myth of the charismatic leader and moved towards the idea of power relations based on principles of legitimacy of competence. On this basis, influence within a school organization is no longer embodied solely by those holding formal authority, but also by those who know how to convince and mobilize the institution's actors. We have thus seen the emergence of the concept of distributed leadership with influential actions exercised by informal leaders. In their comments, the principals of French-speaking Switzerland agree with Leithwood et al. (2004), noting that leadership should take into account the essential role played by teachers' professional skills and concern for continuing education.

When we attempt to characterize the concept of educational leadership from a Swiss perspective, we can see that leadership is based on certain key values and ethical principles that permeate the education system. For example, the pursuit of equality and equity, the goal of the development of all individuals without discrimination, and democratic management reflecting an egalitarian society are fundamental ethical principles at all levels of our education system and society.

Beyond these elements, we note that the exercise of leadership rests on fundamentals that are imbued both by the persons and moral values of each leader and by the local contexts in which the institutions are located. The governance of institutions is undergoing a silent transformation through the evolution of management structures, the strengthening of the role of directors and the monitoring of education systems. In this context, principals stress that they have the power to influence working conditions and, indirectly, teachers' practices, and practice discreet or what we have described as shadow leadership. The exercise of leadership is therefore truly protean, and the strategies to which principals refer reflect the diversity of local cultural contexts and their own conceptions of the relationship to hierarchy, while considering that principals refer to ethical principles of the teaching profession and service to students.

In its vision of leadership, the Swiss education system is therefore at the crossroads of two trends. The first is that of a vision of the leader that is inspiring, charismatic and at the same time collaborative and participative. In terms of diachronic evolution, leadership can be seen as much as disruptive in relation to tradition and a *primus inter pares* posture, as it is mutualized and matrix-like in the dimension of enrolment within a specific context that is woven into the historical and human fabric of the school organization.

The relatively young tradition of school leadership has already evolved at an astounding pace. Despite cultural differences between cantons, major pillars of alignment have been established. While the relationships between cantons and federal government and the mechanisms of coordination are complex, the Swiss education system can be viewed as a strong example of how the national and the local as well as various regional cultural specificities in a national education monitoring.

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Part IV
AngloAmerican Countries

Chapter 8
Self-Interest and Altruism: How English School Leaders Navigate Moral Imperatives in a High Stakes Culture

Ruth Luzmore and Chris Brown

Abstract This chapter will explore the experience of educational leadership in state schools in England. It begins with a brief outline of the history of state education before assessing how education currently operates as part of the political-economic shift to a competition state. School leaders in England work in a culture described as high accountability combined with high autonomy. Principals, who have the ability to set and shape their own organisational culture and who hold responsibility for standards and continual improvement, are seen as occupying an influential position within their school community. Like all who work in the public sector in England, they are expected to adhere to ethical standards However the embedded marketization approach to education in England has led to practices which are ethically troubling. These have been well publicised and include 'gaming' of the examination system in order to boost results; high levels of exclusions for pupils from vulnerable groups and non-inclusive practices of pupils with Special Educational Needs. Due to these practices, a renewed focus on ethical leadership in England is emerging.

Keywords Headteacher · Leadership · Nolan Principles · Accountability · Autonomy

> Our education system is not the product of a single directing mind – a Napoleon or a Bismarck – let alone the expression of a single guiding principle. It has grown up by a process of addition and adaption. In short, it is a bit of a muddle, one of those institutionalised muddles that the English have peculiarly their own.
>
> Kenneth Baker, Tory Education Secretary (Abell, 2018, p. 137)

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A Brief History of the English Education System

Understanding the context within which school leaders in the English education system currently work, requires a brief historical overview of the main political, economic and philosophical ideas which have moulded education in England to its current shape. What follows provides a brief summary rather than a full analysis. Instead, highlighted historical points aim to give the reader an understanding of the complex and evolving being that is the English state education system.

From its beginnings, social class has always been a major factor in explaining the distinct differences embedded in education provision in England. Tawney (1931, p 142) wrote that the 'hereditary curse of English education has been its organisation along the lines of social class'. Its most basic division is between private and state education. In England, private schooling is confusingly referred to as 'public' school, but there is an explanation to this apparent oxymoron. Founders of public schools were driven by medieval Christian philanthropy and a strong desire to educate the poor. This began in earnest when William of Wykeham founded Winchester College in 1382. Its central tenet was the rights of poor scholars to advance academically through professional schooling. Indeed, when Winchester admitted its first cohort, Wykeham put strict limits on the incomes of the families for Winchester pupils so that it would not admit the wealthy. Schools such as Eton, Harrow, Westminster and St Paul's followed this example with bequests and benefactors stating their mission to educate the poor rooted in their Christian faith. Scholars at these schools did well, and went on to receive places at Oxford University and careers high in the Church. But the success of these schools attracted wealthy families who used their influence to change entry requirements so that places were bought for a fee. Eventually the number of fee paying places outnumbered those who the schools were originally designed for. The academic, social and career advantage of attending a public school in England continues. Of the 55 prime ministers in Britain, 20 attended Eton and only nine experienced state education (Verkaik, 2018). Public schools in England continue to be private enterprises which are able to hold charity status with its tax benefits due to outreach programmes.

Other than the few selected to attend public schools through scholarships, the education of working class pupils was left to chance rather than design up until the nineteenth century. Whether a child attended school or not was dependent on not only if there was a charity school for them in their locale, but if the child was needed at home for housework or out earning wages. While the upper and middle classes continued to educate their children privately, it took the seismic social and economic shifts of the nineteenth century, to bring change in education. In 1870, the Education Act became the first ever piece of legislation to specifically address the provision of education in Britain, providing primary education for every child.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, the Church of England, the established national religion of England, saw it as their moral duty to provide education to the poor. In 1811 National Schools were established by the National Society for Promoting Education for elementary aged pupils. The National Society stated that

the purpose of schooling was that 'the National Religion should be made the foundation of National Education, and should be the first and chief thing taught to the poor' (Iwashita, 2018). Their aim was to have a school in every parish in England and Wales which were often built next door to the church and were named after them. These schools provided the first universal system of elementary education in England. The idea that all schools should be run by the Church of England was opposed by many and in 1833, a grant was provided towards primary school building for various voluntary societies. Eventually, church schools became part of the state system as faith-schools and today nearly a third of the 20,000 plus state schools in England are faith schools, the majority of these Christian. The influence of the Church continued into the twentieth century – the 1944 Education Act required daily prayers in all state-funded schools, though this now is a daily 'collective act of worship' which is broadly Christian in character. This continues to court some controversy and legal challenge as to the appropriateness or inclusiveness of this within a diverse country, but it is telling that Ofsted, the regulatory board for England, stopped carrying out inspection of collective worship as they found that three quarters of schools were non-compliant regardless of its status in law (Curtis, 2004).

Influence over education reform and its widening can also be linked to the extension of democratic rights as a series of acts increased the electorate. In 1867, just before the 1870 Education Act, votes were granted to men over the age of 21 – property owners and renters within the boroughs. This increased the numbers of voters by a million and lowered the economic status needed to qualify. This made some nervous and there were calls that those who were going to be given the vote should be educated in a way satisfactory to those who held power. Indeed, it was even said by Robert Lowe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the lower classes must be 'educated that they may appreciate and defer to a high cultivation when they meet it' and 'to qualify them for the power that has passed…into their hands' (Lowe, 1866). For Lowe, an opponent to electoral reform and the principle of equality, education was a question of self-preservation.

Others however embraced the idea of equal opportunities. The Fischer Act of 1918 had extended compulsory education to the age of 14 and had provided some places up to the age of 18, but many were unhappy that this excluded many. Before World War II, over 80% of children left school at the age of 14 (Mckenzie, 2001). It was expected in general that working class children would follow their parents into low grade manual work and that they would leave school early to support their family through work. The small amount of children who showed 'exceptional ability', were selected at the age of 11 for special places at local authority secondary schools known as grammar schools. But those who attended were usually middle class as working class pupils were often could afford the additional expenses of attendance such as uniform. Tawney's Secondary Education for All, published in 1922, argued for free provision for all, which was not at that time seen as practical, affordable or desirable by many. Tawney was considered a pluralist in his ideals of equal opportunities, he was content for public schools to still exist, but wanted a state system of education which was so good that independent schools would be marginal.

The period beginning after the end of World War II is seen as a time of 'innovation and inconsistency' (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009). For many it is remembered as the point when the term 'welfare state' came into general use. World War II had militarised British society and brought to light the arbitrary social divides as privately educated men fought alongside those from lower classes. Public opinion was in favour of change which promoted democracy and equality at a time when the impact of war was being felt by all social classes. In 1942, a committee set up to simplify the social security system, produced the Beveridge Report, *Social Insurance and Allied Services*. This report proposed widespread changes to social welfare in the years following the end of the war citing that a 'revolutionary moment in the world's history is a time for revolutions, not for patching'. It identified five 'giant evils' should be tackled by the welfare state: Disease, Squalor, Want, Idleness and Ignorance. These would be addressed through the establishment of a National Health Service, investment in public housing and regulation of landlords, social service and benefits through National Insurance, a drive for full employment and the beginning of radical change in state education.

The Education Act of 1944 was the beginning of this. It included the establishment of the Ministry of Education – a department with a bigger budget and increased power and responsibility for the Minister. All local authorities (LAs) had to consult with the Minister about their plans who arbitrated any issues. The Act established compulsory free education for pupils from 5 to the age of 15 (later extended to 16) and set out plans for services to support the basic structure of education. For example: transport, free milk, dental and medical care and school meals provided for children who wanted them. It also recognised that education covered the needs of those above and below school age, encouraging LAs to finance and provide facilities for nursery schools, community colleges, play schemes, swimming baths etc.

It can be argued that these developments, which seemingly started a time of equality, were undermined by the formalising of unequal opportunities in secondary education. At the age of 11, all children would attend one of the three types of secondary schools: grammar schools for those with 'academic ability', technical schools for those with 'practical ability' and secondary modern schools for those with 'general ability'. This idea that 'particular types of minds' would receive particular education (Norwood Report, 1943) was clearly based on a class-divided vision of education, albeit one which would allow for some movement. The notion that these types schools would be held in 'partity of esteem' and that all would be seen as equal clearly failed as the tripartite system did not take off. Few LAs decided to establish technical schools and there was disgruntlement at a system that selected very few working class pupils to attend grammar schools. Arguments of meritocracy did not appear to cross class lines as secondary moderns generally full of working class pupils and grammar schools, middle class. There was also upset from middle class who, when they were unable to secure a place at a grammar school, had to settle for what they saw as 'second-best' education in a secondary modern. As early as 1947, some LAs had rejected the idea of selection and had begun to set up and open secondary comprehensive schools to address concerns about the reliability of selection at the age of 11, parental aspiration and research on social class and

opportunity. In 1965, 8.5% of pupils were educated in comprehensive schools, by 1977 this had risen to 80% (Ball, 2013).

As universal education became embedded, perspectives about what its aims were and what type of pedagogy would be best were diversifying and remain so. For instance, the publication of the 1967 report *Children and their Primary Schools* (more commonly referred to as The Plowden Report) was renowned for its recommendations which stressed that 'at the heart of the educational process lies the child' and called for, among other things, an end to corporal punishment (not controversial now, but certainly then), reduced class sizes, extended school provision outside of ordinary hours and that authorities should not rely on attainment of intelligence tests as a form of selection at the age of 11 (Central Advisory Council for Education, 1967). It was also a forerunner in recognising the problems for schools in areas of high deprivation and argued for a national policy of positive discrimination for these schools. However, it popularized the idea of 'cultural deprivation' and the controversial and still hotly debated idea that poverty leads to poor linguistic stimulation (Jones 2016). But it is perhaps the child-centred approach which has been the most long-standing condemnation of its impact with the report accused of having middle class subjectivity and encouraging a weak pedagogy: which placed a focus children finding things out rather than being explicitly taught and for having low expectations of pupils.

School leaders at this time had a number of freedoms in how they ran schools and not all of these freedoms were universally popular. William Tyndale Junior School became the subject of public controversy when in 1974 the headteacher decided to implement a radical child-centred system. Believing that the Plowden report was beneficial to children whose parents were better off, senior staff organised the day through alternative 'open' and 'closed' 1 h periods. During open hours, pupils were free to do as they wish. Severe disciplinary problems arose and many parents accused the teachers of political motivation in failing to discipline the children and withdrew their children. When a team of inspectors was sent to the school, they were themselves forced to teach as some of the staff had set up a rival school elsewhere A parliamentary inquiry was conducted which found that the LA had not fulfilled its legal responsibilities and many of the staff lost their jobs. It also led to mounting pressure that the Government should take more responsibility to define and enforce what educational standards should be. It has been argued that it was cases like these and less dramatic local problems which led to a sense of an escalating moral crises in education and one which the government needed to take in hand.

Public confidence in school was knocked further when the Prime Minister Callaghan gave the Ruskin Speech on education in 1976. As well as the ideological debates about education going on, his comments on state education came after a period of national economic crisis and his remarks were an indicator of a debate to come about the purpose of education in England:

> I am concerned on my journeys to find complaints from industry that new recruits from the schools sometimes do not have the basic tools to do the job that is required...There is no virtue in producing socially well-adjusted members of society who are unemployed because they do not have the skills. Nor at the other extreme must they be technically efficient

> robots. Both of the basic purposes of education require the same essential tools. These are basic literacy, basic numeracy, the understanding of how to live and work together, respect for others, respect for the individual. This means requiring certain basic knowledge, and skills and reasoning ability. It means developing lively inquiring minds and an appetite for further knowledge that will last a lifetime.

While it should not be solely credited, the Ruskin speech marks the beginning of an almost 20 year debate marked by criticism of the efficiency and value for money of the state education as the employability of school leavers was questioned. Rather than there being much conclusion from this, debates about the effectiveness of English schools has continued. These have led to the purposeful dismantling and erosion of LA involvement in state education.

The stark divide in class remains a particular problem in English political discourse and there has emerged a problematic narrative that education is about social mobility – the movement of people out of the working class. Simply put, the discourse is that with the right education and the right results, people can work their way out of working class status. Two aspects of this are ethically troubling. First, this narrative rests on the belief that the education system is meritocratic, that is that people will gain status because of their achievements rather than acknowledging the influence of their birth into social position. It assumes that all children will have a fair chance of proving themselves and ignores the impact that wealth has on the education you receive. Second, it implies that there is something wrong with being working class as upward mobility is freeing, but ignores the darker side of what this means. Reay (2017, p. 116) writes in her book on inequality and the working class, social mobility 'is about failure as much as success. You become more equal in relation to privileged others, but at the cost of those you love and care for becoming less equal in relation to you.'

A Move to High Autonomy/High Accountability

Recent changes to educational structures in England have seen the dismantling of old ways of working and the introduction of new approaches with an individualized focus. In particular, central government policy makers in England, having lost faith in the postwar 'trust and altruism' model of public service delivery in which Local Authorities ran schools with minimal central oversight, have now devolved multiple decision-making powers and resources to schools (Armstrong, 2015; Greany & Earley, 2018; Handscomb, 2018). This has been undertaken in the belief that such an approach will improve quality and increase innovation (Greany & Earley, 2018; Howland, 2015). The commitment to more 'bottom-up' school improvement was first established in the Education White Paper *The Importance of Teaching*. For instance a specific policy aim set out within *The Importance of Teaching* is that: 'our best schools [will] play a leadership role in driving the improvement of the whole school system, including through leading more formal federations and chains' (Department for Education, 2010, p. 60). This approach has been described

elsewhere as the move towards a 'self-improving school system' (Greany, 2014); with the characteristics of 'self-improvement' including: that schools now having greater responsibility for their own improvement; that teachers and schools are expected to learn from each other so that effective practice spreads; and that schools and school leaders should be extending their reach to support other schools in improving (Greany, 2014). The focus of self-improvement meanwhile should be on embedding a 'culture of professional reflection, enquiry and learning within and across schools, [centred] on teaching and students learning' (Gilbert, 2017, p. 6).

A clear result of the push towards self-improvement is the number of schools now operating as 'Academies': either through choice or as a result of being forced to academy status as a result of poor performance. Academies are schools that operate either as companies or charities, and are outside of Local Authority funding and control. Although introduced by the previous New Labour government, a desire to expand the number of Academy schools was outlined in *The Importance of Teaching* as a means to drive educational improvement. The reason for this desired expansion relates to the freedoms Academies have to innovate. For instance Academies are not required to follow the national curriculum or employ qualified teachers (meaning they set the standards for the teachers they employ); they can also set the length of their school day as well as their own term dates. Academies can be standalone or operate as part of a Multi-Academy Trust (MAT): a formalised collaboration between a number of academies (Armstrong, 2015).

To further encourage improvements in quality and innovation, policy makers have also established accountability systems that 'combine quasi-market pressures (such as parental choice of school coupled with funding following the learner) with central regulation and control' (Greany & Earley, 2018, p. 7). In particular accountability occurs via a regular school inspections process undertaken by Ofsted (England's school inspection agency). Ofsted inspections are highlighted by many school leaders as a key driver of their behaviour. As a result, it is acknowledged that England's accountability framework both focuses and places pressure on school leaders to consider only very specific forms of school improvement and so concentrate in the main on ensuring students achieve well in progress tests in key subject areas (e.g. English literacy and maths) (Greany & Earley, 2018). At the same time, market forces can be seen influencing school choice with hierarchies of schools (in terms of parent and pupil preference) existing in local areas. Determinants of a school's position in the hierarchy include factors such as context, the composition of student intake and past reputation. While schools and school leaders work hard to reposition themselves and engineer a move up the hierarchy (often with variable results), it is also clear that low status schools do suffer from a number of challenges. These include under-subscription, student mobility and more challenging in-take; e.g. disproportionate numbers of disadvantaged, migrant and hard to place children.

As a result of both market and control-type measures, the English system can thus be regarded as one that displays both **high accountability AND high autonomy**. As alluded to above, the consequence of this combination of high accountability and high autonomy, along with the aforementioned focus on self-improvement,

is that school leaders have the ability to both set and shape their own organisational culture and hold responsibility for standards and continual improvement. This means they are seen as occupying an influential position within their school community. But at the same time, they are now expected to be able resolve a number of policy 'paradoxes'. In particular, Greany and Earley (2018, p. 9) argue that school leaders are now required to:

- exercise their autonomy to provide education that meets parental needs, whilst at the same time meeting centrally prescribed targets and requirements;
- improve literacy and numeracy scores every year, whilst maintaining a broad and balanced curriculum;
- close attainment gaps, while pushing the brightest and the best; and
- collaborate with their peers and neighbouring schools to develop skills and capacity, while competing to ensure that they move up the local hierarchy.

Ethical Standards in School Leadership

All who hold public office in England, are expected to adhere to a common set of ethical standards commonly known as the Nolan Principles (Committee for Standards in Public Life, 1995). The need for a set of commonly held principles of ethical conduct was in response to a period of public discontent and erosion of trust with those holding public office after a series of scandals and the news that Members of Parliament were being paid cash to ask questions in parliament (Hencke, 1994). The Prime Minister, John Major, set up the Committee on Standards in Public Life (CSPL) chaired by Lord Nolan who led a 6 month inquiry into standards in British public life and produced the seven principles. The CSPL continues as an independent advisory body which has no legal powers to enforce its recommendations, but which is responsible for 'advising the Prime Minister on ethical issues relating to standards in public life, conducting broad inquiries into standards of conduct and promoting the seven principles of public life' (CPSL). The seven standards are: selflessness, integrity, accountability, openness, honesty and leadership (Committee for Standards in Public Life, 1995). They were designed to build a particular culture of behaviour that the public should expect from those who work in the public sector. When failure to adhere to them has been exposed, significant loss of reputation and in some cases employment follows.

While the Nolan Principles are not legally enforceable, they do form the basis of a number of frameworks used by trustees and governance boards and 25 years on are still referred to. In English schools, their influence is seen in three different standards frameworks which guide the work of governors, teachers and headteachers.

The work of governing bodies in the different types of schools is subject to different guidance depending on the type of school they govern, but all have written into legislation three primary tasks: making sure that the vision and strategic direction of the schools are defined; holding the headteacher to account for the

educational performance of schools and ensuring that the finances of the schools are in proper order. In doing, it is mandatory that governors must: 'act with integrity, objectivity and honesty and in the best interests of the school; and be open about the decisions they make and the actions they take and in particular shall be prepared to explain their decisions and actions to interested parties' (The School Governance Regulations, 2013). This requirement is clearly linked to the Nolan Principles. As these standards are written into law, not fulfilling their responsibilities can lead to legal action and removal from post.

Teachers or those training to be a teacher in England, must demonstrate that they adhere to the Teaching Standards which were updated in 2012 (DfE, 2012). Part One of the Teaching Standards relates to pedagogical responsibilities (e.g. subject knowledge, lesson planning and student outcomes) and Part Two is concerned with the personal and professional conduct of teachers. It states that 'teachers uphold public trust in the profession and maintain high standards of ethics and behaviour, within and outside school' (DfE, 2012). Throughout there are indirect references to the Nolan Principles as it refers to honesty, integrity and their role in being accountable for the outcomes and well-being of their pupils. Teaching Standards are statutory force and are regularly referred to in teaching training and in annual performance management reviews throughout a teachers' career. They are also a reference used by an external body, the Teaching Regulation Agency, when they are investigating cases of serious misconduct from a teacher and therefore failure to adhere to these can mean teachers may be put on the Prohibited List and not allowed to teach.

The National Standards of Excellence for Headteachers (NSEH) was published in 2015 with the purpose of 'inspiring public confidence in headteachers' (DfE, 2015). There a variety of noble aims within the framework which clearly reflect the Nolan Principles. For example, under the qualities and knowledge category it states that headteachers should 'hold and articulate clear values and moral purpose, focused on providing a world- class education for the pupils they serve' (DfE, 2015, p. 5). The standards recognise the influential position that a headteacher has in not only shaping the teaching profession but also within the communities they serve and calls them 'the guardians of the nation's schools'. What is surprising is that this framework is, unlike governance and teaching standards, just guidance rather than having statutory powers.

While the reason for this has not been given explicitly, the framework does give clues as it refer to the variety of types of headteachers and the governance arrangements for which they are accountable. Therefore it could be argued that the variety of school types in England has made the process of regulating leadership more complex. In addition, headteachers in England are no longer required to hold leadership qualifications. In the past all headteachers had to have National Professional Qualification of Headship (NPQH) prior to taking up the post. The NPQH is a Masters level course which learning about leadership behaviours.

With no common training route in England, we cannot be certain that leaders are familiar with either the Nolan Principles or the NSEH. While they are useful tools, schools leaders' understanding of them and their role in upholding moral leadership is therefore left to chance. This alongside the high accountability-low trust context

in which headteachers work and the deregulated and the variety of school structures and governance leaves room for unethical behaviours.

Questionable Leadership Behaviours in English Schools

With its intense focus on results and improving measurable outcomes, the system has put significant pressure on head teachers in England. The pressure to have good outcomes, has led to practices by school leaders which are ethically questionable in order to stay on top.

One of these which has become a large concern in recent years is 'off-rolling' which is defined as an informal process during which schools pressure parents to remove them from the school registers (Ofsted, 2019). While there can be legitimate reasons for headteachers to off-roll pupils e.g. moving to private school or alternate provision, research by Ofsted (2019) claimed that leaders at some schools were encouraging parents to transfer the child to a different school rather than remain as they are at risk of exclusion. Teachers interviewed stated that these pupils often had parents who were less informed of their rights and had little if any knowledge of the legal process of exclusions. While behaviour was often used as the reason, teachers thought that in fact it was a push by the school to remove pupils whose academic results would impact negatively on their overall performance. To maintain or increase performance in their league table position vulnerable students, including those with Special Educational Needs (SEN) were more likely to be at risk from this practice of illegal 'off-rolling'. They found that a quarter of teachers had seen this happen in their school and that this is done 'behind the scenes' by senior leaders rather than through an open process. This research was supported by evidence from the Education Policy Institute (Hutchison & Crenna-Jennings, 2019) who looked into this in more detail in the data and found, among other things, that in 2017, 8.1% of pupils in Year 11 were removed from school roles and over 7000 had unexplained destinations. This was concentrated in a small number of schools with 6% of secondary schools accounting for 23% of the unexplained exits. Ofsted themselves identified 340 schools that had unusually high levels of pupils leaving the school and has begun to inspect them to satisfy themselves that senior leaders were not removing pupils illegally. In addition, the Timpson Review (2019), which led an in-depth review into concerns about increasing number of school exclusions, raised concerns about children being sent home from school without a formal exclusion process and examples of children being pushed out of education altogether. It stated that the performance and funding system does not 'incentivise or reward schools for taking responsibility for the needs of all pupils…it cannot be right to have a system where some schools could stand to improve their performance and finance through exclusion.' (Timpson, 2019, p. 11).

Concern with academic outcomes has led to other ethically troubling practices from some school. 'Gaming' is when a school seeks to maximize school attainment data and league table position making decisions which are in the interests of the

school or even at odds with the the best interests of the pupils. Ofsted (2020), in its 2018/2019 annual report was concerned that some schools were 'failing to act with integrity' by restricting education opportunities or by forcing pupils to take particular subjects which would be easier to pass in a practice called 'qualification-gaming'. One example they found was schools requiring whole cohorts to take a qualification in English for Speakers of Other Languages despite the pupils nearly all being native English speakers (Ofsted, 2020). This 'gaming' is not restricted to Secondary school and there are examples of school leaders in Primary schools narrowing the curriculum, teaching to the test and in extreme cases headteachers have also been caught cheating in the administering of tests. The annual Standards and Testing Agency (STA, 2020) report on maladministration assessments in English Primary schools assessments has seen an increase in the number of investigations. Their data also shows that there has been an increase in the number of schools who had amendments or annulments of their results as a result of these allegations (122 schools in 2018 compared to 78 in 2017). Purposeful maladministration has led to headteachers being suspended and even banned from teaching, but it would appear that for some, the risk of being caught is worth it in terms of results.

Changing Times Ahead?

So far, this chapter has painted a negative picture which lacks a central moral driving force and purpose in the state English education sector. It is clear that the historic reliance on crude academic data as the sole indicator of school success has led some leaders to engage in some questionable ethical practices as a way of securing success. Added to this is a inconsistent leadership from government – the Department for Education has had six education secretaries since 2010. The lack of consistent leadership without a clear shared purpose for education is likely to lead to a disjointed and disorientated sector.

But the system is not without hope or examples of moral leadership – there are many leaders getting on with the daily work putting their community and students' needs first while trying to balance the tension between being a policy actor and a policy subject. In Rayner's study of school leaders (2014), headteachers talk about their personal values and the influence they have on the ethos of their school, but also admit to the struggles they have in trying to make decisions for examples which balance the needs of individual pupils with overall goals for their school community. For example, one of these headteachers reflected that had their school been in a better position for academic outcomes, they might be behaving differently and that an exclusion that they would have argued against as a teacher, felt more justified for the greater good.

An example of this is the work of the Ethical Leadership Commission who have produced a Framework for Ethical Leadership in Education (2019). This was initiated by a school leaders' union whose members felt that there was a lack of ethical discourse to support them and their peers to make decisions in a climate of diverse

context and high pressure. To support leaders in 'navigating the educational moral maze', they set up a working committee made up of people from across the sector including unions, teachers, Ofsted, universities and CSPL. They designed a framework specific to school leaders based on the Nolan Principles which expands it by qualifying the personal characteristics and virtues which are important for leaders to demonstrate such as justice, service, optimism and courage. They have expanded the reach of this framework and have begun running a training programme for the development of ethical school leaders. They are now looking to set up a permanent Ethics Forum to 'promote, uphold, develop and support ethical leadership and its discussion by school leaders so that they fulfil society's expectations of their roles, and set a good example to young people'. This is an encouraging example of what can be achieved by the 'self-improving' school system (Greany, 2014).

Other stakeholders in education are taking notice of unethical behaviour and addressing this. A recent shift in the leadership at Ofsted led to changes in their inspection framework. These changes have made central the importance of a full curriculum offering to all children and have been proactive in seeking out ethical practice and holding these leaders to account. They also have made modest allusions to their role in contributing to a high accountability system which had encouraged unethical practice stating that they, 'acknowledge the role that strongly data-driven accountability, including our own inspection frameworks, has played in distracting us collectively from the real substance of education, at the centre of which is the curriculum.' (Ofsted, 2020, p. 8). This is a small but significant admission of the damage that the high accountability-low trust system in England has produced.

At the time of writing, the COVID-19 pandemic has visibly demonstrated the ethical leadership situated within English schools. Throughout the lockdown period in England, schools have remained open even during holiday periods to welcome pupils whose parents are key workers or to vulnerable students who may be safer in school than at home. We have witnessed school leaders source and deliver food packages and vouchers for those unable to leave their homes or reliant on free school meals. We have also witnessed leaders efforts in reopening for larger number of pupils despite significant concern for their own and staff safety. It is clear that school leaders in England care deeply for their communities. Perhaps what will emerge from the pandemic is a school system that makes the necessary changes in terms of structures so that they can continue to act in the best interests of their pupils at all times.

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Chapter 9
School Effectiveness in U.S. Amid Crisis: Moral Capacity Building for Social Justice Leadership

Jacob Easley II, Kimberly White-Smith, and Nilda Soto-Ruiz

In 1848, Horace Mann remarked, "Education, then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men, the balance wheel of the social machinery" (para. 10). Yet, school reform, especially in large urban districts like New York and Los Angeles, seeking to equalize the human conditions of people is a grave challenge dependent upon leaders' moral capacity. Providing all children with equitable educational opportunities is more than a challenge. It requires the commitment of politicians, parents, educators, and administrators alike (Alexander, 2018; Allen & White-Smith, 2018; Delale-O'Connor et al., 2019; Desimone et al., 2002; Dutro et al., 2002). However, research has demonstrated that teachers are in the best position to directly impact student achievement because they understand the difficulties that children face daily and can use professional knowledge to shape the curriculum to meet their needs (White-Smith, 2012a, b; Stigler & Hiebert, 1999).

Effective school leadership (Bass, 1985; Cuban, 1984; Fullan, 2003; Sergiovanni, 1996), mastery of knowledge and skills (Wayne & Youngs, 2003), teacher certification (Darling-Hammond et al., 2002; Shields et al., 1999), and professional development (Curwen et al., 2010; Guskey, 2000; Miller, et al., 2015) are some of the variables that contribute to the overall of school effectiveness. Nonetheless, administrators hold the key to identifying, hiring, training, and retaining effective teachers

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and establishing the vision for a productive learning environment. The school leader is essential in supporting, guiding, and maintaining the efforts of teachers in continuous school improvement (White-Smith, 2012a; White-Smith & White, 2009).

School leadership is a dynamic enterprise. In the United States, school leaders are referred to as principals and are responsible for the overall performance of the school, requiring that they supervise instruction, hire teachers and support staff, evaluate employees, provide professional development, engage families in the learning process, manage fiscal resources, and model ethical behavior that ensures equity for a diverse student population. As noted in other professional areas like business, leadership is highly contextual.

However, education is not a civil right upheld by the United States Constitution. It remains a reserved right and responsibility of the states, with each state defining its unique governance structures, curricula, and accountability systems for student achievement and school effectiveness. School leadership, though broadly described above, is contextually situated within each municipal jurisdiction and each school.

Compulsory public-school education came into existence around 1852 with Massachusetts being the first state to pass a law. Over many years, the aims of public schooling have changed and so has the ethnic demographics of the country. Moreover, the demographic shift from predominantly White students to students of color is a formidable force, which impacts every aspect of schooling. The percentage of students of color in public schools across the United States continues to outpace that of their White counterparts. For New York City, the Department of Education is the nation's largest public-school system, with about 1.1 million students. The breakdown of the system serves a racially and culturally diverse student population comprised largely of: 40.6 % Latina/o, 25.5% Black, 16.2% Asian, and 15.0% White. The Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) is the second largest system in the nation with over 734,640 students. The composition of students tells a similar story, where the culturally and linguistically diverse communities of color outnumber their White counterparts: 73.4% Latina/o, 8.2 % Black, 10.5% White, 6.3% Asian. Over 72% of students in both educational systems are economically disadvantaged. Students with disabilities comprise 20.2% of students in New York and 13.1% in Los Angeles. School leaders for these and other large urban centers, must be prepared to recognize, care for, and attend to the growing diversification of their school populations. This is particularly true, given that a diverse student body engenders: race, socio-economic status, linguistic diversity, neurodiversity and dis/ability, just to name a few. By 2065, it is projected that no single racial or ethnic group in the US will be a majority (The Pew Research Center, 2015). For the purpose of this chapter we use the terms Latinx, Latina/o, and Hispanic interchangeably to refer to those populations of Latin American and Spanish origins, as they are referred to in different reports accordingly. We take the same approach in use of the terms Black, Black American and African American interchangeably to refer to those populations of African descent.

Currently, the United States is facing a crisis of both moral and ethical proportions. The global COVID-19 pandemic is but one major impediment to effective schooling operations. With the education community being compelled to move

instruction online in lieu of face-to-face interactions to reduce exposure to the pathogen, it has shed light on the severe socio-economic, racial, and educational divides that persists. Simultaneously, the country is forced to face the historic systemic racism illuminated by the senseless murders of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and other Black Americans at the hands of police officers and those assuming authority. This unique moment in time highlights the need for district administrators and school leaders who are not only culturally competent and capable of providing support for students at every level of their educational, social, and emotional development, but also challenge the outdated modes of teaching and learning. Leaders must leave behind the deficit perspectives they hold of the children and communities they serve. Instead, they need to embrace disenfranchised communities and families and recognize the cultural wealth they bring to the collaboration (Allen and White-Smith, 2018). It is essential for school leaders to see students and caregivers as partners in the process of re-envisioning the practice of educating in ways that are meaningful and mutually beneficial to academic success and well-being.

A focus on the nation's two largest public education systems sheds light on historical and systemic inequities that further challenge the capacity of school leader effectiveness. There is insurmountable evidence that despite the country's efforts to overturn centuries of educational injustices, especially those regarding school desegregation (Brown v. Board, 1954; Mendez v. Westminster, 1946), urban and rural schools that serve predominantly low-income children of color still suffer egregiously. Sixty-five years after the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* case to desegregate the nation's schools, children of color are more likely to attend schools within same-race peer groups. The state of New York ranks highest in segregation for African American school children and California ranks the highest in segregation for Latinx students (Frankenberg et al., 2019).

The COVID-19 pandemic has further exposed racial and economic disparities across schools (Laster Pritle, 2020; Strauss, 2020). Specifically, the pandemic continues to exacerbate the already documented unequal distribution of instructional supports, resources, technology, and cultural capital in schools along race, gender, and socio-economic lines (Allen & White-Smith, 2014; White-Smith, 2009; White-Smith, 2012a). However, the most startling denial of resources suffered by children from marginalized communities is access to teachers and administrators who are highly qualified through licensure to teach and lead; who are committed to the communities they serve; and who reflect the ethnic diversity of urban and rural school populations (Peters, 2019; White-Smith, 2012b).

This chapter takes up the issues of historical and structural inequities that have adversely affected marginalized communities alongside the concept of contextualized school leader effectiveness. In doing so, we draw on our experiences and observations as deans of schools of education who are directly responsible for school leader preparation. The study of school leader preparation has developed a growing body of knowledge, both theoretical and empirical, seeking to define and chart out the developmental map of leader effectiveness. Lochmiller and Chesnut (2017) surmised that amid the findings, questions still linger, particularly regarding effective leadership development for turnaround schools. The authors describe turnaround

schools as those struggling with student academic attainment. Their central mission is to "turnaround" poor student achievement and increase standardized test scores (See also Fullan, 2006). Large urban school systems like New York City Department of Education (NYDOE) and Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) house their fair share of turnaround schools. Yet, these two systems preparing a significant number of racial, ethic, and culturally diverse student populations present unique contexts for school leaders. Amid the COVID-19 pandemic and ongoing cries for racial justice, school leadership preparation must centrally focus on the dismantlement of inequities that have systematically disadvantaged the academic success of many marginalized communities, particularly racially minoritized students. As such, we specially address the development of school leaders' moral capacity for social justice leadership. This concept, which we further define throughout this chapter, entails the commitment of school leaders to address and dismantle structural inequity and racism for overall school effectiveness.

Educational Equity and the Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement

James Baldwin (1988) recounted his 1963 talk to a group of 200 predominantly White teachers in Harlem, New York. In his speech, he suggested that for Black children to be denied the right to an education that is critical, rigorous, and historically accurate is a crime not only against them, but against White children, as well. We are currently witnessing the consequence of a White citizenry that has been miseducated to believe that White intelligence, ingenuity, and bravery are the foundation of a democratic and just society; and that all others survive due to their benevolence. Conceptualizing White racial hegemony solely as a privilege or unearned societal advantage minimizes the destructive power leveraged by Whites to dismantle the histories, achievements, and lives of peoples of color (Cabrera, 2017, 2018; Leonardo, 2004; Matias, 2016). Leonardo (2004) wrote, "…the conditions of White supremacy make White privilege possible. In order for White racial hegemony to saturate everyday life, it has to be secured by a process of domination, or those acts, decisions, and policies that White subjects perpetrate on people[s] of color" (p. 137).

Baldwin, however, was not the first public intellectual to speak out against the limited curricular inequity based on White racial hegemony. Nor has the matter of educational equity remained an academic argument in the U.S. The 1954 landmark Brown vs the Board of Education Supreme Court ruling deemed racial segregation of children in public school unconstitutional, adding that the practice violates equal protection of the law as required by the Fourteen Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Yet, today's schools are not fully desegregated across many of the nation's school districts.

As previously mentioned, public education in the U.S. is a reserved right and responsibility of states. As such, federal involvement of the national Department of Education historically had been limited to information dissemination. The convergence of the civil rights moment and the Sputnik launch ushered in significance pressures for educational equity and international competition for educational effectiveness. From this area onward federal influence on state level education has steadily increased via the mechanism of legislative aid and accountability. In 1965, Congress approved the first Elementary and Secondary Education Act creating Title I, a provision which distributes funding to school and districts with a high percentage of students from low-income families. One aim of the legislation was and remains closing the achievement gap between students from low-income families (namely those of racially minoritized groups) and middle-class students who were more likely to attend better funded school districts.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), or the nation's report card, is the longest continuous and predominant assessment of student achievement in the U.S. Testing began in 1969 and is administered every two years in the fourth and eighth grades. The assessment has been used to measure changes in the racial (Black-White) and ethnic (Hispanic-White) achievement gaps, focusing on reading and math scores. While there has been some narrowing of racial and ethnic gaps, the shrinkage has not been linear nor is the closure imminent. Though the notion of an achievement gap has become a part of the nomenclature for school effectiveness in the U.S., Ladson-Billings (2006) posited "We do not have an achievement gap; we have an education debt" (p. 5). She explained how the various historical, economic, sociopolitical, and moral decisions and polices have influenced the educational debt determined by poor investments in schools and schooling for low-income students, which inform broader social inequities. The social inequities of poor education, poor housing, poor healthcare, and structural racism, to name a few, underscore the educational debt that explains the long running achievement gap. The author posed a proposition to educators during her Presidential address at the American Educational Research Association (AERA). She asked that we imagine a society in which at least one of these conditions of inequity were fully eradicated and its impact on the achievement gap.

The Civil Rights movement (1954–1968) challenged discriminatory practices, along with racist and oppressive conditions across social apparatuses, like education. It is through the struggles of African Americans and other peoples of color seeking social change that multicultural education emerged (Banks, 1989; Davidman & Davidman, 1997). Banks (1993) outlined four evolutionary stages of multicultural education in teacher education: (phase one) introduced multicultural education as ethnic studies; (phase two) emerged as educators began to see the benefit of multicultural education in school reform bearing structural and systemic changes to the total school for increased educational equity; (phase three) included expanded histories and voices of women and individuals with disabilities; and (phase four) marked the development of the theory, research and practices connected to race, class, and gender. In short, multicultural education is an equity pedagogy for the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural, and socio-economic

groups. The legacy of multicultural education has shaped state level policy and frameworks, just like New York State Department of Education (2018) framework for culturally responsive-sustaining education. The framework aims to,

> …help education stakeholders create student-centered learning environments that affirm cultural identities; foster positive academic outcomes; develop students' abilities to connect across lines of difference; elevate historically marginalized voices; empower students as agents of social change; and contribute to individual student engagement, learning, growth, and achievement through the cultivation of critical thinking. (pp. 6–7)

Despite advancement for culturally responsive and sustaining education, in today's classrooms many children are suffering from elevated levels of anxiety due to high stakes testing environments and the over identification of racially and culturally minoritized boys in special education. One would be hard pressed to find curriculum that is rich, critical, diverse, or even accurate (Allen & White-Smith, 2014; Losen & Gillespie, 2012). Instead you will more likely find pedagogical practices that pay homage to a few key historical leaders of color (Martin Luther King, Cesar Chavez, and Rosa Parks). There are specific days set aside to have cultural celebrations where food is brought in and the students have a party, with little to no consideration of how these actions fit into the learning process. These practices demonstrate a lack of vision for a critically conscious learning community. It results in tokenistic representations of culture and do little to enhance the value of the student educational experience.

This brings us to our final contextual consideration of equitable learning environments—the need for racially diverse teachers and leaders. There are a number of factors that contribute to the lack of diversity in the American education profession, which consists predominantly of middle income, White women. The aftermath of the Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court ruling, which forced the integration of schools, led to greater inequity among the African American teaching force. Many lost their jobs. Minority students were more likely to be transferred to majority White schools than were African American teachers. In fact, more White teachers where hired to meet the demand of increased enrollment (Torres et al., 2004). Many African American teachers left in lower enrolled schools fell victim to job loss. Approximately 38,000 African American teachers and administrators were pushed out of jobs that were given to Whites in the name of desegregation (Epps, 1999; Milner & Howard, 2004). Stewart et al. (as cited in Torres et al., 2004) explain that the displacement laid in part to "White people's beliefs that African American were not qualified to teach their children" (p. 13). These beliefs translated into failed action, stereotyping, and economic conditions that have further exacerbated inequitable opportunities in the teaching profession for generations.

It goes without saying that the Civil Rights Movement has had a tremendous impact on society and the conditions of schooling in the U.S. Yet, any benefit for social and educational equity is tenuous without ongoing efforts to challenge systemic inequities. At the school level, the principal's moral capacity for social justice leadership is paramount.

Leadership Typology and Leader Preparation

Much has been written regarding ethical and moral leadership and the relationship between the two. In their simplest forms, ethics refers to an established set of rules to govern actions and behaviors. They are concretized by codes of ethics for educators established by states for their certified educators. Morals, however, refer to one's belief systems for right and wrong. While these two constructs are often used interchangeable, they are distinct. An ethical code, for example, does not have to be moral.

Leithwood (1999) explained that school leaders bring with them a personal set of ethics internalized from their personal values. Like Leithwood, we contend that these are mediated through their professional experiences as teachers upon entering their new role. This fact cannot be minimalized, as most new school leaders inherit an existing school culture and composition of faculty and staff, each with their own internalized values that shape said inherited school culture. As principals enter their new schools, the values of their schools and those they bring with them have to be negotiated and calibrated for ethical cohesion. Researchers have theorized ethical leadership from multiple perspectives (see Arar et al., 2016; Shapiro & Stefkavich, 2001; Starratt, 1994), such as an ethic of care engendering respect for others (Gillian, 1982; Noddings, 1992; Rucinski & Bauch, 2006), an ethic of justice underscoring the rules of law, their fairness and notions of equality and equity (Shapiro, 2006), an ethic of critique building on the foundations of critical theory (Starratt, 1991), and an ethic of the profession (Shapiro & Stefkovich, 2001), attending to the aforementioned professional codes of conduct for educators taken in the best interest of students.

Moral leadership, however, "encompasses the ethic of responsibility, which recognizes the effects that leadership has within/on relationships as well as the surrounding conditions within the school" (Easley, 2008, p. 27). As such, moral leadership concerns itself with the relations and the effects of those relations of Dewey's (1909) moral ideal to improve the human condition. Easley further explained "moral leadership is mediated through human interactions within schools, and these interactions, in turn, influence the processes of teaching and learning" (p. 27). Moral leadership builds on ethical leadership influencing the underpinnings of a principal's sense of responsibility.

Rest (1986) defined four components of moral decision making and behaviors: (a) recognition of a moral issue, (b) moral judgment of the issue, (c) resolution to place moral concerns ahead of others to establish moral intent, and (d) action upon the moral issue. In turn, moral agency (Cherkowski et al., 2015) is the capacity for school leaders to act as moral agents. Moral agents are those who act through on the ethic of responsibility and are accountable for their own decisions and behaviors, and who are responsible for the actions of those they lead.

Moral agency is the fulcrum for personal and professional responsibility of a school leader to act with intentionality, care, as well as an aim for social justice. In a study of the context of educational accountability in the U.S. and the praxis of

school leadership, Easley and Elmeski (2016) reaffirmed the importance of framing moral accountability. The authors posited as follows:

> For schools defined as underperforming, serving communities placed at risk by historical and structural conditions of economic disenfranchisement, categorical discrimination, dominate language barriers, and limited access to the social and material resources associated with academic success, their moral accountability is an imperative. (p. 50)

Yet, the logic of moral leadership and its capacity are deeply rooted in the broader study of school leadership and effectiveness. As we will further explore, the moral capacity for leadership effectiveness needed for contexts like the New York and Los Angeles schools in which we work is developed and nurtured with intentionality. Moral capacity is complex and multifaceted. It is undergirded by ideological, pedagogical, and structural capital means. And, for the purpose of our discussion moral capacity is the bedrock of effective leadership for social justice.

Typology of Leadership Effectiveness

Research on school leader effectiveness is replete with linkages to student achievement outcomes (Lochmiller & Chesnut, 2017). In an era of high-stakes accountability that defines the context for school leader and educational effectiveness in the U.S. and abroad, there is a wave of attention to and the study of developing leaders for high-performing schools (Darling-Hammond et al., 2007) and turnaround leadership for struggling schools (Fullan 2006; Lochmiller & Chesnut, 2017; Murphy & Meyers, 2008). Even still, there are myriad lines of inquiry seeking to identify the critical roles of principals linked to school effectiveness.

Two noted lines of inquiry are those concerning instructional leadership and transformational leadership. Instructional leadership refers to leadership that focuses on the core technology of teaching and learning. It is characterized as the principal's direct engagement in curriculum, instruction, achievement data monitoring, and instructional supervision with the aim of improving teachers' instructional practice and student learning (e.g., Blase & Blase, 1999; Leithwood & Janzi, 1999; Robinson et al., 2008). Policy makers have increasingly favored instructional leadership, as Robinson et al. have shown, that is perhaps the most effective for raising student achievement when compared to other noted types of leadership such as transformational leadership, for example. Yet, instructional leadership is not to be taken as a silver bullet for all school contexts.

Transformational leadership holds its roots in the work of Burns (1978) who coined the concept "transforming leadership." His work recognized the continuum of leadership practice within the social network of school actors—teachers, leaders, and others. As such, school leaders act along the continuum between transactional leadership and transformational leadership. Transformational leadership aspires to change the values of an organization vis-à-vis the working relationship among players, thereby resulting in a morally imbued culture shift of community and shared

responsibility for community and the organization. The idea of transformational leadership took hold in the U.S. in the early 1990's among criticism that instructional leadership is too leader centric and dependent upon the principal as the sole instructional expert.

Certainly, the typology of school leadership does not end with instructional and transformational leadership. Leadership preparation programs are punctuated by the study of these and other conceptualizations such as teacher leadership, distributed leadership, democratic leadership, and more. Lochemiller and Chesnut (2017) reported that more recent analyses (see Grissom & Loeb, 2011; Hitt & Tucker, 2016; Pang, 2016; Urick & Bowers, 2014) find that a combination of instructional, transformation, and managerial leadership behaviors more accurately define leader effectiveness. These findings underscore the importance of context and purpose, moving beyond the competition among leadership types in search of the single most effective. Stated from a different perspective, effective educational leadership is largely "defined by the historical and cultural epistemologies embedded within a core fiber of national, and in many cases, local identities of individual communities" (Easley, 2016, p. 1). As such, how we understand leadership effectiveness is a reflection on how a community defines its purpose(s) of education, democracy, and equitable access and excellence for learners. Given the shifts in social, economic and cultural dynamics, the logic of educational leadership should follow accordingly.

Leadership Preparation

Contemporary public-school reform agendas began focusing on student achievement in the early 1970s (Brunner et al., 2010) and this focus continues today as aforementioned. Attention to school leader effectiveness with regard to their preparation did not take hold until mid 1980s (see also, Griffiths et al., 1988; Murphy, 1992). Such examination defined educational accountability and inspection more broadly, thereby expanding the onus of leadership effectiveness to the quality of their preparation and readiness to lead. Cochran-Smith et al. (2018) posited that for P-12 schooling in general, framing of problems functions in tandem with framing the solution. Popular policy approaches aimed to ensure quality education preparation have been to establish professional standards within the discipline to guide leadership preparation and the accreditation of educator preparation programs, namely by way of national accrediting bodies (i.e., Teacher Education Accreditation Council [TEAC], National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education [NCATE], Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation [CAEP], and Association for Advancing Quality in Educator Preparation [AAQEP]).

There are nearly 700 or so university-based leadership preparation programs in the United States (The Wallace Foundation, 2016). They are responsible for preparing the vast majority of the country's principals. Despite the accountability shift toward leadership preparation, research on leadership preparation itself remains relatively thin in comparison to its counterpart teacher preparation. Studies tend to

extend the general critique of leadership preparation programs (Levine, 2005). Wang et al. (2018) suggested that the limited body of research on university-based leadership preparation finds that key features that make programs successful are lacking. Beyond the U.S. context, international educational research on leadership preparation consists largely of case studies comparing approaches of the way things are done from one country to the next (Easley & Tulowitzki, 2013). Even still, studies have also identified a relationship between program features and leader effectiveness (Darling-Hammond et al., 2007; Orphanos & Orr, 2014; Orr, 2010).

A recent survey of U.S. school principals revealed that they were critical of their preparation programs citing an insufficiency in their preparedness to work with diverse communities and in-school policies (Davis, 2016). Additionally, Brooks and Normore (2010) suggested that given findings on leadership preparation, "educational leaders are oblivious of the way that local and global forces shape the context of the lives of those responsible for delivering quality instruction of student learning and the school and communities in which they lead" (p. 54). As organizations and policy makers continually seek to improve student learning outcomes, these findings and others have been the impetus for new ways to improve school leader preparation. Specifically, the National Policy Board for Educational Administration (NPBEA, 2015), a consortium of professional organizations concerned with educator and school leader effectiveness, authored a change to the prior professional standards for school leaders. Their revisioning came in direct response to changes in society, justified as follows:

> The global economy is transforming jobs and the 21st century workplace for which school prepare students. Technologies are advancing faster than ever. The conditions and characteristics of children, in terms of demographics, family structures and more, are changing. On the education front, the politics and shifts of control make the headlines daily. Cuts in school funding loom everywhere, even as schools are being subjected to increasingly competitive market pressures and held to higher levels of accountability for student achievement. (p. 1)

The new Professional Standards for Educational Leaders (PSELs) were designed to be future-oriented and aspirational, while addressing the current context of schools' needs. Additionally, they serve to inform national accreditation for leadership preparation, at the time conducted primarily by the Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP). A noted shift in the comparison to prior standards is language that definitively expresses a value for and commitment to a culture of care and well-being, equity, diversity, inclusivity, social justice, democracy, and cultural responsiveness. In alignment with the premise of this paper, this shift reflects one anchor informing school leaders' moral capacity for what Dantley and Tillman (2006) call leadership for social justice.

Moral Capacity and Leadership for Social Justice

From our perspective, leadership preparation programs must nurture the moral capacity that future principals need for them to lead for social justice. Moral capacity for social justice leadership defines the internalized habits of mind, efficacy, and sense of purpose among school leaders to critically address and seek solutions for educational and social inequities. Weisstub and Thomasma (2004) posited, "Regardless of the vantage point from which one emerges as a moral thinker or ideologue, moral capacity is the core condition for fulfilling responsibilities" (p.140). Following this logic, moral capacity is about the ability to evaluate the educational context, as well as one's decisions and behaviors, through a social justice lens. Moral capacity is characterized by a leaders' sole purpose of achieving equitable educational conditions for all learners. The results are delineated by learners' wellbeing, inclusivity, engagement, and positive learning outcomes.

As mentioned above, much research has focused on leadership styles and skills as the means for student achievement. And, as Lochmiller and Chesnut (2017) explained, the literature includes critiques on the university-based preparation experiences and general descriptions of program design. It is uniformly agreed that the most significant programmatic attribute of leadership preparation is clinical fieldwork and/or the internship. Yet, for understanding and developing moral capacity for social justice, leadership preparation requires fine tuning. As we think about the strengths and shortcomings of our university-preparation programs situated in the nation's two largest and most racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse educational systems, we concur with the research of Piaw and Ting (2014) who posited that leaders are not purely born nor made. The context of schooling itself and other intra- and inter-personal attributes directly affect school leader behaviors and ultimately school effectiveness. Specifically, the current conditions of expanding inequities and racial-based injustice amplified by the intersection of the Coronavirus pandemic and systemic racism that allows police sanctioned brutality against countless Black citizens challenge school leadership in ways not in the realm of experience by the current generation of new leaders. To this end, the new PSEL standards anchor our perspectives. With this in mind, we propose the following framework for developing the moral capacity of leaders committed to social justice. It consists of three elements:

1. Unpack and abolish deficit perspectives
2. Create authentic connections with the community
3. Advocate for equity and remove unnecessary barriers

Unpack and Abolish Deficit Perspectives

Racist practices and beliefs are engrained in the fibers of American society. The early economic prosperity of our nation was accelerated by the enslavement of African peoples. False narratives continue to be perpetuated that sully the character and disposition of minoritized groups. Thus, the need to reconcile such atrocities and move forward as a nation requires the humanization and depathologization of those victimized by the system of slavery. Leaders require tools to unpack and abolish deficit perspectives of the communities they serve. One approach is critical reflexive praxis. As such, programs must model for and teach aspirant leaders methods that require the questioning of one's own assumptions, biases, values, and instinctive actions, all of which are informed by one's lived experiences and relations with communities different from their own. Establishing a critical reflexive praxis is the most crucial factor in building the moral capacity of future leaders. School principals face critical decisions on a daily basis. Leaders work within a system of multiple accountabilities and demands. Without an internal belief system that centers anti-racist, student first ideologies, it is easy to create a basis for decision-making rooted in logic that blames marginalized students and their families for the lack of positive student outcomes. White-Smith and White (2009) wrote:

> The ability to push against engrained assumptions and perceptions about the work of school change necessitates a transformation of belief systems, from the view of the principal as managing structures or programs to that of creating and designing cultures and environments. We found that those items that inform principals' beliefs, mainly their experiences, are particularly powerful in shaping their responses to multiple demands (p. 278).

Deficit perspectives of communities of color, persons with disabilities, and those different from self limit a leader's capability to maintain high expectations for teachers and students. Deficit perspectives erode the potential for educational excellence for all school members. For example, Woehr et al. (2013) studied the impact of deep-level diversity (i.e., values, beliefs, and attitudes) versus surface-level diversity (i.e., age, gender, race, and physical disability) on team effectiveness. Their results revealed that surface-level diversity yielded no significant impact on team effectiveness; however, deep-level diversity among team members, their values and beliefs, hindered team efficacy and cohesion. This highlights the importance of aligning the beliefs and attitudes of school staff regarding their disposition around low-income communities of color. Negative deficit beliefs have effectively maintained a system that continues to disenfranchise marginalized students in schools. In order to disrupt this egregious injustice, school leaders must employ critical reflexive praxis to mediate deficit perspectives and resolve to appreciate diverse ethnic and linguistic communities. School staff members have to see their students and families as assets, rather than liabilities and that belief starts and ends with school leaders. Deficit perspectives constrict the growth potential of the learning environment and perpetuates policies and practices steeped in racially biased beliefs that undermine the opportunities of youth and families. Developing the tools for critical reflexive praxis that compel aspirant leaders to focus on social justice and to unpack

their own experiences and beliefs around the potential of students of color, students with disabilities, and others different from self is the cornerstone that shapes every other aspect of their leadership development.

Create Authentic Connections with the Community

Knowing and understanding the community in which one works is important for creating authentic and sustained relationships that have the potential to transform the school environment. The work of Epstein (1995, 2011) is frequently cited as a context for understanding how schools, parents, and communities partner to share the responsibility of student success. She established six practices that are a recognized means of engaging parent participation: (1) assisting with parenting, (2) volunteering, (3) learning at home, (4) communicating, (5) involving parents in decision-making, and (6) collaborating with the community. However, this framework, when coupled with the fact that schools are patterned after White, middle-class cultural norms, can further support deficit notions of low-income, Black and Latinx parent involvement. For example, school personnel cite volunteering as an important role for parents. However, this role is only valuable when the parents' exhibit helping or supporting behaviors (Abrams & Gibbs, 2002; Cooper, 2009). When parents of color resist or question, their help is then rejected.

Creating a relationship with the communities through the co-creation of a shared understanding and appreciation of the cultural wealth exhibited by families contributes to a growing and thriving education environment. There has to be a shift in recognizing the ways in which families from marginalized communities enact behaviors that support schooling. For instance, in their study of a predominantly Black inner-city high school, Williams and Sanchez (2012) noted that Black parents see their role as one of providing for their children, ensuring that all fundamental needs were met. These parents also believed that involving children in extracurricular activities and connecting them with community resources were important functions, in contrast to school personnel who valued engaging in school activities and employing discipline practices as core to positive parental involvement. Conversely, at the elementary level, Easley's (2011) study of school reform found that teachers internalized the local community's pedagogical capacity for teaching innovations that valued the home culture of their African American student body, which lead to positive home-school relations.

Actively engaging with the community (e.g., parents, community organizers, and churches) also allows for educator preparation programs to build recruitment pipelines, thus creating a more diverse pool of future teachers and school leaders who are more likely to stay and work in areas that are typically difficult to staff.

Advocate for Equity and Remove Barriers

As a nation, the United States is at a precipice—conditions brought on by the coronavirus pandemic and growing support for the abolition of systemic racial oppression. Within this context, school leaders are compelled to commit to the establishment of an equitable and socially just society. This is especially cogent for those responsible for shaping the critical thinking and educational attainment of our citizenry. White-Smith and White (2009) summarized the dilemma school leaders face in the quest for equity and justice for their students and communities:

> "You've got to take a stand" toward those people or policies that get in the way of this work. When faced with the conflicting expectations resulting from these demands, principals do not always have a clear choice, particularly because they are balancing their employment by one agency with their elected membership into another, as well as their professional and moral ideologies that contribute their vision of leadership and the educational process for their students. (p. 273)

In order for educational attainment to be accessible to all in ways that are equitable, the school leader has to be purposeful in alleviating and removing all excuses and barriers to high quality educational experiences that are also student centered and affirming. The effort to create a shift or disruption in the system surpasses individual effect and moves toward systems effect. For example, to address the ecology of systemic gaps (e.g., achievement gap, opportunity gap, socio-economic status gap) in the U.S. that overwhelmingly burden the educational attainment of racialized minoritized, low-income, and socially marginalized communities, aspirant educators' mindset of "if I can help just one child" must change. To this end, critical reflexive praxis needs also to attend to one's sense of agency. Moreover, future school leaders must be purposefully instructed in systemic thinking regarding the educational system and education as a public good.

Drawing from the tenets of social entrepreneurship, Martin and Osberg (2015) addressed the value-enhancing approach of any enterprise seeking to drive social change. They referred to the approach as an enabling "methodology" that allows programs with an existing asset to generate even more meaningful value from said asset to disrupt existing equilibrium. To this end, future social justice leaders need instruction on how to leverage the assets of and lessons learned in their schools to influence structural inequities broadly. It is not enough that one school does well when others are failing miserably. For example, in an environment of high-stakes accountability that breeds competition among schools, namely effecting low-income and minoritized communities, and diverts public resources toward the private sector, strong leaders with adequate know how can advocate for education as a public good. Dismantling structural inequities, that deprive certain communities of opportunities, resources, and a rigorous, culturally responsive curriculum to match is less likely when shouldered by a single actor. Networked social justice leadership fosters and expediates needed system and sustaining change. This is only possible when future leaders learn to embrace the agency collectively. By embedding the imperative to proactively and intentionally lead critical change, disrupt schooling

inequality, transform the deficit perceptions of marginalized communities, and remove barriers that hinder the success of marginalized students, leadership preparation programs can directly influence this potential.

Conclusion

We fully recognize that school leaders are advocates every day. Their influence can be great or small. The development of the moral capacity of school leaders is pivotal in the struggle for social justice. The proposed framework for developing this capacity with an eye toward social justice has three essential foci: (1) Unpack and abolish deficit perspectives, (2) Create authentic connections with the community, and (3) Advocate for equity and remove unnecessary barriers.

At the individual school level, employing the tools for critical reflection and targeted concrete action grounded in this framework is paramount. In a study of teachers in New York City schools (Easley, 2008) moral leadership took center stage for what it means to concentrate on the right things, specifically when such leadership removes the barriers for teachers to actualize social change, enrich student learning, and improve the lives of students. As such, we conclude the current social and political contexts of the schools for which we prepare leaders demands a shift in our preparation programs.

While NYCDOE and LAUSD reflect particular contexts, we believe that universally school leadership for social justice is essential for dismantling the educational inequities across classrooms and communities that undermined student achievement. Even so, in order for principals to lead systems change of schooling toward an ecology of equity and justice, their moral capacity must be encouraged, nurtured, and protected.

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Chapter 10
School Leadership in the United States: Evolving Responsibilities in Times of Change

Rebecca Lowenhaupt

Abstract This chapter examines school leadership in the United States as it relates to the changing context for public education. In the midst of demographic shifts that have led to growing diversity across the country, public schools serve as key points of contact for immigrant youth and their families. At the same time, an expanding accountability system has put pressure on administrators to demonstrate academic achievement. Balancing the values of embracing diversity on the one hand and accountability pressure on the other challenges leaders to take responsibility for building school cultures that promote learning for all students. School leaders, empowered to shape school culture, curriculum, and teacher practice, rely on more than technical expertise as school leadership includes social and moral dimensions. As school leaders work to adapt and build capacity, they take on new roles as community advocates, innovators, and policy brokers. Helping educators to adapt instruction to incorporate language, identity and socioemotional learning, leaders are responsible for supporting professional learning within schools. Grounding their work in the needs of their communities and working toward the common good, they also serve as bridges to external resources and support. The chapter ends with implications for leadership training and support.

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Introduction

"I feel like I'm being pulled in a million directions," I was once told by a first year principal grappling with her adjustment to a new position.[1] Over the years, I have heard time and again about the ongoing demands of the school leadership role, which continues to evolve along with the educational system. Scholars have emphasized the challenges of balancing multiple demands from various stakeholders alongside a sense of ultimate responsibility for the academic and socioemotional wellbeing of their students which they carry with them throughout the week, weekend and vacations (Spillane & Lee, 2014; Spillane & Lowenhaupt, 2019). To manage this, school leaders engage in ongoing, complex and rapid decision-making as they navigate their work.

While other forms of leadership influence schooling in the US, school leaders play an essential role in the day-to-day practices in schools. As educational policy and practice have evolved, school leadership has been central in school reform efforts, adding to the already-heavy demands of the position (Ylimaki & Jacobson, 2013; Grissom et al., 2015). In the United States, schools have undergone substantial policy reforms with major implications for the practice of school leadership. These policies include a slew of initiatives such as new teacher evaluation and compensation systems developed by policymakers but implemented by school leaders (Donaldson, 2009). Indeed, school leaders have been at the heart of most school improvement efforts undertaken in the US educational system with policymakers recognizing the central role these leaders play in policy implementation (Grissom & Bartenan, 2019). Emerging policies around school reopening in the midst of the global pandemic have also fallen on the shoulders of school leaders who must navigate the policy implications of the crisis.

At the same time, the makeup of schools has also undergone major changes as demographic shifts have led to growing diversity, with immigrant student populations growing dramatically across K-12 levels (Aud et al., 2011). Along with the racial, ethnic, and linguistic diversity of student populations, public schools are dynamic sites in the public imagination where cultural discourses and debates play out (Giroux, 2019). In the midst of growing diversity, school leaders are navigating complex dynamics of social change (Gooden, 2012; Turner, 2020). The most recent and currently unfolding struggle for racial justice has led to calls for anti-racist practices in schools; again, the implementation of these reforms relies on school leaders to formulate a response.

In this chapter, I focus on the changing nature of school leadership, both in terms of a changing context for schooling in the U.S. and the multiplying responsibilities school leaders navigate. At the heart of this are the often conflicting demands to

[1] This and many other conversations with new principals took place as part of a large study of new urban school leaders led by Dr. James Spillane at Northwestern University. Themes from that collaborative project ultimately became a book, Navigating the Principalship (Spillane & Lowenhaupt, 2019).

manage technical, managerial features of schooling at the same time that leaders must serve as social, ethical and moral guides for their school communities. These dual demands are at the heart of recent responses to the crises facing schools in light of upheaval caused by the global pandemic, economic fallout, and social movements confronting the US in the current moment. At the end of the chapter, I reflect on the implications of these themes for school leadership preparation and practice.

U.S. Context of Schooling

Over the last few decades, the U.S. public schools have undergone substantial and ongoing change as policy reform paired with shifting student demographics have impacted the education system at all levels. Historically, the school system has been held up as an institution established for the common good with the idea that all can access opportunity through the vehicle of education (Reese, 2011). As Horace Mann and others asserted in the common school movement in the mid-1800s, the public education system ought to level the playing field and provide a shared moral code to address disparities between classes. The vision of school as a microcosm of society promoting the moral and democratic principles of the country was further established by Dewey (1897) who asserted that education was more than just preparation for the workforce and was instead a process of living ethically and socially in community. These philosophies of education promoted the role of the public schools in establishing a shared set of values with the potential to create a unified vision of the United States.

Although the notion of the common good has been a dominant part of the discourse about education in the U.S., public schools remained largely decentralized and under local control until relatively recently. Norms of autonomy permeated the school organization, with schools honoring norms of teacher independence and providing little external input into matters of classroom instruction (Firestone & Wilson, 1985). As such, classroom teaching was decoupled from school administration, with schools famously identified as 'loosely coupled' systems within the literature on organizations (Weick, 1976). Additionally, the wide variation among schools resulted in widespread disparities between schools, which have always been racially and socioeconomically segregated in the United States. These circumstances have persisted and in some places increased despite ongoing efforts to integrate and improve schools since the landmark court case, Brown v. Board of Education in 1954 (Frankenberg et al., 2019). Although the case famously established that separate was inherently unequal, ongoing and increasing inequality has been well-documented in U.S. public schools 65 years after the famous case (Frankenberg et al., 2019). In recent years, educational policy can be characterized by two overarching themes that have coalesced around these issues, namely the accountability movement and the push for equity in the midst of increasing diversity and inequality.

The Accountability Movement

The tension between local control and federal accountability has been an essential and defining characteristic of the U.S. across institutions, and education is no exception. In the last several decades, school reform efforts have continued to play out this tension, with a dominant paradigm of accountability emerging in the 1980s with the publication of the "A Nation at Risk" report (Mehta, 2014). This shift toward standardization and accountability can be traced to an emerging discourse pinning the failures of the nation on the public education system, which was deemed underperforming and in need of substantial reform (Mehta, 2014; Reese, 2011). As Mehta (2014) explained, this logic held that, "schools rather than social forces should be held responsible for academic outcomes" (p. 286). Federal policymakers argued that locally, schools were obligated to demonstrate success in relation to other schools across the country and that the most effective way to do so was via standardized testing.

Culminating in the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, the federal accountability system combined standards, centralization, and test-based, quantitative assessments and served as a powerful force in shaping the day-to-day work of schooling in the U.S. (Au, 2011; Mehta, 2014). While traditionally, school reform in the US has been characterized as a collection of small, incremental reforms which may or may not lead to substantial improvements (Tyack & Cuban, 1995; Cohen, 1990), the large-scale impact of a range of accountability reforms has been well-documented by policy researchers (Jennings & Lauen, 2016; Mehta, 2014). In addition to high-stakes testing, new teacher evaluation systems and compensation structures have further influenced the accountability movement in education and informed improvement efforts (Donaldson, 2009; Spillane et al., 2011).

Furthermore, the ongoing movement toward privatization that has emerged via school choice and voucher policies, as well as the expansion of charter schools has increased accountability pressures on traditional public schools competing for limited public funding tied to student enrollments and achievement (Mehta, 2014). As these initiatives have led to a broader set of options for families, accountability metrics, along with improvement efforts have become all the more existential as schools now must engage in market-based endeavors to attract students to their school in an increasingly diversified marketplace (Spillane & Lowenhaupt, 2019).

In many instances, linking accountability to standardized test scores with increasing pressure to perform has led many schools to focus on metrics in tested subjects, prioritize student outcomes over student wellbeing, and redefine schooling in terms of test-based accountability measures impacting every level of the educational system (Au, 2011; Jennings & Lauen, 2016). In recent years, mobilization aimed at undoing this impact of the accountability measure has led some to call for greater focus on serving the whole child through initiatives focused on character education, socioemotional learning, and teacher innovation (Seider et al., 2013; Hargreaves & Shirey, 2009). Building on the success of some countries at moving beyond standardized testing, Hargreaves & Shirley (2012) identified and called for a 'fourth

way' that embraces more holistic efforts to engage educators' creativity as professionals in the work of building inspiring social and moral approaches to education.

The backlash against standardization and accountability led to the establishment of new local autonomies in the rewritten education act, the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) which replaced No Child Left Behind in 2015. Built into ESSA was flexibility in accountability metrics, as well as more responsibility on states and districts to establish and monitor local accountability systems that incorporate more than just academic outcomes (Williams & Welsh, 2017). While on the one hand offering more local autonomies, ESSA also incorporates greater focus on the role of local leaders in enacting accountability, continuing to seek the right balance between federal unification and local control (Williams & Welsh, 2017). As efforts to enact more holistic forms of education move into the public policy realm via ESSA, they run the risk of becoming transformed into accountability metrics as well, with some states incorporating measures of socioemotional learning into their accountability structures.

In this context, the work of school leadership has centered on accountability metrics and improvement efforts, with leaders engaged in data-informed decision-making (Cho & Wayman, 2014). As policy implementers, school leaders navigate an array of policy mandates and directives which have stemmed from the accountability movement in recent years (Spillane & Lowenhaupt, 2019). As sensemakers for teachers, family and community, they make local decisions about adopting, adapting or buffering these state and federal policies aimed at influencing the instructional core. In so doing, these local leaders have balance the tension between local autonomy and federal accountability while navigating an array of demands.

Diversity and Equity

At the same time, the demographic makeup of the public schools has changed drastically as the racial, ethnic, and linguistic diversity of the student population has grown. The fastest growth has occurred in immigrant students and children of immigrants, many of whom are students of color who speak languages other than English in the home (Capps et al., 2005; Singer, 2009). Public schools have served as key points of contact for immigrant youth and their families (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014).

Historically, these contexts of immigrant reception have been contested sites of immigrant incorporation, with policy debates about how best to integrate newcomers into America. Focusing on identity formation, some scholars have critiqued efforts to integrate newcomers through a process of assimilation that encourages "deserting old cultural and behavioral patterns in favor of new ones" (Zhou, 1997, p. 976). According to Valenzuela (1999), who coined the term, "subtractive schooling", this results in "subtractively assimilationist policies and practices that are designed to divest Mexican students of their culture and language" (p. 20). She described the lost opportunity of capitalizing on, "the strong motivational force embedded in students' familial identities" (p.23). Debates about the curricular,

pedagogical and cultural practices that support or hinder integration have continued throughout the history of the U.S. public school system. Longstanding questions about the role home languages ought to play in the education of immigrants have been part of the national discourse since at least the late 1800s, when efforts to keep German immigrants from speaking German in Wisconsin schools led to the establishment of an English-only policy that was quickly repealed (Rothstein, 1998). More recently, several states established similar policies to enforce English in the schools, despite a robust research literature demonstrating the importance of multilingualism in society and for the acquisition of English (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010). Although these policies have since been overturned, the legacy of practices aimed at enforcing an English-speaking America continue to impact immigrant communities across the country.

These debates intersect with ongoing and increasing tensions about growing diversity in the public schools. As schools grapple with how best to respond to changing demographics, they do so in the midst of cultural upheaval and contested notions of what it means to be American in the current political context (Rogers et al., 2017). With anti-immigrant discourses continuing to play out in the public sphere, the public schools have continued to seek equitable learning opportunities and fulfill their obligations under the law to serve all students (Crawford, 2017; Lowenhaupt & Scanlan, 2020). Growing diversity in schools and classrooms has led to cultural clashes and negotiations around the meaning and value of inclusion and integration which have challenged school leaders to develop policies, public statements, and take a stance on how best to support the range of communities they serve.

Since the common schools movement of the 1800s, the public schools in the US have provided opportunities to learn dominant cultural and political narratives of the United States (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). With growing diversity, education has offered a context for interrogating those narratives, taking on issues of difference, belonging and identity in classrooms of students from a wide range of backgrounds (Rogers et al., 2017). Indeed, education lives in the public imagination as the great equalizer, a place where students from all backgrounds can access opportunities for upward mobility. With no shortage of evidence that this myth runs counter to the inequitable access and social inequality perpetuated by the education system (Ladson-Billings, 2013; Milner, 2012), it nevertheless remains a guiding narrative for many educators and leaders who anchor their decisions in a logic of doing what's best for all students.

In some cases, discourses of achievement and accountability have intersected with narratives of equity and inclusion, yielding a set of school improvement initiatives focused on narrowing achievement gaps as a way to ensure equitable educational access (Skrla et al., 2004). School leaders have navigated the rapidly growing inequality in the US with an emerging equity discourse focused on narrowing achievement gaps according to subgroups, including race, socioeconomic status, English Learner identification, and students in Special Education (Scheurich & Skrla, 2003). This effort has yielded a set of strategies and approaches to leadership that rely on data interpretation and use for analyzing subgroup performance on standardized metrics related to achievement (Cho & Wayman, 2014). Bringing together

accountability and diversity narratives, these approaches to data-informed leadership aim to center equity within the accountability system.

Policymaking and school leadership in this regard has been subject to critique, as several have highlighted the ways in which this system reifies difference and norms achievement according to white, affluent, English-speaking students (Rosa & Flores, 2017; Lardier et al., 2019; Turner, 2020). For example, achievement as measured by English-language tests cannot capture the full range of knowledge students speaking other languages bring to their schooling. Positioning difference as deficit, efforts to close achievement gaps can exacerbate the equity issues leaders hope to address. Despite these apt critiques about the shortcomings of such an approach, it demonstrates how equity and accountability have evolved as central and intersecting themes in the work of school leadership and improvement.

These themes continue to evolve in the midst of the current crisis facing the US public schools. In the spring of 2020, the challenges facing US education system were fundamentally altered by the impact of the pandemic and subsequent school closures. Additionally, the educational response to this crisis laid bare existing inequalities and in many cases, exacerbated those inequalities in a ripple effect. Traditionally marginalized groups, such as immigrant communities, have been impacted disproportionately not only by the virus itself, but also by the social systems and supports that were not equitably mobilized in response. Indeed, educational responses varied widely depending on context, highlighting existing inequality. While some schools rapidly mobilized online learning to minimize learning loss, others had to focus on ensuring families had access to basic resources such as meals and internet access, before they were able to address learning (Lowenhaupt & Hopkins, 2020).

Growing diversity, entrenched culture wars, and the salience of difference in educational experiences and outcomes have led to ongoing discussion about what the pursuit of social justice in schooling looks like. As policymakers, researchers and practitioners grapple with growing inequality in the US, school leaders are at the heart of these debates about how to enact programs and practices to address the many social issues facing their communities.

Emerging Demands for School Leaders

In the midst of this changing context of schooling, the nature of school leadership has also changed. In the eye of the hurricane, leaders are tasked with leading students, teachers, families and communities through crisis while also engaging in organizational change work. Over time, school leadership has shifted from a largely bureaucratic, managerial undertaking to one that increasingly requires a focus on the technical core of teaching and learning (Spillane et al., 2011). Several scholars attribute this shift in the leadership role to the accountability movement, which has relied on a rationalized approach to managing people and organizations and

emphasizes the use of metrics related to student outcomes, primarily standardized test scores (Mehta, 2014; Spillane & Hunt, 2010).

School leaders have been at the heart of most school improvement efforts undertaken in the US educational system in recent years, with policymakers recognizing the central role these leaders play in the accountability movement (Grissom & Bartenan, 2019). As key change agents, leaders have undertaken responses to policy directives from district, state, and federal levels, balancing their implementation at times with buffering against those external policies with which they disagree (Goldring et al., 2008; Lortie, 2009; Wenner & Settlage, 2015). Through policy adoption and adaptation, school leaders take responsibility for implementing reforms which require them to work across technical, affective and moral dimensions as part of their leadership practice.

First, their work relies on a set of technical skills such as establishing routines for engaging in teacher development, managing operations, and setting the working conditions in schools (Grissom & Bartenan, 2019; Donaldson, 2009; Spillane et al., 2011). New supervision systems focused on ensuring quality evaluation of teachers for school improvement have amplified the technical work of instructional leadership (Kraft & Gilmour, 2016; Lowenhaupt & McNeill, 2019). Defined by this context of accountability, school leadership has evolved to incorporate technical practices such as analyzing and responding to results from high-stakes tests and evaluation rubrics. Attending to the technical aspects of the work in the midst of growing diversity and inequality requires leaders to understand the range of academic and social learning that needs to take place for immigrant students and their non-immigrant peers. Developing infrastructure to support collaboration among teachers to share expertise, identifying mechanisms to create a welcoming, inclusive culture, and crafting local policy to counteract restrict policies and hostile rhetoric at the national level require a set of technical skills and strategies for school leaders.

At the same time, shifting conceptions of leadership have led to a set of practices associated with the affective side of leadership, which relies on relational skills and social engagement on a range of issues. Enacting distributed leadership through managing teams, fostering routines for teacher learning, and leading organizational change create a series of social dynamics that leaders must navigate (Spillane et al., 2011; Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009). In addition to technical expertise, affective skills serve as an important resource for school leaders, who rely on relationships, communication and negotiation skills as essential for their work (Lortie, 2009; Rallis & Goldring, 2000).

Side by side with the technical features of the work, these ‘soft skills’ are crucial for the success of reform efforts. In recent years, this aspect of the work has become all the more essential as a shift toward socioemotional wellbeing among students has been met with calls for a parallel shift in focus for school staff as well (Kennedy, 2019). This mirrors the emphasis for students as well—the technical functions of accountability metrics, both in terms of high-stakes tests for students and complex teacher evaluation systems aligned with those high-stakes tests, have been

supplemented by an additional and urgent push to support socioemotional well-being, primarily for students, but also for the many teachers working with them.

These affective features of the work come with moral, ethical responsibilities for setting the tone and orientation of leadership work. Attending to both the academic and socioemotional learning needs of students from a wide range of backgrounds, identities, and experiences leads to enduring dilemmas for which school leaders are expected to take responsibility (Frick, 2011; Spillane & Lowenhaupt, 2019). In navigating these dilemmas, school leaders are viewed as the source of moral authority whether they know the answer or not (Frick, 2011). As such, they need to develop and communicate a moral stance as part of their everyday practice on a range of issues.

With schools seeking to ameliorate growing inequality, school leaders have a central role to play in pursuing equity, working in both technical and affective domains to pursue social justice (Theoharis, 2007). In addition to the technical work of responding to achievement gaps, leaders bring their moral authority to the work of naming and confronting injustice. An emerging set of critical theories have guided this work, with scholars calling on school leaders to take up issues of marginalization and inequality through the lenses of social justice leadership (Theoharis, 2007; Scanlan & Lopez, 2012), culturally relevant leadership (Khalifa et al., 2016), and anti-racist leadership (Diem & Welton, 2020), among others. Providing distinct frameworks for interpreting issues of justice in educational leadership, these scholars have in common the assertion that school leaders need to both frame justice issues and adopt technical strategies to address persistent and growing inequities in schools and society.

In addition, as school leaders take responsibility for implementing a range of external policies, they must navigate the ethical and moral dimensions of those policies as they determine whether to take them on or buffer their school sites from their impacts (Wenner & Settlage, 2015). For example, in the face of increasingly restrictive federal policies toward immigrant communities, many school leaders have identified forms of resistance rather than aligning themselves with those policies they view as harming their students. Anchoring their decisions in educational ethics of care (Antrop-Gonzalez & De Jesús, 2006), school leaders find themselves buffering their students, staff, and school communities from harm through day-to-day decisions about whether and how to implement some policies in their schools.

Grappling with complexity, school leaders often balance the efficiency and standardization demands of the accountability movement with the need to lead for diversity, care, and justice. As a result, the school leadership role has moved beyond administrative tasks into affective and moral domains as leaders negotiate their ongoing responsibilities for students, teachers and communities, distinct stakeholder groups whose interests can at times conflict. In addition to technical and affective skills, they also seek to inspire, address injustice, and frame the ethical considerations facing the US public schools in this time of growing social inequality which has become all the more visible in the context of the pandemic.

Key Responsibilities for School Leaders

As described above, the changing aspects of the US public schooling have led to evolving responsibilities for school leaders as they integrate technical, affective, and moral dimensions of their work. While school leaders seek to respond to accountability pressures through technical improvements to instructional practices, they also must address growing inequality and diversity in their schools. Adapting to this changing context, they take on new roles as lead teachers, community advocates, innovators, and policy brokers. Navigating these roles requires leaders to take on a range of responsibilities which bridge technical, affective and moral dimensions of school leadership.

Building Instructional Capacity

At the heart of their work is a focus on improving teaching and learning, which requires leaders to support professional learning across domains as instructional leaders (Goldring et al., 2008; Hallinger, 2005). In the context of shifting student demographics, educators need help incorporating language, identity and socioemotional learning into their instruction. Through the supervision and evaluation system, school leaders observe classrooms and offer direct feedback to support teacher learning to supplement professional development and training. Not only are leaders responsible for developing professional development opportunities about particular aspects of instruction, they also design collaborative routines for educators, such as English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers and general education teachers, or instructional coaching models which allow teachers to learn from one another (Hopkins et al., 2015; Lowenhaupt & Reeves, 2015).

In addition to focusing on instruction for particular groups of students, school leaders also support capacity building for the school as a whole, which in the era of accountability requires technical expertise to ensure improvement on a range of outcomes, including but not limited to standardized test scores, attendance, and engagement (Elmore, 2000; Hatch, 2013; King & Bouchard, 2011). At the same time, a growing emphasis on socioemotional learning (SEL) for students adds to the accountability pressures on school leaders who must now also attend to the affective aspects of education as well as achievement metrics (Kennedy, 2019).

Engaging in complex capacity building requires technical skills, but also requires leaders to navigate a range of affective and moral dimensions of schooling as well. Supporting a diverse set of learners requires educators to establish a culture of care and inclusion for students from diverse communities. This goes along with responsibility for identifying and minimizing barriers to achievement and inclusion that students may face. The prevalence of deficit thinking about some marginalized groups of students requires leaders to transform perspectives along with educator practice. Identifying how to lead a community of educators in this regard requires

leaders to motivate and inspire, convey a sense of moral obligation, and otherwise persuade educators to incorporate all students in meaningful, equitable ways (Lowenhaupt & Scanlan, 2020).

Shaping School Culture

Improving instruction to meet the academic and socioemotional needs of all learners requires more than a singular focus on building capacity within classrooms. Although an emphasis on instruction is necessary, it is also crucial for school leaders to shape the organizational culture of the school as a whole. Creating a climate in which students and adults feel a sense of belonging requires technical expertise as leaders develop supportive working conditions for staff who in turn ensure a welcoming environment for students (Kraft & Gilmour, 2016). This responsibility also requires school leaders to engage in the affective work of meaning-making with staff about the values and vision of the organization (Bolman & Deal, 2017).

For example, in the context of immigration, school leaders also work hard to create a welcoming culture that honors the communities they serve. This can take symbolic forms aimed at strengthening relationships such as ensuring that the home languages of students are represented on walls throughout the buildings, as well as attending to community-wide inclusion through translation services available at school meetings and other forms of culturally responsive family engagement efforts (Lowenhaupt & Montgomery, 2018).

At the same time and in the midst of increasingly polarizing policies surrounding immigration, policing, and other social issues impacting school communities, the work of school leaders has also shifted to include more advocacy work and public support for educators engaged in similar work. In this regard, school leadership takes on more than technical or symbolic dimensions, as leaders take a moral stance on key issues impacting their community. Serving as sensemakers for their staff, school leaders interpret and give meaning to an everchanging set of federal immigration policies, identify and share the implications of these policies for their school communities, and leverage their positions as community leaders to respond (Crawford, 2018; Khalifa, 2012).

For example, some leaders set school policy to protect students in the event they are targeted by federal immigration authorities. Others have altered their partnerships with local police in response to the Black Lives Matter movement. These actions involve a moral, ethical dimension of school leadership that aligns schools to a set of values and commitments related to protecting and standing up for the communities they serve.

Bridging School, Home and Community

Relatedly, school leaders have increasingly taken on responsibilities for supporting the broader community in which their schools are situated. As boundary spanners, school leaders negotiate a range of dilemmas as they work to bridge home, school and community (Horng & Loeb, 2010; Spillane & Lowenhaupt, 2019). Grounding their efforts in the needs of their communities and working toward the common good, US public schools help many families meet basic needs such as meals, childcare, and access to mental health supports. At the same time, they also serve as liaisons for families to external resources and additional support such as after-school programming, social workers, and advocacy groups. The technical aspects of this requires skills in, "managing the boundaries between the internal school functioning and the external environment" (Rallis and Goldring, 2000, p. 73). At times, this may require maintaining a firm boundary, and at others, overstepping that boundary to ensure the safety and connection of students to their home and communities.

It is worth highlighting that the shift to remote learning during the pandemic in the US impacted the dynamics of leaders' responsibilities for bridging profoundly. Centering school in the home, bringing educators literally into the private lives of families through videoconferencing radically altered the boundaries between home and school. At the same time that educators in a remote learning scenario are more distant than in the past, they are also more intimate than ever before. Therefore, the boundaries between home and school are in the process of being renegotiated in various ways across the country.

Although this responsibility requires some technical skills developing programs and establishing ongoing partnerships with external organizations, school leadership in this regard relies heavily on the affective and moral dimensions of the role. As advocates for their students' socioemotional development, leaders engage in moral and cultural dimensions of leadership through public, often political discourse with members of the surrounding communities. Partnering with other community leaders, school leaders engage in local politics and policies to advocate for resources and support, not just for their own schools, but for the broader community in which their schools are situated (Khalifa, 2012).

In the context of immigration, some school leaders actively reached out to advocacy groups and created bridges between schools and community groups to obtain legal counsel for educators working to support families directly impacted by recent immigration policies. In schools where such resources do not yet exist, some leaders have tried to generate them through community meetings and outreach to members of the broader community. In this way, their work became a form of advocacy for immigrant communities.

Indeed, the work of school leadership cannot be separated from the political work of leading local communities, particularly marginalized communities, as several scholars have pointed out (Khalifa, 2012; DeMatthews et al., 2020). Navigating internal and external responsibilities requires school leaders to vocalize their beliefs, motivations, and commitments as they bridge school and community.

Implications

Exploring the dimensions and competing demands of school leadership in the context of accountability and growing diversity requires a consideration of how to prepare leaders to take on various responsibilities, balance ongoing dilemmas, and find ways to promote equitable educational opportunities for their communities. In terms of leadership preparation, it is important to develop anchor schema that incorporate the three dimensions highlighted above, namely the technical, affective, and moral aspects of the work. As described above, the key domains of leadership practice all rely on these dimensions to some extent. Leaders need to learn how to navigate them while fulfilling their varied and numerous responsibilities.

As such, preparation programs ought to ensure aspiring leaders have opportunities to develop capacity for each of these dimensions. The tendency to emphasize technical skills in preparation programs often falls short of preparing for the emotional toll of the work, which has been well-documented as a challenge for school leaders, particularly those working closely with traditionally marginalized populations such as undocumented immigrants or students of color (DeMatthews et al., 2019; Spillane & Lowenhaupt, 2019). To be sure, technical expertise across the full range of responsibilities leaders take on is crucial for their preparation, particularly as they relate to organizational learning and instructional leadership (Ylimaki & Jacobson, 2013). Additionally, technical expertise needs to be complemented by opportunities for aspiring leaders to reflect on and develop strategies to enact their affective skills and ethical stances in their work combatting social problems such as racism (Gooden & Dantley, 2012). One promising approach may be to incorporate opportunities for reflection, both written and spoken, to allow for the articulation and practice sharing these perspectives (Mahfouz & Richardson, 2020). This can help foster understanding of how affective skills and a moral stance can help overcome resistance and motivate others to pursue school improvement, not only to meet accountability pressures, but also to pursue inclusive and equitable schools.

Although it can feel to leaders as though the task is too large to tackle on their own, the reality is that in many communities, leaders work together in concert with other leaders to shape local policy, share expertise, and support one another. Increasingly, professional networks of school leaders provide a forum for exploring the many challenges of the role. And as teacher evaluation has emerged as a focus of education reform, principal evaluation systems have brought attention to the need for coaching and support for school leaders (Mavrogordato et al., 2018). While aspiring leaders need preparation across these dimensions, in-service leaders also need real-time support, collaboration and an ongoing forum for reflection. As the context of schooling in the US shifts, leaders need opportunities to reflect on the meaning of these shifts for their work. Exploring the impact of these changes on their moral stance requires collaboration and opportunities to reflect on the values and ethics driving their response to social problems as they continue to evolve.

Conclusion

The wide ranging responsibilities carried by school leaders continue to expand as the challenges facing the US public schools have only grown in recent years, culminating in the profound challenge facing all educational institutions in the midst of the global pandemic that continues to unfold. The varied set of responsibilities that require leadership across technical, affective, and moral dimensions already present a set of complex and unsolvable dilemmas for school leaders to manage (Spillane & Lowenhaupt, 2019).

These dilemmas have intensified in the midst of the current crisis facing the country. School leaders are at the heart of recent educational responses to multiple crises in light of upheaval caused by the global pandemic, economic fallout, and social movements confronting the US in the current moment. Indeed, the work of school leadership in the years ahead will be profoundly challenging as the educational field balances the need to protect the physical health of students, teachers, and families with the urgency to address the mental health and wellbeing, as well as academic learning, through the reopening of schools. This is truly an extraordinary time, one in which school leaders are being called on to make technical, design-based decisions about health and safety. At the same time, they are now responsible for leading communities in crisis, providing comfort and reassurance in the midst of uncertainty and continuing to pursue the moral obligation to ameliorate inequality and tackle the ongoing and deepening social problems facing communities across the US.

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Chapter 11
Educational Leadership for Social Justice: Bringing Connection, Collaboration and Care from Margins to Centre

Rachel McNae and Shelley Barnard

Abstract Educational leaders are called to action by the very nature of their jobs, to address issues of social inequity and injustice. Their leadership is key to revealing, disrupting and subverting institutional arrangements which marginalize individuals, reorienting educational engagement towards inclusion, transformation and equity. This chapter examines ways New Zealand educational leaders lead for social justice. It outlines social, moral, cultural and personal dimensions which support and constrain their socially just leadership overall. Exploring the situated meanings and understandings of socially just leadership, and how it manifests in these key areas across different education settings may illuminate possibilities for other leaders to address injustices within their institutions and broader education contexts overall.

Keywords Educational leadership · Social justice · Sense making

Educational reform has increasingly been perceived as both the *problem* and the *solution* in addressing the new work order which is required by the rapidity, complexity and constancy of social change. Educational leaders are frequently described and positioned as 'change agents' (Blackmore, 2002), tasked with the often insurmountable job of mediating and embracing numerous reforms while at the same time leading their schools in ways that prepare young people for tomorrow's world. Hargreaves (2005) contends, "education is the greatest gatekeeper of opportunity and a powerful distributor of life chances. In a socially divided and culturally diverse

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society, what education is and how it is defined, will always tend to favour some groups and interests over others" (p. 2), inviting further examination of issues associated with social justice and leadership within education settings.

Social justice is often positioned as a panacea for the leadership of successful educational reform, outcomes and student achievement. Faced with increasing globalisation, it is the socially just educational leaders who are tasked with the challenge of examining potentially inequitable impacts of these reforms upon the learners for whom they are immediately responsible, as well as for society at large (McNae, 2014), and embarking on educational change to create fair outcomes. Lopez (2015) believes current educational realities "call for socially just and culturally responsive educational leaders to act and engage in ways that transform school environments into spaces where all students can succeed" (p. 171).

The work of Fullan (2005) highlights a number of critical factors to consider when embarking on whole systems change. These factors include; a moral imperative for all students to be engaged as learners; accessing curricular and experiencing success; building and sustaining relationships at all levels of the organization and engaging the wider community in school life. By considering these factors, he argues that a deeper and more systemwide focus can help support the achievement of greater equity for students in schools. However, Blackmore (2002) highlights further, *any* change benefits some but not others. This drawing together of critically reflective, intellectual and moral concerns with professional and deliberate actions (Starratt, 2004), throughout the 'local', individual or micro level, through the mid or 'system' level up to the macro 'global' level to ensure socially just outcomes – is the formidable task which faces ethical leaders whose role is to conscientise their students, staff and community (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Morrison et al., 2015).

Democratic Western society increasingly acknowledges the multiplicity of viewpoints emerging from greater cultural, religious and gender diversity, as well as globalisation of knowledge economies, technology and global markets (Blackmore, 2002; Bosu et al., 2011; Johansson-Fua, 2007). Non-Western nations and indigenous societies appear to express a more acute understanding of the existence of such multiple perspectives, perhaps as a direct reflection of being the recipients of external attempts to provide social justice redress in the form of being given to, rather than being informed and led by, their communities (Bosu et al., 2011; Johansson-Fua, 2007; Tikly & Barrett, 2011; Zembylas & Iasonos, 2015). As Hargreaves (2005) argues, "Attempts to change education in fundamental ways are ultimately political acts. They are attempts to redistribute power and opportunity within the wider culture. Educational change is not just a strategic puzzle. It is, and should be a moral and political struggle" (p. 2).

Critical to this work is a leader's ability to promptly construct "a collective understanding of the purpose of specific educational reform, its significance, and its consequences for the school" (Tikkanen et al., 2019, p. 3). Weedon (1992) claims the relationship between these experiences, existing and shifting social power, and resistance to change efforts must be central to this theorizing. As such, lived experiences of educational leaders are important subjective realities to consider. They are influenced by discursive practices within education settings creating lived realities

which are diverse, changing and located within, and drawn from, hierarchical networks and structures. This underscores the importance of being attuned to issues of power, subjectivity, discourse and language (Grogan, 1996) within educational contexts as leaders seek to make sense of their professional leadership practice and lead educational reform in socially just ways.

This chapter examines ways New Zealand educational leaders lead for social justice. It outlines social, cultural and moral and personal dimensions which support and constrain their socially just leadership overall. Exploring the situated meanings and understandings of socially just leadership in its multiple forms and how it manifests in micro, meso and macro contexts helps to illuminate possibilities for other leaders to address injustices within their institutions and broader education contexts overall. This chapter will first introduce the unique context of the New Zealand education system and outline the historical and cultural elements which underpin its philosophies and guide its enactment. Following this, findings related to how social justice leadership is conceptualized and enacted by educational leaders within the education system of New Zealand. The chapter concludes with a commentary which illuminates the situated meanings, nuanced understandings and deliberate practices of socially just leadership and the ways these demonstrate connection, collaboration and care as central leadership practices which in the work of educational leaders across different educational contexts in New Zealand.

Overview of Historical and Cultural Elements Which Inform the New Zealand Educational System

> He aha te mea nui o te ao. What is the most important thing in the world?
> He tangata, he tangata, he tangata. It is the people, it is the people, it is the people. Māori whakatauākī.[1]

New Zealand is a developed, bicultural island nation situated in the Southwestern realms of the Pacific Ocean. Host to an increasingly diverse and multiethnic society of nearly five million people, the ethnic representation of the population is dominated by New Zealanders of European descent with Māori – the indigenous people of New Zealand (called tangata whenua – people of the land), representing only 16.5% of the total population. The unique New Zealand context is founded on a historical arrangement critical and collective understanding of partnership, protection and participation. In 1840, the signing of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi called for partnership between Māori and the arriving European settlers. This treaty, deemed by many New Zealanders as the country's founding document, was a political agreement upon which Māori and British leaders in the country at the time built a functioning system of governance. The Treaty was created to protect the cultural and land rights of the indigenous people of New Zealand and ensure they

[1] Translated in indigenous Māori language to mean 'proverb'.

had the same rights as British subjects and guaranteed possession of taonga (treasures) including land, customs and language. The Māori whakatauākī above highlights the centrality of people working together, embracing their culture and treasuring the relationships which exist between each individual.

Educational Policy and Systems

The New Zealand education system has been designed to reflect New Zealand's unique and diverse society, and is founded on notions of culturally responsive teaching and learning, inclusion, partnership and innovation. This education system is represented through a three-tier structure representing early childhood education and learning (0–6 years), primary, intermediate and secondary education (from 5–19 years) and further education settings (higher and vocational settings). The Ministry of Education (2020) present what they describe as a "student-centred pathway providing continuous learning progression and choice" enabling students to achieve and make obvious progress each year.

Educational equity remains a pressing social challenge in New Zealand, as it is in many countries around the world. From an external observation, the educational landscape in New Zealand holds much promise. The establishment of a 'universal, compulsory and secular' primary education system in New Zealand in 1877 made education accessible to all regardless of class, race or creed. State education in New Zealand is free and secular. The system of school governance is highly devolved, with boards comprising locally elected parent trustees within each individual school who govern and report directly to the Ministry of Education. This system is established within a high-trust model of leadership, which purports to value and instill expectations of, and on education professionals and collective knowledge within communities (Bolton, 2017). The majority of students attend state schools across a range of socioeconomic contexts, including small rural primary schools with fewer than 50 children attending, through to large urban high schools with burgeoning rolls of over 3000 students. Comparatively, across other OECD countries (PISA), New Zealand's education system demonstrates features of high quality and low equity.

The premise of equality of opportunity for all children to access education is promoted through New Zealand's unique legal status under the Treaty of Waitangi and this positions the country slightly differently within the international education landscape. As a bicultural nation this commitment extends deeply to the education system. In 1981, Māori began Kohanga Reo[2] with the support of the Department of Māori Affairs to teach their children and whanau "*using te reo Māori me ona tikanga*" (Te Kohanga Reo National Trust, 2020, p. 1). The continued growth of the

[2] Early years education centre where all education and instruction is delivered in te reo māori (Māori language), the indigenous language of New Zealand.

Kohanga Reo movement exemplifies this, in that it managed to increase to 800 centres between 1982–1994, catering for 14,000 children with only minimal government assistance (Te Kohanga Reo National Trust, 2020). Further education pathways in kura kaupapa Māori (Māori-language immersion schools), and Wānanga (Māori tertiary institutions) play a critical role to revitalise te reo Māori (Māori language) and mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), and raise the achievement of Māori students.

However, despite this commitment, indigenous Māori continue to experience a Eurocentric education system that has systemically marginalised and subjugated cultural knowledge. Māori students continue to be overrepresented in statistics portraying under achievement and consequent disparities in access to education, opportunity and outcome have persisted, despite numerous educational initiatives and legislation. Levels of educational achievement are alarming – with Māori educational achievement remaining lower than that of non-Māori. Furthermore, because of the history of colonisation in New Zealand, and aspiring to meet responsibilities set out under the under the Treaty of Waitangi, a strong moral imperative exists to better support Māori student learners and their families. This has resulted in further calls from educationalists to urgently examine more effective ways of providing an education system that allows Māori students to experience success 'as Māori' (Ministry of Education, 2015).

Considerable attention has consequently been paid since this time to numerous issues of social justice and representation with regard to access and achievement in educational settings. Government departments and school have responded in varied and numerous ways in order to aspire to meet the needs of Māori students (Education Review Office, 2016) introducing policies, programmes and professional learning to lift teacher expertise and develop new approaches to meet Māori students' needs more wholly. Furthermore, neoliberal educational reform in New Zealand has created market driven approaches to education which have entrenched themselves within the social and economic policies of New Zealand. The then Labour-led government of 1989, altered the governance and administration of state primary and secondary education through the development and implementation of the *Tomorrow's Schools* reform. These reforms were significant and had serious implications for the New Zealand education system. School administration was removed from the centralised Department of Education and became the role of parents in the form of Boards of Trustees (Lubienski et al., 2013). While the reform was framed as an opportunity for schools to develop autonomy and engage local communities, evidence strongly suggested that the government possessed a leading economic agenda (Ball, 2003). Furthermore, a recent review of the New Zealand education system (Ministry of Education, 2018) highlighted that as educational leaders have assumed responsibility for school property, staffing and finances, the inequalities in the system have become more evident throughout the last 30 years (Tomorrow's Schools Independent Taskforce, 2018). High socioeconomic schools continue to attract well educated and resourced members to their BOTs, while low socioeconomic schools struggle to find the expertise to fulfil their administrative and governance responsibilities (Lubienski et al., 2013).

As such, an education system based on neoliberal assumptions of individualism, competition and the free market manifests, where the primary purpose of schools has become to prepare young people for an uncertain and changing workforce (Breunig, 2005). Some argue, neoliberal policy reform has eroded "fundamental democratic values of collective responsibility, co-operation, social justice and trust" (Codd, 2005, p. 204), resulting in education being "reconfigured in this process increasingly to be seen as a commodity: something to be sold, traded and consumed" (Roberts & Peters, 2008, p. 3). Within this system, teachers and leaders have become increasingly 'managed' (Codd, 2005) and introduced neoliberal policies have acted to significantly reduce their contribution to policy making overall.

Recent redress to this issue has taken the form of the Leadership Strategy for the Teaching Profession of Aotearoa New Zealand and the associated companion document, the Educational Leadership Capability Framework (Education Council, 2018). With the hope of supporting teachers to develop their leadership capability, these documents support the "growth and development of leadership capability for all registered teachers across English medium and Māori medium settings in Aotearoa New Zealand – in both positional and non-positional leadership roles" (Education Council, p. 4). Central to this strategy are notions of social justice and "a commitment to the development of distinctive elements of leadership, derived from indigenous ways of knowing, doing, and being, will enable leaders and communities to respond to the leadership challenges they face as part of this strategy" (Education Council, 2018, p. 8).

There remains a further and significant complication to this already substantial challenge. Just as there are many varied economic, political and social factors which create or perpetuate inequity and therefore, the ways in which leadership is positioned to provide high leverage change practices, the elements of social justice leadership required to do so remain unclear. The definition of 'social justice' within education to be able to *redress* such injustices is also expressed in a multitude of ways (Gewirtz, 1998; Theoharis, 2007), and is contextually dependent (McNae, 2014). Examining social justice leadership within the New Zealand education context becomes a critical and challenging endeavor.

Leading for Social Justice: Definitions and Themes Within Education

There are diverse definitions of social justice, because at its core, it concerns interactions amongst diverse human beings. Understandably, since "social justice is a fluid and contested notion" (Morrison et al., 2015, p. 4), the various definitions and frameworks (in)effectively seesaw between two ontologically competing models - Monism and Pluralism (Gewirtz & Cribb, 2002). Within the New Zealand educational context, these dimensions were originally reflected, as Morrison et al. (2015) shares, as "two competing concepts of fairness – fairness to the individual and

fairness to the country as a whole", by Secretary of Education, Clarence Beeby, who was instrumental in creating the current education system in Aotearoa New Zealand. In addition, overlaying this notion of fairness, Rapp (2002) argues, "the most formidable challenges to educational leaders (e.g. race, gender, culture, war, hatred and class) are continuously overshadowed by a telescopic focus on performance and effectiveness." (p. 228).

As such, educational leaders sit on a precipice bound by the expectations of the communities and their personal capacity and capability to lead through these challenges. It is therefore not unusual to see the interconnectedness of personal values, attributes, skills and knowledge, manifest in an educational leaders' professional leadership practice. In the absence of a universally accepted definition of the multifaceted concept of social justice (Dantley & Tillman, 2010; Gewirtz & Cribb, 2002), it behoves educational leaders to explore the various definitions for themselves, in order to 'make sense' through filtering, framing, creating, constructing – "in order to render the subjective into something more tangible" (Weick, 1995, in McNae, 2017). Numerous frameworks exist to support the attempts of defining and refining our understandings of social justice and Gewirtz (1998) highlights the risks of oversimplifying the concept through such attempts. As a broad concept, social justice in a society is represented by fair treatment; equity in terms of status, access to necessities as needed, and of opportunity; and freedom from discrimination in order to maximize self-actualization for all individuals (Barsky, 2010).

Importantly, and perhaps providing relief for some, Ryan (2006) reminds us that "leadership and social justice are not natural bedfellows", and "the extent to which leadership meshes with social justice depends on the way in which leadership is conceived" (p. 7). McNae (2017) highlights "leadership for social justice is an evolving construct linked to experience and reflection. As such, it encompasses terrain that can be highly personal, contextually and culturally specific, multifaceted in presence, and equivocal in nature. How socially just leaders make sense of their leadership overall is an essential part of being a socially just leader" (p. 268). However worthy these ideals are though, difficulties exist in moving from an educational leader's espoused value of social justice, to a practical application within schools.

Research Design

The purpose of the research was to explore the ways New Zealand educational leaders lead for social justice. It was hoped that by exploring the situated meanings and understandings of socially just leadership, and how it manifests in these three areas across different education settings, possibilities for other leaders to address injustices within their institutions and broader education contexts overall may be illuminated.

The qualitative research data presented is synthesized from New Zealand data submitted to the International School Leader's Development Network (ISLDN)

research project. This collaborative research project represents over 20 countries throughout the world and supports a network of researchers, who are guided by similar questions about leadership for social justice, and adopt a common methodological approach to undertaking work in a diverse range of international contexts**.** The conceptual framework underpinning this research drew on Socially Just Leadership Theory (Shields, 2004; Theoharis, 2007 – amongst others). The ISLDN Macro-Micro Framework for the Examination of School Context (see Angelle et al., 2015), supports theorising about educational leaders' lived experiences of leadership within the micro (personal), meso (community of the school), and macro (social, cultural and political discourses that shape education policy structures) levels of their specific leadership contexts.

Data generated from the New Zealand contexts provided insights into the experiences of five educational leaders from primary, intermediate and high school contexts. The data was generated through semi-structured interviews. Each educational leader was interviewed twice and asked about their understandings of leadership, social justice and what it meant to lead for social justice. Questions were also directed at their personal background and professional career journey. The initial interview was followed by a second interview 4–5 months later where leaders shared their developing understandings of social justice leadership and some of the factors which supported or constrained their ability to lead for social justice. In addition, at each site, secondary data was obtained (for example, school policy documents, visual artefacts representing particular aspects of school culture, and field notes from the researchers).

Introduction to the Educational Leaders[3]

Sarah is relatively new leader of a semi-rural decile eight state primary school in New Zealand. Prior to her appointment at Te Awa School (pseudonym), she had worked for 11 years as a Deputy principal in a different school. The school operates an enrolment scheme to maintain stable student numbers. Current enrolment statistics at the time of the research illustrated a falling school roll (40 less students in the past 12 months), with 380 students currently enrolled encompassing a large range of ethnicities (New Zealand European 85%, NZ Māori, 10%; Asian 3%; Other 2%). The school draws on a strong socio-economic community and offers numerous programme across a wide range of curriculum areas and education outside the classroom.

James considered himself to be a new school leader (3 years at the time of the research), taking over the leadership role from the previous principal of 9 years. Located in the North Island of New Zealand Aotearoa College is a co-educational state secondary school (year 9–13) with a decile rating of five. In comparison to

[3] Pseudonyms are used for the names of the school leaders and their schools.

other secondary schools in the area, it was considered a large school (over 1300 students), and with the recent change of leadership, was now experiencing a growing roll. There was varied ethnic diversity at the school and 58% of the student population identify as New Zealand Pakeha,[4] 28% as New Zealand Māori[5] and 14% from other ethnic groups with a growing number of Pacific students. The school offers a number of programmes and structures which support students and families – including a Trades Academy, creating a Māori Strategic Team to focus on enhancing Māori achievement, along with developing avenues for student voice and leadership.

Daniel is an experienced educational leader with over 40 years of leadership experience supporting him in his current role. Located in the North Island of New Zealand Te Whare Aroha College is a co-educational state secondary school (year 9–13) with a decile rating of four. In comparison to other secondary schools in the area, it was considered a relatively small school (approximately 600 students). There was varied ethnic diversity at the school and 27% of the student population identify as New Zealand Pakeha,[6] 51% as New Zealand Māori[7] and 22% from other ethnic groups. The school offers a number of programmes and structures which support students and families, and the school partners with local iwi to focus on mutual education goals, celebrating the richness of the school's cultural diversity.

Leila is a first-time principal of a large urban decile five state intermediate school in New Zealand. Prior to her appointment at Moana School, the Education Review Office[8] (ERO) identified many aspects of the long serving principal's performance that were cause for concern. Three and a half year after his retirement Leila had put a stop to hemorrhaging enrolment numbers and was now experiencing a growing school roll (150 new students in the past 18 months), with 540 students currently enrolled encompassing a large range of ethnicities (New Zealand European 59%, NZ Māori, 30%; Pacific 2%, South East Asian 2%; Asian 3%; Other 6%). The school offers a number of programmes to support the learning and behavior of students in the school including Positive Behaviour for Learning Programs, Tutor Reading, Restorative Practices, Breakfast Club, Kiwi Can (values and life skills program), English for Speakers of Other Languages programmes, and Gifted and Talented Education Programs.

Ashley is an experienced educational leader working in a co-educational, decile one, primary school (He Tangata School) located in the North Island of New Zealand. She has led this school for numerous years and while she has experienced a recent turnover of staff, she has maintained continuity of programme development

[4] Ethnic description of European decent.

[5] Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand.

[6] Ethnic description of European decent.

[7] Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand.

[8] The Education Review Office (ERO) is the New Zealand government department that evaluates and reports on the education and care of students in schools and early childhood services. ERO's reports are used by parents, teachers, early childhood education managers, school principals and trustees, and by government policy makers.

and learning through strategic employment decisions. The school roll draws on a broad socioeconomic community and the 250 (approximately) student population in attendance is ethnically diverse and comprised of Māori (80%), 6% New Zealand Pakeha, and 10% from Pacific origins. Students have opportunities to participate in numerous specialist support programs to accelerate progress, with a particular focus on raising the achievement of Māori students in the school.

Research Findings

Understanding the ways in which educational leaders across a range of contexts made sense of, and enacted social justice provides possibilities for other leaders to make sense of and address injustice in their institutions and within broader education contexts overall. Findings demonstrated that similar characteristics emerged across each of the contexts, and while the examples shared were obviously different, similar themes emerged. Essential ideas that came forward about social justice leadership included: Social justice leadership was an embodied practice informed by previous experiences; a deliberate and transformative practice to change organisations; a moral practice; a culturally responsive practice to meet student, staff and community needs; and, a deed of activism which championed the needs of others. Social justice leadership was challenging and impacted on personal wellbeing. These ideas are now explored in light of the relevant literature and contextualized using examples from each of the leaders' context.

Social Justice Leadership Was an Embodied Practice Informed by Previous Experiences

It was clear in this research that personal experiences played a critical role in the educational leaders' understandings and formation of their leadership for social justice. All leaders in the research identified previous life experiences which had attuned them to social injustice later in life and drawn to their current leadership contexts prompted by the belief that they could make a difference. For example, Ashley stated, "I lived the racial discrimination and the disharmony. So, I just knew when I got here that it just wasn't fair for kids". Another principal remarked, "I guess, an empathy towards students who are in the lower aspect of whatever – whether it be academic, sport, whatever – that I can empathize, because I was there and I wanted to make a difference". Most of the leaders had experienced extreme hardship as a child, living in poverty, torn between broken homes and in some circumstances surviving impoverished family conditions. Some had experienced exclusion based on ethnicity, others had closely witnessed racism within their communities.

Each of the leaders acknowledged the importance of these experiences in shaping their ideas about social justice and what it meant to lead in ways to address such issues. A large body of literature indicates social justice leadership is closely intertwined with, and informed by personal and family history, employment and education experience, social status, and the cultural and political environment (Oplatka & Arar, 2016). For the leaders in this research, it was these experiences that in fact led them to be more attuned to aspects of social justice. Their heightened sensitivity to injustice demanded a new level of empathy which underpinned their leadership actions and decision making in their schools. Day (2014) argues that "diverse and sometimes competing demands of policy, local context and educational values not only challenge the breadth of qualities, knowledge and skills possessed by leaders, but also test their adaptivity, flexibility, and intellectual, and emotional energy on an everyday basis" (p. 638).

Social Justice Leadership Was Transformative Leadership

Central to the notion of leadership for social justice was the need to transform organizations. Findings highlighted the connection that the leaders made between the need to transform their educational settings and disrupt mechanisms which perpetuated oppression. Opportunities to teach staff and children about how their actions impact on others in a global and collective sense, rather than just simple day to day classroom interactions was important. For example, one leader stated, "we unravel stuff, so it's building the students' understanding of what is appropriate and if there are going to be issues, well what are we going to do about the issues? So, it's social responsibility as well, I think. I think it's about that whole, you know?"

One leader was aware that he could not do this work alone and in order to be transformative, he required a level of collective efficacy within his school. He argued, "I can't make the call around what is good and what is bad; we have to reach that together". He was supportive of staff trying new approaches and stated, "I'm us and so I never, ever use the term this is 'my' school. This is 'our' school. I never personalize it to me, because it's not about me, it's about us and what we do." Anther leader stated, "and the more we value their contributions, the more contributions there are…yeah, well it's that whole issue about it takes a community to grow a child."

Shields (2004) like many researchers, highlights the desire many educational leaders have to be transformative. In her work she acknowledges the centrality of relationships and importance of facilitating moral dialogue as a sway to lead for social justice. She argues that overcoming "pathologies of silence," (p. 109) can transform educational practices and ensure all students are learning in a way that is relevant and engaging supporting improved academic outcomes for all.

Leadership for Social Justice Was a Moral Practice

Each of the leaders demonstrated to some level a high level of moral fortitude and deep convictions which guided them in their professional leadership. Founded on a leader's moral purpose and an understanding of context, this response illuminated the highly personal nature of social justice and that in order to lead in socially just ways, an alignment between personal values, moral purpose and actions was required. Consequently, advancing social justice was positioned as a vital part in the role of being an educational leader, as they are frequently viewed as moral agents within the school context (Styslinger et al. 2019). In fact, Branson (2014) goes as far as to argue "in a diverse and chaotic world, moral integrity has to be at the very heart of leadership…and while leaders cannot offer control over the seemingly chaotic external world that is affecting their organization, they can fill the needs of their followers for stability by having moral integrity" (p. 274).

One leader described the importance of demonstrating moral values in her own leadership practice and stated, "I would never ask them to do anything I wasn't prepared to do myself." Another leader stated, "All I can give is what my moral purpose is and, I guess, the practice that surrounds that". Another leader stated, "we have a moral responsibility to do that. Social justice leadership is trying to do the right thing but keeping everyone's dignity intact in the process". However, James recognized, "… not everybody has the same moral compass that you have and not everybody is as honest and transparent in their intentions as you might be." He goes on to state, "Commitment to our students is paramount and that's the way it should be, that's why we are here. You have a moral responsibility to do that because, if you don't, I won't be able to do better. Sometimes it's hard to hear but you've got to suck it up because it's about the greater good." Bezzina and Tuana (2014) describe moral purpose as "the clear commitment to ends that express underlying values and ethics" (p. 283). Leadership became an active and moral practice, as leadership which was derived from a deep sense of responsibility to transforming their colleagues and students' educational engagement also led to a reorientation towards inclusion and equity across their different educational settings.

Social Justice Leadership Was Culturally Responsive Leadership

As Johansson-Fua (2007) posits, it is our culture which influences our thinking and consequent behaviours and therefore social justice within our educational context is about recognising values, philosophies, processes and structures to see how these are enacted within a school's curriculum. Te Tiriti o te Waitangi provides protection for dialogic respect across Aotearoa, New Zealand for te reo Māori, one of our country's two official languages. However recognition of "dialogical relationships between cultures… in our increasingly interconnected world society" (Hermans, 2001, p. 272), is required to expand and include the multiple layers of voices.

Culturally responsive leadership can play a key role in lifting academic achievement of all students. Johnson (2014) identifies that leading in a culturally responsive way requires engaging in practices and philosophies that create school environments where students from ethnically and culturally diverse backgrounds feel valued and included. With Gay (2018) arguing cultural responsiveness cannot be decontextualized, and it is essential to acknowledge events from the past which continue to shape the future.

All leaders were extremely staunch advocates for practices which were culturally inclusive and responsive in their presence. In some instances, leaders recognized that specialist support was required in order to do this well. In one school, deliberate and strategic appointments were made to address issues of cultural context, as one leader shared:

> I've made a conscious effort to appoint staff who are Māori or have empathy or expertise in Māori and they relate way better to the kids; and because they relate better you get better student engagement…and then we've done a whole lot of professional development with teachers in our core curriculum, the same thing, to try and lift teacher effectiveness, so that spins off and lifts student achievement.

One other leader worked to expose the injustice of a single worldview and stated: "Well, I see growing up in Northland as being an incredible asset in navigating a bicultural world". They believed that having these personal experiences and knowledge supported them in their leadership within this bi-cultural space. However, leading in culturally responsive ways goes deeper than acknowledging culture within the school. Culturally responsive leadership requires high levels of critical reflection courage to admit when things are not going well. For example, James shared;

> I heard a comment from a parent last year, their child – a Māori parent – their child was succeeding really well. And the next question she was asked is, 'is the school meeting your child's needs?' To which I expected an affirmative response. She said, 'no, they're not.' And a number of students of Māori descent feel that they have to leave their Māoriness at the gate when they come in and I acknowledge that.

The findings demonstrated developing caring relationships was an essential part of leading in culturally responsive ways. Ashley shared;

> They need relationships, they need to feel that they belong, they need consistency, they need to know this is the expectation and it's not going to shift, they need consequences if they're unable to reach expectations that are fair and just. They need positive reinforcement when they do get it right. And … just that relationship thing.

> I think relationships are very important and you've got to take time to do that. So it's built on partnerships.

Socially just leadership which values ethnically and culturally diverse educational communities can effectively reveal and disrupt those institutional arrangements within Aotearoa New Zealand which can marginalize individuals. Subverting such arrangements through critically reflective, informed and contextualized culturally responsive practices effectively became a form of professional activism.

Social Justice Leadership Was Professional Activism

Educational leaders have significant social responsibility in terms of the wider political and social function in their communities (Giroux, 1992). In their roles as school leaders, there is the potential for them to challenge, contest and change existing policy and systemic structures which promote marginalization and inequality in education. However, this can be challenging for school leaders, as although they may be in a position of power to pursue social justice issues, their desire to support particular aspects or initiatives may actually end up marginalizing them within their own context. In fact, Theoharis (2007) proposes that such work can even impact career trajectories, have a detrimental effect on personal wellbeing, or even threaten a leader's employment status. Ryan (2016) also reminds us that educational leaders "cannot blindly rush ahead armed with their passion, energy and resources into complex social situations. Instead, they need to take the time to understand the often-invisible manner in which power operates in their organizations, assess the situations in which they find themselves and judiciously select a course of action that will lead to their preferred goal" (p. 91).

Understanding that activism in education can be enacted in many different ways provides scope to mobilize leaders in their work for social justice, making activism an accessible and acceptable leadership action. As one leader described,

> For me it's about having the same expectation of outcomes but finding divergent pathways to beat that. So, in some cases it could take different resourcing, it could take different time, it could take …yeah, it could be shorter in that. And my role as a leader is to remove those iniquitous barriers.

> Oh, you just shoulder-tap the one or two to start with and then it slowly grows. The very first thing I did was I put in- I built a new playground. So the teachers said, 'Why do we need a playground for?' I said just wait. We built the playground and they could see 'oh' – fifty kids engaged in that, that's fifty kids that are not fighting and scrapping and creating havoc at the lunchtime. […]

Unfortunately, the focus on measurable achievement of programmes implemented, tests undertaken, and fiscal accountability of effectiveness can actually distract socially just leaders from *their* original goal – resulting in an unintentional 'default' of simply reinforcing the existing power structures and potentially even increasing social injustice on a global scale (Beets & Van Louw, 2011; Bogotch & Shields, 2014; Furman & Gruenwald, 2004; Gerstl-Pepin, 2006; Rapp, 2002; Shields, 2004).

> Probably the most important journey our school has made has been around self-efficacy…the belief that we are actually as good as anybody else…and I think for a long long time…we have lived under a heavy veil of 'we're second best'. We believed it, out community believed it… and the kids believed it… but now we don't.

The educational leaders frequently found themselves in the position of having to persuade their colleagues of the value of social justice-related practices. Small acts

of activism culminated into changes within the school context and school culture. For example,

> Why shouldn't these kids here have the same as everybody else? Why can't we have trips and camps and … mm, and nice things and good furniture and … that's the other thing I did, I changed the furniture *[laughs]*. Because the furniture was brown and dreary and horrible.

He was clear about his dealings with the Ministry of Education, stating:

> the best thing I do with the Ministry is say that anything we will get involved in – I don't want your funding. Because we will do whatever you want when you give us the money but when the money goes we won't sustain it, so don't give us any money, and if we think it is worthwhile, we will do it and we will find a way to do it! This way we can keep it going if it has value.

Smyth et al. (2006) encourage educators and leaders to enact social activism by going beyond the classroom and school building and engaging in *relational politics of school and community activism* that values trust, respect, high regard for the knowledge and wisdom of educators and community members. As one leader stated, "For me there's nothing more rewarding than making a difference and that's not about manipulating the environment but creating the conditions.

Social Leadership Was Challenging and Impacted on Personal Wellbeing

Each of the principals highlighted the challenges associated with leading for social justice. Amongst these, the notion of wellbeing was perhaps the most confronting. Each leader shared instances where their personal wellbeing had been impacted by their leadership work. All recognized multiple and sustained pressures from their professional leadership that impacted on their personal lives and wellbeing overall. For example:

> I think that's been a big learning curve. I couldn't switch off, the first eight to ten months here were pretty intense and I couldn't let it go whereas I think I'm getting better at that now. I'm getting better at not burdening my husband with a lot of stuff.

> I get really tired. I'm really tired at the moment. I didn't get a lot of holidays – probably the first two years I didn't really get a break at all and I really did hit the wall in the middle of that two-year period and I still haven't got the balance back so that's a personal toll.

Isolation and loneliness were common experiences shared by the principals. In many cases, they identified that this was due to the extremely long work hours, the need to create professional boundaries and the lack of professional mentors to share the burden of the work. As one leader stated, "I have noticed for the first time that it is reasonably lonely doing this job." Another leader stated, "It's a very lonely position but I think as we build the shared understandings in the team around you and as those relationships build it gets better."

There was a physical toll associated with the job and lack of sleep was not uncommon. Many of the principals identified medical conditions which they believed were linked to their time in the job – fitness, weight gain and other ailments, with one leader confessing, "My wife is really concerned about this. My blood pressure is appalling. I knew today my blood pressure was really high." There was also an emotional toll that the leaders identified in their leadership for social justice. For some, the guilt of spending long hours away from family was at critical levels. With one leader admitted, "there's an awful lot of guilt of not giving things justice to my family, I don't give them a fair crack…my youngest has been growing up while I've been DP/Principal." Another leader stated, "I have a husband that holds everything together at home so I think that's the toll and the emotional toll as well. You get quite emotionally tired." Another leader spoke of the enduring nature of his work and how difficult it becomes to solve problems when people, their well-being and relationships are involved. He stated:

> Well, I don't allow a lot to stick [to me] and I think that's a gift that I have – that I can go home and leave the cares and the worries behind. My only weakness is, I guess, the attachment to people – I find that hard to leave behind. So, if it's a theoretical issue I can solve it; if it's a person who is in crisis or 'I'm not teaching next year because I can't do this', that stays with me.

The enduring nature of the work was identified by the leaders as having a significant impact on their ability to lead for social justice. One leader spoke to the unrelenting nature of her work, stating, "in a school like this that it is persistent and you have to be persistent and it's relentless and you have to be resilient and … just keep on going."

Conclusion

It is acknowledged that within an increasingly globalised educational context, the focus on performance and effectiveness is a shadow which certainly looms large over the many themes of social justice (Rapp, 2002). The voices calling for 'measurement, assessment, accountability and performance' are deafeningly loud, and seek to dominate the attention of leadership (McNae, 2014). However, by tracing backwards to identify that which originally cast this shadow, it is the very *utterances* which underlie these discourses which need to be exposed (Gillies, 2013).

Change is an inherent feature of education, and leading through this change requires a cognizance of social justice issues and a desire to make a positive difference for students within and beyond the school gates. What becomes clear, from the multiplicity of perspectives which attempt to define social justice in education, is that every educational leader must grapple with this for themselves, and engaging with "sense-making" which is suit to the educational leader's context and personal and professional contexts (McNae, 2017).

This chapter is not intended as a stance to be taken 'once and for all', but rather as the articulation 'along the way' of the ongoing development of a moral and ideological position (Furman & Gruenwald, 2004), whilst still providing space for future, and continued growth through dialogically respectful and reflective encounters within the local and broader socio-political landscape. As McNae (2014) states, exposing injustices is 'part of the job' for socially just educational leaders who are *required* to move from theorising to action (Bogotch & Shields, 2014; Dantley & Tillman, 2010; Gerstl-Pepin, 2006) through the dialogically respectful but active pursuit of revealing, disrupting and subverting policies, procedures and practices which are exploiting, marginalising or recycle unjust positions of power (Dantley & Tillman, 2010). Further, Morrison et al. (2017) state:

> the intersectionality of experiences, which continue to sustain and support a form of resilience founded on a sense of moral purpose, are frequently bound by often-static structures that fail in their responsiveness and relational attributes to address aspects of injustice. (p. 166)

Socially just leadership is a contextual and relational phenomenon which has implications on educational leaders in four dimensions – social, cultural, moral and personal. The research findings identified deliberate and transformative practices and activism as being aspects that contribute to social dimension; that culturally responsive practice which acknowledges identity supports the needs of students, staff and community and contributes to the cultural dimension; moral thinking and practice supports the moral dimension and acknowledgement of impacts on personal well-being contributes to understanding of the personal dimension.

The factors that support and constrain aspects within these dimensions carve spaces for leaders to deliberately share personal histories and experiences and provide opportunities for reflection are powerful mechanisms for leaders to make sense of their leadership. By placing dialogically respectful interactions and positive relationships at the centre of our practice (Shields, 2004), socially just educational leaders can accept responsibility to ensure that there are social spaces created for the voices of all stakeholders in communities to be heard, so that we may truly become the 'agents of change' that the new work order positions us to be in the twenty-first century (Blackmore, 2002; McNae, 2014). By enacting our moral purpose in this way, the "looming shadow" alluded to earlier in Rapp's (2002) statement ought to gradually disappear in Aotearoa, New Zealand. However, the risk remains that without the ongoing and dialogically respectful discussions which allow space and positive relational opportunities for grappling with cultural difference – of opinion, ability, creed, culture, ethnicity or gender perspectives – then this simply becomes empty rhetoric (Gerstl-Pepin, 2006).

Acknowledgement, awareness of and reflection on these four dimensions and their enabling or constraining factors allow leaders to embrace, learn and demonstrate attributes which support the development of connections with the establishment of strong and caring relationships, explicit actions of collaboration, and opportunities to exhibit care and compassion in a socially just educational environment. Making sense of, and enacting leadership within the highly personal,

contextual and culturally specific terrain (McNae, 2017) that is New Zealand's education system, remains an essential focus for socially just educational leaders as they continually endeavour to translate their espoused values of care, collaboration and connection into practical enactment. Despite challenging constraints which can impact upon socially just educational leaders' personal wellbeing, it is through these social, cultural and moral dimensions of deliberately transformative practices and professional activism that such leaders can intentionally reorient the educational engagement within their schools away from the margins to the central focus on inclusion, transformation and equity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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Part V
Asian Countries

Chapter 12
Social, Political and Cultural Foundations of Educational Leadership in Singapore

Clive Dimmock, Cheng Yong Tan, and Charleen Chiong

Abstract This chapter examines the complex ways in which political, economic, cultural and moral foundations shape pervasive conceptions and practices of educational leadership in Singapore. It argues that school leadership reflects fundamental socio-political values that underpin Singaporean governance: these core values are built on three pillars – the developmental state, neo-liberalism and meritocracy. The chapter sketches the historical development of education and leadership since the foundation of Singapore as an independent republic in 1965, concluding that the instrumentalist imperative of education (preparation of a suitably qualified workforce, and cultivation of a loyal and harmonious citizenry) has dictated the purpose of schooling and thus the approach to leadership in Singapore's education system. Further dimensions of leadership are explored in terms of its 'tight-coupling' between the hierarchical layers of the education system, and at school level, a 'social compact' between school leaders and teachers, which is reinforced by a paternalism associated with Confucianism. In emphasising the tight-coupling across the whole of society and its education system, the chapter concludes by powerfully illustrating how a 'state-citizen compact' based on values of trust, dependency and self-responsibilisation are reflected in the wider community, even in the lives of low-income, ethnic minority families.

Keywords School leadership · Singapore · Socio-political-cultural values · Developmental state-neoliberalism · Meritocracy · Economic-education development

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Scholars have long recognized that social, political, cultural and moral influences shape education and educational leadership (Dimmock & Walker, 2005; Hallinger & Leithwood, 1998). Yet while recognition of schooling and leadership as socially bound processes has received wide acknowledgement, the overwhelming focus of research has tended to eschew the cultural-contextual aspects of educational leadership in favour of within-school and technical logics of leadership (Hallinger, 2018). While socio-political-moral forces strongly structure educational leadership policies and practices, they are particularly evident in Singapore. Explanations as to why this is the case are many, but the fact that Singapore emerged as a republic only in 1965 and has had a strong government with steep trajectories in educational and economic performance since, provide convincing testimony (Tan & Dimmock, 2014).

This chapter examines the complex ways in which Singapore's political, economic, cultural and moral foundations shape pervasive conceptions and practices of educational leadership. Accordingly, the chapter is structured as follows. A brief overview of the historical, political and cultural backstory of Singapore forms the introductory section. This is followed by a characterization of the place of education in Singapore society and its significance to the development of the nation-state. The third section narrows the focus to school organization and responsibilities of leaders from a social and cultural point of view. This is followed by a characterization of the concept of leadership as it is understood in the culture of the country and by educators in particular. The fifth section turns to an illustration of the values and principles of justice on which leadership practices are based by exploring the qualitative, nuanced relationships between school principals, teachers, parents and students.

Historical, Political and Cultural Backstory of Singapore

Features of Singapore's geography and demography lend support to its centralized and bureaucratically controlled education system. While the population has grown from 1.8 million in 1965 to 5.9 million in 2020, by any comparison, it is still a relatively small state (Worldometer, 2020). The population is majority Chinese (75%), with ethnic minorities of Malays (15%), Indians (7.4%), and Eurasians and other ethnicities. The small population is reflected in a small school system: in 2020 there were just 325 primary and secondary schools. As an island city-state, Singapore's population is urbanized and densely concentrated – hence the relatively small number of schools and their uniformly large size. Primary and secondary schools typically average 1500 and 1300 students, respectively (Mourshed et al., 2010). Moreover, the urbanized population and the relatively small number of schools are closely distributed over an island that measures only 31 miles east-west and 17 miles north-south. A very small private sector (e.g. international schools) exists, mainly attended by expatriates. However, over time, the Singapore government has sought to enhance choice and excellence by allowing a growing diversity *within* the government school system (e.g. independent schools which have more autonomy than other government schools, and specialist schools some of which lay emphasis on

hands-on and practical learning, allowing schools to develop their own 'niches' such as in robotics or journalism). Trends towards diversifying types of school and curricula are conscious and deliberate Singaporean government policies in pursuit of greater choice and excellence, the purpose of which is to avoid the pitfalls of excessive homogeneity among school graduates and at the same time, sustain a world class school system.

The republic of Singapore was established in 1965 when the city-state separated from Malaysia, not long after the end of British colonial rule in 1959. Singapore's political system is described as authoritarian and pragmatic (Trocki, 2006). Its governance structure is highly centralized, and exercises ideological leadership over economy and society, including its education system (Gopinathan, 2007). Economic growth and political stability have been maintained by the paternal guidance of the People's Action Party (PAP), the only political party that has been in power since independence. Singapore is administered by bureaucrats in a meritocracy where power is gained through knowledge and academic achievement, performance, and loyalty to the nation and its policies (Sharpe & Gopinathan, 2002).

Establishment of Key Values Shaping Socio-political Values and Leadership Since 1965

Singapore's development since 1965 has been underpinned by three salient concepts, all of which provide the context for understanding the importance and nature of leadership in Singapore. Two of the three concepts – the developmental state and neo-liberalism – explain the positioning of the state in relation to governance, control of public life and economic development. The third – meritocracy – was established early in the foundation of the republic as the social-philosophical rule underpinning social organization, the classification of talent, and individual reward (Tan, 2008). Leadership *per se* is seen as a vital and necessary condition for Singapore's continued success. For a small island with limited natural resources, the quality of its human resources is often seen as all-important. Consequently, education and leadership are seen by political leaders as critical for Singapore's continued future development, and competitiveness. Indeed, leadership is given formal and explicit priority and recognition as a virtue to be cultivated from primary school upwards (e.g. through curriculum activity and student responsibility), that few other societies seem able or willing to emulate.

Singapore is described as a hybrid 'neoliberal-developmental' state (Liow, 2011, p. 241), with a governing approach that combines dynamics that simultaneously invite dependence on the state ('developmental' logics), and at the same time, devolves responsibility to individuals and families ('neoliberal' logics). On the one hand, the state has assumed strong centralised control over the development of public sector services, such as housing, transport and education – thereby ensuring a uniformly high standard of social infrastructure on which its citizens can depend.

The 'developmental' state seeks political legitimacy through active interventions to boost economic performance. Historically, according to Singaporean politicians, this interventionist approach was necessary to ensure social stability and optimal human capital development under conditions of 'crisis' and vulnerability. Furthermore, the Singapore state largely adopts a 'pastoral' function to take care of its citizens, unlike the 'procedural' function of more politically liberal states (Lim & Apple, 2016). For instance, there exists a highly-developed, 'social democratic' programme of largely state-owned, well-resourced, highly-subsidised public education and housing (Chua, 2017, p. 7).

Furthermore, while Singapore's Ministry of Education (MOE) has over time developed greater choice and diversity within its system – it nonetheless continues to closely oversee many aspects of its largely-centralised education system, including the prescribing of curricula, textbook use, administration of national examinations, the hiring and firing of teachers and their professional development and training (centralised in the MOE's National Institute of Education) (Deng & Gopinathan, 2016). The vast majority of Singaporean students attend schools that, though diversified, remain under the ideological leadership of the MOE.

On the other hand, neo-liberal, market logics are clearly recognisable in Singaporean governance in at least two manifestations (Chiong & Dimmock, 2020). First, the PAP – has championed a market-driven economy, which together with political stability has encouraged the growth of a major world banking and financial sector. Singapore's strategic position at the tip of the Malay peninsula has long made it a major port, which has now grown to be one of the world's busiest. Singapore as a trading centre is regarded as one of the most laissez faire in the world (Heritage Foundation, 2019). Second, the PAP has been described as advancing an anti-welfarist ideology (Chua, 2017). At the heart of Singaporean public policy is the notion of 'meritocracy' – a self-responsibilising, individualistic ethos underlaid by the assumption that anyone with talent and effort can achieve educational and life success (Chiong & Dimmock, 2020). Distancing itself from affirmative action policies adopted by Malaysia, 'meritocracy' was adopted as a fundamental organising principle of the Singapore state since its independence. 'Meritocracy' was framed as a fair, efficient way to allocate resources, to reward talented, hardworking individuals and to protect against complacency and nepotism – and to select the most academically meritorious to occupy high-ranking jobs for optimal political leadership and economic efficiency (Tan, 2008).

Singapore is thus a complex mix of dependence on the state for high quality social service infrastructure, a competitive free market economy encouraging risk taking, entrepreneurship and creativity, and a citizenry that imbibes values of self-reliance, self-responsibilisation and low dependence on welfarism. In reality, for the government and people of Singapore these are more than concepts – they are deeply ingrained mind-sets for governing the city-state and for people to frame their lives. They provide a moral compass and reference point for politicians, bureaucrats and those in positions of leadership, including school principals. Meritocracy – as the underpinning socio-political ethos – is largely accepted as the means of allocating the nation's talent. However, as critics point out, academic achievement is

influenced by social and cultural capital, both of which relate to income and wealth distribution (Koh, 2014). This has led recently to some critics questioning the fairness of meritocracy going forward, and the possibility that class gaps in Singapore are widening (Koh, 2014).

The Instrumentalist Purpose of Education

Since its independence in 1965, Singapore's leaders have viewed education as playing a critical role in supporting the hybrid developmental-neoliberal, meritocratic state. Throughout this period, education has been cast as the key agent for preparing its citizenry for the kind of society that early Singaporean leaders had in mind. So important was education to the newly formed state, that the government has largely overseen the appointment and allocation of both teachers and school principals, and to the present day, conducts all teacher training and school leadership preparation through one institution (the National Institute of Education, NIE).

The economy and its evolution have overwhelmingly been a major force shaping education. The role of education in providing the economy with the appropriate quantity and quality of skilled labour, has deepened the priority status of education. With time, as the economic structure has changed, so has the education system in response. As the following section portrays, the main responsibility of schools, teachers and principals is to serve the nation by preparing a highly skilled workforce for the knowledge-based economy and to prepare good, loyal citizens (Tan & Dimmock, 2014).

A Historical Overview of Singapore's Educational Policy Landscape Since Independence

National policies reflect endeavors of a nation's leadership to address imperatives confronting their country at different phases of national development (Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975; Gopinathan, 2007; Gopinathan & Deng, 2006; Gopinathan et al., 2008; Mourshed et al., 2010). In this light, an examination of school leadership in the Singapore context necessitates an understanding of the socioeconomic circumstances and broad goals of key policies aimed at addressing these imperatives and challenges in different phases of economic and educational development. Three such phases have been recognized by Gopinathan et al. (2008) – the survival-driven (1965–1978), efficiency-driven (1978–1997), and ability-driven (1997–present) – and we use these phases to indicate how concepts and practices of school leadership have been shaped over time.

Survival-Driven Education (1965–1978)

Shortly after independence in 1965, the Singapore state faced various challenges: it had to build its economy, abandon its hope for a common market in Malaya following separation from Malaysia, cope with the impending withdrawal of British forces in 1971, and the oil crisis of 1973. There were high levels of unemployment and limited natural resources. Singaporean leaders were also mindful of other challenges to their authority: the threat of communist elements particularly through workers' unions and Chinese-medium schools, and racial tension in a multi-racial city-state. Consequently, the broad goals of the Singapore government during the survival-driven phase of educational development were to provide education to a broad section of the population swiftly and to build a disciplined and cohesive society – aims most effectively achieved through centralized educational policy making (Ashforth & Gibbs, 1990; Han, 2009; Tan, 2007).

Accordingly, educational policies focused on enabling every child to have an opportunity to be schooled to achieve basic levels of literacy and numeracy. Consequently, a large number of schools were built and the teaching force expanded correspondingly from 10,500 in 1959 to more than 19,000 in 1968 (Mourshed et al., 2010). These schools were largely uniform in physical infrastructure, curriculum, staff profile, and administration. Principals functioned as "supervisors of routine tasks" (Gopinathan et al., 2008, p. 247). To enable existing teachers – most of whom had received little professional training – and large numbers of newly recruited teachers to deliver the curriculum, the MOE introduced a prescribed, detailed curriculum, common syllabuses and attainment standards, for all schools (Chang, 2011).

Efficiency-Driven Education (1978–1997)

By the late 1970s, Singapore's concern shifted to how efficiently the education system could meet new economic needs – the so-called efficiency-driven phase of educational development. At that time, the system was criticized by some as failing to produce the talents and skills regarded as necessary for a high-quality workforce to support a fast developing capital-intensive, high value-added manufacturing industry (Carnoy, 1999). There was also an additional impetus for educational improvement as Singapore experienced its first economic recession – in 1986 – since independence. Consequently, the primary goals of education policies at the time were to reduce performance variation system-wide and improve the quality of education in all schools.

To this end, educational processes in curriculum and assessment were further standardized to ensure uniformly high standards. This standardization process culminated in the creation of the Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore (CDIS) in 1980 with the overarching responsibility of supervising teaching of a mandated curriculum in all schools (Dale, 1999). The MOE also issued various instructional handbooks on administrative processes to principals for strict compliance. In 1981, it introduced the 252-page *Principal's Handbook* providing guidance

and directions on policies and administrative procedures required for the daily operations of a school (Gopinathan et al., 2008). Furthermore, various key programs in educational management were launched to help equip principals with the necessary managerial skills in running schools (Ball, 2003). Principals – as government officers – were expected to function as line managers tasked to faithfully and efficiently implement the MOE's policies. Furthermore, the MOE mandated annual school evaluations to ensure that schools were efficiently run according to policy prescription.

However, the MOE also experimented with limited school-based autonomy via the independent and autonomous schools' initiatives for a small number of outstanding state schools to innovate and diversify from the late 1980s onwards (Ng, 2005, 2010; Trocki, 2006).

Ability-Driven Education (1997–Present)

In 1997, educational development in Singapore entered a new phase with the declaration of the nationwide vision of "Thinking Schools, Learning Nation" (TSLN) by then Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong (Goh, 1997). By the late 1990s, Singapore found itself increasingly reliant on technology-driven industries and finance and service sectors – a phenomenon associated with its emergence as a knowledge-based economy (Dimmock & Goh, 2011). This third phase is thus called the "ability-driven phase", as policy-makers envisaged that the workforce needed new sets of competencies and skills beyond strong academic foundations, especially after the onset of the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997.

Education policies in the ability-driven phase were designed to increase quality, choice, and flexibility in the educational system, with the goal of enabling students to develop their talents and compete in the changing, globalising economy. Ability-driven policies signaled new challenges for school leadership. First, the MOE gave schools slightly more autonomy, and in 1997 implemented the school cluster system to facilitate collaboration and support within moderately sized communities of schools (Sharpe & Gopinathan, 2002). However, as schools (and principals) enjoyed slightly more autonomy in decision-making, they also bore greater responsibility and accountability based on student performance, as epitomized in the launch of the *School Excellence Model* (SEM) in 2000 and *Master-plan of Awards* thereafter (Walker et al., 2011). The SEM was a quality management system based on each school setting its goals and targets, and clear plans as to how they would achieve them. Schools were to identify "enablers", such as excellent teaching, and then measure their success through "key result areas", that is, the degree to which they achieved their targets. All schools were expected to report on their progress to the MOE annually. Schools were also subjected to external validation once every 5–6 years. The SEM depended on competent and proactive leadership by senior staff, especially principals, devising strategies and deploying resources to foster student-centred activities. Teacher and parent satisfaction were part of the SEM process, and it was the principal who bore ultimate responsibility for accumulating

evidence through school self-assessment, which was then validated by the MOE. The *Master-plan* recognized schools annually for their innovative processes and achievements.

Second, transformative pedagogies were implemented in schools, following the launch of TSLN in 1997 (Ng, 2008b). School leaders thus became change agents promoting pedagogical changes in their schools. "*Thinking Schools*" epitomized a more process-focused learning environment in schools, while "*Learning Nation*" underscored the culture of lifelong learning beyond formal schooling. TSLN was reinforced by the MOE's "*Teach Less, Learn More*" (TLLM) initiative aimed at getting educators to reflect on why, what, and how they taught (Lim, 2007; Ng, 2008b; Sharpe & Gopinathan, 2002). By such means, the MOE sponsored a raft of curricular innovations across schools (Gopinathan & Deng, 2006). Primary and secondary schools could develop their own niche programmes which in turn encouraged principals to assume a more entrepreneurial role. Secondary schools had the option to offer new subjects to students. Specialist schools catering to the needs of secondary students with less academic, and more practical, hands-on interests were also started. Outstanding secondary schools could exempt their top students from the O-Level examinations so that more time could be used for learning instead of preparing for assessments (Gopinathan & Deng, 2006). Clearly, these major school-level reforms called for greater emphasis on leadership skills, especially those of principals.

Consequently, third, the press for more pro-active school-based leadership relied on an increased professionalization of school leaders and teachers. In the early 2000s, leadership training for principals, deputies and middle leaders (school department heads) began in earnest at the NIE. School leaders were exhorted as "chief executive officers" rather than instructional leaders – and they were expected to undertake school-based initiatives within policy guidelines. These neo-liberal elements – managerialism, economic rationality, competition, performativity, site-based accountability, continuous evaluation, and a (small) reduction of direct government involvement – influenced primarily the tactical operations of schools although they did not impact the marketization of the school sector anywhere near as much as in the UK or USA.

Formal leadership training was designed to equip school leaders with requisite competencies and skills to manage schools as learning organizations (Ng, 2008a). The MOE also stepped up its recruitment and development of teachers. An appraisal system launched in 2003, the *Enhanced Performance Management System* (EPMS) required all education officers to set their work targets in key result areas and develop competencies and capacities as part of professional development. Three different career tracks (leadership, teaching and specialized) were instituted, requiring teachers to select a track after consultation with their leaders. In recognition of the professional status of teachers, senior positions within the teaching track were introduced – such as Principal Master Teachers, Master Teachers, Lead Teachers, and Senior Teachers. In 2009, the MOE mandated the creation of professional learning communities (PLCs) in schools to encourage collaboration among teachers within and across schools (Ng, 2007). Principals especially, aided by school

leadership teams, were expected to play key roles in establishing, scaling up, maintaining and sustaining their schools as PLCs (Hairon & Dimmock, 2012). PLCs were complemented by the establishment of the Academy of Singapore Teachers and six centers of excellence for professional development to enable teachers to discuss and share innovative teaching methods (Gopinathan, 2005).

To enhance the professionalization of school leadership, the MOE adopted a number of philosophies which were cascaded down through the system to school leaders and teachers via official documents and professional development programmes. First, the *Philosophy for Educational Leadership* for school leaders comprised four interrelated principles, namely: that educational leadership is anchored in values and purposes; it should inspire all towards a shared vision; it is committed to growing people; and leadership and management are core activities of change. The second set of philosophical explications, *Ethos of the Teaching Profession*, is a collection of different philosophical declarations related to teachers' professional practice (Dimmock, 2011). These declarations include the *Philosophy of Education*, *Teachers' Vision*, *Teachers' Pledge*, and *Teachers' Creed*. The third set of philosophical explications seeks to establish a common purpose for educators. All these philosophies were purportedly a culmination of shared values and thinking among educators, past and present, in the teaching fraternity. Hence, school leaders and teachers are expected to constantly reflect on and conduct regular conversations about these philosophies, which are to guide them in their professional conduct and activities.

Since 2012, a number of significant changes have impacted principals and teachers. The Ministry of Education (MOE) abolished the banding of secondary schools by academic results in 2012. It also removed the Masterplan of Awards (MoA) and reduced the number of school awards from 2014. The awards removed include the Sustained Achievement Award, the School Excellence Award, and the Gold, Silver, Bronze Academic Value-Added Awards. Instead of awards, the MOE has placed more emphasis on recognising schools' best practices in delivering a well-rounded education. The MOE claimed that these changes aligned with efforts to enable every school to be a 'good school' in delivering a student-centric, values-driven education (MOE, 2012, 2018). Principals and school leadership teams are expected to play key roles in creating 'every school a good school'. Discussions, homework and quizzes are replacing marks and grades as the preferred method of collecting information on the performance of young primary school pupils. Exams for primary years 1 and 2 students were abolished in 2019. Three other important contemporary trends are noteworthy, namely, increasing the digitization of teaching and learning; emphasizing transversal skills and socio-emotional development; and cultivating a global outlook among students. Perhaps the most significant move by the MOE – announced in 2020 – is that Singapore will end a 40-year-old system of streaming secondary students into three broad categories. Instead of sending 12-year-olds to the Express, Normal (Academic) and Normal (Technical) streams based on their results in the national Primary School Leaving Examinations, secondary students will choose a mix of subjects at three levels of difficulty, depending on their subject ability. The switch to Subject-based Banding (SBB) will take place in 2024. In

traditionally supporting streaming at secondary level, Singapore had charted its own course among leading education systems.

Mapping the educational policy landscape from 1965 to the present through its three phases reveals just how intertwined education is with the economic and social needs of Singapore society, as defined and controlled by the state. Taken together, the above MOE interventions are designed to promote MOE-endorsed principles such as meritocracy, racial and religious harmony, and primacy of country before self (Ashforth & Gibbs, 1990; Han, 2009; Tan, 2007). The next section shifts focus from policy to school-level organization and leadership.

School Organization and Responsibilities of Leaders

Traditionally known as a "top-down, command and control" centralized system, Singapore schools are closely governed by the MOE (Dimmock, 2012). The small system is divided into four zones – North, South, East, and West – each of which has a deputy director in charge. Within each zone, schools are grouped into clusters of mixed primary schools, secondary schools, and/or junior colleges; each cluster is under the supervision of a cluster superintendent and comprises between 12 and 14 schools (Sharpe & Gopinathan, 2002). Principals of each school in a cluster are accountable through their superintendent to the MOE. For a small system closely controlled by the centre, the cluster structure provides a strong local base enabling the MOE to filter policy downward; superintendents to work closely with, monitor, and appraise individual principals and their staff; and schools in a cluster to share resources and good practices. Singapore students have performed at or near the top of international achievement tests in mathematics and science (PISA and TIMSS) for many years, justifying the system's rating as one of the best performing in the world (Mourshed et al., 2010).

Although there are disparities, schools are mostly well resourced – even those in poorer neighborhoods. The wealthier international and independent schools are some of the best equipped schools in the world. In comprising relatively few large schools, the system is often stated to be both efficient as well as effective. Singapore's global reputation as a high-performing system, endorsing rote learning and long study hours of homework to propel school children toward exam success is gradually changing. Education leadership is increasingly shifting to support a well-rounded education, that is student-centric and values-driven. While outcomes and objectives are still clearly defined in the Singapore education system, how leaders will achieve these outcomes is less pre-determined and more focused on the child's holistic development. Yet even so, the Singapore system continues to face significant challenges posed by class and wealth/income divide, poor self-esteem of many students, and stigmas for those classed as 'normal', for late developers and those from low-income families (Ng, 2019). While such challenges confront the government at system level, they also pose problems for school leaders and teachers managing students in schools.

The Concept of Leadership in Singapore Schools

The Singapore school system and its leadership has been described as tightly coupled (Dimmock & Tan, 2013). Close alignment of the system is achieved through its smallness and by a raft of human resources and personnel policies, backed up by clearly espoused political-social-economic values (e.g. meritocracy and its emphasis on academic achievement and hard work) that impact leadership. However, a further equally important component of tight coupling emanates from a pervasive socio-cultural concept of leadership in Singapore– namely, the "leader-teacher compact."

The "leader-teacher compact" provides the all-important context for implementing the curriculum and promoting student learning. The compact, influenced by Confucian logics, is fundamentally one of trust: the principal wields power and authority to the highest moral and professional standards, with competence and benevolence, in return for the loyalty of teachers. Such "compacts" provide the necessary capital for school leaders to lead their teachers, and teachers to support and follow their leaders (Dimmock, 2012).

In the socio-cultural context of Singapore, this "compact" is characterized by a paternalistic Asian Confucian form of leadership (Chen & Farh, 2010). Paternalistic leadership is the "most well-developed, systematically researched, and clearly indigenous" form of leadership adopted in Asian Confucian societies (Chen & Farh, 2010, p. 601). The relevance of paternalistic leadership is not unexpected in the Singapore school system, in part because of the city-state's cultural heritage, the ethnic majority Chinese population, and also the government's continuous emphasis on Confucian values to build a cohesive, harmonious society (Goh, 2009).

According to Farh and Cheng (2000), paternalistic leadership is "a father-like leadership style in which clear and strong authority is combined with concern, consideration, and elements of moral leadership" (p. 94). It is premised on the behavioural roles and obligations of the leader-member dyad according to Confucian principles. Paternalistic school leaders are expected to epitomize high moral and professional standards in order to gain the respect and deference of staff. Such leaders are also benevolent in promoting the school as having a collegial familial culture, with the staff referred to as members of the larger school family, and in seeking to address their staff's needs and aspirations. However, there are also tacit provisions for the leader to be authoritarian at times, but more because of the need to educate and "correct" unsatisfactory behaviours than to abuse, silence or "break the will" of followers (Farh & Cheng, 2000). This reciprocity between school leaders and teachers constitutes a distinctive social compact that governs work behaviour and typically makes for cooperation, care and respect in the workplace.

A study of Singapore middle school leaders provides evidence for paternalistic school leadership (Zhang, 1994). Specifically, the middle leaders perceived themselves to be effective school leaders if they possessed moral courage (related to morality); honesty, consideration, were trusting, inspiring and understanding (related to benevolence); while being domineering and of strong will (related to

authoritarianism). These findings suggest that Singaporean school leaders can be perceived as moral, benevolent, but also authoritarian in their leadership style – simultaneously. Through reciprocally exercising such values, leaders and teachers tacitly understand their culturally expected roles and by so doing, realize a form of vertical tight coupling within schools.

Dependency, Responsibility, and the State-Citizen Leader-Community Compact

Having outlined the values and concepts that underlie leadership practices in Singapore, how are these values perceived and experienced by the wider educational community? Already captured earlier in this chapter, the relationship between the Singapore state, school leaders and the broader community is close-knit (Dimmock & Tan, 2013); the interventionist Singapore state is described as a 'strong' state, deeply interested in shaping the norms and values of Singapore society, including its education system (Lim, 2016; Lim & Apple, 2016). Evidence suggests the internalisation of meritocratic reasoning amongst the Singaporean populace (Chiong, 2020b; Chong & Ng, 2016); research has also indicated high levels of trust in Singaporean leadership broadly (Quah, 2010) and specifically those in pedagogic authority (Chiong & Dimmock, 2020).

How are the values thus far described in this chapter experienced by the wider educational community? Besides the leader-teacher compact within schools and described earlier in this chapter, we argue that a further compact exists within the broader society – namely, a state-citizen leader-community compact built on twin dynamics: that of *dependency* and *responsibility.* The hybrid developmental-neoliberal state (Liow, 2011) at once encourages one to trust and *depend* on its provisions and on political and pedagogic authority (developmental state logics) and yet simultaneously to be *responsible* and self-enterprising (neoliberal logics). These dynamics are constitutive of the meritocratic ethos – that is, all (with talent and hard work) can achieve, because Singaporean leaders have putatively levelled the playing field (Adzahar 2012). While dependency and responsibility might intuitively seem antithetical, they may in fact be mutually reinforcing in the following way: the developmental state has provided adequately; therefore, individuals and families can, and indeed should, take responsibility for their own success (or failure). In other words, a context of dependency putatively makes plausible the uptake of responsibility by Singaporean citizens (Chiong, 2020a).

This seems central to the state-citizen compact in Singapore – and by extension, the leader-community compact, given that educational leaders in Singapore are often seen by the populace as representatives of the government. In this section, the dynamics of these two components of the state-citizen (leader-community) compact, dependency and responsibility, are sketched. There is limited, but growing, empirical research on how families experience education in Singapore. We draw on

research on how families experience and interact with Singapore's education system, to provide an illustration of how leadership values are experienced by the broader Singaporean community.

Relations between educational leaders and the community are seemingly characterised by a strong sense of dependency on those in leadership. We suggest that three factors contribute to this sense: the perceived competence of leaders, the constant communication with leaders and the perceived care of leaders. First, educational leaders are perceived to be technically and professionally competent. Interviews with low-income ethnic minority families conducted by Chiong (2020b), for instance, suggest a belief in educational leaders and teachers' competence, particularly through ideational comparisons with other countries. As one mother, Hannah, described:

> If I compare to Malaysia – [education in Singapore] still good, high standard, and also, our professionalism, and also, it's recognised by worldwide. So, that's why I like the education.

This perception was reinforced by what families heard about the Singapore education system in the media, notably Singapore being 'No. 1 in the world'. The governance of the education system was also deemed fair, as described by one young person, Hakeem, who described Singapore's education system as one that "give[s] importance to all races, because we are equal […] we are not biased".

Second, families' perceptions of the competence of governance also arises from constant communication with Singaporean leadership. The 'tight coupling' between centre and periphery that characterises the Singaporean education system (Dimmock & Tan, 2013) is reinforced by "incessant communication" between leaders and stakeholders (Tan, 2018, p. 79). Chiong's (2020b) study of low-income ethnic minority families found that families often described frequent communication with the school, including through both formal channels (parent-teacher interviews, talks run by the principal to introduce MOE and school initiatives, social activities) or through informal, more *ad hoc* channels (text messages and calls from schools) (Chiong, 2020b). Parents described a relatively free flow of information between parents and teachers, regarding the child/student's academic and moral development, and how this development could be secured.

The MOE slogan of 'Every Parent a Supportive Partner' demonstrates an awareness of involving parents closely – although the adjective of 'supportive' indicates parents' role as supportive rather than directive in the governance of education. A national advisory council: 'COMmunity and Parents in Support of Schools' (COMPASS) was established in 1998 to strengthen home-school relations (Khong & Ng, 2005; Tan, 2018). Recent years have seen an increase in MOE initiatives to include parents as 'supportive partners'. In 2012, the MOE announced funds to set up Parent Support Groups across schools in Singapore to foster close communication with schools. In 2015, the MOE also launched the 'Parents in Education' (PiE) website which provides parenting tips and other resources to support student learning at home. Constant communication between families and schools appears to both build and reveal trust in educational leadership.

Third, educational leaders are often perceived as caring and as fostering a warm, family-like culture in schools (Dimmock & Tan, 2013). A distinctive characteristic of Singaporean education is the robust "moral economy of education" that underlies education provision, where those in pedagogic authority are perceived as wise and benevolent (Tan, 2018). This perception has strong Confucian philosophical underpinnings (Tan, 2018). The perceived care shown by teachers and school staff broadly is indicated in Chiong's (2020b) study of low-income, ethnic minority families, where parents and young people often felt schools were doing their 'best' to help students succeed.

A context whereby leaders are perceived as competent, caring and closely communicating with the wider community, establishes a plausibility structure in which the wider community at times feel compelled to take responsibility for their future educational and life success. The chain of reasoning, of a context of dependency relations that makes responsibility plausible, is evidenced repeatedly in interviews with low-income, ethnic minority families (Chiong 2020b). One father, Srinivas, remarked:

> If [the children] don't want listen to us, you know everything but you don't want to have a good life…that is up to you! You cannot blame the school, you cannot blame the parents. Everything they already give you, is yours, your life. You want to do, that is up to you.

Young Singaporeans interviewed by Chiong (2020b) – such as Farah and Sanjay – also reinforced the importance of the young person taking responsibility for their lives, although they were more emphatic than their parents that this chain of reasoning should not be overly individualising; the roles of parents and schools were also important in a child's success, even if a child is ultimately and chiefly responsible for their own success.

The synergy between dependency and responsibility in leader-community relations is also encapsulated in political rhetoric. Lee Hsien Loong, the current Prime Minister of Singapore, posited that the 'average Singaporean' can say of the Singapore system: "I have a stake in it, and it is fair. It's given me education, it's given me opportunities, it's given me basic social safety nets, but it expects me to work and if I work, I get good rewards" (cited in Tan, 2010, p. 186).

The dynamics of the dependency and responsibility interrelationship, while commendable in some ways, should not be conceived of as an unalloyed good, or a perpetual one. This chain of reasoning presumes a power asymmetry that can be claustrophobic for young people – who, within a highly coherent system that appears 'perfect', may find the psycho-social weight of responsibilisation heavy and injurious. Specifically, if educational leaders and the system they represent have all played their part, families that struggle against barriers related to class, race and other systemic inequalities may find themselves without a language to describe educational failure, apart from attributing it to their own effort or fallibility. Notably, the national 'common-sense' of the state's widespread, high-quality provision of education does not account for the unequal access of Singaporean families to learning enrichment classes and the SGD $1.4 billion-dollar private tuition industry that wealthier families more easily access (Gee, 2012; Koh & Chong, 2014).

Overall, the social, political and cultural values that structure the state-citizen, leader-community compact in Singapore may be understood as simultaneously generating dynamics of dependency (on those in authority) and responsibility (of self and family). Rather than being antithetical, dependency and responsibility dynamics often reinforce each other and can potentially support sustainability and scalability of high performance in Singapore's education system. These dynamics of the leader-community compact have indeed, we argue, contributed to the high performance of Singapore's education system in international education benchmarking tests.

However, if the leader-community compact is to remain intact in the future, political and educational leaders must ensure that a context of dependency is perceived to be sufficiently robust to make the uptake of responsibility plausible for the wider educational community. As wealth and educational achievement disparities become more prominent in Singapore (Chew, 2017; Gopinathan, 2012), and as the precarities and volatilities of globalising forces increasingly affect the Singaporean economy, aspirations and livelihoods, leaders have a monumental task ahead in sustaining this compact.

Moreover, managing the at-times competing imperatives of developing dependability and self-responsibility is made more complex by the other 'paradoxes' in Singaporean education. Singapore's educational leaders have for over two decades, sought to navigate the often-competing demands of a student-centric, values-driven education that develops higher-order skills, alongside a teacher-centred approach that emphasises academic grades. This often translates into a 'hybrid' pedagogy that combines inquiry-based and didactic methods (Deng & Gopinathan, 2016). The resulting messaging to the wider educational community can be one of inconsistency and ambivalence, as parents struggle to understand what is expected of them (Bach & Christensen, 2017). In our view, leaders' know-how, creativity and compassion in balancing these dynamics and tensions is crucial to the sustaining of the leader-community compact – and thus, to the sustaining of the continued high performance of Singapore's education system.

Conclusions

The Singapore 'success story' is compelling. We have suggested that a central part of its upward trajectory in academic performance on many international benchmarking tests has been the closely aligned relationship between the politico-social-moral values established at the national level and the reflection and internalization of these at the school and family levels. Expressions of this relationship are well illustrated through the prism of Singapore's education system. Close alignment of its politico-social-moral values with its organisational and institutional structures and practices, and with family and individual ways of life gives rise to a number of conclusions.

First, Singapore exemplifies how a young city-state can set, steer and sustain a strong, clear, yet subtle politico-social-moral path to guide its evolution. Three pillars constitute its key values over the past half century: a strong developmental state that provides high quality public sector services that command the trust of the people; a neo-liberal agenda aimed at fostering markets, competition, creativity and entrepreneurialism especially in the private sector, but also among public sector workers; a politico-social philosophy of meritocracy that provides a tacit framework enabling families to understand why decisions are taken, and to justify how (human) resources are allocated and rewarded. However, all political-social systems have their imperfections – Singapore is no exception – critics have argued that its focus on meritocracy, competitiveness and academic success has meant that it has overlooked its concern for social justice and equity, especially concerning students with special educational needs, those less academically-inclined and those from different class backgrounds.

Second, the seemingly antithetical juxtaposition of government provision of high-quality public services – well-resourced schools, highly professional teachers, strong teacher training and leadership – and neo-liberal logics of self-responsibilisation whereby individuals strive to compete and are driven by tangible achievement– have historically created conducive conditions for high levels of performance.

Third, the value system created at the macro-level by the government in turn provides a clear moral/ethical frame of reference for schools and school leaders to anchor policies and practices at institutional and personal levels. Leaders and teachers often broadly internalize the values and frames of reference provided by the state, and convey them through the curriculum, co-curricular activities and their teaching as accepted norms and values, skills and attitudes. For example, leadership is taught and learnt from primary school onwards, while school clubs and societies purposively define its meaning and foster its development. In this way, young Singaporeans are socialized into the core values that drive the state, and alignment is configured across all levels of society, with the education system and leaders playing a key pro-active role. Furthermore, the core values propagated by the MOE and imbibed by school leaders tend to be internalised by many to become their default personal and professional values (Dimmock & Tan, 2013).

In the final analysis, Singapore is exceptional among nations in its explicit recognition and formal cultivation of leadership as a key contributor to success. At one and the same time, school leadership reflects the nation's values, transmits these to students, and cultivates leadership among students from a young age. Structure and agency are intertwined in a way that reinforces responsibility, within a framework of dependence and reliance on the state, its leaders and the values it upholds. It is a dynamic largely established by Singaporean political leaders in the 1960s, especially the founder of modern-day Singapore – Lee Kuan Yew, who is often credited as the architect of this unique system. As a leader himself, Lee showed how an individual can play a vital role in shaping a nation's political, socio-cultural and moral values, including those of school leaders.

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Chapter 13
Educational Leadership and Reforms of Governance in China

Min Liu

Abstract This chapter will focus on the historical and cultural evolution of educational leadership in China. Based on the construction of the connotation of leadership in China, this paper analyzes especially educational leadership in governance, from macro- meso- and micro perspectives.

China is considered as a traditional centralized country. But after the policy of reform and opening up, the decentralization of educational governance has become a trend since 1980s. Although wider decentralization was considered effective to improve education. But China did not abandon thoroughly all the traditional roles of MOE. A mixture of hierarchical leadership and distributive leadership formed a harmonious and complementary model in China. From the work of eliminating illiteracy in the early days of the PRC, to National Training Plan, from running schools by group to pilot principals' professional development, all the initiatives benefit from the China Model. And every agency assumes its responsibility. Self-development, shared value and goal-setting, communication, openness of will and heart, all these characteristics of Chinese Ancient Thoughts shows in educational leadership. Comparative study tells us that educational leadership varies from different social and culture, but we still could find common points or inspirations from others, at least, educational leadership goes toward to deliver the future.

The study includes critical discussion and conceptualization and contribute to a case-study of comparative education.

Keywords Leadership · Chinese education · Education governance

China is important in the world's history in terms of the development. Researchers are curious to know what kind of educational leadership has contributed to the

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performance of an acknowledged "high performing" Asian system (OECD, 2011), but there is little study to explain it.

China organizes the largest education on the worldwide. In 2019, there are more than 282 million students in 530 thousand schools, with around 17.32 million teachers. According to the new statistics report, the net enrollment rate is 99.94% in primary school, the gross enrollment rate of junior high and senior school reached 102.6% and 89.5% separately, the gross enrollment rate of higher education was 51.6% which marked the universal access of higher education in China. In 2018, the average years of education for Chinese working population reached 10.6 years, and the number for the new employment population reached 13.6 years, which was higher than the world average level.

In this article, we investigate the historical cultural characteristics of leadership in China. And from the perspective of educational governance, we analyze different characteristics of leadership in the practice of state level, local governments level and school-based level. As Hallinger explained, the values and norms of behaviors which vary across social cultures are believed to shape the meaning, expression and interpretation of leadership practices (2011a, b). The study of Chinese case will contribute to a better understanding of the conception.

Ancient Thoughts

It's very important to understand the historical and societal background in and against which educational leadership is situated (Moos, 2013). De-contextualized studies of education will not be convincing. The uncritical transportation of theories and methodologies across the world, without regard to the qualities and circumstances of different communities, can no longer to regarded as acceptable (Hughes, 1990). So better understanding of high performing school system in China needs to describe its cultural foundations, and how the common culture shaped the leadership in education.

From the origin of Pre-Qin period, there were four important schools in China: Confucian, Daoist, Mohist, and Legalist. During the Han Dynasty (206 BC–25 AD), the Confucianism was recognized as the official government doctrine, which developed into a pragmatic philosophy for daily life (Hinton, 1998). Confucius was born in 551 BC. Jaspers appraised Confucian significance during the era of axial civilization which inspired the Western Enlightenment with ideas such as examination system, moral civilization or civil service system. In general, the Confucius ideology shows three important characteristics as leadership models. First is about morality; Second, benevolence and the third is about *Zhong Yong*.

Not as legalist leadership who promoted rules and punishment to make people compliant, the Confucianism emphasized on the awakening of the moral. Confucius

(551 B.C.–479 B.C.) came up with the concept of Five Moral Ethics,[1] which was supreme goals not only for political leaders, but also for the education of people. Among the Five Moral Ethics, Li (礼), which means in the Analects ceremony, ritual, propriety, proper conduct (Chin, 2007), was origin of the Law. Although the main theories of governance in Ancient China did not abandon the importance of law, they still believed that the morality is the key factor to maintain the State, especially through its educational function, exerted a strong influence and effectively supplemented the rule of law in a subtle way. When a leader well conducts, his government is effective without giving orders; if his personal conduct is not proper, even he may give orders, people will not follow (Confucius, Analects). That is the process that influences people to direct their efforts toward the attainment of specific objectives (Joanne B. Cuilla, 1998). This is similar to that advocated by Sergiovanni, the more we are able to integrate substitute models (for leadership) into the school, the more likely it is that teachers and others will become self-managed (Sergiovanni, 1992).

The leadership according to Confucianism linked also to the moral accountability, which means for political leaders to seek the general interests and ensure the well-being of the whole people (Wah, 2010). As one of the important Confucians Xunzi (313B.C.–238 B.C.) said, leaders are like a boat and people are like water, while water can carry a boat, it can also overturn it, similar expression as *same knife cuts bread and finger*. Xunzi distinguished three kinds of leadership. "Benevolent authority wins overs the people; hegemony wins over allies; tyranny wins over territory". According to Mencius (372 B.C.–289 B.C.), the benevolent governance means a reduction of use of punishment so that ordinary people may carry on their business in peace and calm, leaving families and society harmonious. Later, FEI Xiaotong (1992) and other sociologists named it *home country* in their research. Officials believed in taking the common people as the closest relatives. "Respect the aged in your own family as well as others' family, and treat the young in your own family as well as others' family". So, common cultural universals including the values, standards and norms are shared in the community. The leader must be legally and morally responsible for the community. After the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the government represent all the people, not part of them (from different ethnics, political parties, or economic class). This is one of the great differences in ideology between China and the West. The values attached to ethics have also influenced the national character, psychological quality, and customs and habits of the Chinese nation. For example, "Every individual must hold himself responsible for the prosperity or decline of his country" have become mottos for lots of Chinese intellectuals.

Zhong Yong is one of the Confucian philosophical classics. From literal meaning, *Zhong Yong* is a concept of *degree*, a measure to grasp things accurately when facing complex situation, like 0.618 the aesthetic law of the golden section. Zhu Xi

[1] REN, YI, LI, ZHI, XIN, which are translated generally by Benevolence, Justice, Courtesy, Wisdom and Honesty.

(1130–1200), Confucian in the Song Dynasty explained: "maintaining balance means not to lean toward any side, not to go over and not to stop before reaching it, and stay modest." The principal practiced in governance demand to seek truth from facts and keep pace with the times and circumstances. So, effective leadership would be pragmatic and willing to innovate, but with limitations. *Zhong Yong* has enabled Chinese culture to be open and generous, but sometimes tends to be moderate to avoid conflicts.

On learning (*Xue Ji*) by Yue Zhengke (300 B.C.–200 B.C.) was the first work with comprehensive statements on education in China. It closely combined education with politics and governance. "For a country, education should bring about prosperity and peace, and for individuals, it could enable people to become gentlemen with virtue and talent…Chinese education serves as a tool for the selection, dissemination, and changes of the culture; on the other hand Chinese education has developed its own traditions on the foundation of Chinese culture." (Mingyuan, 2006). "For centuries, Chinese people have believed in the value of education for the nation's well-being as well as for their own advancement" (Chen et al., 1996). Nowadays, Chinese leadership has always focused on being humanistic and improving followers through personal development which links closely with education (Chen & Lee, 2008). After founding the People's Republic of China (1949), Chinese education has experienced many reforms, especially after the reform and opening policy in 1978. Today, moral modeling, benevolence and *Zhong Yong* are still characteristics of Chinese educational leadership model, and take on new forms of expression in educational practice.

Principal's Leadership: From Tradition to Distributed Leadership

In a changing profile of school leadership in many countries, what remains unchanged is a clear consensus is about the key role of effective leaders (OECD, 2010, 2012).

Speck described key roles of principals as the educator, the leader and the manager (Speck, 1995). It's really difficult to master the multifaceted character. Not as Rektor/Schuldirektor in Germany, nor as direceur d'ecole/proviseur in France or headteacher in England, who are firstly educational leaders than site manager (Chui et al. 1996), Chinese principals are appointed by the superior education department according to the different affiliations (primary schools belong to the municipality, secondary schools belong to provinces or municipality). In China, teachers do not have the status of civil servants. But one a principal be named benefits of the status of administration and bureaucratic ranks. Although some provinces such as Shandong are trying to reform to de-administration, the current situation has no change nationwide. Quite a few principals executive leadership as strong power. In practice, some of them have the final say everywhere, teachers and students are obedient.

In 1991, the MOE of China established *the standards and requirements to be principals of primary and secondary schools*, which for the first emphasizes the professionalism of principals. According to the requirements of the position, except basic criteria like years of service or the title, candidates for the principals should master basic knowledge, such as educational policies and regulations, school management and educational disciplines knowledge, and knowledge about local history, natural environment, economic and social development. At the same time, principals also need to be able to mobilize teachers, observe and evaluate classes, manage the school-family relationship and solving emergent problems. Some criteria coincided with Chinese Traditional Confucianism: ability of innovation and flexible problem solving, ability to influence others, morality such as dedication. But there are still mis-interpretation about principals' leadership. For example, some of them still focus on whether daily activities are carried out smoothly in accordance with established objectives and procedures, and focus on the constraints of power and system. Leaders pay attention to change, to innovate. They evaluate and decide whether the objective is reasonable or scientific, and initiative followers who support the leader from their hearts besides relying on power or system. Just like Cuban describes, managers do things right, leaders do the right things (Cuban, 1988).

Since the late 1980s, there has been the movement of decentralization. Local authorities and basic schools have gained more autonomies. In order to empower principals, helping them to adapt new circumstances, from 1989, the MOE launched a series of policies for principals' professional development. About the in-service training, principals are required to follow at least 200 h of training every 5 years (raised to 360 h from 2013). Various models of training are encouraged, such as conferences, school diagnosis, shadow training, peer mutual instruction, action research.

The MOE selected separately Beijing Normal University, East China Normal University and North-east China University as Training Center for primary schools' principals, secondary schools' principals and kindergartens' principals. The target is to establish a network of principals' professional development with elementary schools, universities and professional training institutions. New leadership theories have been, step by step, promoted in China. Most of principals promote democracy in school, listen to the opinions from different parts, try to gain support of all parties. Chinese principals' leadership style has also undergone great changes in concept and in practice. They always have a strong appeal and influence, inside and outside of the school. Influenced by the Ancients Thoughts of self-discipline and self-cultivation, principals are also encouraged to enhance their moral influence, constantly accumulate experience, enrich professional and management knowledge, and explore new educational models. But sometimes, some of them will act as a peacemaker, follow the opinion of the majority to make decision, losing professional judgement and keen forward consciousness as a leader; some of them will have everything hands-on, take various tasks of the school running on himself/herself; some of them even feel guilty for the lack of certain professional knowledge in some special area just like logistics infrastructure or finance problem. It's clear that there is a long way for them to better understand the leadership and localize the

conception to adapt it with Chinese educational environment. They are on the way of shifting from a traditional individual heroic leader to a supportive leader, leading the organization members to dynamically share leadership functions by de-center (Peter Senge, 2004), and providing necessary support and guarantee. Although the principal is still the first leader in charge of the school, but the leader is no longer just himself/herself alone. In 2018, the MOE launched National Pilot Principals Project under the framework of National Training Program. While setting standards, the government also provides a higher and broader platform for the professional development of principals.

Sino-French Experimental School, named Wenquan No.2 School in the past, was a secondary school in rural area in Beijing. The school was established in 1971. Just like many other rural schools, for a long time, the school-running faced lots of problems: dilapidated buildings, low level of teachers' educational background, loss of good students toward high school in the city center etc. In 2017, under the framework of the Sino-French people-to-people dialogue exchanges, the district Haidian and the Acadamie Versaille decided together to run the school together by introducing French as first foreign language to students. SUN Jigang, as principal of Wenquan No.2 School at the time discussed with his team. According to them, if rural schools want to go out of their own way of development, they must find their own characteristics of running schools. SUN and his team decided to seize the opportunity and signed the agreement. From then on the French-Sino experimental schools was officially reorganized, and became one of the first elementary schools to teach French as first foreign language in Beijing. As he said,

> the vision of education has been to educate a liberal young man with scientific spirit, humanistic quality, international vision and goodness to seek the virtue. As a rural school, it was difficult to have enough good resources or opportunities for teachers or students. I must seize the opportunity, to find the new way for the school, as one of the famous Chinese ancient saying: changes leads to success.

Now there are a group of direction in the school, except principal SUN, there are another three executive principals separately in charge of different sections, and a director of the office of principals. They form a team to ensure the collective decision-making about the school development, sharing the work of management and leaving more time to the principal to do macro planning et get more resources from outside. Among them, there is Ms. Yang, who has obtained the title of senior teacher (Teji jiaoshi) and has been selected into the National Pilot Teachers Project by the MOE. She stuck to the rural school for more than 20 years and set up a good moral modeling here.

> I have worked here for so many years, and I have a deep feeling for it. Children here have good qualities like simplicity. The change for school is really a good opportunity and we are all supportive for the decision of SUN. Some parents from neighbor district are willing to send their children to learn French here. WE also actively absorb good practice of French education and pedagogy, while improving our own teaching and classroom. The teacher team is now twisted into a rope, which is very cohesive.

With a Sino-French teacher team, students have around 10 h courses taught in French every week. The principals team observes classes regularly to diagnosis teaching. They also try to discover the expertise of each teacher and encourage them to offer school-based courses for students. Ms. Sun, a middle-aged English teacher who is fond of Tea Art, is encouraged to teach students traditional Chinese Tea Art during the after-school activities. Miss Zhang, a young French language teacher, organized "I teach my teacher French" to mobilize all students to speak and use the French on campus…

School Groups: From Successful School to Networked Leadership

There is today a widely accepted belief among policy-makers and practitioners that effective school-level leadership is necessary in order to attain the desired effects of reform policies (Fullan, 2007; Hallinger, 2011a, b). Since the 1980s', new policies have been designed to decentralize decision-making in education systems, empower teachers, raise learning and accountability standards, and develop more productive relationships between schools and their communities.

Capacity building for sustainability according to Michael Fullan (1998), needs to go wider, particularly in developing community, alliances and networks. Since the beginning of twenty-first century, running schools by group has become a good experiment and an important measure to extend the leadership to go wider. Some scholars described it as networked leadership, "a different type of nonhierarchical leadership, where information and expertise substitutes for an authority structure through a self-organizing process, held together by mutual obligation that develops over time by reaching consensus-based decisions" (Diaz-Gibson et al., 2016).

Up to the first month of 2019, there around 156 groups of schools, more than 400 member schools, almost 1/4 primary and elementary schools have been reorganized into educational groups in Beijing. During the time, various models of cooperation have been formed.

The experimental High School attached Beijing Normal University is one of the brilliant educational groups. Inside the group, there are 6 schools including the leading school (main campus). There are two schools, Experimental middle school branch (No. 39 Middle school in the past), and Erlong Road Middle school, have achieved integrated management. Huaxia Womens' Middle Schools is a bit different. There are only key teachers and leading groups are sent by the leading school. No. 159 Middle School takes a cooperative model. The leading school will support the teachers professional development. There are two primary schools in the group. Due to the differences of the educational period, they are of complementary relationship. According to M. LI, the principal of the group, running school by group is a big challenge.

> The key point is to set up a unified objective, to highly integrate human resources, to share educational resources. For a smooth transition, stability, integration and improvement are the working goal. Stability means we will embrace all the teachers and students in the school before reform. Integration includes integration of educational values, of school culture, of teaching and research groups. Then the confidence and work passion will be improved, the teaching quality and the level of school running will be improved. At first, the student performances should not the target.

According to LI, moral leadership is very important,

> What is important is to stimulate people's potential, to trust them, to treat them equally. A teacher from Erlong Middle School worried if he could not immediately adapt the new environment, and would transfer or dismiss him soon. I told him that he would be qualified for the new job, that I would not transfer his position within 3 years. Then he succeeded.

Li tries to form a community to bind people together with concepts, images, and values that comprise a shared idea structure. The leading school manages also the whole group's instructional programs by sharing common objective, monitoring students' learning and teachers' practice, organizing in-service training for staff, and enforcing pedagogical standards. "communities are defined by their enters of values, sentiments, and beliefs that provide the needed conditions for creating a sense of *we* from a collection of *I*s…the source of authority for leadership are embedded inn shared ideas." (Sergiovanni, 1994).

Running school by group in China is not simply a spontaneous action. The role of educational administration cannot be neglected. But it's neither simply a administrative order. Loosely coupled systems operate in a different way, with multidimensional professional relationships, rather than hierarchical control (Tony Bush, 2017). Generally, the educational authorities in local level contact comprehensive research and evaluation, and select successful schools and weak schools, then determines the project on a voluntary basis by all parties. Actually, every year the government will offer special budget for this project. In 2019, Haidian district in Beijing has invested 100 million RMB to engage more schools in the project. The budget will support rotations of teachers, establishment of new platform on line, more in-service training etc. The local government will also launch guidelines for school groups' development based on studies.

The leading school in the group should not only share successful experience, but also fully respect the history, culture and value of each member school. Successful schools would radiate good resources to weak schools. In fact, all members schools get the opportunity to experience different school culture, to be inspired from other teacher and students. Relationship among leading schools and other member schools should not be like jungle rules, but developing community. By strengthening coordination system, member schools could achieve "personnel rotations, resource sharing, responsibility sharing, win-win model and development together". By running schools on a large scale, member schools in the group can realize a complementary and dislocation development. The group has achieved economies of scale, improved the professionalization of educational management, reduced external risks by expansion of information sources and brand influence.

From successful school to developing community, running schools by group give full play to the leading role of school with strong leadership, expand the coverage of high-quality educational resources, and promote educational justice and balanced development of compulsory education in China.

A Mixture of Leadership Models in Educational Governance

Vertical leadership, otherwise hierarchical leadership, standardized operating procedures, little freedom for subunits to innovate, reliance on top-down direction and instructions to implement new ideas, leaders with clear sense of purpose and power. Distributed leadership, more autonomous submits, less control from the top, tolerance of diversity, creativity and experimentation in sub-units, reliance on informal networks for scaling-up innovation practice and reliance on a shared culture to create alignment and synergy for success. Actually, China is an example for a mixture model to combine the advantages of the two models of leadership.

In China, the vertical leadership, inherited from the centralized political system, shows an advantage for decision-making, especially in the field of long-term planning, and for coordination of resources from different regions for a whole national program. Not like some countries with different interest groups in power, although some decisions may be rational in a long-term perspective, they are not be taken in the end simply because of the opposition from some different groups (Fukuyama & Weiwei, 2011). For example, the informatization infrastructure construction. During the Covid-19, some kids in western rural areas had no access to WIFI to follow courses on line, state-owned companies quickly solved the problem, then more supplies and resources are offered to guarantee on line education. We could imagine how the construction of 5G network promote the development of education in China in the future.

At the same time, the central government facilitate the working of local level. After the policy of opening-up and reforms, the central government gradually devolved power to provinces and counties, realized kind of downward accountability, which has allowed the dynamism of local education. With the decentralization, on one hand local governments and schools have gained more autonomy; on the other hand, the MOE shifted from direct control to macro-level monitoring of the education via laws, plans, budget allocation, information service, policy guidance and administrative means (NCEDR, 2008). This mixture model has become one of the important reasons for the great achievements of Chinese education.

The work of eliminate illiteracy is a good example. In the old China, working people did not have the right for education. Until 1949, national illiteracy in China reached 80%, in rural area the rate was even higher. More than 400 million people across the country could not read and write their own name. Literacy became an important task of the new government. Reducing the illiteracy rate has always been an important task in the work of UNESCO.

From the central government level, in September 1950, the MOE of People's Republic of China and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions jointly held the first national industrial and agricultural education conference in Beijing. The government decided to promote amateur primary class (group). Standards for literacy education were established: 1000 words for farmers within 3 years (mostly equal the level of second year in primary school) to have the basic ability to read, write and calculate. Distributed leadership emerged during the implementation of the national policy. Different parts have various methods. In the race, there was no need to issue a starting gun, whoever wrote down the required words could run first. When the soldiers marched, there were words on the backpack, so that soldiers behind could read. In the countryside, people started to learn their own name, village names, farm implements, common things in daily life. During the winter leisure season, farmers actively participated in winter schools, evening schools, and literacy classes. When the farmers were busy in the summer, they picked up the small blackboard in the field and learn in the intervals. Then as a supporting policy, simplified Chinese characters, Pinyin (Chinese alphabet) and Putonghua (mandarin) were promoted nationwide. From the beginning of 1950s till 1964, the illiteracy rate of Chinese people over 15 years old had dropped from 80% to 52%. Hundreds of millions of Chinese could read simple articles in the newspapers and do basic arithmetic, which greatly promoted China's economic development at that time. With implementation of policy of 9-year obliged education, till 2001, the popularization rate of basic education in China has reached almost 100%, basically eradicating illiteracy among young people. China solved the literacy problem of 1/5 of the world population, which benefit from Chinese model of leadership.

National Training Plan was another example. In 2010, the MOE and the MOF jointly initiated the action and have invested around 17.2 billion RMB. During these 10 years, there's more than 16.8 million participation of principals and teachers in the Plan. The plan mainly includes three parts: "Leading Project for Basic School teachers", "Training Project for Key teachers in rural areas of Central and Western China" and "Kindergarten Teachers Training Project". Leading Project meant to demonstrate training models, cultivate "seeds" especially by strengthening the building of the trainer teams. Training Project in Central and Western Areas targeted to empower teachers in rural areas, particularly in middle and western regions in China.

The whole National Training Program is a mixture of guidance of the MOE and autonomous designs of provincial level and training institutions. The management even reflects kind of new public management. Central government is trying to play a role of effective government with good governance. The MOE works on the macro-guidance, and formulates rules and regulations for project bidding, process management and performance evaluation. The MOF transfer directly the budget to local governments, who organize the bid. The management avoid allocation or designation, but adopt a democratic way to allow more social resources to participate in training. Universities, educational training institutions actively participate in bidding and training design. The latter must be clear with training objectives, learner needs analysis, course content design, implementation path, evaluation tools and

methods, on line technical support etc. A 2–3 year cycle bidding system for institutions with performance appraisal, and in principle, the percentage of final elimination shall not be less than 20%.

The new governance model leaves the contingent leadership room, which recognizes the diverse nature of educational context (Bush, 2017). To take Hunan Province as an example. The local government implement credits bank for in-service teacher training. Teachers' annual evaluation is linked to the completion of the required training credits. The training institution explore various training models to motivate and empower teachers, such as demonstration class, shadow learning, same class with different design or workshop on line.

With almost 10 years of practice, the National Training Program continues to improve and innovate . Under the framework of National Training Plan, in 2018, the MOE created National Pilot Teachers Project. Around whole China, 123 teachers are selected from different provinces to join the Project. They will follow 3 years' in-service training (no less than 2 months face to face training). The objective of the Project is to understand the professional development path of an excellent teacher and promote the leadership. Actually all these trainees have got the highest rank as teacher (特级教师), and most of them already enjoy high professional reputation and social reputation. Such as LI Baiyan, born in a small town in the northeast of China, now teacher and principal in a famous secondary school in Shanghai, EDD, educational inspector in Shanghai, First Prize of National Teaching Competition, member of the National Pilot Teachers Project.

> As a teacher, I pay attention to think about my teaching and how learning happened on class. Teachers must keep thinking as researcher. I try to summary my idea. For now, I name it **educate by dialogue**. Every teacher must be a master to hold the dialogue, be capable of empathy. The dialogue must be open, equal, pluralistic, democratic.

All the trainees will have an academic professor and a practical tutor, so-called double supervisors. For the second year of the training, every trainee would establish a master studio. On April 2019, Li set up her studio. She invited not only teachers from her district but also teachers in Yunnan and Sichuan (south-west rural areas) provinces to join on line. She organizes regularly workshops and seminar, shares demonstration courses with them. Even during the crisis time of pandemic, the studio did not stop steps. They organized meeting on line, read together the book *the world is plat* and shared opinions about new challenge and education. On July 2019, Li represented principals in Shanghai to the UNESCO in Geneva. She wanted to know about SDG and learn more from comparative education. Li said, she's just introduced PBL in her school, she could do better with comparative study. She is ready to share, to learn and development with others, to improve the education of their region.

China Model

China has got good result in the international assessment program such as PISA. Chinese significant educational development has attracted the attention of many researchers. John King Fairbank stated in his book *The United States and China* that Chinese government chose a modernization path in references with Western models. But however, in *China: a New History*, he admitted that Chinese modernization may not be a result of Western impacts and China's responses. Instead, it might be the product of internal genetic change and intrinsic development impulse (Yuan, 2018).

Thousands of years of tradition carved imprints on today which explain partially the Chinese educational leadership. Just like Confucius Statues remains still on campus of normal schools in China, the motto of Beijing Normal University "learn, as to instruct others. Act, to serve as example to all". Collective leadership is practiced on every level of administration. We have analyzed how the main ideas of Ancient Thoughts are expressed as the main characteristics of nowadays' Chinese leadership values, such like model modeling or benevolence. The reform in the field of education reflects especially the governance feature. Educational development in China did not follow the path of economic development model which experiences a process from extensive model to intensive model, and lets some people get rich first. The national development of education aims at quality and balance, and runs a satisfactory education for all citizens. The central government takes the responsibility to coordinate resources to guarantee the bottom line of education democratization and improve continuously educational balance and quality.

Openness contributes also to China Model. "To become a leader, first become a human being". Peter Senge quoted Confucius when he talked about main foundations for leadership. "systems intelligence, building partnership across boundaries, and openness of mind, heart, and will. To develop such capacities requires a lifelong commitment to grow as a human being" (Senge, 2006). Running schools by group shows the braveness to break the comfort zone for continuous self-development and embrace different opinion to share the same understanding of educational value (here again, we could find the principal of Chinese Ancient Thoughts).

Openness is also open-minded to learn from others and to share with others. We live during an era in which the pace and scope of economic, social and political change are unprecedented (Drucker, 1996). As Dave Walter (2016) in his *leadership issues in governance of complex system* said, *to* "meet the challenges presented by complex systems, leadership must be involved in the discovery, exploration, innovation, transformation, evaluation, and evolution of metasystem". Chinese educational leadership, benefiting from traditional philosophy, shows the characteristics of opening and inclusiveness.

China is a super big country of size and of population, and also a country with complex environment. At the beginning of the foundation of PRC, Soviet model played an important role on Chinese education. In September 1950, China sent the first batch of students to Poland and Romania to study abroad. Ten years' Culture

Revolution made China miss the opportunity to learn from others. Till the mid-60s, China began to open the eyes again to explore the outside. At this period, 10,000 students and 8000 interns went to the Soviet Union and Easter Europe. Compared with developed countries before the opening-up and reform policy, the level of education and research has been behind around 20 years. The US had 1.2 million researchers, the Soviet Union 900,000, and China 200,000. To catch the gap, Deng Xiaoping proposed modernization of sciences and technology based on education. In 1977, the MOE selected and purchased textbooks from developed countries. In July 1978, the government selected and sent more students to study aboard. More exchanges have been done after the policy of opening-up and reforms. The major of comparative education was established at the time to introduce more advanced experience abroad. Instruction theory of Structuralism, developmental instruction, instruction by example, *mettre la main a la patte*, constructivism, postmodernism, multiple intelligences, new public management, theory of leadership etc. All these have enriched Chinese educational theories, and once these theories adapted with Chinese environment, the localization could become innovation and empower the local educational system. We could say not only the Chinese economy has benefited from the globalization, as in 2009, Chinese GDP surpassed Japan and become the second on the worldwide. So does Chinese education.

Before 1978, China's DGP was 155 US dollar per person, less than 490 US dollar in the countries of Sub-Saharan African Area. In 1949, the disposable income per resident was 49.7 RMB which increased to 28,228 RMB in 2018. The infant mortality rate dropped from 200‰ at the beginning of New China to 6.1‰ in 2018. In 1949, 80% of population were illiterate. In 2018, the consolidation rate of nine-year compulsory education was 94.2%, and the gross enrollment rate of higher education was 4.8%. These are outcome of leadership of a big country.

Leadership is about adapting to, as well as producing, change (Toor, 2011). There does exist problems and challenges. Firstly, the mis-interpretations of leadership theories which is still in the process of development. Secondly, traditional inertia restrains principals' leadership. Thirdly, complex educational environment always challenges principals' leadership. Different countries have different environment, globalization and technological development complicating the environment. In China, the rural situation is more complex with the phenomena of brain drain. At last, but not the lease, school leadership depends still very much on principals who have different personalities. But Chinese model is very strong for self-adjustment, centralized but highly institutionalized and has checks and balances in its system (Fukuyama & Weiwei, 2011), small reforms never stop in China.

Conclusion: Leadership and the Future

The future that young people are going to face will be much different from previous generations. Technological advances and scientific discovery are significantly accelerating the amount of knowledge and information available. But sciences and

knowledge do not lead us to certainty. All human beings, from now on confront to the same problems of life or death, to live the common community of destiny (Edgar Morin, 2014). We now live in an increasingly interdependent international community, where success or failure in one country has consequences for many others (OECD, 2009). Advances technologies, as big data and clouds + education, facilitate the reaction and response to the popular requirements and public opinions about education. In the increasingly complex environment, education must indicate the complex global crisis in twenty-first century. The philosophy comes up with the conception of community of shared future for mankind in China, based on openness and inclusive. Under this framework, on one hand, China has tried to run well educational systems and contribute her local experiences, on the other hand, China's always willing to be open, to share and exchange good practice. China Model is not to sell, not like several countries which do business with PISA brand. But China's open to others, especially developing countries, and neighbor countries of China to improve together.

Leadership is to form a community and everyone takes the balls in the community. Here we could bring back Weber's instrumental rationality and value rationality into educational leadership research. The start point of leadership research should not only focus on students' outcomes but a developing community. The Chinese are well aware that one plus one is greater than two. Under the guidance and financial support of the government, schools collectivize and run by group. Chinese Model maintains the tradition of mid and long-term planning and the stability of government guarantees the continuity of policies. Diverse schools and social institutions to work together in order to share and spread good practice. Working successfully with other schools and school leaders, collaborating and developing relationships of interdependence and trust, is a new role for many school leaders that is not always easy (OECD, 2009). Successful schools actively assumed the role of leaders. Common value of development, shared resources let them form a development community, a tightly coupled system. We could see a picture of grass-root autonomy and centralization dancing together.

More and more countries are opting decentralization to give more autonomy to make important decisions. However, decentralization alone does not guarantee improved school leadership. So, the government balance this with greater centralization of accountability regimes. But inadequate regimes run in the opposite direction which did not support the professional development of leaders, but increase their burden. Everyone should take the ball. Here we might seek the self-cultivation in the China Model. We should think about the communication and moral responsibility for others, for the Nature and for the society. Leadership needs a supporting, collaborative and sharing culture/ecology.

Leadership is to a moral struggle to accept alter and do the right thing (Sergiovanni, 2008). Comparative studies enriched experience of educational reform of one's own country. In reality, diverse and multiple models of educational leadership may be merging, shaped by specific national/ regional socio-economic circumstances (Ingporsson et al., 2019). This paper discussed the China Model, but fortunately with limited cases. In fact, there's no ONE model to solve problems in a

complex system. Comparative studies will find more possibilities to better understand oneself, and motive more discussions and studies about this topic.

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Part VI
Discussion

Chapter 14
School Leadership in Search of Common Goods and Complex Equality: An Alternative to Neoliberal Vision

Romuald Normand, Lejf Moos, Min Liu, and Pierre Tulowitzki

As we have seen throughout these chapters, the conceptions and practices of school leadership do not correspond to disembodied standards promoted by international organizations. Their influences are highly dependent on the historical, cultural, and social context within each country and its education system. Some of them have a strong tradition of immigration, such as the United States, the United Kingdom and France. They face major problems in the recognition of ethnic and racial differences. They try to develop leadership practices to welcome these differences and view diversity as source of strength but are often confronted with communitarian and nationalist tensions that make it difficult to reduce discrimination and inequality. Such developments highlight the importance of well-being and care in school leadership, particularly in terms of social inclusion. By contrast, Nordic countries, and to a lesser extent Switzerland, have built up a strong cultural and national identity that sustains social cohesion. It facilitates a type of consensual school leadership at the local level. Other education systems including New Zealand, Singapore and China have been built on a common understanding of multiculturality that provides

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guidance for living together and for forging a common destiny. For these countries, the community also represents a structuring element to maintain good relationships between leaders, teachers, students, and parents.

Countries also vary regarding their openness to a free market logic and competition between schools. While this movement is expanding in the Northern hemisphere, it is contained by a strong commitment of leaders to social justice and equality for all. On the other hand, in countries where testing regimes are very pronounced and/or where access to higher education is very competitive, parents' strategic behaviors are exacerbated. This leads to leaders behaving more like school entrepreneurs as can be observed in the United States and the United Kingdom, but also in China. The emphasis on the civic or market dimension in education has important consequences for school leadership. In highly competitive countries, school leaders are subject to strong market pressure, often coupled with hard accountability systems. Although they promote justice and equity, they are put under pressure by managerialism and/or performance-related governance. In countries with weak competition, leaders can devote more time to the school climate and to student well-being and engage more with teachers, parents, and local authorities. As the different chapters show, the size of schools and education systems also impacts approaches to school governance and leadership. Megacities with thousands of students as in New York or Singapore face the same problems as states in terms of decision-making and large-scale coordination. Depending on whether governance is centralized or decentralized, the weight of bureaucracy can affect leadership practices by limiting initiatives, innovation, and creativity. Shared leadership sometimes must deal with authoritarian or paternalistic practices that can limit its effectiveness, as in France or in China where a system of reciprocal relationships shapes moral duties.

Social and Ethic Leadership Between Managerial Techniques and Accountability Systems

Leadership issues cannot be limited to managerial technology focused on school effectiveness and performance. Indeed, tensions are recurrent between the instrumental and top-down accountability imposed to leaders and their multiple commitments within schools and local communities (Moos et al., 2011). Sharing roles and responsibilities with teachers goes far beyond reminding them of rules, transmitting information to the hierarchy, or collecting assessment data. More than calls to authority or duties, building mutual trust is a prerequisite for any school improvement and collective empowerment (Moos, 2005). Empowering teachers certainly requires managerial skills such as allocating resources and strategic planning, but also social and ethic leadership skills in mediating conflicts, regulating peer interactions, and negotiating before decision-making (Stefkovich & Begley, 2007). These skills, which are also based on dialogue and communication within the educational

community, help to give meaning to situations and reciprocal expectations (Moos, 2020).

Overall, most educators are committed to student success and well-being, even in countries exposed to strong pressures stemming from free school markets and hard accountability systems, such as the United States and China. These values remain important drivers for individual and collective endeavors in schools. This sense of professional responsibility and ethics is widely shared, and it sustains school leadership. Jacob Easley and colleagues show, for example, the extent to which principals in New York City need to be trained in multicultural education but also to act as moral agents to change organizational values. Nevertheless, competition, short-term profitability, and managerial objectives are too often at the core of education systems. In such instances, toxic management can undermine ethical and social attitudes through a narrow focus on school outcomes and rankings (Green, 2014). Such a regime of fierce competition and performativity can threaten or even destroy values related to equality, solidarity, and mutual respect by emphasizing individualism and selfishness among professionals (Gobby et al., 2018). As Rebbeca Lowenhaupt illustrates, in the US context, school leaders navigate complex dynamics of social change with conflicting demands between technical and ethical management. But, despite pressure and standardization, most principals try to maintain moral and civic principles in their daily commitment to teachers, students, and their family, and to the wider community (Shapiro & Stefkovich, 2016). They are sense makers for teachers, families, and communities, adapting and buffering national or federal standards to the local context and seeking to influence the instructional core (Day & Leithwood, 2007).

Different Legacies in Cultural and Moral Visions: Comparing School Leadership in the USA and China

As this book demonstrates, different relationships to ethics and justice can be observed in different countries. They depend on the type of society on which a collective educational project has been built and the cultural place given to the local (Louis & Velzen, 2012). It is therefore relevant to contextualize these national trajectories from a historical and long-term perspective to consider how leadership is welcome with heterogeneous meanings in different countries. While the concept of leadership has widely circulated at a global scale, it comes primarily from the US. However, it would be wrong to qualify it as a neo-liberal ideology. If entrepreneurialism remains very important in the USA, leadership cannot be confused with the recurrent myth of great entrepreneurs who wanted to “move the frontier” of the economy and the society nor with business (Wilkins et al., 2020).

In human and social sciences, leadership roots can be traced to the 1920s in the development of social psychology as a discipline, studying behaviors in social groups and peer relationships Similarly, the application of Taylorian principles to

schools was widely criticized by Jon Dewey and his fellows (Kliebard, 2004). They promoted an educational vision more concerned with ethics and social participation as opposed to the harmful engineering and 'cult of efficiency' carried by US municipalities and their dedicated methods offices (Callahan, 1962).

Historically, as Jacob Easley and his colleagues remind us, with Horace Mann, moral principles founded the US system of compulsory schooling and the idea of universal access to primary education. Then the grammar of schooling, largely inspired by Prussia, became a universalistic pattern (Spring, 2017). This democratization of education was forged on the generous ideas of public interest, education as a common good and the child's access to basic knowledge and learning, which are still principles valued by major international organizations such as UNESCO. Of course, one must not forget the racial discrimination and social separatism that created a historic drama in US education. As described in the chapter by Jacob Easley and colleagues, the civil rights movement has been decisive in achieving greater equity and social justice. Even today, it remains a major public issue. In the United States, as in other Anglo-Saxon countries, anti-discrimination policies have never been so successful in completely eradicating the compartmentalization of their education system (Adamson & Galloway, 2019). Local communities and various interest groups remain with little concern, except in standards, for finding ways of achieving a national cohesion and social cooperation. Competition for accessing the elite and major universities, high stake testing regimes, and local taxes undermine any education policies that would try to reduce initial inequalities (Hursh, 2018). Competition is considered as the *primum movens* by which the education system is meritocratic, ranking students according to their talents. Resources, which are unequally distributed, result in asymmetrical teaching and learning conditions that depend on teachers' skills, parents' cultural and social capital, heterogeneous district policies, and school choice. However, despite these strong inequalities, principals, and teachers, even in the most disadvantaged schools and districts, work hard to promote equal opportunities and making students successful (DeMatthews, 2018). These leaders believe in humanistic values based on cooperation and mutual exchange, dialogue with families and stakeholders, and they take care of cultural, social, racial, and ethnic differences. Indeed, the US states have established codes of ethics to govern actions and behaviors in schools. And leadership preparation in the United States increasingly includes moral capacity and the sense of justice for school leaders. This commitment for a local community, where everyone knows and recognizes each other, is a common good shared by many US educators.

On the other hand, if we consider the Chinese context, it is easy to characterize educational leadership as an authoritarian, bureaucratic, and hierarchical model that would be the legacy of the imperial power. It is also true that Confucian principles encourage respect for superiors, humility in social relations, and the primacy of the group over the individual, as Clive Dimmock and colleagues show in their chapter on Singapore (Dimmock, Tan, 2013). People with experience or knowledge enjoy a "natural authority" as "wise persons" among younger generations. This model of leadership could be considered as paternalistic from a Western point of view (Lai et al., 2017). But Confucianism, which has experienced many transformations, is

only one key element in Chinese culture (Rošker, 2017). There is also a kind of strategic thinking that uses political calculation and logic to shape actions, as illustrated by Sun Tzu's famous Art of War, which is nowadays introduced in certain managerial books (Liu, 2017). A legalistic tradition was developed over centuries which explains why Chinese people pay attention to administrative and legal codification in their daily activities to the point where it often leads to a "bureaucratic maelstrom" (Chen & Lee, 2008). The principle of 'non-action', which comes from Laozi's philosophy, is considered as a wise stance in facing real difficulties. It is quite different from rational problem-solving that is embedded in the Western culture with its panoply of objectives, plans, and targeted outcomes. Moreover, the clan-based social structure that governed peasant life in ancient China remains in the "*guanxi*", a system of reciprocal moral duties between individuals in their daily social interactions (Ruan, 2016). Thus, a principal is as much accountable to teachers as they are to him or her.

As LIU Min illustrates in her chapter, some traditional elements are still very present within Chinese culture and they partly explain this mix between hierarchical leadership, due to respect for authority, and distributed leadership, due to the adaptation of the Chinese to their local environment and as a consequence of their decentralized education system. In Singapore, as Clive Dimmock and his colleagues explain, leadership can also be highly centralized and paternalistic, with a strong meritocratic pressure, but it must also accommodate a kind of liberalism among families, induced by policies of choice and diversity, and a share of responsibilities within local communities. So, performance-related managerialism is balanced with a cultural and moral vision endorsed by a leadership philosophy that professionals must share.

Cultural and Moral School Leadership Western Europe: Commonalities and Divergent Paths

From these contributions, we can understand that the notion of leadership and its moral and social features, are widely different in China and in the United States. In Western Europe, the history of education systems is strongly linked to the development of the comprehensive school and a state-led project of equality for all (Imsen et al., 2017). The different chapters on the Nordic countries strongly emphasize this socio-historical dimension. After the Second World War, several Southern countries were marked by decades of dictatorship while Northern countries, gradually emerging from their agrarian background, built their systems against the domination of neighbor states, in mobilizing their societies around a vision about their common identity and future (Blossing et al., 2014). The opposition between Catholic and Protestant religious traditions shaped how leadership was conceptualized, particularly the place given to authority and hierarchy, but also to the community. Countries that have been built on aristocratic and absolutist principles seem to find it more

difficult than others to value participative and local democracy. Where revolutionary and social movements have been predominant in the construction of public institutions and space, conflicts outweigh consensus and compromises on reforms. In Northern Europe, the small size of cities and the dominance of rural schools facilitate inter-knowledge and proximity, whereas steering from a distance and large-scale territorial coordination are necessary governing principles in Southern countries, even when they are decentralized.

However, there are still differences between Nordic countries in moral concepts and ethical leadership practices. As Lejf Moos writes in his chapter, the "democratic Bildung discourse" enshrined in Danish legislation promotes principles of equity and deliberation within the education system with strong moral implications for education. A commitment to student socialization, to values and behavioral norms, to societal and communitarian membership, underpins democratic leadership in schools. Trust is a structuring element in relationships between educators and community members. However, this "Bildung" and trust is now being undermined by New Public Management and accountability. This politics of numbers threatens the sensemaking and social participation that should be the basis for living together in Danish schools. The case of Sweden, presented by Olof Johansson and Helen Arlestig, shows that trust given to schools in leadership focused on the teaching and learning core, according to school improvement and self-evaluation dynamics, is continuously pressed by results and merit-based pay, but also against bureaucratic takeover by municipalities. While the training of principals focuses on policy awareness, problem-solving, critical openness, and organizational learning, and while it is recognized that leaders must acquire good social skills, democratic leadership is variously implemented through interactive professionalism based on communication and cooperation. In Finland, while corporatism and the ethos of comprehensive education remain strong, teachers have a high level of skills and leadership practices enjoy a high degree of autonomy. Codes of ethics are widely shared by professional associations and unions and educators are strongly guided by ethics, care, and social justice. In Finnish schools, cooperation, mutual respect, and commitment to the local community are structuring principles to maintain trust and well-being among educators and students. This moral agency also makes it possible to better meet the challenges of interculturality and inter-professional collaboration. School leadership in Norway, analyzed by Jorunn Moller, is also promoting local democracy, social justice, and citizenship, as well as ethics and moral attitudes in schools. Again, these leadership practices are rooted in a welfare legacy and a national project focused on consensus. Education as a "public good", the promotion of equity, and the reduction of achievement gaps between students are essential components of the Norwegian education system. In Norway, leadership has only recently been welcomed, while a new management by objectives was implemented. But moral dimensions of leadership, such as a sense of democracy and local participation, are still very much a part of the professional identity of Norwegian school principals.

School Leadership, Welfare, and the Sense of Social Justice

In fact, at a global level, for decades, the extension of schooling to higher education was perceived as an important component of welfare in addition to accessing health care for all. However, the implementation of a neo-liberal agenda, conveyed by major international organizations, and initially implemented in Anglo-Saxon countries, challenged this type of education to impose differences based on school choice and market, diversified statuses and provisions for schools, and privatization (Lingard et al., 2017; Hultqvist et al., 2018). Autonomy, freedom, individualization became new tenets at the same time as top-down bureaucracy and egalitarianism were denounced.

Although criticisms addressed to public education may have been based on resentment and propagandistic ideas (conservative reactions to education, revenge against the educational establishment, dismantlement of the Welfare State), they were nonetheless accepted by society, thus making it difficult to 'turn back the clock' (Apple, 2006; Sahlberg, 2016). Some of these reforms have also been implemented by social-democratic policymakers with modernizing ideas. While accountability policies have been developed in different ways – from high stake testing to softer procedures – parents, especially those in the middle and upper classes, have been converted to the notion of school choice. New Public Management is transforming education professions in a lasting manner by restructuring tasks and responsibilities in schools while decentralized decisions coupled with centralized curricula and assessments have become the cornerstone in educational governance (Normand et al., 2018). Nevertheless, some countries, as it has been demonstrated by different chapters, have not renounced welfare. They tend to limit the negative effects of marketization and privatization onto public education, and their policymakers remain convinced that education must still serve common solidarity and citizenship.

The legacy of the welfare, by introducing a divide between welfarist and neo-liberal States, formulates another conception of justice, according to Esping-Andersen (1990). As Lejf Moos argues in his chapter, social democratic regimes, demanding in terms of equality standards, were pioneers, particularly in Nordic countries, with policies have been on early childhood care and social assistance for families and the most disadvantaged people (Hemerijck, 2013). Neo-liberal regimes, which adopted reduced assistance scheme policies, legitimize the market and individual responsibility as the solution to social problems. Conservative regimes accept a dose of social policies but rely on traditional familyist values or even patriarchal archetypes. This is illustrated in chapters on France and China, and – to a lesser degree – in Switzerland. Such concepts of welfare shape education systems and their sense of justice. Thus, in Northern European countries, the prevalence of political consensus to fight against inequalities, as well as social inclusion and school participation, are enhanced as democratic principles for living together. Southern countries adopt a mix of statist and authoritarian models where hierarchy and bureaucracy remain powerful as well as administrative control over school

autonomy. Rejecting the notion of a school market and free choice but also local participation and democracy in schools, they maintain a narrow national framework even if they try to adapt it through a modernizing impetus.

School Leadership and Theories of Justice: Contributions of Political Philosophy

Developments in neo-liberalism have also led to fierce debates on justice among progressive thinkers. John Rawls, through his conception of the "veil of ignorance", assuming that individuals with no knowledge about their class position and social status nor about their skills or intelligence, are able to identify with two principles of justice: equal freedom, guaranteeing basic rights and duties, and difference stipulating that inequalities are acceptable only if their benefits reduce the gap with the most disadvantaged members of the society (Rawls, 2009). In education, this conception has largely justified the shift from equality to equity and the principle of difference has been institutionalized as a new redistribution of resources among schools and redesign of compensatory education programs (McCaskell, 2005). Objections to this conception of justice are numerous. Critics include libertarians who, like Nozick, think that governments should limit their action to maintain individual rights without being concerned for compensation or redistribution (Wolff, 2018). This principle legitimizes privatization and the creation of private schools by parents themselves as is the case in the United States, the United Kingdom but also in Sweden and Denmark. An opposite criticism, expressed by Sandel, is that the principle of difference does not consider multiple forms of inequality and many obstacles met by individuals to exercise the same capacities and skills. Moreover, the moral agency of human beings is completely biased by this conception of voluntary, a-political, and free choice. It seems that this conception is much more current in leadership practices adopted by the Nordic countries.

In the same vein, Michael Walzer (2008) explains that notions of justice cannot be separated from cultural repertoires within the community where they are given meaning and interpretation. The distribution of social justice is a matter of conventions based on different spheres of justice and cannot be reduced to a specific process based upon universal and rationalistic criteria. For him, it is necessary to pay attention to a complex equality and to use multiple criteria (related to membership, security, money, meritocracy, work, leisure, education, kinship, religion) as well as institutional and political arrangements that make it possible to achieve justice. It is this complex equality that is revealed in chapters focused on the United States, New Zealand, and Singapore.

School Leadership Between Social Justice, Recognition of Differences, and Welfarist Redistribution

In another register of political philosophy, Honneth (1995) highlights the dynamic that leads a person or a (social, cultural, religious) group to engage in a struggle. He shows that it is always a reaction of "shame" or correlative indignation to an experienced social contempt that provides the motive. The experience of black people in the United States or Maori people in New Zealand presented in their chapters by Jacob Easley, Rachel McNae and their colleagues, are good examples of this. These different expectations of recognition, depending the way they are met or not, have a normative character that produce many forms of justice and injustice. There is positive recognition and therefore justice when recognition (expressed by laws, salaries, etc.) is in line with formulated expectations. By contrast, there is a denial of recognition, i.e. "contempt" ("disrespect" or "non-recognition") and injustice when such expectations are not met. Therefore, Honneth suggests a broader concept of social justice: it is not reduced to legalism but includes different levels of expectation from which recognition is claimed. The Hegelian typology adopted by Honneth aims to embrace the main dimensions of the human existence under three broad categories: love, social solidarity, and law, which are the three spheres in which recognition unfolds.

What Honneth refers to as love or care is not limited to intimate love but includes strong emotional bonds between a small number of people. In this broad sense, love is what defines the affective dimension of human existence thereby bringing into play the relationship between individuals as affected human beings. Through the different chapters, we have seen how emotions and care are important features of leadership practices, especially towards the most disadvantaged and discriminated students and their families. In the sphere of the social solidarity largely defined by work, people expect social esteem through the recognition of their activity's (perceived) usefulness and value. This justifies leadership practices focused on social cooperation, mutual respect, and interactive professionalism. Finally, the sphere of law sets up a legal recognition that applies universal norms independent from social positions and values without admitting exceptions nor privileges. It thus guarantees people access as members of a "collective will" and a set of fundamental rights (civil, political, and social) that ensure equality. We have seen in some chapters how enshrining ethical codes in legislation and leadership professional standards are important to guarantee these rights.

However, as Fraser points out in her discussion with Honneth, contemporary capitalist societies are characterized by the coexistence and interweaving of two types of injustice: a socio-economic injustice which comes from the economic structure of society and produces economic exploitation and marginalization, and a cultural or symbolic injustice which takes the form of cultural domination, contempt and social invisibility. While these two forms of injustice are correlated, they are irreducible to each other and therefore require separate remedial interventions. Recognition should not be so much affirming differences but defending what she

calls an equality of "status". In education systems strongly marked by racial and social discrimination, this equality is far from being achieved, as several book chapters make evident. What is important is not to only recognize the cultural identity of a specific group, but its equal status with others, i.e. its ability to participate fully in social life.

Let us consider some implications of these philosophical debates on school leadership and its ethical dimensions in education. They invite us to underline educators' plural capacities and to identify what counts within schools and more broadly within the education system. Capacities are not only technical. They include a strong moral and political component that contributes to cohesion and well-being within the educative community. Rather than relying on individual behaviors and personal strategies, the sense of justice is based on an ethical accountability shared by all school agents, not only those who claim themselves as institutional and bureaucratic representatives. Dialogue and cross-understanding can structure reciprocal exchanges that guide decision-making and define the school common future. These social arrangements can facilitate recognition and esteem for civic and moral commitments. Situations of contempt or shame, such as moral and physical harassment, deliberate competition, stress and burn-out due to excessive workloads, could be prohibited to enhance an equal dignity among people and social solidarity to overcome obstacles and difficulties. Respect for fundamental rights, guaranteed by an ad-hoc legal framework, fits with sharing roles and responsibilities respecting the diversity of expertise and commitments within schools. Social participation, above differences in status and qualifications, can be a major focus for school development and leadership practices.

Moral Conventions of School Leadership. Professional Situations and Common Goods

Throughout the chapters, different professional situations have been studied or highlighted by various authors. Returning to the categories related to moral conventions in school leadership as they have been formulated in the introduction, we try to complete the analysis by characterizing some actions that correspond to diverse commitments of leaders to the common good. The weight of tradition can be observed in many countries. In Northern Europe, it has established a lasting climate of cooperation in schools, in Switzerland it has fostered a climate of democratic participation, and it remains in attitudes and behaviors shared by Chinese leaders. It can also be observed in the care and attention given to excluded and marginalized students rooted in religious conceptions, particularly in the United States, while these stances are too often euphemized in the vocabulary of social inclusion. Education opens a space for exploring possibilities and potentials from which leaders are sensitive to train a new generation at the same time as they try to integrate innovations, particularly new technologies, into schools. Traditional narratives are

also based on valuing emancipation processes as in the United States, the modernization of agrarian systems and the construction of national independence in Nordic countries, the rediscovered greatness of a country as in China, the construction of a national citizenship as in France, the reconciliation with the discriminated minority in New Zealand.

The common good of the local community is also strongly underlined in different chapters. It is the basis for cooperation and consensus building, but also for trusting relationships in Nordic schools. It is the place for expressing social solidarity between community members in the United States and New Zealand, while leaders are expected to sustain local discussion and to affirm a collective project for improving the lot of all students. In China, despite consumer pressure and competition between schools, this sense of community shapes the mutual relationships between leaders, students, and parents, and it is based on strong ethics inherited from Confucianism. These moral and cultural dimensions of school leadership invite us to put into perspective the idea of a rational leading that would be systematically guided by the search for performance, usefulness, and an instrumental vision serving accountability. Very often, as the US examples show, where the pressure is very strong, leaders seek to adapt and buffer top-down prescriptions. In China, leaders try to compensate for pressure by ensuring social stability and harmony against the market and hierarchy. Care and loyalty are essential moral components of school leadership practices. In Finland, community trust is a powerful driver for innovation, solidarity and social justice. This corresponds to the democratic project in Norwegian schools as well as inclusive education guides leadership practices in Sweden. In Denmark, social participation gives meaning to the Danish school community. Consensus-building is also a strong feature within the Swiss educative community. Thus, change management, as well as planning or support for educators and students, induces reflexivity and joint responsibility that goes far beyond data-based or evidence-based accountability based on targets and indicators.

The different chapters illustrate the importance of collective discussion in professional situations and the adoption of ethical or moral behaviors. Reciprocal exchanges, sharing knowledge and skills, peer learning seem to be more effective in building cooperation for student success and inclusion than top-down standards and accountability pressures. If ethical codes or standards can be designed upstream by the state or local authorities, they can be only truly understood and accepted in their enactment and through interactions between leaders and the school community members. This reflexivity, as underlined in several contributions, is possible if it is supported by specific professional development programs for leaders. This is the case in Finland, but also in the United States, where a new vision of education, more sensitive to moral and ethical issues, is being developed. In Singapore, despite some authoritarian and paternalistic features in school leadership, communication between leaders and stakeholders is essential and based on a common inquiry. In Nordic countries, as in Switzerland, the discussion is embedded in the school organization and the local community.

Coming Back to Ethics: School Leadership as a Shared Responsibility in a Community of Practices

However, this openness to ethic leadership and a diversity of principles of justice as well as different forms of recognition takes place within normative frameworks that are set outside schools by the state and society. Although leadership practices could be opened to a dialogical and communicative space, they are also dependent on externally defined categories of thought. Leadership must therefore conciliate an ethic of conviction and an ethic of responsibility, according to Max Weber's expression (Weber, 1994). Ethics of responsibility are directed to issues related to subjective meanings of action. They cannot be reduced to a simple weighted calculation of advantages and disadvantages in action. They are submitted to the relationship to others in meaning and sharing. Taking decisions is subjectively called upon to a set of available values and, by the same token, to people as subjects, whatever the result of their action. But action also raises issues of means and practical feasibility. Ethics that would defend ends without reflecting on means to achieve them would be an antinomy. That means ethics of conviction are also necessary.

Max Weber's distinction is interesting for our discussion on school leadership. Ethics of responsibility assume taking a distance from instrumentalization and mobilizing a set of common goods on which relations with others are concretely based. This does not necessarily imply a strict separation between dialogical and instrumental action. It is a question of influencing instrumental rationality in responding to ethics of conviction and recognizing common goods on which this rationality depends in terms of justice. Rather than driving schools towards instrumental accountability, which is at the root of some difficulties mentioned in different chapters, Weber's conception is useful to reconceptualize accountability towards a diversity of principles of justice and recognition to avoid a radical disconnection from local contexts and a loss of social cohesion. This implies implementing criteria related to a diversity of common goods, promoting a continuum of responsibilities between educators and other stakeholders (local authorities, parents, school partners) on the basis of progressive and differentiated reciprocal duties in terms of leadership, and finally, giving schools a bargaining power adjusted to issues at stake in terms of complex equality.

This could move of accountability systems from an instrument of managerialism towards ethics of responsibility and the recognition of diverse common goods, in addition to strengthening the moral, civic and human dimensions for organizing schools. It would enable leadership to think about itself as a community of practices identifying problems through social interactions and finding adequate solutions.

Following John Dewey. School Leadership, Collective Inquiry, and the Maintenance of Public Interest

This assumption was defended by Dewey (1927). The US philosopher proposed to define conditions that would be conducive to elevating public reason, and thus resurging the public. For this, the reconstruction of the public, which he considered to be dispersed, had to follow two phases: first to make the public aware of itself, and secondly to organize the politicization of its interests. Linking different publics would be ensured by several means, including education. The latter was indeed judged indispensable by the philosopher, since its function was not only to transmit community-based traditions, but to make the individual properly 'human', i.e. to teach people that they are not only each distinct human beings but they are also community members. This daily inquiry had to be achieved in transforming isolated and individual opinions into public, continuous, and perennial ones. This publicization would enable individuals, from their common meanings and interests, to define possible joint action. Therefore, the public space assumes sharing individual experiences, making it possible to transform a social problem experienced by civil society into a public problem, and calling for political regulation. These problems and imperfections within the public space were essentially linked, according to Dewey, to a lack of communication and mutual misunderstanding.

However, this collective inquiry had to avoid the pitfall of public manipulation and bias in questioning and collecting data. The constitution of the public could not come solely from the monopoly of expertise. On this point John Dewey was opposed to Walter Lippmann advocating a government of experts (Lippmann, 1927). Moreover, social investigation cannot be reduced to the method of polling because it is the product of an intersubjective and rational formation of opinion. The full heuristic scope of Dewey's ideas has been since borrowed in education with the notion of professional learning communities. They favor peer learning based on a collective inquiry and continuous professional development (Butler & Schnellert, 2012). However, in this time of fake news and social media, a vigilance is required about communicational action to maintain autonomous and authentic spaces for discussion and citizenship (Facer, 2011). The publicization of discourse carries the risk of the dominance of charismatic or manipulative leadership which would hinder democratic expression and the search for common goods. Social media have their share of untimely chatters that prevent developing a rational discussion based on arguments and evidence as well as big data initiatives corrupts the idea of a collective inquiry (Williamson, 2017). On the other hand, the proliferation of informational resources and discursive drifts in the public space, especially when they claim religious or populist views, legitimize at the opposite evidence-based research and expertise that claim its authority while over-determining the public debate (Krejsler, 2017). The rise of public reason also requires from media and Internet users not be influenced by the market and statist interests and to maintain a free and open-source culture as the basis of interactions and exchanges on social networks.

Therefore, opening school leadership to a diversity of common goods needs a redefinition and reaffirmation of public interest in education and global citizenship as it is largely advocated by contributions in this book (Moos et al., 2018). It raises the opportunity for educators to share responsibilities, to lead the future of the local community and to participate in activities that support school development, student success and the reduction of inequalities. This kind of voluntary association through various connections and interactions can inspire a collective effort for living together in a common, adjusted, and harmonious space that defines a shared public interest. By respecting and accepting claims, by holding public discussion about means and ends, by conducting inquiry based on facts and not beliefs, decisions can be understood and accepted by all. Therefore, under these circumstances, school leadership can serve a common accountability, carrying shared values and ethics, guiding the local community according to long term perspectives, and respecting people autonomy and equal dignity.

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