Salleh Hairon · Jonathan Wee Pin Goh
Editors

Perspectives on School Leadership in Asia Pacific Contexts

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Salleh Hairon
National Institute of Education
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore, Singapore

Jonathan Wee Pin Goh
National Institute of Education
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore, Singapore

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Editors and Contributors

About the Editors

Dr. Salleh Hairon is Associate Professor, Policy and Leadership Studies Academic Group, at the National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His research interests center on school leadership for teacher learning in communities comprising distributed leadership, teacher leadership, professional learning communities, teacher professional development, and action research.

Dr. Jonathan Wee Pin Goh is Associate Professor, Policy and Leadership Studies Academic Group, at the National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His teaching and research interests include educational marketing, school leadership, student learning approaches, intercultural communication competence, and cross-cultural aspects of service quality perceptions, as well as customer satisfaction and motivation. In recent years, his interest has been in the area of measurement, evaluation, and psychometrics including data analysis techniques such as Rasch Analysis and hierarchical linear modeling.

Contributors

Ibrahim Ahmad Bajunid Malaysian Association for Education, Petaling Jaya, Malaysia;
Inspiring Authentic Benevolence Global, Petaling Jaya, Malaysia

Jie Cao Department of Educational Administration, Beijing Institute of Education, Beijing, China

Vicente Reyes Chua School of Education, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia

Jonathan Wee Pin Goh Policy and Leadership Studies Academic Group, National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, Singapore

Salleh Hairon Policy and Leadership Studies Academic Group, National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, Singapore

Seung-Hwan Ham Education Administration and Policy, Hanyang University, Seoul, South Korea

Rais Hidayat Universitas Pakuan, Bogor, Indonesia

Umi Anugerah Izzati Universitas Negeri Surabaya, Surabaya, Indonesia

Byeong Chan Kim Graduate School of Education, Kyung Hee University, Seoul, South Korea

Wang Jun Kim Educational Administration, Gyeongin National University of Education, Incheon, Gyeonggi-do, South Korea

Simon Q. W. Lim Policy and Leadership Studies Academic Group, National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, Singapore

Fong-Yee Nyeu Graduate Institute of Educational Policy and Leadership, Tamkang University, New Taipei City, Taiwan

Hui-Ling Wendy Pan Graduate Institute of Educational Policy and Leadership, Tamkang University, New Taipei City, Taiwan

Nicholas Sun-keung Pang Department of Education, Faculty of Education, East China Normal University, Shanghai, China;
Department of Educational Administration and Policy, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shatin, N.T., Hong Kong SAR, China

Yuyun Elizabeth Patras Universitas Pakuan, Bogor, Indonesia

Eisuke Saito Faculty of Education, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia

Joko Sriyanto Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Bambang Sumintono Faculty of Education, Institute of Educational Leadership, Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Ting Wang Faculty of Education, Science, Technology and Mathematics, University of Canberra, Canberra, Australia

Chapter 1
Introduction: School Leadership and Its Contexts

Salleh Hairon and Jonathan Wee Pin Goh

The growth in the use of big data such as the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), and Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) has concomitantly spurred governments around the world to intensify their efforts in restructuring their education systems. Governments around the world are highly cognizant of the critical link between education and human capital in the current context of global competition for economic development and growth. The proliferation of international comparison data also marks a shift in what is expected on student learning—that is, the growing sense of urgency to prepare students with twenty-first century competencies covering cognitive, interpersonal, and intrapersonal aspects (Soland, Hamilton, & Stecher, 2013).

> Public school systems are expected to promote a wide variety of skills and accomplishments in their students, including both academic achievement and the development of broader competencies, such as creativity, adaptability, and global awareness … public school systems are facing increasing pressure to produce graduates with this range of competencies (i.e., knowledge, skills, attitudes, and dispositions). (Soland et al., 2013, p. V)

As demands placed on the returns of investment and hence accountability in educational outcomes have grown so have the efforts at strengthening every component supporting the outcomes of education such as teacher recruitment and preparation, teacher development, physical infrastructure, school management, school appraisal, organizational quality frameworks, curriculum development, pedagogical innovations, leadership recruitment and development, and school leadership. The strengthening of these components serves to in turn strengthen the capacity and competencies of educators—specifically, (1) school teachers to deliver new models of curricula to support diverse learning outcomes, and (2) school leaders to direct, guide, motivate, and support teachers in the delivery of the curriculum, and students in acquiring

S. Hairon (✉) · J. W. P. Goh
Policy and Leadership Studies Academic Group, National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, Singapore
e-mail: hairon.salleh@nie.edu.sg

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the espoused knowledge, skills, attitudes, and dispositions. It is well-established knowledge that teacher and leader effects are top two school effects—with leadership being only second to teaching (Leithwood, Day, Sammons, Harris, & Hopkins, 2006). However, notwithstanding the ordering between the two, it has been reported that while school leadership explains only five to seven per cent of the difference in student achievement across schools, this difference is about one-quarter of the total difference across schools (12–20%) after controlling for pupil intake or background factors (Creemers & Reezigt, 1996; Townsend, 1994). Furthermore, it can be argued that the influence and effects of school leadership are pervasively organization-wide and significant in terms of its direct and indirect effects on student learning outcomes (Hallinger & Heck, 1998).

While research in school leadership effects continue to grow in terms of volume and stringency on quality evidence (Hallinger, 2014), it is also worth considering expanding the understanding of school leadership beyond western shores. In this regard, several scholars have argued for greater emphasis to be given to societal culture in our understanding of school leadership, management and administration (e.g., Bajunid, 1996; Cheng, 1995; Hallinger & Kantamara, 2000, 2001; Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996a, b, 1998; Heck, 1998; Leithwood & Duke, 1998; Walker & Dimmock, 1999). Evidently, western-led educational interventions may fail to take into account the rich cultural traditions, theories, and practices of recipient societies, and may not be sufficiently scrutinized for "cultural fit" (Collard, 2007, p. 40). It is also essential to understand how school leaders perceived the concept of leadership and their experiences in various cultures as well as the values they express and types of leadership practices that succeed in each cultural context (Slater et al., 2002).

To date, several researchers—albeit not aplenty—have developed frameworks and strategies for conceptualizing the comparative study of cultural and cross-cultural effects on educational effectiveness in schools (e.g., Cheng, 1995; Dimmock & Walker, 2000a, b, c, 2004). The rationale for this effort stems from the argument that no two societies are exactly alike—demographically, economically, culturally, socially, and politically (Dimmock & Walker, 2000a), even geography and history. The tenor of their argument is couched within a wider issue on policy borrowing—that is, the problem of policy borrowing from western to non-western contexts.

> Policy-makers and practitioners are increasingly adopting policy blueprints, management structures, leadership practices and professional development programs fashioned in different cultural settings while giving little consideration to their cultural fit. (Dimmock & Walker, 2000a, p. 147)

In his editorial comments to a special issue on educational leadership and management, Bush (2014) raised a critique on the current literature on instructional leadership—that is, it being largely based on research and practice in decentralized or partly decentralized contexts when centralized education systems such as in Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe remain widespread. The centralized and decentralized dichotomy or continuum is a central issue in almost all education reforms agenda around the world. Hence, the need for greater work in building the knowledge base on school leadership from non-western perspectives and idiosyncrasies especially in states that

have more centralized education systems such as those in the East Asian region. Nevertheless, the backdrop surrounding the centralized-decentralized issue within the universal discourse on education reforms is far more complex than meets the eye. Although this issue is a simple way to understand western and non-western perspectives, the contextual intertwining configurations within each education system afford a more nuanced and colorful appreciation of school leadership in its contextualized form.

For example, Singapore, Taiwan, and Hong Kong are considered East Asian states with more centralized education systems than the typical western states, especially those in the Anglophone world. However, the differences among these countries within this geographical region are aplenty in social, economic, political, and cultural terms. Residing within a more centralized education system, Singapore school leaders are expected to unquestioningly receive education policy initiatives and implement them in ways that are sensitive to schools' special curricular niche areas. The spirit is done with full knowledge that the success of education policies is considered high stakes to the survival of the small island state. This is primarily because the state considerably lacks natural resources, and thus the dependence on education to produce high skilled workforce, and continually needs to attain and maintain social cohesion among its multi-racial and multi-religious communities. The predominantly unquestioned acceptance and implementation of education reforms are underpinned by strong pragmatism—that is, to use minimal resources to acquire maximum outcome.

Functioning within a less centralized education system than Singapore, Hong Kong school leaders have more autonomy to make decisions but have to take into consideration broad guidelines given by the education ministry, funding framework, and the voices of its school stakeholders. After being given another 50 years as a Special Administration Region (SAR) by the Chinese communist government after British colonialism in 1997, its society still values the political and economic freedom that they had enjoyed under the British government. The capitalistic and democratic cultural values nurtured in the past would have inevitably intermingled with the predominant Confucian-heritage culture. Also, within a less centralized education system than Singapore, Taiwan school leaders are heavily influenced by the professional needs and aspirations of school teachers and play a significant role in providing support to teachers' grassroot endeavors at improving classroom teaching and learning. This is an upshot of the Education Basic Law passed in 1999, which gave entity to teachers' autonomy and involvement in school policymaking in the midst of a slew of education laws aimed to ensure decentralization, deregulation, and diversification. The democratization efforts by the government, which mirrors societal aspirations, have worked so well that the power of school principals is reined in by their own teachers. Even though Taiwanese still cherish their hierarchical Confucian cultural value of respect for authority, the democratization project is closely related to the Confucian cultural value of collectivism. These configurations have significant bearing on leadership decision-making and action in schools. In a nutshell, the inter-relating and inter-dependent configurations within each country context have significant impact on the way school leaders make decisions and act. Understanding

how these contextual configurations both enable and constrain leadership practices in schools would not only be interesting, but also provide a rich understanding on how contexts can be used or changed to afford the kinds of leadership practices that support school improvement.

There is, therefore, a need to invest more energy into understanding how national contextual configurations such as culture, society, polity, and economy of different societies influence the way leaders function in schools. Although the importance of national contexts have been highlighted by some researchers (e.g., Leithwood et al., 2006), others have shown how national contexts and its attendant configurations influence the practices of school leaders (e.g., Moos & Møller, 2003), there is still much room for further in-depth, focused, and coherent academic work. Nonetheless, there have been efforts in recent years by some researchers to go further into comparing national contexts across countries specifically from the International Successful School Principals' Project (ISSPP) and Asia (Pacific) Leadership Roundtable (e.g., Gurr, 2015; Hallinger & Walker, 2011; Moos, Krejsler, & Kofod, 2008). However, further work is still needed to specifically highlight how national contextual configurations enable or constrain leadership practices. This book serves to add to this knowledge gap, albeit focusing on the Asia Pacific region but excluding Australia and New Zealand.

The choice for the Asia Pacific region is for several reasons. First, the literature on school leadership has been predominantly Western-based and Western-centric. Second, Asia Pacific countries primarily have centralized education systems, and thus make very good counter cases to Western countries, which predominantly have decentralized education systems. Third, Asia Pacific countries have cultural traditions and values that are uniquely different to not only Western cultural values, but also those within the Asia Pacific region. For example, while countries such as China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and South Korea have strong Confucian values, countries such as Indonesia and Malaysia have strong Islamic values. Fourth, the book will also give further voice to the discourse on school leadership emanating from the Asia Pacific region. Fifth, in doing so, it is hoped that more interest and attention will be given to investing in studies within the Asia Pacific countries so as to advance the knowledge base on school leadership in this region.

Summary of Chapters

In the chapter *Understanding Distributed Leadership Practices in the Culture Context of Singapore Schools* by Goh, Hairon and Lim, the authors argue for more research to be done in school leadership in line with the "cultural thesis". Through a study on distributed leadership (DL) drawing from Hofstede's (2001) work values, the authors highlight the influence of cultural values on distributed leadership practices in the Singapore school context. The findings from the study which employed Rasch analysis and correlation tests showed that (i) DL dimension of Empowerment is correlated to work values dimensions of Power Distance, Short–Long-Term Orientation, and

Indulgence-Restraint; (ii) DL dimension of Leadership Development is correlated to work values dimensions of Power Distance; (iii) DL dimension of Collective Engagement is correlated to work values dimensions of Power Distance, Short–Long-Term Orientation, and Indulgence-Restraint, and (iv) DL dimension of Shared Decision is correlated to Power Distance, and Indulgence-Restraint. The findings showed that school leaders employ high Power Distance along with all DL practices including even Empowerment—suggesting a degree of boundedness in the act of empowering others (Hairon & Goh, 2015). The findings reveal that DL is essential in supporting school-based innovation and development endeavors but done in ways that are sensitive to cultural work values of hierarchy, collectivism and long-term orientation. Finally, the authors propose that the Singapore societal value for pragmatism could have a major influence on school leaders' work values, and the decisions and practices resulting from it.

In the chapter *Leading and Managing Schools in Indonesia: Historical, Political and Socio-cultural Forces* by Sumintono, Hidayat, Patras, Sriyanto and Izzati, the authors highlight how historical, political and socio-cultural factors impacting the work of school leaders in leading and managing schools in Indonesia. Beginning with the Dutch colonial rule, the authors identified three significant eras that impact education in Indonesia after colonialism—namely, (i) the Old Era (1945–1965), (ii) the New Order (1966–1998), and (iii) the Reform Era (1999 onwards). Each of the eras brought along with it unique governmental paradigms and paradoxes, and affordances and constraints. The political, social, and cultural configurations within eras shape leadership practices in schools. Notwithstanding the different configurations inherent in each era, the articulation of the nation's state ideology of *Pancasila* during the early period of Indonesia's post-colonial independence made tremendous impact on the nation's development. This ideology consists of five principles: (i) belief in one and only God, (ii) a just and civilized humanity, (iii) a unified Indonesia, (iv) democracy, led by wisdom of the representatives of the people, and (v) social justice for all Indonesians. Although the move towards decentralization is a welcome sight, it is not without challenges. The culmination of the development of education reforms across the three key eras centers on the unevenness in principal's competency standards, provisions and standards of professional development for principals, and the political influence on the appointment of principals. This is on top of the general limited resources.

In the chapter *Changing Practices of School Leadership in Taiwan: Evolving Educational Reforms* by Pan and Nyeu, the authors surface the challenges that school leaders faced education system resulting from three phases of education reforms in Taiwan—the three waves of education reform. These reforms have its roots from the lifting of almost four decades of martial law imposed by the government beginning from 1949—signifying the end of authoritarian leadership and the start of people's liberation. Understandably, the three education reforms highlight the growing importance placed on liberation, democratization, and decentralization—all of which have significant impact on the ecology of power, and hence, school leaders' practices. These reforms also have significant bearing on the curriculum, teaching, and learning. The authors conclude by arguing for the embrace of "leadership for learning",

which would involve a more dispersed or distributed form of leadership, greater participation in learning communities, and pursuing constructivist form of learning.

In the chapter *System-wide Educational Reform Agenda in Shanghai Supporting Leadership for Learning* by Wang and Pang, the authors argue that the decentralization, centralization, and recentralization often co-exist in Shanghai, as well as the whole of China. This balancing becomes increasingly essential as the education system attempts to move forward with the times especially in regard to curricular innovations to nurture students' talents, interests, and creativity towards more holistic educational outcomes for students. Two main implications are cited. First, the investment in the teacher in terms of career ladder, in-service training and development, and performance appraisal. Second, the need for school leaders to play an active role in supporting curricular reforms and instructional improvements, engaging more with teachers, and exercising a more dispersed or distributed form of leadership. Furthermore, they have to support teacher collaborative learning. School leaders also have to adopt a more systems approach to sustain education reforms involving a tri-level leadership mechanism at the municipal, district and school levels. In essence, the authors argue that Shanghai school leaders' priorities and practices are driven by the system's agenda and social context.

In the chapter *How Principals Leads to Teacher Professional Learning: A Case Study of Two "New-High-Quality" Primary Schools in Shanghai* by Cao and Pang, the authors present research findings from a qualitative study to highlight how education reforms—specifically, the Curriculum Reform of Basic Education (Trial) compels two primary school principals to provide learning opportunities for and resources, promote distributed leadership for collaborative learning, monitor effectiveness of teacher learning, and encourage teachers' commitment to learning. The chapter also surfaces the dilemma between centralization and decentralization. The former is consistent with the idea of "decentralized centralism" raised in the previous chapter by Wang and Pang. The latter is consistent with the "bounded empowerment" mentioned in the chapter by Goh, Hairon, and Lim. The findings also put to the fore the importance of giving greater autonomy to teachers in working collaboratively and learning collectively with one another to raise the quality of teaching and learning. In addition, the authors argue for school leaders to motivate teachers' commitment while they continue to find the middle ground/s in the "decentralized centralism" order.

In the chapter *Vulnerability as a Gear for School Reform: A Case of Mr Toshiaki Ose* by Saito, the author presents the idea of context in an interesting manner using the lenses of "vulnerability" drawing from a non-Asian writer—Henry Nouwen, who is a Catholic priest and philosopher. This idea of context inter-connects various layers comprising economic, social, cultural, and personal. The personal is interestingly most pronounced in this chapter, albeit intertwined with macroeconomic and social forces. In this regard, the author describes the stories of one school principal, Mr. Ose, about his private and professional life as described in books and televised programmes, which includes his experiences and ideas on the notion of "care" as he went through cancer. These experiences had a tremendous impact on his perception

and interpretation of education, schooling, students, teachers, and leadership, albeit backgrounded with the Japanese social and cultural, or counter-cultural, sensitivities.

In the chapter *School Leaders in the Midst of Reforms: Crisis and Catharsis in the Philippine Education System* by Reyes, the author draws from research findings to describe how school leaders view education reforms differently—namely, School-Based Management (SBM) and Basic Education Sector Reform Agenda (BESRA), in terms of its success to bring about positive change in the Philippine education system. The findings reveal three typologies of school leadership in the context of the BESRA education reform: (i) Champion-driven leadership, (ii) Custodian leadership, (iii) Crisis leadership. School leaders who are categorized as Champion-driven leadership are those who perceive the education reform as a potent vehicle in tackling the persistent crises in the Philippine education. School leaders who are categorized as Custodians leadership are those who have an ambivalent perception of the education reform as they perceive crises in education as both structural and cultural. As such, they see themselves as custodians of the status quo. Finally, school leaders who are categorized as Crisis leadership are cynical about the education reform because the challenges they face are so dire that the education reform is ill-equipped to resolve it. The variations in the perceptions are indeed influenced by inter-connecting contextual configurations not only at the national but also at the local levels.

In the chapter *Leadership for Instructional Uncertainty Management: Revisiting School Leadership in South Korea's Context of Educational Reform* by Ham, Kim, and Kim, the authors highlight how shifts in the economic focus influence shifts in curricular policies in education. They further discuss the implications of curriculum policy reform on school leadership in South Korea—specifically, a national curriculum reform, which is termed in Korean as *Yungbokhap*—roughly translated as holistic integration. The philosophy is comprehensively encompassing to include not only teaching and learning but also administrative support and policy arrangements. The authors argue that the new role for school leaders in centralized education systems, which is to lead teachers to embrace "instructional uncertainty". Embracing this new role in itself is not without challenges. First, school leaders themselves have learned how to lead through apprenticeship from their own school leaders who modeled the old traditional leadership practices. Second, the policy of principal rotation prevents school leaders to envision and establish culture that supports new pedagogies. Third, school leaders' attempt to support and establish new school-wide pedagogies require the support of macro changes at the system level, which currently may not give sufficient level of autonomy to school leaders. Notwithstanding these challenges, the authors propose the use of the ABCD framework in matters of school leadership in the new era—focusing on (i) Autonomy, (ii) Bridgeability, (iii) Contextuality, and (iv) Diversity.

In the chapter *National Policies, Education Reforms and Leadership Training and Development: Towards Building a Critical Force of Scholar Leaders in Malaysia* by Bajunid, the author draws from his 20 years rich experience and work as Director of the Malaysian Education Staff Training Institute (MESTI)/Institut Aminuddin Baki (IAB) to give a historical account and critique of the Malaysian education system.

The author argues for the importance of leadership preparation and continual development in supporting nation-building, and hence, the need for leadership preparation and continual development to be relevant for current and future needs. The author highlights how developments in the Malaysian education system has been influenced by policymakers who act in synchrony with shifts in the economy manifested through the formulation of Education Development Plans (e.g., Education Blueprint, 2013–2025, and how this shapes the training and development of educational leaders. Nevertheless, the main critique that the author raises is that such Blueprints are high on planning but low on implementation. The author concludes by providing a vision in which all key members of society, which he termed as "educational elites" to collectively contribute to the vision of education for Malaysia and Malaysians.

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Dr. Salleh Hairon is Associate Professor, Policy and Leadership Studies Academic Group, at the National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His research interests center on school leadership for teacher learning in communities comprising distributed leadership, teacher leadership, professional learning communities, teacher professional development, and action research.

Dr. Jonathan Wee Pin Goh is Associate Professor, Policy and Leadership Studies Academic Group, at the National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His teaching and research interests include educational marketing, school leadership, student learning approaches, intercultural communication competence, and cross-cultural aspects of service quality perceptions, as well as customer satisfaction and motivation. In recent years, his interest has been in the area of measurement, evaluation, and psychometrics including data analysis techniques such as Rasch Analysis and hierarchical linear modeling.

Chapter 2
Understanding Distributed Leadership Practices in the Cultural Context of Singapore Schools

Jonathan Wee Pin Goh, Salleh Hairon and Simon Q. W. Lim

Abstract In this chapter, the authors argue that the current body of knowledge on school leadership has been predominantly produced from Western contexts especially from Anglophonic countries. They argue that cultural values unique to particular groups of people do have a significant influence on the enactment of leadership in schools. There is, therefore, the need for greater empirical studies to fill in this knowledge gap. In this chapter, the authors employed survey data from Singapore school teachers and leaders to support their proposition, albeit pertaining to distributed leadership practices. In this study, Rasch measures of the four dimensions of distributed leadership construct were correlated with the Rasch measures of six dimensions of Hofstede's work values. Furthermore, Rasch distribution maps were analyzed to provide more nuanced explanations to the correlation test results. The findings provide a more nuanced understanding of how distributed leadership practices are enacted in the Asian cultural context of Singapore.

Introduction

Since the advent of globalization of markets in the 1980s (Levitt, 1983), the global economy has become more integrated, and concerns about cross-cultural relevance and transferability of leadership across cultural contexts have become increasingly urgent (e.g., Bajunid, 1996; Dimmock & Walker, 2000a, b, c; Goh, 2009; Hallinger & Kantamara, 2000, 2001; Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996, 1998; Heck, 1998; Leithwood & Duke, 1998). Fortunately or unfortunately, much of the leadership theories and discourses have come from the Western perspective and may continue to remain somewhat uncontested (Collard, 2007). The attraction of these educational theories to practitioners in many non-Western contexts is understandable for several reasons. First, several scholars have attributed the dominance of Western theories on management and leadership after the post-war years to the political, technological, and

J. W. P. Goh · S. Hairon (✉) · S. Q. W. Lim
Policy and Leadership Studies Academic Group, National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, Singapore
e-mail: hairon.salleh@nie.edu.sg

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economic dominance of the United States (Collard, 2007; Hofstede, 1980a). Second, globalization (which is characterized by greater standardization, technological advancement, and improved telecommunications), has removed borders and brought people from different parts of the world closer together (Holton, 2000; Levitt, 1983). These theories may reflect Western cultural advocacy for consumerism, individualism, competitiveness, assertiveness, rationality, and self-sufficiency (e.g., Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swindler, & Tipton, 1985; Pilkington & Johnson, 2003), and may even be exemplified in some Asian contexts as new, innovative, results-oriented, scientific, and believed as truism (Jahoda, 1988). Clearly, establishing a "cultural fit" (Collard, 2007) is critical in understanding how leadership concepts are conceptualized differently, as well as how they are practised differently in different cultural contexts (Slater et al., 2002). To this end, several researchers have even developed various frameworks and strategies for conceptualizing the cross-cultural effects on educational effectiveness in schools (e.g., Cheng, 1995; Dimmock & Walker, 2000a, b, c, 2004). This chapter is not only a response to the Western dominance in the school leadership literature but more importantly an attempt to deepen the understanding of school leadership—specifically, in Distributed Leadership *(DL hereafter)*, by being sensitive to the Asian cultural context of Singapore.

The Emergence of Distributed Leadership in Education

Since the 2000s, the concept of DL has gained much attention in educational leadership literature (Bush & Crawford, 2012; Gronn, 2000; Harris, 2004; Harris & Spillane, 2008). While the attraction of DL in education continues to interest research scholars (perhaps due to its potential to bring about school improvement), it remains one of the more elusive leadership constructs. This is because contemporary conceptualization and operationalization of DL have been broad, and to a lesser extent, contested. The elusive nature of distributed leadership could be a result of few attempts to unpack and measure this construct, and/or because of the contested definition of the term "leadership" itself (Hairon & Goh, 2015). In spite of these concerns, DL continues to be considered as one of the most favored normative model of leadership (Bush & Crawford, 2012). Clearly, in line with the "*cultural thesis*", more research needs to be done in unpacking the DL construct to gain greater insights into the leadership practices in the cultural contexts of schools.

Today, contemporary educational innovations and changes have placed school leaders in a much complex situation in the schools. While they continue to lead and chart school's direction in areas such as teaching and learning, it is no longer effective for them to espouse a single heroic and top-down leadership approach. Instead, many scholars have highlighted the need for a more dispersed form of leadership in schools, mainly for two reasons: (i) the changing roles of school principals and teachers, and (ii) changing demands in teaching and learning practices. In response, teachers are expected to take on greater leadership responsibilities in teaching and learning, and administration (Spillane, 2006; Spillane, Halverson, & Diamond, 2001), to bring

about greater school improvement (Harris, 2007; Spillane & Healey, 2010). The question to be addressed is how then can such leadership practices be "dispersed", and to what extent (if any) in a non-Western context such as in Singapore schools? The study of by Hairon and Goh (2015) on Singapore school leaders' DL practices, highlighted four possible dimensions of DL, namely *bounded empowerment*, *developing leadership*, *shared decisions* and *collective engagement*. These dimensions were yield from an exploratory factor analysis of Rasch (linearized) standardized residuals. It was evident from the findings of the study that societal cultural values may play a significant part in shaping DL practices in Singapore schools. More specifically, the Singapore school leaders draw upon Asian cultural values for collectivism, adherence to hierarchical relations, and economic pragmatism in the enactment of DL actions, and this significantly alters the way DL is understood and practised in Singapore schools.

Understanding DL in the Cultural Context of Singapore

Singapore has a multiracial society comprising Chinese, Malays, and Indians, with people from Chinese descent making the majority (i.e., about 80%). Despite the rapid development and modernization, Confucianism still remains a dominant living philosophy among the people in Singapore, transmitted through formal education and "social" indoctrination, as well as, through folklore and religious practices (Clammer, 1985; Kuo, 1987; C. Tan, 2012; T. T. W. Tan, 1990). The Singapore government achieved this by securing its hegemony through avoidance of liberal democracy and the deployment of a discourse of "Asian Values", more specifically the notions of Asian Capitalism, Asian Democracy, and Communitarianism (Chua, 1995; Sim, 2001; Triandis, 2004). These notions are arguably deeply rooted in Confucianism, where greater emphasis is placed on values such as respect for authority, filial piety, respect for tradition, face concept, and extended family or kinship relationships. Such notions essentially help:

> In de-legitimizing potential sources of counter-capitalistic [welfarism] contradictions and counter-authoritarian [democratic] dissent, "Asian Values" enables the re-amalgamation, and even strengthens the mutual dependency. (Sim, 2001, p. 45)

This is perhaps why the late founding father and first Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew asserted that the success and harmony of Asian economies (such as Singapore's) are espoused in Confucian values (Chia, 2007). Providing support to this contention, long-term oriented Confucian values were found to be positively associated with economic performance and growth (Franke, Hofstede, & Bond, 1991; Hofstede & Bond, 1988).

From an intercultural perspective, the vital question confronting researchers and educators is whether espoused Western leadership theories such as DL (including principles, practices and general know-how) can be transferred to non-Western contexts such as Singapore. At what cost, and to what extent is the transferability

constrained by cultural variables? Do intercultural dynamics ensure opportunities for recipient societies to reflect upon the congruence between imported theories and their own cultural values? (Goh, 2009). In order to respond to these questions, it is paramount to explore possible bases for understanding cultural implications of school leadership. One such way is to examine DL within the Hofstede's (1980b, 1991, 2001, 2011) cultural work values framework. Hofstede's seminal work on national work cultures in 72 countries resulted in the identification of four dimensions of national work cultures—*Individualism-Collectivism*, *High versus Low Power Distance*, *Strong versus Weak Uncertainly Avoidance*, *Masculinity-Femininity*, and *Long-term versus Short-term Orientation* A sixth dimension *Indulgence versus Restraint*, was later added to the list based on the study by Minkov's (2007) *World Values Survey* of 93 nations. For this study, the dimension *Masculinity-femininity* was renamed *Assertiveness versus consideration* to reflect modern thought and "gender trait" sensitivities. By way of understanding Singapore educators' work values, it could be possible to gain invaluable insights into their perceptions of DL.

Purpose of the Study

The premise of this study is that educational leadership theories may be "culture-bound" (Collard, 2007; Lee, Roehl, & Choe, 2000). Cognitive and cultural research traditions have suggested that leadership is socially constructed between individuals; thus, its meaning is negotiated among individuals or groups (Calas & Smirich, 1992). Ignoring such cultural underpinnings in theories may result in normative or prescriptive methods introduced into contexts that do not take into account cultural differences. Thus, the construct of DL should be discussed and conveyed while taking into account the assumptions and constraints.

The purpose of this study presented in this chapter is to investigate the relationship between Singapore teachers' perceptions of DL and their cultural work dimensions. Cultural work values are posited to form the bases to inform and influence individuals on what are considered appropriate behaviors or actions within a cultural context, and would usually embrace the implicit and explicit mutual ideas on what is good, right and desirable in a society (Williams, 1970). It is also believed that these values can strengthen relationships between effective teaching and effective leadership (Ohlson, 2009), and is part of the nested processes of school leadership (Turan & Bektas, 2013). These work values will explicate the cultural nuances that may influence DL practices in Singapore schools. Figure 1 highlights the key dimensions of DL and cultural work values that are of interests to this study. Essentially, a total of six dimensions (i.e., *individualism versus collectivism*, *high versus low power distance*, *high versus low uncertainty avoidance*, *assertiveness versus consideration*, *long-term versus short-term orientation*, and *indulgence versus restraint*) from Hofstede's (1980b, 2001, 2011) work values framework; and four dimensions of DL (Hairon & Goh, 2015) (i.e., *bounded empowerment*, *shared decisions*, *collective engagement*,

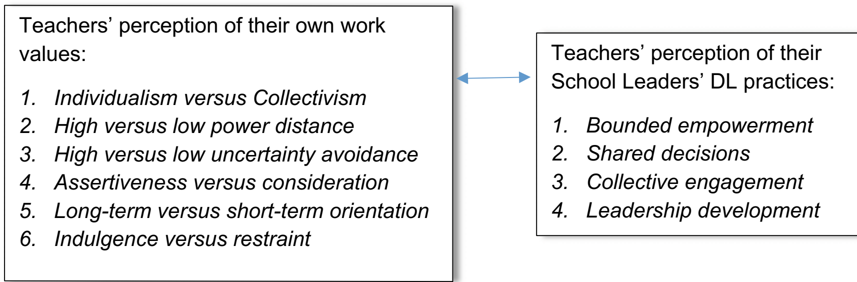

Fig. 1 Relationship between DL practices and cultural work values

and *leadership development*) were used in examining the relationships. The shorter term, "empowerment", will be referred to in the findings and discussion.

Methodology

A correlational study using survey design was conducted with 468 teachers from 28 primary schools (government and government-aided) in Singapore. The data was calibrated and validated using Rasch analysis (Wright, 1992, 1993a, b) so that the raw responses would not be contaminated by scaling problems and non-linearity issues. The calibration and validation were done by examining the fit statistics of the items and persons (participants)—infit and outfit mean squares (MNSQ), residuals, standard errors, and person and item reliabilities (Wright & Stone, 1979). Rasch analysis essentially transforms the raw responses to linear measures (i.e., measured in logits), and places both persons and items measures onto a single common scales for measurement for each of the two constructs (i.e., DL and work values). Once the person measures for each dimension of the two constructs were obtained, correlational analyses were done using Pearson product moment correlation coefficient.

The Wright distribution maps from the Rasch analysis were also examined to give deeper insights into the perceptions of each dimension of the two constructs, albeit in the discussion segment. In essence, a Wright distribution map provides a linearized ruler starting at zero (or 0) logit with plus infinity and negative infinity (refer to Fig. 2 as an example). It gives a visual mapping on the conjoint measurement (i.e., simultaneous calibrations) of items difficulty and persons' measures of agreement. That is, on the right side of the Wright distribution map depicts the location of items (or questions) based on their difficulty levels. On the left side of the map depicts the location of persons in items of the degree of agreement to the items (or questions). Each "#" sign represents a group of respondents while a "." Represents one individual. When a group of persons are located on the same level as some items, it would mean that they would have a 50% probability of agreeing to the items.

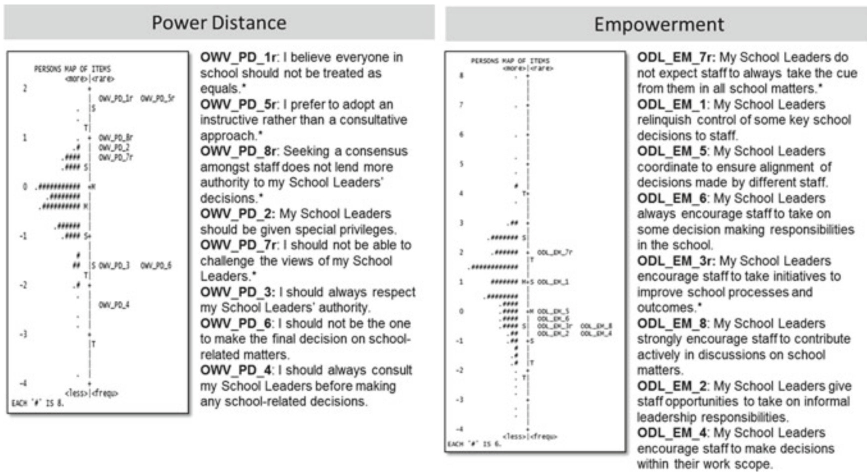

Fig. 2 Relationship between power distance and empowerment ($r = 0.237$, $p < 0.000$)

The letter "M" on either side of the map refers to the Means of the items' difficulty and persons' measures respectively. The "S" and "T" on either side of the map refer to the first and second standard deviations of the items' difficulty and persons' measures, respectively. In general, the higher the M of persons' measures in relation to the M of items' measures, the higher the degree of agreement of respondents, as a cohort, to given construct being measured, and vice versa.

Findings

From the results of the correlation tests, there are several notable significant relationships between DL practices and their work values. More specifically, power distance is significantly and positively correlated with all four DL dimensions: *Empowerment* ($r = 0.237$, $p < 0.000$), *Leadership development* ($r = 0.265$, $p < 0.000$), *Collective engagement* ($r = 0.293$, $p < 0.000$), and *Shared decisions* ($r = 0.296$, $p < 0.000$). A second work value dimension of *Long-term versus short-term orientation*, is also found to have significant positive correlations with *Empowerment* ($r = 0.096$, $p < 0.038$) and *Collective engagement* ($r = 0.155$, $p < 0.001$). Interestingly, the cultural work value of *Indulgence versus restraint* is negatively correlated with three of the DL dimensions: *Empowerment* ($r = -0.183$, $p < 0.000$), *Collective engagement* ($r = -0.106$, $p < 0.022$), and *Shared decisions* ($r = -0.091$, $p < 0.048$). The p-value is significant at 0.05. The Pearson Product Moment tests are presented in Table 1. We will elucidate the possible explanations of DL practices along these significant work values dimensions based on Singapore context in the proceeding section.

Table 1 Pearson's correlations between DL and cultural work values

Distributed leadership	Cultural work values					
	Individualism versus collectivism	High versus low power distance	High versus low uncer-tainty avoidance	Assertiveness versus consideration	Long-term versus short-term orientation	Indulgence versus restraint
Empowerment	0.088	0.237**	0.031	−0.022	0.096*	−0.183**
	0.058	0.000	0.497	0.641	0.038	0.000
Leadership development	0.062	0.265**	0.041	−0.010	0.084	−0.088
	0.180	0.000	0.382	0.823	0.069	0.056
Collective engagement	0.078	0.293**	0.040	−0.007	0.155**	−0.106*
	0.091	0.000	0.388	0.886	0.001	0.022
Shared decisions	0.005	0.296**	0.071	0.037	0.026	−0.091*
	0.917	0.000	0.127	0.419	0.569	0.048

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)
*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Discussion

From the findings discussed earlier, the Singapore teachers' work values of *Power distance*, *Long-term versus short-term orientation*, and *Indulgence versus restraint* seem to have strong relations with their perceptions of DL practices in Singapore school contexts.

Do We Really Stand as Equals?—The Tensions of Hierarchy Power

Power distance here refers to how people "accept and expect that power is distributed unequally" in specific culture (Hofstede, 2011, p. 9). The findings from this study have provided some evidence to support the notion that teachers value power imbalance (cultural value) but at the same time exhibit desire for more equality in decision-making, particularly when it involves their work directly—that is, closely tied to their role as teachers. This is consistent with the evolution of leadership practices in Singapore schools over time—from a top-down to more distributed practices of leadership. This stands in stark contrast to the observation that for many decades, teachers tend to follow their principal's directions and instructions in fulfilling their school responsibilities (Hallinger, 2003).

(a) *Relationship between Power Distance and Empowerment*

Figure 2 shows the Wright distribution maps for *power distance* and *empowerment*. From the Wright distribution map on *power distance*, it is evident that teachers afford

the respect to their leaders and adhere to the ordering of hierarchical relations. At the same time, they would like to have their voices and opinions on school matters heard. However, the final decision and responsibility would still rest on school leaders. School leaders, on the other hand, are more prepared to involve their teachers in decisions on matters pertaining to classroom teaching. School leaders are, however, perceived by teachers to be reluctant to relinquish control over some key school decisions to them in view of its significance in terms of impact. In other words, school leaders may only empower teachers within certain caveats (Heck & Hallinger, 2009), and expect teachers to make school improvements.

This is consistent with the notion of "bounded empowerment" espoused by Hairon and Goh (2015). School leaders would only relinquish decisions to teachers and would expect their teachers to take cues from them on school-related matters. This clearly demonstrates that school leaders would want to retain their decision-making power especially for those critical school-related decisions that cannot be given to others (Woods, Bennett, Harvey, & Wise, 2004).

The need for control is ubiquitous in all public institutions in Singapore as noted by Worthington (2003), who describes Singapore as a neo-Gramscian hegemonic state—corporatist, authoritarian, oligarthic and elitist, and "depends for its reproduction and continuity on strong, balanced forces of both coercion and consent" (p. 248). This form of bounded empowerment is particularly true in Asian hierarchical organizations (Hairon & Goh, 2015). Perhaps owing to the paternalism in Asian societies, the emphasis on the ordering of relationships to support the hierarchal structuring of interpersonal relationships underlying the Confucian social philosophy is still relevant. This cautiousness in empowering teachers can fuel teachers' desire for a more consultative relationship with their leaders.

(b) *Relationship between Power Distance and Leadership Development*

The findings seem to suggest that school leaders still hold decision control over teachers' leadership developments. The teachers in the study indicated that their school leaders do provide sufficient opportunities for teachers to develop their leadership capabilities as a form of professional development, yet tend to do it principally focused on addressing school needs and outcomes. This is understandable considering school leaders' priority at the organizational level (Leithwood, Louis, Anderson, & Wahlstrom, 2004). The problem may be that school leaders do not provide clear explanations on the intentions or objectives to teachers on matters pertaining to leadership development. School leaders also may not fully comprehend their teachers' needs for leadership development when committing them to attend leadership development programmes. This may undermine teachers' motivation (Porter & Lawler, 1968). While leadership development is charted for teachers, they indicated that they desire to participate in discussions with their leaders to strategize the pathways for their professional development. In fact, some teachers felt that their leaders did not do enough such as in the area of mentoring or emphasize the importance of leadership development. A possible explanation is the Singapore pragmatic value for efficiency and control—both strategic and economic in nature (Schein, 1996; Hairon, 2006) (Fig. 3).

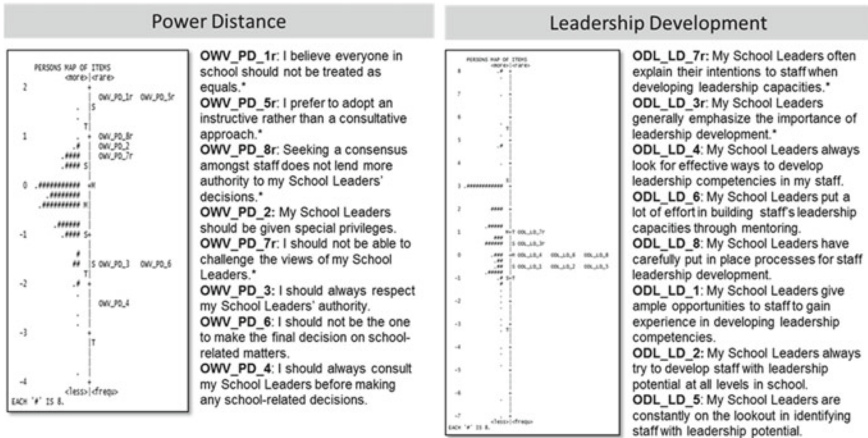

Fig. 3 Relationship between power distance and leadership development ($r = 0.265$, $p < 0.000$)

(c) *Relationship between Power Distance, and Collective Engagement and Shared Decisions*

The Wright distribution maps for *Power distance* and *Collective engagement* and *Shared decisions* are shown in Figs. 4 and 5, respectively. The findings indicated that school leaders do promote collective engagement and shared responsibility in making decisions. In fact, they do these through bounded empowerment by placing structures for teachers to work together in achieving school outcomes. This is consistent with the international literature of teachers working in teams at various levels to support school goals and educational improvement (Harris, 2008; Heck & Hallinger, 2009). In many ways, this is consistent with a more distributed form of leadership practices (Leithwood et al., 2007). In addition, our analyses have also surfaced that school

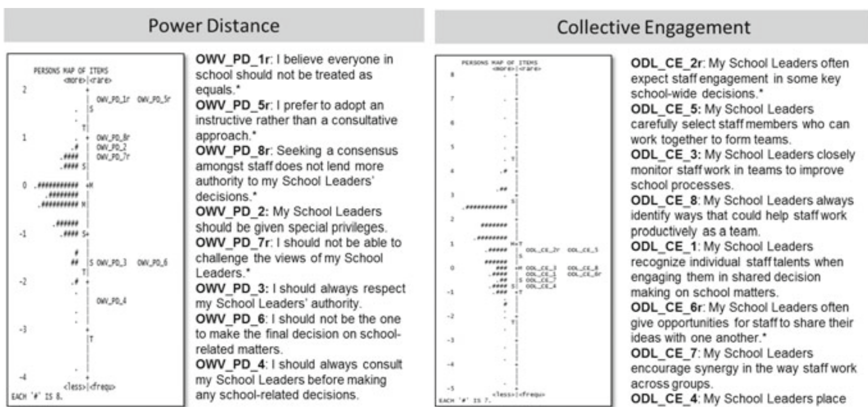

Fig. 4 Relationship between power distance and collective engagement ($r = 0.293$, $p < 0.000$)

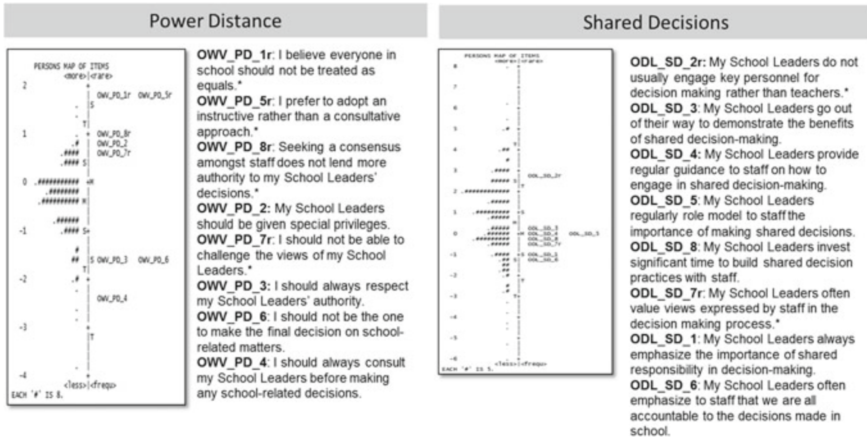

Fig. 5 Relationship between power distance and shared decisions ($r = 0.296$, $p < 0.000$)

leaders would mainly engage key personnel (e.g. Heads of Department, Year Heads, and Level Heads) rather than teachers in making school-related decisions. This too is a form of an efficient model of distribution of leadership where leadership decisions can be passed from senior leaders to middle leaders (Hairon, 2017).

As noted in preceding discussions, the impetus for distributing leadership in such a manner is consistent with the need for Asian cultural value for hierarchy and the pragmatism for efficiency (Goh, 2009; Hairon, 2006; Schein, 1996). School leaders' preference to share decisions with middle leaders rather than teachers can be motivated by either the need for hierarchy or pragmatism, or both. Also, the need for hierarchy is in tandem with the idea that the greater the leader's referent and expert powers, the more satisfied the employees will be (Bond & Hwang, 1986), at least in Asian contexts.

Connecting the Past with the Current and Future—Actions and Challenges

Understanding one's time orientation is a piece of crucial information in leadership and management as it plays a key factor in motivation. Cultures with *Long-term (LT) orientation* will place more emphasis on future actions and outcomes. In this orientation, instant successes or gratifications may not be a priority. *Short-term (ST) orientation*, on the other hand, considers the present or past as more important than the future. Immediate gratification is preferred in this *ST orientation* (Hofstede, 2011).

(a) *Relationship between LT versus ST Orientation, and Empowerment*

From the findings, there is a positive correlation between *LT versus ST orientations*, with *Empowerment*. This relationship is consistent with the thinking that teachers

require greater decision-making power or discretion in teaching and learning matters in view of attaining learning outcomes that are more lifelong in nature (e.g., life values and skills) as opposed to the more immediate short-term goals of achievement tests. The advent of the "Teach Less, Learn More" policy initiative in 2005 has indeed brought about greater demand on school leaders and teachers to explore and create new pedagogies other than the traditional tried and tested ones. Empowerment is understandably valued as teachers have to explore and experiment on alternative diversified teaching strategies to meet diversified learning outcomes other than those that have traditionally been used to secure high achievement test results. Nevertheless, the challenge for school leaders and teachers is to meet both the long-term orientation need for holistic educational outcomes and short-term orientation need for traditional achievement outcomes. The need for empowerment, therefore, becomes more pertinent in this situation as teachers need to find the right balance between teaching strategies that satisfy long-term educational outcomes and teaching strategies that are effective in optimizing short-term student achievement test results. This dualistic and potentially conflicting demand perhaps explains why most teachers in this study value professional development (Fig. 6).

(b) *Relationship between LT versus ST Orientation, and Collective Engagement*

The positive association between *LT Orientation* and *Collective engagement* is closely tied to the positive association between *LT Orientation* and *Empowerment*. In order to achieve student learning outcomes that are more lifelong such as life values and skills as opposed to the more short-term achievement type of results, teachers truly need to harness the collective wisdom that can be generated from teachers coming together to solve curricular and instructional challenges. School leaders thus need to create structural and cultural support for teachers to collectively engage with one another to support teachers' collective learning. In the Singapore education context,

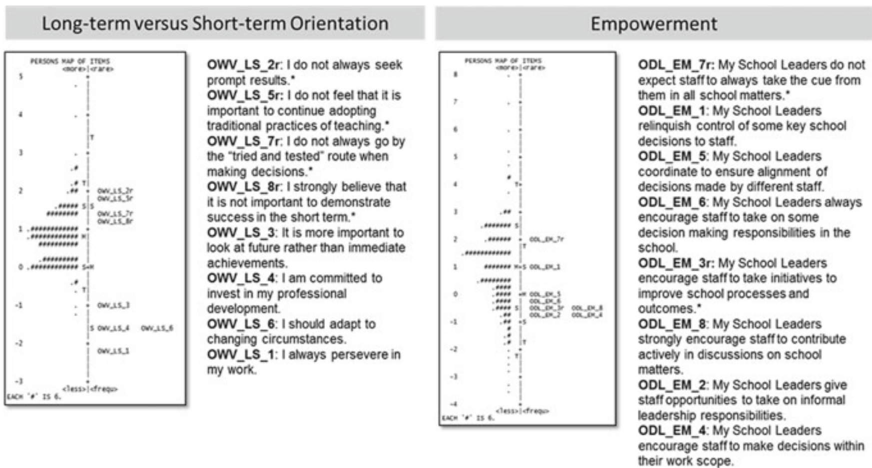

Fig. 6 Relationship between LT versus ST orientation, and empowerment ($r = 0.096$, $p < 0.038$)

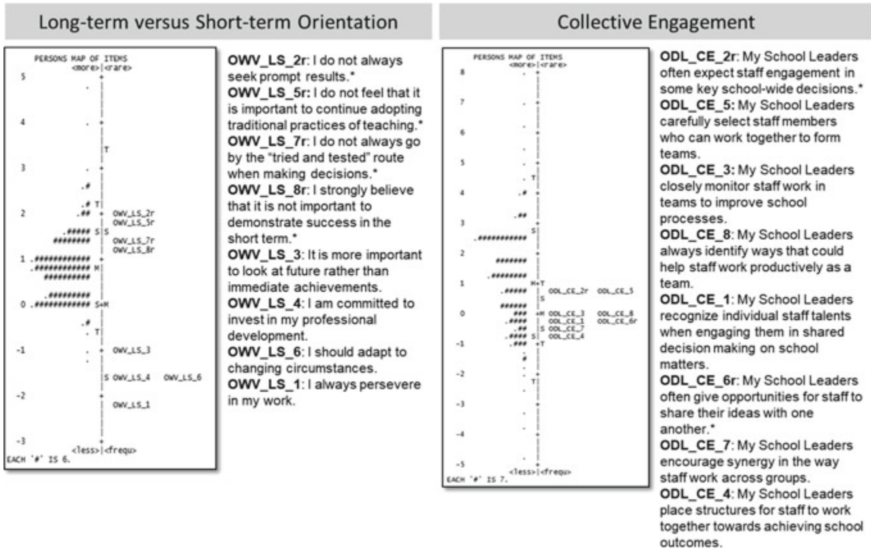

Fig. 7 Relationship between LT versus ST orientations, and collective engagement ($r = 0.155$, $p < 0.001$)

an excellent platform for teachers to collectively engage with one another to synergize their expertise and resources is professional learning communities (Hairon & Dimmock, 2012).

School leaders, however, should exercise some caution in engaging teachers in *Collective engagement*. Essentially, school leaders' intention should be clearly articulated. Is the intention to benefit teachers in their career or personal development or is it meant as a pragmatic attempt to improve student learning outcomes through improvement in teaching practices? Furthermore, they need to consider the scope of decisions that teachers can collectively make, especially when it has impact school-wide. Last but not least, school leaders need to consider the choice of teachers who are able to lead other teachers in meaningful and productive ways (Fig. 7).

A Regulated Gratification of Desires—Need for Some Control

The third significant work value that is related to DL practices is the dimension of *Indulgence versus restraint*. *Indulgence* recognizes the degree to which the specific culture allows for "relatively free gratification of basic and natural human desires related to enjoying life and having fun", and *Restraint* identified culture that "controls gratification of needs and regulates by means of strict social norms" (Hofstede, 2011, p. 15).

(a) *Relationship between Indulgence versus Restraint, and Empowerment*

In this study, *Empowerment* and *Indulgence* versus *restraint* are negatively correlated. The teachers in this study seem to indicate that they feel more *restraint* and more likely to accept additional responsibilities given to them as they are afforded more power to make a decision. In this way, the teachers may feel a greater sense of pressure to address the expectations of others. It seems to suggest that as school leaders give greater autonomy to make decisions on matters that pertain to teaching and learning, the more opportunities they have to work collectively with one another, the greater the need for teachers to consider others in their day-to-day decisions on teaching and learning matters. This can be advantageous insofar as teachers are able to synergize their collective wisdom on teaching and learning matters. However, the added burden to consider others in day-to-day decisions on teaching and learning can "restrained" teachers for *indulgence* towards their personal interest and families, creating a disparity in work-life balance. This imbalance could be a source of frustration for teachers (Harris, 2004; Smylie, 1992). This thus poses a dilemma between performing at work and spending time with their families. Trying to strike this balance can be tricky and could possibly lead to job dissatisfaction and turnover (Boyd et al., 2010; Ingersoll, 2001; Johnson, Kraft, & Papay, 2012) (Fig. 8).

(b) *Relationship between Indulgence versus Restraint, and Collective Engagement and Shared Decisions*

The findings from the study seem to suggest the consistency between *Collective engagement and Shared decisions* given to teachers and *Restraint* on the part of teachers. Empowerment does indeed bring about greater opportunities for teachers to collectively engage with one another towards shared decisions, and thus the need for greater *Restraint* on the part of teachers. Nevertheless, while school leaders try to provide a conducive work environment to support *Collective engagement* and *Shared*

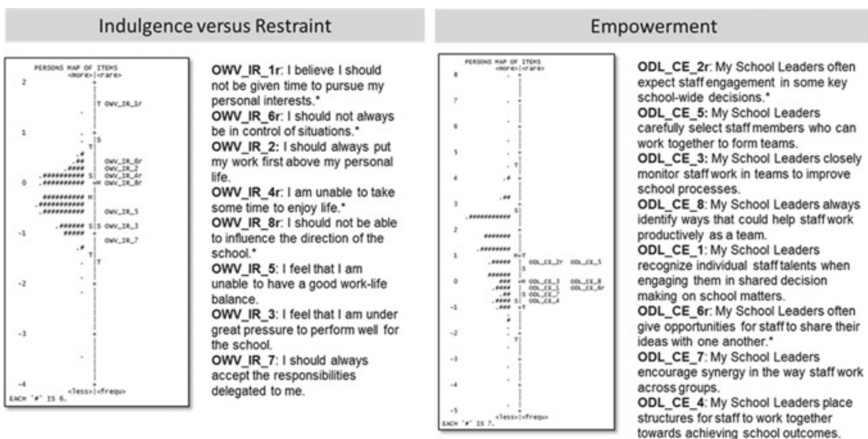

Fig. 8 Relationship between indulgence versus restraint, and empowerment ($r = -0.183$, $p < 0.000$)

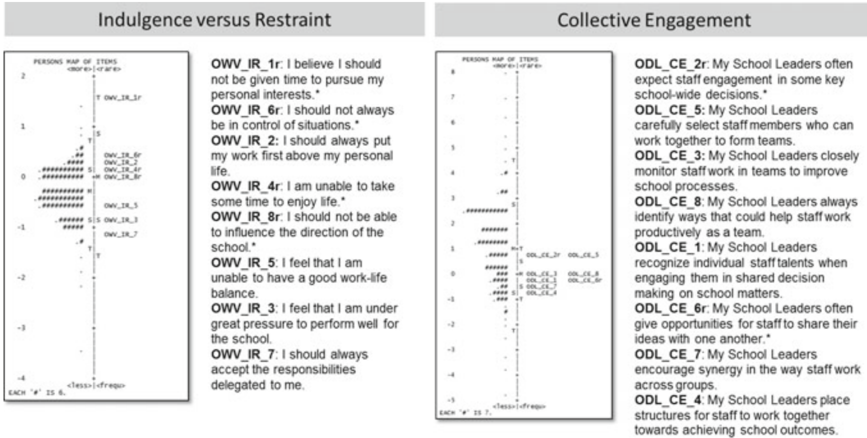

Fig. 9 Relationship between indulgence versus restraint, and collective engagement ($r = -0.106$, $p < 0.022$)

decision in school, teachers may still exercise some *Restraint* in their actions. It is therefore important that school leaders support the coordination and alignment of teachers' working collectively towards school goals, as well as in congruence with decisions made by others within the organization. The main aim is that there should be good alignment of individual, departmental and school goals. This seems in line with Gronn's (2002) notion of "concertive action" (or holistic), or what Spillane (2006) terms as "person plus" synergistic relationship (Spillane, 2006). That is, it is about the distribution in the interactions of school leaders, followers and their situations, which may include activities of multiple groups of individuals (Spillane, 2004). School leaders, after all, remain to be the key person to be responsible in aligning distributed decisions to school goals (Heck & Hallinger, 2009) (Figs. 9 and 10).

Conclusion

In this chapter, it is apparent that DL can contribute to the overarching theory of school leadership. Drawing inspiration from a cross-cultural perspective, we argue that Western-based theories may not be easily transferred to non-Western contexts. Assuming a normative or prescriptive disposition in the application of such cultural bound theories in contexts that may not support it, may lead to disastrous consequences. By employing a psychometrically sound approach (i.e., Rasch analysis) in investigating DL potentially eliminates the stigma of DL being labeled as a broad, loose or elusive construct. By way of adopting Hofstede's cultural work values in the study of DL practices have allowed us to gain deeper insights on how DL practices are enacted in a Singapore school context. Although the study has drawn from

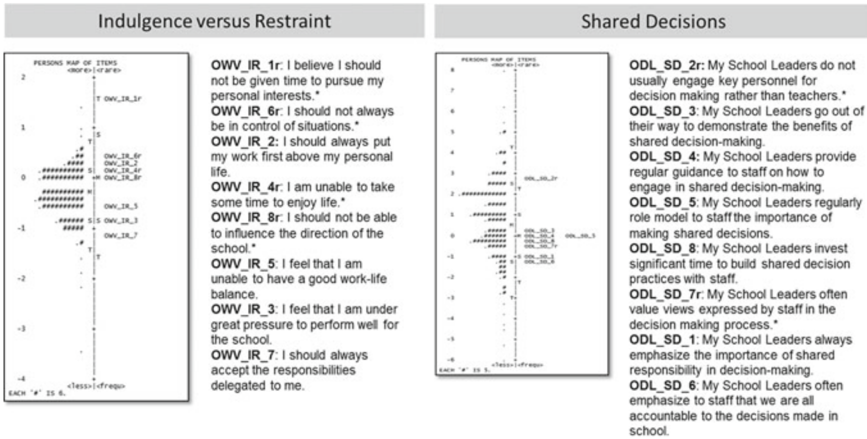

Fig. 10 Relationship between indulgence versus restraint, and shared decisions ($r = -0.091$, $p < 0.048$)

cultural arguments as influencing the conception and operationalization of DL in our discussion, we are mindful that there could be other factors of influence (such as, structural differences at the school and system levels could also have an impact on the enactment of DL practices). These factors are however beyond the scope of this study.

The findings from the study have nevertheless provided evidence that DL practices may be enacted differently. From Pearson's correlation tests, three significant work values are found to be highly correlated with DL practices. The work values are *Power distance*, *LT versus ST orientation*, and *Indulgence versus restraint*. In some ways, these findings have provided further insights on how these three salient work values could be associated to the practices of DL as expounded by Hairon and Goh (2015). While some differences in leadership may be detected through actual actions and performances, others may be less obvious. This is because the reasons or intentions to engage in certain leadership practices may be culturally driven (even though the actions may appear similar to those practised or advocated in Western societies). From this study, it is evident that Singapore school leaders draw from Asian cultural values for collectivism, hierarchy, and control, and pragmatic efficiency in the enactment of DL actions. This significantly alters the way DL is understood and practised in schools. In a competitive school climate such as Singapore's, it is understandable that school leaders may focus on accountability in setting institutional goals and values to achieve greater performance and success (Woods et al., 2004). Rightly or wrongly, these goals and values may be deemed as non-negotiables. Arguing along similar lines, Bush and Glover (2003) asserted that DL practices retain a central role not least because of the accountability framework within which schools operate.

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Dr. Jonathan Wee Pin Goh is Associate Professor, Policy and Leadership Studies Academic Group, at the National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His teaching and research interests include educational marketing, school leadership, student learning approaches, intercultural communication competence, and cross-cultural aspects of service quality perceptions, as well as customer satisfaction and motivation. In recent years, his interest has been in the area of measurement, evaluation, and psychometrics including data analysis techniques such as Rasch Analysis and hierarchical linear modeling.

Dr. Salleh Hairon is Associate Professor, Policy and Leadership Studies Academic Group, at the National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His research interests center on school leadership for teacher learning in communities comprising distributed leadership, teacher leadership, professional learning communities, teacher professional development, and action research.

Simon Qing Wei Lim is a Ph.D. candidate and research staff with the Policy and Leadership Studies Academic Group at National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He received a Master degree of Education specializing in Leadership, Policy, and Change from Monash University, Australia. Prior to joining the University, he led an education social enterprise that focused on inculcating values and building character of our school-going students. At National Institute of Education, he was involved in a large-scale programmatic research on school leadership and organization in Singapore primary schools, and is currently working on another research project that investigates the motivation of teachers and students in Singapore secondary schools. He has a strong sense of mission, believing that his doctoral thesis would benefit much to the community. His current research interests focus on school leadership practices, and values-related studies such as human values, motivational values, and cultural work values.

Chapter 3
Leading and Managing Schools in Indonesia: Historical, Political and Socio-cultural Forces

Bambang Sumintono, Rais Hidayat, Yuyun Elizabeth Patras, Joko Sriyanto and Umi Anugerah Izzati

Abstract The leadership practices in Indonesia has evolved significantly over time. This reflects the spirit of different eras and the adoption of various leadership theories. More specifically, government systems and socio-political situations have played a major role in helping to shape Indonesia's education sector. These forces also influence school leadership, in particular, how school principals lead and manage their schools in Indonesia. The colonial era, which had a different purpose to schooling, provided the foundations needed for Indonesia's independence. There were significant developments in the 1970s when Indonesia's New Order government expanded the scope of the education sector. This, however, had little impact on school leadership practices. It was only in the 2000s when the education system began to decentralize and this brought about a corresponding change in school leadership practices. This new approach introduces standard requirements, systematic training, and appointment by district government for principals, albeit not without challenges.

Introduction

Indonesia has witnessed many waves of change in school leadership in the past decades. These changes are mainly due to the growing demands and complexities on the role and responsibilities of the school leaders. Indonesia's geographical composition and size (in terms of its physical size and its population), and its historical past have also contributed to these changes. In fact, Indonesia has more than two hundred

B. Sumintono (✉)
Faculty of Education, Institute of Educational Leadership, Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
e-mail: bambang@um.edu.my

R. Hidayat · Y. E. Patras
Universitas Pakuan, Bogor, Indonesia

J. Sriyanto
Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

U. A. Izzati
Universitas Negeri Surabaya, Surabaya, Indonesia

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and ten thousand schools, with a total enrolment of fifty million students, who are taught by three million educators. Most of these are public schools focusing on primary education (MoEC, 2015). Indonesia also has a long history of colonialization, and only gained independence in 1945. Notably, modern schooling in Indonesia grew tremendously during the Dutch colonization. Post-colonial Indonesia is said to have developed over three different eras, namely, the Old Order (1945–1965), the New Order (1966–1998) and the Reform Era (1999–). Each of these periods has its unique approach on education and schooling along with its corresponding school leadership practices. In this chapter, several ideas and issues pertaining to leading and managing schools in Indonesia will be critically discussed—beginning with the early development in the 1880s to the current time. These developments essentially highlight how historical, political and socio-cultural factors can substantially influence school leadership practices in Indonesia.

Earlier Developments

Formal schooling was first established by the Dutch during their colonial government rule in the 1880s. During those times, the public school system was set exclusively for the Europeans where the Dutch language was used (Djajadiningrat, n.d.). However, after some years, others such as the Eastern foreigners and local people (known as *pribumi*) could also join in the public school system. This rapid expansion of the school system took place since 1901, when the Netherland government implemented the Ethical Policy (*etische politiek*) to improve the social-economic situation of the marginalised indigenous population (van der Veur, 1969). As a result of this policy, students' enrolment rose significantly, with more local students being registered (Nasution, 1967; van der Kroef, 1957).

During the colonial era, the complicated school system was designed to benefit the colonial government. Interestingly, at the time, the public schools functioned more like elite schools that received great support from the government. Most of the teachers who taught the primary and secondary levels were Dutch nationals, with some of them from the Netherlands (Tahalele, 1971; van der Veur, 1969). For most of the local Indonesians, they would enroll in schools situated in the villages that were funded by the native princes for three years (Bray & Thomas, 1998). Others would were registered in private schools that were operated by *Muhammadiyah* (a modern Islamic organization), or *Taman Siswa* (or "garden of pupil"—an education foundation) (Poerbakawatja, 1970).

The governance of education system during this period was very centralized. In fact, all matters concerning the schools (such as curriculum, type of textbooks, teachers' requirements, number of schools, type of schools, and appointment of teachers) were all determined by the central government (Nasution, 1967). This would mean that teachers and parents at that time had very little contributions to the educational policy decisions. Principals in the public schools during this period were all Dutch nationals, and there were different requirements for principals' selection for primary

and secondary schools. For primary schools, the principal should possess a teaching certificate, and accumulated at least ten years of teaching experience. For secondary schools, principals must obtain a Bachelor degree in any field of study (Tahalele, 1971). Principals were then appointed based on their strengths in teaching and learning, particularly on specific content areas and pedagogical skills. Unfortunately, there was no formal training or development on school administration for these principals. School inspectors played the significant role of selecting principals. They assess the personalities of teachers and write reports (also known as an *inspectie rapport*) based on whether "the candidate met the conditions of capacity, honesty, and loyalty" (Nasution, 1967). This report influences the decision of the appointment of principals in schools.

An event that has a significant impact on education in Indonesia was World War II under the Japanese occupation (1942–1945), the separated education system which differentiates people by race set up by the Dutch was abolished. This caused students who were local native people (or *pribumi*) to be excluded from the system. It was during this time that the local school system rapidly expanded, with the number of enrolled students rose significantly. To make matters worse, Dutch teachers were either imprisoned by the Japanese or had to flee the country for safety. This resulted in a severe shortage of teachers. Consequently, almost all teachers who were teaching in primary schools became secondary school teachers. Students in the primary schools were taught by people who could only read and write (Poerbakawatja, 1970). Principals were then either Japanese officers or local experienced teachers. Interestingly, allowing local teachers to take up principalship in schools gave locals the opportunities to manage the local schooling system. Bahasa Indonesia was used as the national language, and potentials in each area are utilized to support education by the *pribumi* (Sumintono & Subekti, 2015).

In 1955, ten years after independence, the total number for student enrollment reached ten million. This was five times more than the period during the Japanese occupation (Jalal & Musthafa, 2001). To keep up with the populous situation, the Indonesian government provided the infrastructure for schooling and appointed many new teachers to meet this demand. Due to limited resources, sporadic teacher training was implemented in many different places to improve the quality of teaching qualifications (Mooney, 1962; Sumintono & Subekti, 2015).

The new Republic then drew up education laws based on the state ideology of Pancasila comprising five principles: belief in the one and only God; just and civilized humanity; a unified Indonesia; democracy, led by the wisdom of the representatives of the people; and social justice for all Indonesians. These laws also incorporated egalitarian principles that led to a compulsory primary school system funded by the state, placing emphasis on nation-building, and making Bahasa Indonesia as the main language for instruction. Continuing from the colonial era, the establishment of the schools' central governance was to celebrate multiculturalism, yet having common identity and aspirations (Lee, 1995; Poerbakawatja, 1970). Furthermore, the school superior officers' assessment reports continued to be used as inputs for the selection of principals—a legacy retained from the colonial era. Primary school principals were males, and generally about nine years older than the rest of the

teachers, who possessed similar education level and socio-economic background (Beeby, 1979). There was also no formal training and development for the principals in the public school system. However, in the early 1960s, some locals who had studied abroad returned to the country and helped transform the education system. They argued that school principals should provide guidance and supervision to teachers in addition to their work in school administration (Tahalele, 1971). The establishment of several teacher colleges in the larger cities brought some improvements to the system as principals from secondary school were able to participate in-service courses on educational leadership.

While there were some notable improvements during the times of the Old Order, principals in the public schools constantly faced challenges. This period was generally characterized by political (e.g., local rebellions) and economic instability (e.g. high inflation and food rations). As such, schools could not receive support from the government during the years between 1955 and 1965 (Feith, 1963). Instead, schools have to turn to parents and community for support. A Parent–Teacher Association was then formed with the purpose to "pay a major share of the upkeep of schools including the allowance of teachers" (Lee, 1995, p. 171). This required principals to collect money from the parents on a regular basis. However, this became untenable in 2005 when concerns about transparency and accountability of funds were raised (Sumintono, 2006). It is thus not surprising that rumors started to surface about teachers wanting to become principals in public schools in order to benefit rather than wanting to contribute to education as leaders.

Expansion of Education

In 1967, there was a change in government when the second Indonesian President Suharto came to power, with his regime termed as the New Order. The education sector began to take shape during the first eight years of office. This period also saw an increase in oil revenue, which contributed to expenditure on education. Just within a five-year period from 1974 to 1978, the budget for education rose by almost 12-fold—thus enabling the (i) construction for thousands of new schools, with one school built in each village (Duflo, 2004), (ii) recruitment of thousands of new teachers (Raihani & Sumintono, 2010), and (iii) development of in-service training programs for teachers (Nielsen, 2003; Soedijarto, Moleong, Suryadi, & Machmud, 1980). These changes were so rapid that compelled Beeby (1979) to conclude that "the improvement in the finances of the Education Department was even more dramatic than the rise in the price of oil" (p. 2). As a result, the participation rate rose to universal education level (more than 90%) at primary schooling in less than ten years.

In this era, ideas about principalship begin to change. For instance, according to Tahalele (1971), good principalship should go beyond sound teaching and learning practices, and the ability to supervise teachers. He argued that principals need to be mindful on "staff relationship, personnel administration and professional development" (p. 19). Due to these concerns, Tahalele (1971) designed in-service and

preparation training for principals during. It is also interesting to note that these new demands on principals were not unique. In fact, such demands were also relevant in other parts of the world. Indonesia was trying to mirror the educational leadership and school management ideas from other countries and apply the findings uncovered by relevant research on these areas to their educational system.

It is also worth noting that the structure for principalship in both public primary and secondary schools were different. In most of the public secondary schools, aspirant principals first had to have a stint as vice-principals to gain sufficient experience. They were initially selected for the positions of vice-principal by their respective principals based on the good rapport and at times due to close working relationship. Since the appointment did not have clear formal structures, teachers competed with one another to get their principals' attention to be vice-principals. Public primary schools, on the other hand, did not have any vice-principal in its hierarchical structure. Schools are essentially small with one class per level for the six grades, and a staff strength of less than 12 teachers.

Nevertheless, there was no formal training required for primary school principals during the nascent stages of implementing the New Order of governance. In fact, their job specification was also unclear (Beeby, 1979). The situation in secondary schools was different. Although the secondary principal was usually a subject specialist, there was no clear definition of the principal's role. This change when in the 1980s, the central government who had the authority to appoint the principal in every public school in Indonesia introduced a one-week voluntary preparation training for the development of principal candidates (Sumintono, Sheyoputri, Jiang, Misbach & Jumintono, 2015). As candidates were considered civil servants, the content of their training was mostly related to public administration and management. It included sharing from the education province office, public organization and regulation, official correspondence, public finance report, file and folder system, and the *Pancasila* upgrading training.

The content of principals' preparation training was slightly different from what Tahalele (1971) had suggested. Nielsen (2003) argued that the New Order emphasized economic stability, growth, and efficiency in governing the nation, which resulted in a tremendous impact on the education system. To this extent, Nielsen termed this as *bureaucratic authoritarian state.* Taking principals' preparation training as an example, it was conducted in a similar way as any other public training institution for civil servants. The training was measured by its quantitative achievements such as the number of teacher participation, and the utilization of allocated funds. Education bureaucrats from top to lower level have "tended to resort to "goal displacement": substituting goals that can be reached for those that cannot" (Nielsen, 2003, p. 403). It was thus not surprising that the training included irrelevant content to the development of principal's professionalism. These training had inevitably resulted in greater centralization and a more authoritarian approach in the New Order. One of the side effects of this was government influence at the school level, where public school principals became the main gatekeeper in maintaining state control. Siswanto (2003) illustrated that principals in public schools tend to follow the instructions from their superiors, which prevented them from initiating different ideas. These restricted the

principals from being creative and innovative in leading and managing their schools. Darmaningtyas (2005) commented that this situation was managed structurally in every district in Indonesia, where principals were part of *Kelompok Kerja Kepala Sekolah* (K3S), a principals' working group. Darmaningtyas (2005) mentioned that one of the priorities of K3S is to manage teachers who were critical to government policy. This is not surprising as Hofstede (1983) found that the Indonesia people exhibit high power distance cultural work values—i.e., they value hierarchical relations. Furthermore, some decisions on education policy were orchestrated and finalized in the K3S meeting. With this bad reputation, K3S was subsequently changed to *Musyawarah Kepala Sekolah* (principals' forum) (Darmaningtyas, 2005).

Several researchers have raised some key observations during the New Order era. The study by Beeby (1979) which involved thirty-three principals from three different provinces in Indonesia, found that only four principals mentioned about new teaching methods. Beeby concluded that "principals played a fairly effective part in maintaining standards within accepted practices, but few could be regarded as agents of change except in minor matters" (p. 92). In relation to training and professional development in the early part of the era, Beeby (1979) wrote that the principal "has had no special training for his job, and apart from the mass reporting of a routine statistical kind that he is called upon to do, he is rather vague on the role of his position" (p. 93). This situation was the product for the fast expansion of school system, which may be related to the lack of qualification by the principals. This would indicate that their abilities were limited and had to rely on their own experiences.

The study by Supriadi (1999) found severe wide-ranging irregularities. The New Order government had stipulated regulation on the educational personnel, where it stated that principals had to be recruited from the pool of teachers after their completion of the special training. However, there was no implementation of such "special training" until eighteen years later. One possible reason was that the government preferred to remain status quo when developing school leaders. Without the distinctive preparation for school principals, they would not have the insights on the changes that occurred beyond Indonesia's education system (Danim, 2002). The relationship between the school principal and their teachers mirrored those practices performed by the central government which inclined towards feudalism and authority. In view of these, the principals were not able to anticipate many of the problems related to education (Danim, 2002).

The research study done about the PEQIP (Primary Education Quality Improvement Project), which was supported by the World Bank (van der Werf, Creemers, de Jong, & Klaver, 2000) discovered that the quality at primary schooling depended mainly on the quality of principal's leadership. According to van der Werf et al. (2000), "the principals of the PEQIP schools focused too much on administrative tasks (keeping records of student results, financial tasks) rather than on educational leadership tasks" (p. 352). School leaders relied too much on routine works, which led to reduction in students' achievement. Good school leaders need to resolve management related problems such as high absentee rate for teachers and students, the

inefficient usage of instructional time, and the issues with underqualified or unmotivated teachers that could surface in PEQIP schools (van der Werf et al., 2000).

In another research study focusing on the secondary schooling, it was found that schools with strong reputation for quality are held in high regard by society, and success is attributed to good school leadership (Supriadi, 1999). The characteristics of such schools included students' passion towards study, teachers' motivation on improving their teaching skills, having higher academic achievement, and having an orderly and friendly school climate (Supriadi, 1999). The findings from this study on effective principals are consistent with international research on educational effectiveness that emphasis on student success. Providing further support, Dikmenjur's (1997) study on vocational schools at secondary level revealed that a rigorous selection of school principals would result in significant changes in school activities, which could, in turn, improve its performance such as students' academic achievement. Clearly, this is evidence that school leadership is important in-spite of strong influence from the state.

Recent Trends

In 1997, Indonesia's economic stability was greatly affected by the Asian financial crisis. In the following year, Suharto resigned as President after 31 years in office and marked the end of the New Order administration. The Suharto's New Order era was subsequently replaced by the Reform Order. The passing of two new laws relating to regional autonomy by the parliament brought significant developments and change to the government system. Since 2001, instead of having a centralized and bureaucratic system in the colonial era, many decisions in the public sectors (including education) can now be made at the district level. These developments were described to be "one of the most radical decentralization programmes attempted anywhere in the world" (Aspinall & Fealy, 2003, p. 3).

During this Reform Order era, several new education policies were drawn up, and the existing educational provisions across the country were consequently reshaped and redefined. These changes brought much progress to the education sector, which include: (i) the school's final examination, (ii) the school's operational support that would not differentiate students based on the type of schools they come from, i.e. public or private school (Fitriah, Sumintono, Subekti, & Hassan, 2013), (iii) a new Teacher Law and teachers' certification program (Raihani & Sumintono, 2010), and (iv) an international standard school policy (Sumintono et al., 2014).

To develop the education sector further, the Ministry of Education has refocused its emphasis on designing and establishing educational policies. For instance, to address the disparities among districts that have rich natural resources and those that do not, the central government enacted regulation number 65 in 2005, on the minimum service standard for educational provision. The intention of this regulation is to close the gaps among districts and maintain national unity. Furthermore, additional regulations were released by the central government to install five hundred new dis-

trict governments across Indonesia, and at the same time, all the district governments are made aware of the direction for developing the education sector, and to apply the Ministry's standard in their respective areas. Some of these regulations comprise the implementation of national education standard, compulsory education, and funding of education.

To provide further autonomy to the district governments, they were given the capacity to decide selection and training and appointment of public school principals since 2001. However, only a few districts have collaborated with the provincial governments, local universities or other institutions, on the selection process for the appointment of the principals. Interestingly, despite affording the district governments with power and resources, they still gravitate to previous practices (Sumintono, 2006). This could be due to limited capacity and the lack of educational management experience. This is understandable considering they were under the centralized educational system for years, which in many ways limited the flow of their initiative and creativity.

In 2005, a new development took place in the political scene that influenced the education sector, which has to do with the introduction of an elected mayor in every regent or city. It was reported that the position of the principal was depended on the working relationship with the elected mayor (Sumintono et al., 2015). The appointments of the public schools' principals were dependent on their personal connections and individual influences with certain key persons at the district level.

In response to this and prevent favoritism of certain school leaders, the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) enacted specific regulations such as decree number 13 which states clearly the requisites of becoming a principal in 2007. Apart from having regular requisites such as an undergraduate degree, and having at least five years of teaching experience, a principal candidate must possess five other competencies. These include being competent in terms of personality, managerial, entrepreneurship, social and supervision. Unfortunately, although the requirements are set by the central government, it is still up to the district government to determine the competency of the candidates at the district level.

Following the change in 2007, there was another significant development on the selection and preparation of the principals. The Ministry of Education issued the regulation number 6 in 2009, explaining the establishment of a national agency called *Lembaga Pengembangan dan Pemberdayaan Kepala Sekolah* (LP2KS) or the "Agency for School Principal Empowerment and Development" (LP2KS, 2016). This new agency is a national institution that provides training and certification for future public and private school principals across all levels of education in Indonesia. Essentially, the focus is to improve on the competencies of the principals according to the new regulations.

Participants attending the principal training in LP2KS need to complete two parts of the course, namely: (i) a face-to-face session with at least a hundred hours of training, and (ii) three months of on-the-job learning (OJL) (Hendarman, 2015). Teachers can nominate themselves for this training, and the selection process will be done at district level. Selected teachers will then join the first part of the training by attending a course that is termed as the "Development of Principals Managerial Skills".

The syllabus for this course covers (i) student management, (ii) human resource management, (iii) curriculum development, (iv) school development planning, (v) monitoring and evaluation, and (vi) information and communication technology in school. This 1-week course involving 70 teaching hours was held in the office of LP2KS, in Solo, Central Java.

The second part of the training lasts for three months, which is equivalent to two hundred hours of OJL in two schools—one of the schools is the candidate's own school, and the other another school in his/her district. In this part of the training, participants will be asked to prepare an action plan for school improvement and the officials from education district office will supervise these activities. The last phase of the training will last for three days amounting to thirty hours in the office of LP2KS. The objective of this training segment is for the candidate to complete a portfolio of activities that are undertaken during the OJL, and to present the portfolio to a panel at LP2KS. The total duration for this principal training program is 300 h.

When candidates successfully complete all the training and assessment components in LP2KS, they will be awarded a principal registration number known as *nombor unik kepala sekolah* (NUKS). With this number, it allows candidates to be eligible for the appointment of principal in a public school (i.e., at either primary or secondary level). The mayor of each regent or city is tasked to give the final approval on the appointment of school principal (LP2KS, 2016). With this certification process in place, the central government will only provide education assistance to the district governments if the mayor had appointed principals who have NUKS registrations in their public schools.

Although this new principal training program has just been implemented in recent years, the feedback gathered from the programme participants is promising (Sumintono et al., 2015). Candidates who were enrolled in the LP2KS training have expressed that the training in LP2KS is much better in contrast to other principal's training conducted by the district government. Candidates appreciated the varieties of training approaches, the content of the training, and the teaching methods which are completely different from their earlier training. As the awareness on the importance of NUKS increases, the district governments started to appoint more principals who possess NUKS at the primary school level (LP2KS, 2016). To assess the effectiveness of this policy, more studies are needed on the development of NUKS and LP2KS.

While the changes discussed earlier have helped improve school leadership and the education system in general, principals' management skills is still somewhat lacking. Several researchers had portrayed the educational leadership situation in different ways. Bjork (2005) examined different areas in the education sector of East Java including the curriculum, and the decision-making and management. In his study, he unveiled that school principals were perceived to have not enough capacity in terms of expertise and experience to handle the challenges and opportunities of autonomy. Bjork's (2005) findings are consistent with what Mr. Fadjar had voiced in 2002, who was then the Minister of National Education. He commented that "the Indonesian government did not educate school leaders to be independent in many aspects of school administration" (Sofo, Fitzgerald, & Jawas, 2012, p. 503).

Two studies conducted in two different regions of Sumatra—one in Lampung (Hariri, Monypenny & Prideaux, 2012) and the other in Padang (Damanik, 2014) revealed some interesting findings. Taking an example in Lampung, the teacher's job satisfaction improves if the principal's style in decision-making is less coercive and bureaucratic (Hariri et al., 2012). In addition, the leadership behaviors of principals and its influence on elements of the school climate were also deemed to be important for school improvement—that is, teacher's self-efficacy in the context of education reform (Damanik, 2014). Interestingly, another study was done in Malang, Jawas (2014) discovered four areas for improvement, namely curriculum, teachers' professionalism, learning facilities, and students' learning outcomes. She highlighted that instructional leadership has actually supported the practices of managing, promoting, improving and assessing instruction by the school principal. However, perceptions about teaching and learning between principals and teachers are found to be different, and they do not necessarily lead to increased frequency of practices that influence instructional improvement. These three studies suggest that the principalship in Indonesia has moved slightly from school management to educational leadership.

Interest in research on Indonesian school leadership continued to grow. An insightful qualitative study was conducted with three principals from Yogyakarta, who were perceived to be successful in leading their schools (Raihani, 2007). This research has concluded with some unique findings. One such example is the discovery that all the participants embraced "Islamic and cultural beliefs and values that underpinned their leadership … which were articulated in the school leadership and strategies" (p. 481). This is one aspect of principal professionalism that was never revealed in any previous studies on school leadership. A national survey about principalship in Indonesia was conducted by Analytical and Capacity Development Partnership (ACDP, 2013) to explore principals' competency. 4070 principals from different parts of Indonesia participated in the study involving principals responding to a self-rating questionnaire based on the competency standards instrument. Similarly, their teachers and supervisors rated the principals with the same instrument. All the participating principals were not trained on their competencies by LP2KS. As such, the study revealed that the principals' self-ratings for all except personality and social competencies were generally lower than those ratings provided by their teachers and supervisors. The competencies that were perceived to be weak are supervision, teaching and learning purposes, and using information and communication technology (ICT) for management (ACDP, 2013). This could indicate that the principals have not really mastered the skills as an instructional leader in guiding the teachers. This is an interesting finding that needs deliberate thoughts as these competencies could impact schools' achievement directly. Another interesting discovery is the highlight of managerial competency that was perceived to be the most important by the principals (ACDP, 2013). They perceived that the managerial competency is a core function to manage their schools effectively.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have provided a historical description of the key eras of education change in Indonesia, which have substantial influence on the quality of education and schooling as a whole, including school leadership. The political, social and cultural influences within and across these eras have undoubtedly shape both the past and current situation of school leadership in Indonesia. Notwithstanding the challenges that the past present to the current, schools continue to be in the best position to lead schools in improving student learning outcomes. The era of greater autonomy has great potential to enable school and district level improvements. Nevertheless what remains as real challenges are the unevenness of principals' mastery on competency standards, professional development of principals, and the political influence on the appointments of the principals (Salmita, 2013).

In Indonesia, the recruitment system for principals can be rather interesting. It has evolved from the reliance on school inspector's report to the fulfillment of competency standard in recent times. The colonial era style of school principal selection is preserved in the Independence era mainly because of limited experience and perceived fit to the socio-political situation of the nation. Even though leadership studies show that school principals would not be able to function effectively without proper training and development (e.g., Tahalele, 1971), the principals in Indonesia may have to rely on their own limited resolve to manage schools (Beeby, 1979). In the New Order era, public school principals have been known to even engage in extra work in the midst of being active state apparatus to government policies. It is thus understandable that the continual development of leadership competences may not take center stage in the principals' career life. This is quite unlike other neighboring countries. For example, established leadership development centers for their principals can be found at the Institut Aminuddin Baki in Malaysia and National Institute of Education Management in Vietnam (P. Hallinger, personal communication). The centers have systematically introduced instructional leadership as part of the curriculum for the principals' training and development.

Nevertheless, there has been the attempt by the education ministry to regulate principal competency requirement—the result of the "steering" instead of "rowing" role performed by the Ministry of Education. This move is actually an extension on the Teacher Law that requires educators to fulfill the teachers' competency framework in order to be qualified for teaching (Raihani & Sumintono, 2010). It is also encouraging to know the ACDP (2013) report finds school principals perceived school management as their priority. This finding illuminates how Indonesian principals lead their schools. However, the main emphasis is on school management and administration, rather than leadership or development (Lee & Hallinger, 2012). This shows little change since the Old order era to recent times (Beeby, 1979; Nasution, 1967; van der Werf et al., 2000). The need to be competent in school management is consistent with Jones and Hagul (2001)—stating that "school principals have little authority in running the school or in resource allocation, nor are they usually trained to manage or lead a school well" (Jones & Hagul, 2001, p. 214). It makes much sense then that

relying on school management and practicing certain leadership style is inevitable—specifically, autocratic leadership style (Bjork, 2005; Sofo et al., 2012). It seems obvious that much time is still required to see changes in schools even as a result of the LP2KS training (Sumintono et al., 2015).

Finally, the issue of political influence on the principals' appointments. The recent study by Sumintono et al. (2015) underscored some serious issues regarding principalship in terms of the political influences on the appointments of the principals. One of these concerns involves the decision to remove principals from their positions due to micro-political influences. As a case in point, a new mayor who is elected by the people may try to appease the people by removing principals and appointing others that are favored by the people. This would certainly affect the professionalism and morale of educators in their particular districts.

Nevertheless, there have been slight differences in the political influence on school leadership since the New Order era where the local government has greater power than the central government on school matters. The shift is indicative of a kind of decentralized centralism. This is perhaps why the central government is insisting on the strict adherence to LP2KS—that is, to train the potential principals in Indonesia effectively, and only those with registered NUKS to be appointed as principals.

The work on improving schools through quality teachers and leaders in Indonesia still needs much work. By virtue of its land mass, many islands, and the several decades of historical legacies, the aspiration to attain a good balance between centralisation and decentralism is an uphill task. More research work, therefore, needs to be done. Already, the interest in understanding what is going on is increasing in terms of book publication about principalship (e.g., Asmani, 2012; Hendarman, 2015; Jelantik, 2015; Murniati, 2008; Supriadi, 2010; Suhardiman, 2012) compare to previous era that show limited sources (e.g. Tahalele, 1971; Wahjosumidjo, 1999). The way forward could be one of describing what has happened in the past and what is happening currently, and to what can be done in the future.

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Dr. Bambang Sumintono has been worked as a chemistry teacher for seven years in Lombok, Indonesia. He was completed his master degree in educational administration from Flinders University, in 2001; his doctoral study conducted at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand in 2007. From October 2008 to December 2013, he was worked as a lecturer at Faculty of Education, Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, Johor, Malaysia. Starting on May 2014, he has been working as a lecturer and researcher at Institute of Educational Leadership, Faculty of Education, Universiti Malaya. His research interest are in educational policy, educational leadership and Indonesian education development. He wrote two textbooks about application of Rasch modeling for social sciences research in Bahasa Indonesia. He can be contacted by email: bambang@um.edu.my, ordeceng@gmail.com.

Dr. Rais Hidayat has been worked as a journalist for three years and as a researcher for ten years in The Jakarta Post newspaper, Indonesia. He was completed his master degree in Educational Management from Universitas Pakuan Bogor, Indonesia in 2011; his doctoral study conducted at Universitas Negeri Jakarta in Educational Management in 2015. From February 2012 until now he work as a lecturer at Universitas Pakuan, Bogor, Indonesia. His research interest are in Educational Curriculum, Educational Leadership, Educational Management, and Educational Policy. Rais can be contacted by email: rais72rais@gmail.com.

Dr. Yuyun Elizabeth Patras is a lecturer at University of Pakuan in Bogor, Indonesia. She gained her Master degree in Educational Management from the University of Pakuan in 2009 and finished her Doctorate degree in Educational Management from Universitas Negeri Jakarta in 2015. Earlier in her career she spent 10 years as a primary teacher in West Java, Indonesia. Her research interest encompasses general Educational Management, Leadership and Policy as well as specific interest on the development of education and curriculum in Indonesia. Yuyun can be reached via email ibethibeth64@yahoo.com.

Mr. Joko Sriyanto completed his master degree in mechanical engineering from Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia in 2006. From August 2003 to December 2004, he was worked as a lecturer at Automotive Department, Politeknik PPKP Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Starting on January 2005, he has been working as a lecturer and researcher at Faculty of Engineering, Yogyakarta State University. His research interests are in automotive technology and educational leadership. He can be contacted by email: joko_sriyanto@uny.ac.id or jokosriyanto97@gmail.com.

Dr. Umi Anugerah Izzati has been worked as a lecturer for several years in private universities, before have tenure position at Psychology Department, Faculty of Education, Surabaya State University on January 2008. She was completed her undergraduate in psychology Surabaya University in 1998; her master degree in psychology profession from Airlangga University, in 2005; and doctoral study completed at Airlangga University, in Psychology in 2016. From 2003 to 2008, she was also worked as consultant psychology and management. Her research interest are in organization behavior, industry and organization psychology, educational leadership, education development and education psychology. She can be contacted by email: umianugerah@unesa.ac.id or umianugerah@gmail.com.

Chapter 4
Changing Practices of School Leadership in Taiwan: Evolving Education Reforms

Hui-Ling Wendy Pan and Fong-Yee Nyeu

Abstract For the past three decades, the Taiwanese education system has undergone waves of reform and gradual deregulation beginning with the lifting of the martial law in 1987. A more democratic and open society opened up new ideas for education and school management. These reforms have greatly influenced the content of education, the organization and power structure of education, the roles of teachers and principals, and very importantly how principals lead and schools are managed. This chapter examines the education reforms in Taiwan throughout the years in terms of its impact, and the challenges they pose to leadership in schools.

Introduction

Education in Taiwan has undergone several waves of reform during the past few decades. As globalization has brought about efforts to restructure and deregulate the system, a more decentralized and pluralist education system has been gradually put in place in Taiwan. Education authority has decentralized power from central to local governments, and from local governments to the schools. Reforms introduced in the now more democratic and open society have greatly influenced the content of education, the organization, power structure of education, role of teachers, and role of principals in leading and managing schools. School-based management, teacher empowerment, and parental voice have restructured the power ecology in schools as schools began to exercise power-sharing and shared governance. Furthermore, curriculum reforms have given school leaders the authority and autonomy in designing and developing school-based curriculum.

In such contexts, school leaders are bound to face challenges as they lead in a journey of change, just as effective school leadership is necessary to attain desired effects of reform policies (Fullan, 2007; Hall & Hord, 2001; Hallinger, 2011). A variety of strategies, methods, and approaches to facilitate student learning such

H.-L. W. Pan (✉) · F.-Y. Nyeu
Graduate Institute of Educational Policy and Leadership, Tamkang University, New Taipei City, Taiwan
e-mail: panhlw@gmail.com

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as learning community, collaborative learning, cooperative learning, differentiated instruction, remedial instruction, flipped classroom and multiple-measure assessments have been introduced in schools in Taiwan. Together with the existing policies to enhance teaching including teacher evaluation for professional development and teacher professional learning community, schools are now witnessing a flourishing of teaching and learning approaches. School leaders experience the tension between the forces of convergence brought about by globalization to pull their roles toward the "global mean" (for instance, the trend toward school-based management and curriculum) and the divergence associated with the unique cultures of different societies (Dimmock & Walker, 2005; Walker & Walker, 1998). This chapter examines the education reforms in Taiwan throughout the years and its impact on school leadership, and the challenges they pose to school leaders.

Education Reform Context

In 1949, the government of Taiwan imposed a martial law to maintain political control, national security, and hegemony. Political opposition and criticism of the government were suppressed while publications were screened prior to distribution. Academic freedom was thus hindered and a unified version of textbooks was instituted in schools. Almost four decades later, economic growth and political stability prompted the lifting of the martial law in 1987, signifying the end of authoritarian leadership and the liberation of people's thinking after a long period of oppression. This also marks the start of reforms in education.

The First Wave of Education Reform

In 1994, dissatisfaction with the education system that had overemphasized testing and created high anxiety and stress for the students provoked a mass demonstration demanding reform of the system. People voiced their concerns and challenged the traditional practices in the education system, demanding smaller-sized schools and classes, more high schools and higher education institutions, a basic education law, and a modernized education (Pan & Yu, 1999). The Cabinet-level Council of Education Reform (CER) was consequently established to serve as a political buffer and bridge between the government and the social groups (Chou & Ching, 2012). The main task of this two-year temporary institution was to review the entire education system and to set the blueprint for education reform. The CER's final Advisory Report issued in 1996 identified five major directions for reform, including deregulating education, helping every student learn, establishing multiple channels to education, promoting educational quality, and establishing a life-long learning society. In response, the government initiated a series of reform to liberalize, democratize and modernize education, overhauling laws pertaining to education, teacher preparation,

and curriculum. The main goal of the reform was to decentralize the highly regulated education system in order to foster teacher and student autonomy. The Action Plan for Education Reform was hence published in 1998 which outlined the key policies emphasizing pluralism, and devolved the central government's decision-making power. Major initiatives included passing the Education Basic Act and the Teacher Education Act, and comprehensive curriculum and school restructuring through the introduction of school-based management (Pan & Chen, 2011).

Local government, schools, and teachers were granted more autonomy in designing curriculum and teaching materials and the choosing of textbooks. There was no longer a unified version of textbooks for students, even though textbooks published by the private sector still needed to be screed and approved by the government. As this more decentralized and participatory system evolved, teachers became more involved in decision-making and began to share responsibility for school improvement (Pan, 2008; Pan & Chen, 2011). Individual school curriculum development committees (which comprised teachers, administrators, parents, and community representatives) were formed to plan, design and evaluate school curriculum, and decide on the textbooks published by the private sector (Chen & Chung, 2002; Pan, 2007a).

The Second Wave of Education Reform

The curricula of 6 years of elementary education and 3 years of junior high school education were integrated into a new Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The integrated curriculum emphasized multiple intelligence and was launched on a trial basis in 2001, and was fully implemented in 2004. Congruent with the reform of integrating curriculum for compulsory education in many Western countries, the Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum intended to provide students with flexible curricular options; improve students' abilities to integrate knowledge, think critically and solve problems; and foster basic skills and lifelong learning attitude for modern citizenship (Ministry of Education, 2003). This was a departure from requiring students to memorize large amounts of materials in order to pass entrance examinations for higher levels of schooling. The new curriculum intended to break the boundaries of subject-based curriculum. Learning subjects were grouped into seven learning areas, including language arts, health, and physical education, social studies, arts and humanities, mathematics, science and technology, and integrative activities (Ministry of Education, 2006).

The Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum decentralized the national curriculum and contextualized school-based conditions. The General Guideline to the Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum empowered the individual school curriculum development committees to promote school-based curriculum. Besides the required number of class periods assigned to each learning area, schools and teachers were given the flexibility and autonomy to determine the learning content of additional "flexible learning time" based on student aptitude, community needs, and unique school characteristics. Schools were expected to develop school-based curriculum by taking into

consideration school characteristics, community characteristics, parent expectations, and student needs, and bringing together school and community resources. Schools were given the freedom to select or put together books and teaching materials suitable for the curriculum and to carry out multiple ways of assessment to evaluate student learning and to improve curriculum and teaching (Ministry of Education, 2003). Unlike before, teachers and parents were encouraged to participate in the development of the school curriculum. Teachers were expected to challenge themselves, to perform student-centered learning, to participate in collaborative teaching, and to engage in action research. Parents were encouraged to participate in and give advice to school activities and curriculum development.

The Third Wave of Education Reform

To strengthen the competitiveness of Taiwan's young generation, the Ministry of Education implemented in 2014 the Twelve-Year Basic Education policy. With the vision of "self-actualization, individual fulfillment, and lifelong learning", the twelve-year basic education aims to: (1) enhance the basic competencies and skills of citizens in order to solidify national economic competitiveness; (2) promote equality of educational opportunity to realize social equity and justice; (3) enrich resources for senior high schools to balance rural-urban disparity; (4) provide students with career aptitude exploration and guidance; and (5) ease students from excessive academic pressure and ensure a balanced development of junior high school students (Ministry of Education, 2015). It is noted that the foremost goal is to lessen student pressure from school entrance examination since the embedded cultural belief that "scholarly work is superior to everything" has had a distorting impact on schooling.

To realize the objectives of Twelve-Year Basic Education, the government is now covering the tuition fees for all vocational senior high school students, and for those senior high school students whose annual family income is lower than a certain threshold. In addition, the proportion of students entering senior high schools through the examination-free track should exceed 75% of the total student cohort. Along with these measures, a new Twelve-Year Curriculum for Basic Education is expected to be implemented by the 2019 academic year. The General Guideline for Twelve-Year Basic Education was approved in October of 2014, but the detailed guidelines for individual academic fields are still under review.

This new reform further emphasizes the importance of learning and brings on challenges to school leaders in achieving these goals. The new literacy-based curriculum guidelines for the twelve-year basic education is a response to the international discourse, as teachers are expected to facilitate learning so that students can become more independent and engaged in self-directed learning (Ministry of Education, 2014). The new paradigm has certainly introduced a new set of challenges for principals in leading schools, as principals and teachers are still more familiar with the "methods" under the previous paradigm.

Practices and Challenges of School Leadership for the Three-Wave Reforms

Since the abolishment of martial law in 1987, the Taiwanese society and education system have experienced gradual deregulation. With a more democratic and open society, new ideas and actions to transform the power structure of education, the content of education, and the roles of teachers and principals, have been underway. This section examines the practices of school leadership in the reform contexts, and the challenges confronting school leaders over the years.

Shared and Empowering Leadership Enacted Since the Mid-1990s

Since the 1980s, demands for educational experiences have become more sophisticated. The incremental efforts at reform and fragmentary remedies to the ills of education have prompted many experts to call for a more systemic approach to reformation and restructuring (see Hargreaves, Lieberman, Fullan, & Hopkins, 1998). This led to a shift from external control to school-based management in many national education systems. It also reflected the importance of understanding school-based needs and adapting initiatives to meet the changing needs of schools.

Mirroring the reforms in a global context, deregulation of education has become the main thread linking all the initiatives of improvement in Taiwan. The goals of education reforms in the 1990s involved creating a more decentralized and participatory educational system. Like in many other countries, school-based management, teacher empowerment, and parent choice became the key elements in school restructuring in Taiwan (Dimmock, 1996; Murphy, 1993; Murphy & Hallinger, 1993). School-based management enabled school-based initiatives for development and effectiveness, fostered an increased recognition of institutional capacity to bring about change themselves, and facilitated the growing acceptance that those close to the point of service delivery can make the complex decisions necessary to achieve teaching and learning goals.

The roles of principals, teachers, and parents underwent change as several legal acts were promulgated to restructure schools. The Teacher Act promulgated in 1994 gave teachers the right to participate in school governance through the Teacher Review Committee and the School Teachers Association. The Education Basic Act and the Compulsory Education Law guaranteed parents the legal right to participate in school committees including teacher recruitment. In 1999, the Local Government Act stipulated the devolution of K-12 education authority from the central government to the local governments. School leadership moved from an authoritative leadership to a more distributed one that shared power and leader responsibility. The establishment of School Teacher Association, and the participation of parents in school meetings have reconstructed the power ecology in schools. School principals were no longer

the sole pilot steering the schools. An innovative participatory educational system was created with the involvement of a variety of stakeholders in shared governance. Consequently, principals, lacking legal power as before, consumed great energy in ceaseless communications and negotiations.

A participatory form of decision-making (Murphy & Louis, 1994) expands the roles and responsibilities of teachers and staff members in school management. School leaders are expected to be change agents, empowering followers to realize their potential in order to increase organizational productivity and capacity to improve schools. However, sharing power in an authority-oriented cultural context was not easy for principals in Taiwan. School principals were reluctant to cede administrative power, while teachers were likewise reluctant to exceed the boundaries of their traditional roles (Pan & Chen, 2011). A national survey of 1300 school teachers revealed that there was much room for improvement in empowering teachers for shared governance (Pan, 2007b). Interestingly, teachers in schools with Teacher Associations had a lower perception of empowerment compared to the teachers in schools without Teacher Associations. Teachers in schools with Teacher Associations were perhaps hungry for more power as they began learning about participatory decision making (Pan, 2008).

Furthermore, the lack of legal processes to elect teacher representatives for school committees, the domination of committee operations by the principal, and teachers troubled by the lobbying and narrow-mindedness of their colleagues contributed to the ineffectiveness of the committees. After more than one decade of operation, conflicts among committee members dwindled from confrontation to peaceful coexistence. The challenge that schools now face is teachers' reluctance to devote time to the committees.

Curriculum and Instructional Leadership Emphasized in the 2000s

Since the 1980s, school principals in many countries such as the United States, Thailand, and Hong Kong were expected to exercise curriculum or instructional leadership (Dimmock & Lee, 2000; Hallinger, 1992, 2003; Hallinger & Murphy, 1987). Responsibilities for the principals involved developing school missions and goals, managing school activities, supervising teaching and learning, promoting educational quality, coordinating school curriculum, and monitoring student learning progress and outcomes. In particular, they were expected to promote professional development of staff and to build a culture of learning for students to engage in (Marsh, 2000; Murphy, 1990). The Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum introduced reforms including collaborative teaching strategies, school-based curriculum development, parent involvement, school-community relations, and many more. As local government, schools, and teachers were granted more autonomy, principals were faced with the challenge of leading curriculum and instructional development, which required prin-

cipals to have new and more in-depth knowledge, and understanding of the tasks, skills, and actions regarding curriculum and instructional leadership (Lin, 2003).

Curriculum Leadership

Fully implemented in 2004, the Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum replaced the uniform curriculum standards with curriculum guidelines that only described the goals, core competencies, and competence indicators. The concept that students should learn subject knowledge was replaced by the concept that students should acquire the ten competencies established by the curriculum guidelines, which included: (1) the ability to understand self and develop individual potential; (2) the ability to appreciate, present, and create; (3) the ability to plan career and learn in life; (4) the ability to express, communicate, and share; (5) the ability to respect and care for others, and work in teams; (6) the ability to learn about culture and know about international affairs; (7) the ability to plan, organize, and execute; (8) the ability to use technology and information; (9) the ability to actively learn and study; and (10) the ability to think independently and solve problems (Ministry of Education, 2006). The curriculum changes brought about by the Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum transformed the traditional ways of teaching. Rather than giving an emphasis to the memorization of material needed to do well on exams, teaching was to aim at developing students' character, citizenship, respect for law and country, humanity, judgment, and creativity (Shouse & Lin, 2010).

The Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum emphasized school-based management and school-based curriculum. School-based management allowed principals to have more latitude in decision-making, yet also placing more obligations and pressures on the principals (Lin, 2003). As schools were required to form curriculum development committees, a more participatory system evolved. School principal, administrative staff, teachers, students, parents, and community members were expected to come together to develop a curriculum that would meet the school's educational goals or solve the school's educational problems (Ministry of Education, 2000). The curriculum guidelines for the integrated curriculum empowered school and teachers with more autonomy and freedom to allow schools to design their own curriculum and develop unique school characteristics. The curriculum guidelines stipulated that in addition to school curriculum development committee, schools were also required to create one group for each learning area. Schools and teachers needed to take the initiative to design the curriculum and put together teaching materials to realize the goal of school-based curriculum development. Thus, much responsibility was bestowed upon school principals to lead curriculum development.

Instructional Leadership

Instructional leadership, a concept imported from the West, was advocated in the blueprint of education reform following the 1994 mass demonstration for education

reform. The Council on Education Reform (1996) emphasized the principal's role as the head teacher in its General Consultation Report on Education Reform, resulting in a new focus on principals' acting as an instructional leader to improve student learning. However, instructional leadership was not realized until Teacher Evaluation for Professional Development (TEPD) was launched in 2006. Resistance from the Teacher Association led to the eventual adoption of TEPD as a voluntary program for teachers to participate in. Although the policy did not offer principals enough legal support, it did open an avenue for principals to exert instructional leadership and discuss pedagogy with teachers.

Principals in Taiwan exercised the role of indirect leadership more than the role of direct leadership. Summing up the findings of 20 studies using the same instructional leadership construct, Pan, Nyeu and Chen (2015b) concluded that "developing a supporting work environment" and "promoting student learning climate" were the most observed principal instructional leadership behavior, while "promoting teacher professional development" and "ensuring teaching quality" were the least observed practice. Ensuring the physical and emotional well-being of teachers, mobilizing resources to provide a safe and orderly environment, providing teaching materials requested by teachers, resolving pressures from parents, and offering administrative support for teachers, were easier to accomplish (Pan et al. 2015b). Direct instructional leadership aimed at ensuring the quality of teaching could be perceived as jeopardizing teacher professional autonomy. Teachers in Taiwan have enjoyed high social reputation and their pedagogical practices have been well-respected for years. Teachers thus view quality assurance practices as an interference of their work, kindling tensions between administrative power and teacher autonomy. Taiwanese teachers have been trained to teach alone and thus have insecurity regarding peer coaching or classroom observation. Additionally, time constraint and heavy workload reinforce teachers' unwillingness to participate in or support new reform initiatives.

Furthermore, as school-based management delegated more power to the teachers through the establishment of numerous school committees, principals were no longer respected as the "boss" and lacked the legal power and necessary measures to realize their role as the "head teacher". Even though TEPD was voluntary, some principals grasped the opportunity to exert direct instructional leadership, using methods such as teaching demonstration, peer observation of class teaching, pairing of junior teachers with mentors, and encouraging teachers to conduct self-evaluations (Pan et al. 2015b).

Leadership for Learning Advocated in the 2010s

The introduction of international benchmarking assessments such as TIMMS, PISA, and PIRLS have prompted nations to place greater emphases on teaching and learning. Instructional leadership has thus once again been brought to prominence under the current wave of global education reform emphasizing student learning and this time integrating the paradigm of power-sharing, and a new term "leadership for learning" is coined (Hallinger, 2011). Reforms in the past three decades in Taiwan have,

first and foremost, prompted principals to use less controlling power and to share positional power with others (Gronn, 2002; Spillane, 2006). Expectations for principals to assume the roles of curriculum and instructional leaders were secondary. Even so, experiences on sharing power as well as leading curriculum and instruction paved the foundation to further advocate leadership for learning in the 2010s. As a case in point, the new policy of extending basic education from 9 to 12 years since 2014 has raised awareness among school leaders of the importance of developing twenty-first-century competencies in the students. Innovative teaching strategies and approaches including learning community, differentiated instruction, remedial instruction, collaborative learning, cooperative learning, flipped classroom, and multiple-measure assessments have been introduced in schools to improve student learning.

Traditionally, school education downplayed the cultivation of higher-order thinking skills such as creativity, analysis, synthesis, evaluation, and inquiry (Peng, Yeh & Lee, 2011). Due to the testing-oriented nature of education, instruction and teaching materials did not have a strong connection to the context in which the school was situated. To fix the illness of schooling and to strengthen global competitiveness, a new curriculum to be implemented in 2019 will highlight the core values of autonomy, interaction and the common good. With intention to foster key literacies in future generations, the new curriculum will adopt a student-centered philosophy. At the same time, teachers are encouraged to open their classroom for observation. An indigenous model of lesson study originated from Japan has been set into action these few years in Taiwan (see Pan, Lee, Hwang, Yu & Hsueh, 2014). Lesson study, as an effective approach of teacher professional learning, refers to the cycle of teachers working together to plan the lesson, conducting the lesson with one teacher teaching and others observing, and then discussing the lesson taught based on the data collected (Lewis, Perry & Murata, 2006).

The significance of leading learning in schools is magnified in an era that places a great premium on the relationship between leadership and student achievement. Taiwanese principals propel teacher professional learning and school organizational learning with the ultimate goal of improving student learning. Using whole-person education to guide school development, effective principals were found to exercise their leadership practice by involving multiple stakeholders to shape school vision, encouraging peer collaboration for teacher professional development, enforcing school-based curriculum and effective instruction, as well as providing supportive environment to facilitate learning of all school members (Pan, Nyeu, & Cheng, 2017). Undeniably, principals are facing obstacles. Confrontation between the old and new paradigms of learning perplexes the tasks of school leaders as they guide teachers from delivering knowledge to stimulating student inquiry and problem-solving. And principals lack sufficient subject content knowledge to converse with teachers concerning how their students are learning. Moreover, building school as a learning community in which teachers may actively engage in purposeful interactions and build relationships to nurture organizational change remain crucial tasks for Taiwanese school leaders to tackle in this new era.

Looking to the Future

To advance student learning outcomes, national education reforms are currently being pursued worldwide. *Race to the top* in the US and *National Education Agreement* in Australia are just two of the examples. To achieve whole system reform, the "wrong drivers" initiated by different countries need to be replaced by "effective drivers", including: (1) the learning-instruction-assessment nexus; (2) social capital to build the profession; (3) pedagogy matching technology, and (4) systemic synergy (Fullan, 2011). Fullan (2011)'s conception is in consonance with the concept of leadership for learning.

Although leadership for learning has been promoted in the context of the newly implemented policy of Twelve-Year Basic Education in Taiwan, paradigm shifts regarding "leadership" and "learning" await to be triggered in most of the school leaders. Moving toward a dispersed form of leadership and social constructivist perspective of learning is a new direction. With regard to the paradigm shift of leadership, scholars have suggested that leadership is not just position-based, but also involves organizational behavior and activities (MacBeath & Dempster, 2009; Youitt, 2004). In addition, it is inherently relational and interactive (Day, 2011), so that it might be deemed as a community engagement. Teachers support and challenge each other and learn together in a milieu of diverse interactions. Learning community might be an artifact that schools use to arouse collaboration and build social capital among the teachers.

Learning community has been asserted as an effective strategy for sustained and substantive school improvement (DuFour & Eaker, 1998; Harris & Muijs, 2005; Louis & Kruse, 1995). Teachers' agency is provoked and their capacity is augmented during the process of group learning. In the communities, expansive patterns of thinking are gradually nurtured and collective aspiration is set free (Senge, 1990). As learning community is premised on high levels of teacher democratic participation and pools repertoire of skills and abilities, it is a "field" to enact dispersed, autonomous and cultural forms of leadership practices (Pan, 2014; Youngs, 2014). Besides, "know-who" is critical for the success of learning community in addition to "know-what" and "know-how" (Stoll & Louis, 2007). Social capital is built through the performance of teacher working together.

Concerning the reconceptualization of learning, leadership for learning entails social constructivism which emphasizes learners' active participation and recognizes the social nature of learning. Authentic instruction argued by Lingard, Hayes and Mills (2003) is the core of constructivist pedagogy. The criteria to assess authentic quality entails disciplined inquiry for the cognitive work of learning; and aesthetic, utilitarian, or personal value beyond school for teaching and learning (Lingard et al., 2003). Aligning with the above perspective, having learning community as an operational form of leadership for learning has been proposed in Taiwan (Pan, 2014; Pan, Lee, Hwang, Yu, & Hsueh, 2014, 2016). It is an endeavor to indigenize Japanese scholar Sato (2012)'s approach of learning community. Handbooks have been developed to introduce the indigenous conceptions and practices (Pan et al. 2014; Pan,

Hwang, Lee, Yu, Liu, & Hsueh, 2015a). Taiwanese principals have begun to encourage collaborative learning in teachers and students by facilitating classrooms as learning communities and building teacher learning communities where individuals could learn and benefit from each other.

Conclusion

In conclusion, as school quality in Taiwan is judged by the society in terms of how well students perform on school entrance examinations, reform mandates regarding education innovation or future talent development conflict with the inevitable practice of teaching to the tests. Taiwanese school leaders have to balance the competing values of test-driven and data-driven practices. Furthermore, they face multiple pressures in exercising leadership under a reform climate that highlights professional autonomy, power sharing, and accountability practices. As change agents, they are frequently confronted with power dilemmas, such as "to create or to conserve, to act or to wait, to instruct or to allow space, to shout or to be courteous, and even to fire or to tolerate" (Pan & Chen, 2011, p. 344). An era of "post-heroic" leadership has been brought by the evolution of multiple leadership roles (Huey, 1994), witnessing practices of shared power, community building, and an action-oriented nature of leadership (Donaldson, 2001; Nirenberg, 1993).

Taiwanese school leaders, especially principals, are nonetheless still being held accountable for school effectiveness. This paradox of leadership has thus bestowed upon school leaders the challenge of maintaining a balance between conflicting roles and competing values, while also pursuing effective school improvement. Moreover, leaders need to acquire a contextual literacy capacity to understand the context where leadership and learning occur (Johnson, Dempster, & Wheeley, 2016). They also need to assist school members to engage in deep learning, which aims to prepare students "to be creative, connected, and collaborative life-long problem solvers and to be healthy, holistic human beings" (Fullan & Langworthy, 2014, p. 2). Teachers working collaboratively in a community of practice is a necessary condition for the building of professional teaching capacity. Situated in physical and social contexts, learning is distributed across the individual, other persons, and tools (Putnam & Borko, 2000). Teachers learn from each other and learn with/from students as well so that teachers help students to use, discover and create knowledge in the real world. Correspondingly, school leaders foster collaborative and risk-sharing cultures and generate the nurturing environment for learning. In addition, they become partners in the learning process through which teachers develop an individual identity and cultivate personal growth (Wenger, 1998), and the new learning-centered pedagogy takes off.

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Dr. Hui-Ling Wendy Pan is Dean of College of Education and professor of the Graduate Institute of Educational Policy and Leadership at Tamkang University. She is a dedicated researcher in educational leadership, educational evaluation and school improvement with a recent focus on facilitating learning community and innovation system in schools. Her extensive experiences in serving ad hoc committees for Taiwan's Ministry of Education made her nominated the convener for Strategic Alliance of High School Curriculum Implementation, a partnership which aims to build networks and bridge collaboration among central government, local government sectors and schools in the process of implementing 12-year New Curriculum for Basic Education. She also actively joins cross-cultural dialogues in leading change, innovation, and school improvement in the Asia-Pacific region. She serves on editorial boards of prestigious education journals and the board of directors for more than ten associations in Taiwan.

Dr Fong-Yee Nyeu is Dean of International and Cross-Strait affairs at University of Kang Ning in Taiwan, where she is in charge of the university's international cooperation and exchange. She is assistant professor at the Department of Business Administration at University of Kang Ning and adjunct faculty member at the Graduate Institute of Educational Policy and Leadership at Tamkang University. She is also the co-founder of EON Education Center in Israel. She received her doctoral degree from Harvard University. Her research interests are leadership, educational exchange, and the economics and finance of education. Her recent work involves principal leadership and innovation and entrepreneurship in education.

Chapter 5
System-Wide Educational Reform Agenda in Shanghai Supporting Leadership for Learning

Ting Wang and Nicholas Sun-keung Pang

Abstract Drawing on the analysis of interview data collected in 2015 from six schools in Shanghai, this paper focuses on leadership for system-wide educational improvement and teacher professional learning and development in Shanghai. The findings show that Shanghai has a consistent system leadership on strategic alignment and a systems approach to implementation. The primary focus of leadership within the schools is principal instructional leadership and teacher leadership. School continuous improvement is organized around effective teacher learning and student learning. Collaborative professional learning and shared responsibility are built into the daily lives of teachers and school leaders. Leadership is contextualized and culturally dependent. The system-wide culture of policy implementation effectively influences and shapes school leadership decisions and actions.

Introduction

As the role of education in driving economic and social development grows more apparent, international benchmarking of educational best practices has become an increasingly valuable tool for policymaking in recent years (Stewart, 2012). Shanghai students' outstanding performances on the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) in 2009 and 2012 have attracted international attention and repositioned Shanghai as a significant new "reference society" (OECD, 2010, 2013b; Sellar & Lingard, 2013). Shanghai's educational success is likely attributable to a conjunction of cultural and historical factors, such as Confucius values, high regard for teachers, value for high academic achievement, high expectations of parents on

T. Wang (✉)
Faculty of Education, Science, Technology and Mathematics, University of Canberra, Canberra, Australia
e-mail: wang@canberra.edu.au

N. S. Pang
Department of Education, Faculty of Education, East China Normal University, Shanghai, China

Department of Educational Administration and Policy, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shatin, N.T., Hong Kong SAR, China

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their children, a strong exam culture, and study for social mobility (Pang & Wang, 2017; Tan, 2013). This in on top of competitive teacher salaries, ongoing professional development, and a balance in working time. These cultural and historical factors have been played down by many analysts (Asia Society, 2010; Jensen, 2012; Jensen, Sonnemann, Roberts-Hull, & Hunter, 2016; OECD, 2012; Tucker, 2012). However, a close look at the evolution and education reforms in Shanghai provides a nuanced understanding of the dynamic development. It has been emphasized that influences of education reforms especially that of a systems approach has tremendous bearing on the education system as a whole (Jensen et al., 2016; Sellar & Lingard, 2013; Zhang, Ding, & Xu, 2016).

Leadership is critical because it is determinant of direction and outcomes. As learning is the core business of education, it provides the paramount form and purpose of leadership focused on creating and sustaining environments that are conducive to good learning (OECD, 2013a). Of recent times, leadership focused on teaching and learning has been identified to be critical to the future success of schools (Asia Society, 2012a). The evidence drawn from high-performing systems shows that schools have built systems that serve all students effectively. There is a strong and systematic focus on strengthening the teaching profession. These systems all have strong accountability policies that improve the quality of teacher professional learning and ensure that teaching is a collaborative profession rather than exclusively focusing on school and student performance measures (Jensen, 2012; Jensen et al., 2016). Results from 2013–2014 The Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) show that effective teaching and teachers are key to producing high-performing students in Shanghai (OECD, 2016). Shanghai's teacher development system has three inter-connected essential components, which combined to motivate and reward teachers throughout their careers: teacher career ladder, in-service training and development, and performance appraisal (Zhang et al., 2016). Drawing on the analysis of interview data collected in 2015 in Shanghai, this paper focuses on leadership for system-wide educational improvement and teacher professional learning and development, through the lens of policymakers, principals, and teachers in Shanghai. It addresses the following two research questions:

1. What are the essential characteristics of leadership for system-wide educational improvement in Shanghai?
2. What are the key features of teacher professional development and collaboration in Shanghai?

System Leadership Supporting Leadership for Learning

A Fundamental Shift of Education and Reforms in Shanghai

Shanghai is the leading educational system in China and has pioneered reforms in curriculum, assessment, teacher professional development and equity that are being emulated elsewhere in the country (Asia Society, 2012b). Since 1989, Shanghai has launched two waves of curriculum reform. Their essence has been to overcome "examination orientation" practices in schools in order to build quality education. Shanghai has developed new policy interventions to reduce student workload and to refocus on quality of student learning experiences over quantity. Shanghai has shifted the balance of the assessment systems toward a greater use of more formative assessment, better use of data by schools to improve instruction, greater involvement of and professional development for teachers on assessment, and more authentic measurement of higher order skills (Asia Society, 2010).

The curricular overhaul is supported by changes in teacher education and professional development. Shanghai has established a system of quality assurance and mechanisms for teacher collaboration, mentoring, class observations, and school-based action research. The sense of professional responsibilities and accountability are built into programmes of teacher preparation, in-service training and professional development of teachers and principals (Jensen, 2012; OECD, 2011). Shanghai also has policies and mechanisms to bring up the bottom-tier schools through collaborative strategies, such as Empowered Management, and sharing best practices across schools.

Shanghai's major challenge is a fundamental shift away from the traditional, didactic knowledge transmission education system, driven by public examinations, to a practice that nurtures students' talents, interests, and creativity (Stewart, 2012). A mission statement has been promoted to reshape the fundamental purpose of education: "Every school is a good school, every student is a good student, and every teacher is a good teacher". There is a strong focus on student-centered learning and holistic development. The aim is to ensure a shared understanding about the importance of "student-centered, curriculum standards-based, effective instruction, and efficient learning activities" (Yin, 2014a). Curriculum reforms have brought about significant improvement in student learning and teaching practices (Zhang, Ding, & Xu, 2016). The vision of enhancing the learning outcomes and all-round development of every child is widely shared by school educators in Shanghai. Many teachers' traditional ideas and pedagogical practices have been transformed in response to the priorities of curriculum reforms. As shown in the results of TALIS 2013–2014 (OECD, 2016), the vast majority of teachers in Shanghai hold strong constructivist beliefs about teaching. Nearly all teachers report that students should be allowed to think of solutions to practical problems themselves before the teacher shows them. They believe that thinking and reasoning processes are more important than specific curriculum content.

A Systems Approach in Policy-Making and Implementation

High-quality education for all students is the result of a system, not just the work of highly effective individual teachers, or the work of school leaders who create pockets of excellence. High-performing systems "take a systems approach to improve the teaching profession, from recruitment through initial training and induction, to ongoing professional development, assessment, and career paths. They also make teacher policy part of a more comprehensive approach, linked to curriculum change, school management reform, and attention to equity" (Asia Society, 2012a, p. 24).

A systems approach in education policy making and implementation is a salient feature in Shanghai. Municipal education authorities have led the system-wide educational reforms in a coordinated approach (Yin, 2014b). The design of the policy frameworks is within the national legislations, such as Compulsory Education Law and the outline of China's National Plan for Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development (2010–2020) (Ministry of Education, 2010). The responsibility of running schools lies with the municipal and district authorities. Schools are required to comply with and implement policies effectively. A coherent policymaking and implementation process is created at these levels, which ensures strategic alignment, implementation of policies and compliance with standards. This may work well in a primarily centralized system and strong collectivist culture, where individual needs are subject to collective needs and for the common good (Wong, 2001).

Systems thinking is essential to a systems approach of governance in Shanghai education. Alavi and McCormick (2004) suggest that "systems thinking", which is understanding how factors influence one another within a school, may be more easily accomplished in collectivist cultures. Stronger hierarchies and uneven power distributions may thus lead to increasing importance of leadership for school improvement (Vieluf, Kaplan, Klieme, & Bayer, 2012). Systems thinking must, therefore, lead to systems action that is strategic, powerful, and pursued in action (Fullan, 2004). Carefully designed policy interventions are based on deliberate systems thinking of the educational development and systems action over the last three decades in Shanghai.

Another distinctive feature of a systems approach in Shanghai is decentralized centralism. Decentralization, centralization, and recentralization often co-exist in Shanghai, as elsewhere in China (Hawkins, 2006; Huang, Wang, & Li, 2016). Decentralization is the overwhelming focus for the current literature on education planning and governance. Finding a balance between central and local control, or choosing a degree of decentralization, is perhaps something all governments must handle carefully. Education is no exception. Such a balance is perhaps contingent on the specific circumstances and popular beliefs of societies at particular times of social development (OECD, 2011).

Principals' Instructional Leadership

Enhancing principals' instructional leadership is considered a linchpin to improving the effectiveness of teaching and learning in Shanghai. Despite a lack of consensus on the meaning of instructional leadership, there are recurring themes on this concept in the literature. Hallinger and Murphy (2012) argue that instructional leadership is an influence process through which leaders identify a direction for the school, motivate staff, and coordinate school and classroom-based strategies aimed at improvements in teaching and learning. Instructional leaders understand the tenets of quality instruction and the curricula. Successful leaders develop a vision for the schools. The philosophy, structures, and activities of the school are geared towards achieving this shared vision (Bush & Glover, 2004).

In Shanghai, improving instruction and the efficiency of each component of the whole teaching process in terms of "lesson preparation, instruction, homework, assessment, and guidance" is regarded as key to school effectiveness (Yin, 2009). Principals are expected to enhance professional expertise, regularly observe classes, supervise teacher professional learning, and monitor teaching performance. Principals assume curriculum leadership and play a leading role in the implementation of municipal curriculum and the development of school-based curricula. The findings of 2013–2014 TALIS show that nearly all principals in Shanghai have completed instructional leadership training. Principals' time use reflects the importance of instructional leadership in Shanghai, with more than one-third of principals' working time devoted to curriculum and teaching, compared to approximately one fifth on average in TALIS countries (OECD, 2016).

Shanghai Municipal Education Commission has promoted "three essential capabilities" with a particular focus on improving the effectiveness and quality of curriculum implementation and instruction. The primary aim is to enhance principals' instructional leadership capability and improve teachers' capability of implementing curricula effectively. It also aimed to improve "Teaching and Research Officers" capability of supervising curriculum implementation, who are leading teachers as subject researchers from education authorities (Yuan, 2010). Shanghai has formalized an expert cohort of leading teachers to raise standards across the system and provide curriculum and pedagogical leadership. They provide support to schools and teachers on specific pedagogy, observing and providing feedback, and strengthening teachers' research skills (Jensen et al., 2016).

Teacher Professional Learning and Development System

Enhancing the quality of all teachers is a priority for Shanghai. Teacher development system has been developed incrementally in response to China's broad and evolving goals for economic development and for an education system that could support this development. This system has three essential components: the teacher career ladder,

in-service training and development, and performance appraisal. The career ladder provides financial motivation and a pathway for career advancement for teachers; the in-service training enables teachers to move along the ladder as they improve; and the performance appraisal system evaluates and rewards teacher performance at each step of the ladder (Zhang et al., 2016). These carefully structured incentives enabled Shanghai's government to use relatively limited public financing to build and sustain a very high-quality teaching force.

Teaching in Shanghai is promoted as a desirable and prestigious lifelong career; an occupation that requires professionals who hone their skills over the course of time. Shanghai created a career ladder system, which is a comprehensive career framework that spans entry level to senior classroom teachers as well as school principals. There are now 13 levels on the ladder for teachers and a principal career includes five levels. All principals must first have been successful teachers and they are required to continue teaching even when they become principals (Zhang et al., 2016).

Shanghai also provides the clearest example of a system that commits large amount of resources to teacher professional learning. Evaluation and accountability mechanisms that ensure people throughout the system are held responsible for the quality of professional learning. Shanghai tends to be prescriptive about what constitutes effective professional learning in schools. Strategic reforms aim to build professional learning into daily practice and teachers' professional identity, generate a culture in which teachers share responsibility for their own and others' professional learning, and create structures for recognizing teaching expertise (Jensen et al., 2016).

Professional learning is effective only when it becomes a normal part of daily work life in schools. The work on professional learning communities (PLCs) draws on models of learning organizations (Senge, 1990), communities of practice (Wenger, 1998), and places emphasis on the roles of leadership and school culture (Hord, 1997; Vieluf et al., 2012). Central features of PLCs include collaboration, shared vision, a focus on learning, reflective inquiry and de-privatization of practice. Although the terminology of PLCs is not widely used in Chinese schools, collaborative professional learning is built into the daily lives of teachers and their collaborative practices are in line with the international literature on the PLCs (Darling-Hammond, Wei, Andree, Richardson, & Orphanos, 2009; Huffman et al., 2016; Pang & Wang, 2016; Wang, 2015).

The notion of a "teacher professional development community" was used in 2011 in Shanghai to describe schools as a place where teachers gain professional growth by participating in various development groups with their colleagues. At least three types of school-based professional development groups are in operation: teaching and research groups (TRGs), lesson preparation groups (LPGs), and grade groups (GGs). TRGs consist of teachers who teach the same or similar subjects. They discuss problems they encounter in teaching that subject and share their experiences. In large schools where each grade comprises many parallel classes, TRGs are divided into LPGs to allow the joint preparation of lesson plans. Schools usually also have GGs in which teachers of the same grade gather to communicate and collaborate (Zhang et al., 2016). All teaching and research groups are led by senior or master teachers,

whose role is to offer support to junior teachers and improve the overall instruction in the school. The sustainable development of PLCs in the Chinese context depends on a collaborative culture built upon well-established, supportive mechanisms for teacher professional learning and development (Yang, 2014).

The Research Study

Qualitative data was collected in 2015 in Shanghai through face-to-face, semi-structured interviews, and observations in six case study schools. The 25 interviewees included three senior officials and 22 participants from six public schools comprising four primary schools, one Year 1–9 Primary to Junior Secondary School and one Senior Secondary school. These schools vary in the level, size, and history. School A is a highly reputable district-level primary school with 4200 students and a history of over 100 years. School B is a large Year 1–9 school located in the largest community in Shanghai. School C is an exemplary school located in a central area near the embassies and international business communities. School D is a high performing senior high school with a special focus on foreign languages studies. School E is an ordinary primary school located in a newly developed suburb. School F is a small-sized school for disadvantaged migrant workers' children.

Participants were selected through purposive sampling. The 25 interviewees varied in their representativeness including positions, disciplines, teaching experience, and designations of levels. They included three senior officials from education authorities, and six principals, two deputy principals, six department heads and eight teachers at different levels, with teaching experiences ranging from two years to over 30 years. Their disciplines covered Chinese language, mathematics, English, physics. All participants were assured of confidentiality in the reporting of their response and identified in code only (e.g. M1, F2A).

The authors interviewed the participants in Chinese, including 18 individual interviews and two focus group interviews. Each interview lasted approximately from 30 min to 1.5 h. The first author also observed six lessons (two maths classes, two English classes, two Chinese classes) in three schools (A, D, E). Each interview was digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. The transcripts were coded based on emergent themes and categories. Data analysis took the form of constant comparative analysis whereby themes were identified and coded as they surfaced (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The responses were sorted into categories on the basis of similarities and differences. The analytical process was iterative. The data analysis involved progressive refining of emerging categories. Similarities and diversities across the transcripts were mapped to address the two research questions.

Findings

Four major themes emerged from the interview data analysis.

Theme 1: Consistent System Leadership and Strategic Alignment

The findings show that Shanghai has a strong system leadership as evidenced in a coherent approach in curricula, learning and teaching, and teacher development. Consistent policy interventions and tireless efforts of educators over many years have transformed the education system. A senior leader (M1) explained a tri-level leadership mechanism at the municipal, district and school levels. He highlighted four factors contributing to educational quality and equity: consistent public education policies and a focus on student learning; teaching development system, and Teaching and Research Groups practices; teacher commitment and professionalism; parents' high expectation and support. Another senior leader (M2) echoed, "Every ten years we develop a long term education plan. We also have five-year plans. I recommended that the 2010 Shanghai Mid-Term and Long Term Education Plan should be research evidence-based".

Most principals agreed that strong system leadership and progressive reforms have driven education quality and equity. Each school developed its strategic plans based on its strengths, history, culture, and to involve teachers in shaping the school goals. The Principal (M3B) in Year 1–9 School B explained that the system has "a strong emphasis on the detailed implementation procedures and quantifiable criteria and standards". He highlighted that recent policies focus on "implementing standard-based curriculum, promoting innovative pedagogical practices and school-based curricula". A Senior Secondary School Principal (M5E) echoed that "a carefully crafted policy framework is anchored in a keen awareness of the strengths and weaknesses of the education system and teacher workforce."

High expectations for effective teaching and student learning were evident in these six schools. The ethos of providing the best learning experiences for children by dedicated teachers drives school improvement. The Principal (F2A) in Primary School A indicated that her school promoted a shared vision of "connecting with the world and a culture of little bright ants in terms of cultivating confident, hard-working, and collaborative kids". The Principal (F14F) in Primary School F explained that the leadership team engaged students and teachers to develop the collaborative culture and "educate honest and sincere students with a bright outlook and confidence".

The findings show school leadership practices are shaped by system agenda. All principals agreed that a deliberately designed, comprehensive education reform structure has been established and implemented consistently over many years. Fundamental structural change must be supported by a profound cultural change and sustained capacity building of all teachers. As explained by a principal (M3B), teachers must

satisfy the requirements regarding teacher development in Shanghai such as 360 and 540 h of professional development for junior and senior teachers respectively. Other principals (F2A, F5C, and F14F) echoed that curriculum standards and teacher PD are non-negotiables.

Theme 2: Principal Instructional Leadership

The findings reveal that the core feature of principal leadership in Shanghai is leadership for learning and quality instruction. The key elements of instructional leadership include developing and communicating the school vision, supervising and participating in teacher development, leading curriculum development, and promoting a culture of learning and collaboration. All schools in this study were required to design a five-year plan in line with the system mandate on strategic planning. The principals articulated a clear vision for their school. Both top down and bottom up approaches were utilized in developing the school vision, mission, and strategic plans. Most principals in the study mentioned SWOT analysis of the school's history, development, culture, characteristics of the community it serves, and staff characteristics. They did not simply put forward the grand vision for the school. Rather, they immersed themselves in getting to "know the pulse of the school", its uniqueness, trajectories, and internal contradictions. They highlighted the importance of "being grounded in the school culture", and "rejuvenating" the school in a changing context.

Most principals' responses revealed that they implemented the system policies and mediated external forces to ensure a supportive environment for teachers and students. A striking similarity in their approaches of shaping the school strategic plan was deliberate consideration of the school's contexts, current needs, and system agendas. They also conducted extensive consultations with staff and several rounds of revision in the process. Despite the variations in their mission statements, these schools shared an emphasis on the holistic development of each student and teacher development. For example, the Principal (M5E) in School E explained that the school vision was aligned with the system agenda and the district's plan in strategically developing a senior high school with a specialty in foreign languages. The Principal (F11D) in Primary school D highlighted the alignment of the individual and organizational goals, and a strong focus on providing satisfying education for disadvantaged migrant workers' children and "make them grow as plants that bloom in the spring". Primary school F is an ordinary school in a newly developed suburb. The principal illustrated how her school explicitly related an emerging school culture to the Shanghai local culture in engaging with kids. They leveraged the local culture to "successfully cultivate the school identity and drive the school-based curricula focused on the exploration of Shanghai".

The principals in the study unanimously agreed that the success for school effectiveness depended on leadership for effective teaching and learning. Three principals (F2A, F5C, and F14F) demonstrated strong leadership in leading the implementation of prescribed curricula and development of school-based, extension curricula.

The principal in Primary school C designated certain days on class observations in different subjects to keep updated with teaching practices and have dialogues with teachers in professional learning activities. Principals in School A, C, and D mainly relied on a highly committed leadership team and teacher leaders to ensure the effectiveness of a mechanism in engaging teachers in professional learning. They acted as strong advocates and took the leadership role for innovative school-based curricula development, and fostering a culture of learning and growth.

Theme 3: Teacher Empowerment and Leadership

The findings reveal teacher empowerment and engagement in a dynamic leadership process in schools. Contrary to the belief that the structures in Chinese schools are hierarchical and principals tend to have control and command approaches, the principals in this study demonstrated efforts in establishing a distributive leadership structure and sharing power and authority. They believed the full participation of teachers in school management and development can get everyone informed and committed to school goals. One feature in school management process was to cultivate broad-based decision making and teacher leadership. Teacher engagement provided a solution to the complexity of managing a large school, such as Primary school C with over 4200 students and three campuses. Principals also delegated the responsibility of project management and coordinating events to teachers. As indicated by several teachers (M4D, F13E, and F4B), they had opportunities to manage a project or lead a taskforce team, and hence developed their management skills, self-efficacy and a sense of achievement.

Most interviewees' responses reflected shared commitment to foster a culture of teacher empowerment. They believed that a teacher should have strong work ethics and willingness to engage in school development. Teacher leadership was evident in School A and School D. Junior teachers had opportunities in sharing power and task-based project management. Senior teachers were of high calibre in promoting professional learning in school and across the system and took on the role of curriculum and pedagogical leadership. Collective learning and shared belief in the importance of supporting peers fostered a strong sense of community. A junior English teacher (F8A) in School A illustrated the operation of the project management system and explained the benefits of managing several international projects, such as learning to communicate effectively with senior staff, seeking support from various departments, and coordinating the implementation of task-oriented projects.

The professional growth of teachers is not only related to developing their professional knowledge and skills, but also to becoming an empowered community member in the school development. The principal (M3B) in School B allowed diversified pathways of teacher development in the process of developing school-based curricula. A teacher of Chinese subject whose teaching did not fit with the mainstream classroom teaching was shifted to teach an elective of Chinese Traditions Study and lead extracurricular activities on the similar topics. He found new energy

and purpose in his new subject and became a superstar in the school and wider community. He published a book on Chinese traditions and was an invited presenter at the Shanghai TV station. His unique strength and expertise were acknowledged and utilized.

Schools adopted different approaches for capacity building and teacher leadership was weaved into professional learning and personal development. For instance, Primary School C has a strong professional learning culture. As an exemplary school it offered district-based new teachers induction programme; showcasing the high benchmarks of teaching practices and mentoring relationship. It provided training for 29 new teachers from different schools in 2015. The Deputy Principal (F6C) explained that this programme "breaks down the barriers of schools, facilitates professional dialogues and hones the skills of new teachers, and enables experienced teachers to become more reflective practitioners and effective mentors". Professional learning of teachers in School C became a way of life. Different clubs and networks also acted as a lubricant to strengthen trusting relationships and facilitate learning through informal dialogues and activities.

Theme 4: Leadership for Focused Teacher Collaboration and Shared Responsibility

The findings show that teachers in this study had focused on professional learning, and have a strong sense of shared responsibility for student learning. The system requirements and school priorities were aligned and interwoven into their daily teaching practices. Teacher collaborations and collective learning were evident in all six schools regardless of their history, size or context. Teachers in Shanghai enter the profession as apprentices with a full-year induction before they are certified as teachers. They participate in 120 h of professional development (PD) per year and are assigned a mentor who is a senior-ranked teacher. The induction programme is not left to each individual school as shown by a district-based programme in Primary School C. New teachers are mentored in the base school and their home schools through structured training programmes, lectures, workshops, class observations and individual consultation sessions with mentor teachers in both schools.

The findings also reveal common approaches in teacher professional learning (PL). System mandated training programmes, teaching skills competitions, demonstration classes are structured formal PL. School-based, differentiated, regular peer support activities form the backbone of teacher PL in practice aiming at solving real problems in authentic teaching environments, and developing teachers as reflective practitioners and collaborators. Professional learning networks across the schools and districts, even across the regions and education groups are facilitated by education departments and supported by universities, businesses or non-government organizations.

Teachers in School A had various PL experiences ranging from district mandated programmes, across-school and school-based activities, and opportunities for overseas study or short visits. Two teachers who taught in the UK for three months commented on the cross-fertilization of good ideas and best practices through exposure to alternative education perspectives and practices. Teacher professional development was considered critical by most interviewees. All six principals had extensive teaching experiences and strong expertise in their discipline areas. They demonstrated leadership in instruction and curriculum and mainly depended on a well-established teacher development system at the municipal, district and school levels to promote and evaluate teacher instruction. As indicated by a principal (F5C), "it is more than a whole-school approach in developing teachers, rather a solid system approach that relies on combined efforts from various levels to ensure effective professional growth of all teachers".

Peer support and shared responsibility for collective learning were evident in these schools. A sense of trust and community was considered fundamental to school improvement. The underpinning philosophy was that continuous development is an indispensable duty of a teacher. High performing teachers were encouraged to be mentors and apply for promotion to senior teachers or high calibre subject leaders at the district level. The principal (F14F) in School F explained that a teacher whose students outperformed her colleague's class in the same year level was not rewarded. Instead, she was advised to share her effective strategies and help her colleague to improve teaching. Unhealthy competition was discouraged and a collaborative culture was advocated and facilitated in the school.

The findings show that open-mindedness and striving for excellence and innovation were promoted across the system. Coherent teacher development structures provided a wide range of professional learning experiences beyond the school boundaries. For example, Teacher F8A in School A had beneficial experience in regularly observing classes in an international school. A primary school principal (F2A) was mentored by a middle school principal and benefited from much wider leadership experiences. An Ecosystem School Network in M District was an example of sharing best practices of exemplary schools and helping weaker schools. Despite putting in the extra work and effort on this network as a leading school, Principal (F5C) in School C commented, "helping others can make us keenly aware of our strengths and weakness and provide opportunities for facilitating the improvement of other schools". This manifested an altruism mentality and collective responsibility for improving the school system. The sense of collective learning, growth and shared responsibility was deeply valued in schools and fostered by the education authorities.

Discussions

Leadership is contextualized and culturally dependent. It exerts a significant influence in a dynamic process of navigating the uncharted territory of education transformation in Shanghai. Social, cultural, economic and political aspects inevitably shape

and impact on school leadership. The system-wide culture of policy implementation and its intermingling of the collectivist culture influence school leadership decisions and actions in Shanghai. The message from the system is explicit and consistent. This study provides empirical evidence that a primarily centralized political system characterized by decentralized centralism in recent years drives strong system leadership and a coherent approach to policy implementation in Shanghai (Hawkins, 2006; Huang et al., 2016).

Despite differing school contexts and cultures, system priorities are embedded in the school priorities and practices in these schools. Through clear strategic direction and tight control on curricula, teaching quality, teacher development, and evaluation, Shanghai has effectively facilitated the alignment between the municipal, district and school-level agenda (Asia Society, 2012a; Zhang et al., 2016). The teacher professional learning system is led by a multi-level leadership mechanism which breaks down isolation and barriers across the schools, which in turn enables the system-wide school improvement. The enablers are values alignment and goals-oriented procedures and practices. The social and cultural expectations of conformity and collectivism, as well as advocacy of core values in contemporary China may partly explain why such a system works in Shanghai.

The findings show that school leadership priorities and practices are clearly driven by the system's agenda and social context. The schools under study are consistent in principal instructional leadership in line with the system focus on effective learning and teaching. In an increasingly competitive and changing context in a global city, principals consider it critical to promote quality instruction, professional learning, and innovation. They also share power and delegate while nurturing talents and supporting teachers as leaders. Collective capacity building at the system, district, school, and team levels is evident in these schools.

The findings indicate that the system facilitates vertical and horizontal leadership. Vertical leadership is revealed in the alignment of system leadership, principal leadership, and teacher leadership. Horizontal leadership is demonstrated in teacher empowerment and shared understanding and responsibility in the school communities. It is interesting to observe that adherence to regulations and core social values is required, while a soft approach of engaging teachers with emotional bond and a sense of family as acknowledged in a collectivist culture is adopted in schools. The open mindset and exposure to various, progressive education ideas and practices have equipped the educators in Shanghai with skills and alternative perspectives to examine their current practices and develop future-oriented initiatives. A sense of urgency and dedication to high-quality education for the holistic development of children has driven the system to achieve continuous improvement.

The study acknowledges system-wide and school-wide effort in breaking down isolation and communication barriers (Jensen et al., 2016). The municipal and district governments provide strong guidance and clarity in consistent policy implementation. The deliberately designed structures provide focused teacher professional learning standards and benchmarks. A tension between innovation and conformity also exists because highly prescriptive approaches will not lead to a vibrant education system. The key drivers of system-wide education success are dedication,

professionalism, trusting relationships, and shared commitments of all educators, including policymakers, principals, and teachers.

The findings confirm observations that collaborative professional learning and collective accountability are built into the daily lives of teachers and school leaders in high performing education systems (Asia Society, 2010; Jensen, 2012; Jensen et al., 2016). They are aligned and firmly embedded in school strategic planning and through incremental improvements. Evaluation and accountability focus on student learning and holistic development as well as the quality of instruction and teacher professional learning. The education success and sustainable development of professional learning communities depend on a collaborative culture built upon supportive mechanisms for teacher development (Pang & Wang, 2016; Zhang et al., 2016). A culture of teacher leadership and shared responsibility is cultivated in schools under study. Principals and teachers work together in a purposeful manner and develop collective capacity that supports student improvement and the achievement of school goals.

Conclusion

This study sheds light on school leadership in Shanghai through the insiders' perspectives. The findings reveal that context significantly influences school leadership decisions and actions. The study shows that leadership practices are shaped by the socio-cultural contexts and deliberately aligned in a dynamic process. Leadership for a system-wide educational improvement in Shanghai thus relies on a coordinated systems approach and strategic alignment at the municipal, district and school levels rather than on a rigid, top-down command approach. Nevertheless, within this coordinated and aligned system, a certain degree of autonomy is allowed at the school and team levels to encourage creativity. The primary focus of leadership within the schools is instructional leadership and teacher leadership. Collaboration and shared responsibility are built into the daily lives of teachers and school leaders. Collective capacity building within the schools and engagement with the wider communities can act as the glue to hold the system together. All these encapsulate the notion of leadership for learning.

Educational success requires a clear sense of moral purpose, effective leadership at every level, engaging broad support and using the evidence. Leadership in Shanghai is not fragmented efforts or individual idiosyncratic actions. The key elements of leadership for educational improvement include systems thinking and a strong focus on cohesion and capacity building. A systems approach offers a strong scaffolding structure and sends a coherent message. Common approaches and standards required at the system and school levels, however, do not necessarily dampen the enthusiasm for the diverse, innovative practices in schools. Hargreaves and Shirley (2012) argue that the central challenge for all education systems in the knowledge society is to find ways of unleashing creative energy and innovation while continuously improving what they do. Shanghai education system is no exception. A vibrant education system is open, future-oriented, outward-looking, and innovative.

A carefully designed and executed leadership mechanism will enable it to flourish and achieve continuous improvement.

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Dr. Ting Wang is Professor of Educational Leadership and Associate Dean of Faculty of Education at University of Canberra, Australia. She is a member of the Board of the Australian Council of Deans of Education, and a member of the Board of the Australian Capital Territory Teacher Quality Institute. She is affiliated with Beijing Normal University as a High-End Foreign Expert Awarded by the State Administration of Foreign Experts Affairs, China, and affiliated with Hangzhou Normal University as a Qianjiang Distinguished Scholar awarded by Hangzhou Municipal Government. She is also a member of the Academic Board of the National Institute of Schooling Reform and Development at East China Normal University. Professor Wang is internationally recognized for her research in educational leadership development in cross cultural settings, professional learning communities and teacher professional development, international and transnational education. Her sustained contributions to student learning, educational innovation, and research excellence have been recognised through major institutional, national and international awards.

Nicholas Sun-keung Pang is GaoFeng Chair Professor, Department of Education, Faculty of Education, East China Normal University, Shanghai, China (2018–present); and Adjunct Professor of Department of Educational Administration and Policy, The Chinese University of Hong Kong (2018–present). He was also the former Professor and Chairman (2011–18) of the Department of Educational Administration and Policy at the Chinese University of Hong; and the former Director of the Hong Kong Centre for the Development of Educational Leadership (HKCDEL) (2011–18). Professor Pang specializes in *educational administration, management and leadership*, as well as *school effectiveness and improvement*. He is a sought after presenter and keynote speaker, and has published widely, locally and internationally, with six books, as well as numerous book chapters and internationally refereed journal articles.

Chapter 6
Leadership for Teacher Professional Learning: A Case Study of Two 'New-High-Quality' Primary Schools in Shanghai

Jie Cao and Nicholas Sun-keung Pang

Abstract This study involving qualitative case studies of two primary schools in Shanghai, China, investigates how principals lead to support teacher professional learning in response to an education reform agenda. The findings show key effective leadership strategies in response to the education changes. They include providing professional learning opportunities and resources; distributed leadership for collaborative learning; monitoring the effectiveness of teacher learning, and committing teachers to professional learning. The findings are consistent with the evidence in the Western literature but with varying unique characteristics. This study contributes to the understanding of the relationship between school leadership and teacher professional learning especially in context to significant shifts in education policies.

Introduction

Teacher professional learning is crucial for school development and improvement (Fullan, 1992; Little, 1993). Promoting teacher professional learning is one of the most important responsibilities for school leaders (DuFour & Berkey, 1995; Evans, 2014; Hallinger, 2011). Although many studies have identified the leadership types that could affect teacher learning (Goddard, Goddard, Kim, & Miller, 2015; Gumus, Bulut, & Bellibas, 2013), how does school leadership lead to effective teacher professional learning is still not adequately examined. Attempt was made in this study to contribute to this area and to fill the gap in the literature.

Literature on educational leadership suggests that leadership practices are affected by social culture and context specific. They should be studied in a national setting

J. Cao (✉)
Department of Educational Administration, Beijing Institute of Education, Beijing, China
e-mail: caojie9876@163.com

N. S. Pang
Department of Education, Faculty of Education, East China Normal University, Shanghai, China

Department of Educational Administration and Policy, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shatin, N.T., Hong Kong SAR, China

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(Oplatka, 2004; Walker & Dimmock, 2002). The social culture within mainland China is surely quite different from research findings from the Western literature. In mainland China, there has been a long history of teacher collaborative learning in school. In most Chinese schools, a teaching-and-research system has been institutionalized and put into practice for decades, which is quite unique and distinct from schools in the Western educational systems (Zhang & Pang, 2016a). In order to understand how school leadership leading to teacher professional learning in Chinese schools, a Chinese perspective should be adopted, rather than just relying on Western literature.

The main research question asked in this study is, "How do principals effectively promote teacher professional learning in Chinese schools?" A qualitative case study method was used in the study. Two primary schools in Shanghai, China, were selected as the study cases. This chapter first provides the context of educational reform in China, which has significant bearing on school leadership practices. This is followed by a review of literature on school leadership and teacher professional learning. The method of the study will be provided, which is followed by key findings pertaining to how school leaders support professional learning in schools. This chapter essentially seeks to depict how school leaders lead teacher professional learning in Shanghai schools in response to the education reforms of the state, and how leadership practices in the Chinese context differ to those reported in Western literature.

Educational Reform in China

In China, the government has initiated various educational reforms to promote educational quality and equality since 1980s. A series of curriculum reforms have been implemented to improve the quality of basic education. Moving into the twenty-first century, the Chinese Ministry of Education (MOE) issued *Outline on the Curriculum Reform of Basic Education (Trial)*, and launched the national new curriculum reform in 2001, which is still currently the most influential one. For a long time, the education system in China has been examination-oriented, in which a teacher-centered approach of knowledge delivery is still the dominant teaching method, and the main evaluation criteria are still students' academic scores. The examination-oriented education system has been criticized for enslaving students, and did not fulfill the needs for creative talents in modern knowledge society (Guan & Meng, 2007; Zhong, 2006).

Therefore, a curriculum reform was initiated in 2001 to attempt to shift teaching and learning from traditional examination orientation to competence orientation in basic education. The core goal and mission of the reform is to help students develop broader competences, including academic skills and non-academic skills so that they can face the challenges of the twenty-first century (Dello-Iacovo, 2009; Walker & Qian, 2012). The new curriculum reform calls for emphasizing students' participation in learning rather than mechanistic acquisition of knowledge, and stressing the relevance of knowledge with real life rather than obscure and difficult textbook

knowledge (OECD, 2011). By then, the MOE decentralized the national control of basic educational curriculum, empowered local government and schools to design school-based curriculum to suit student needs and foster holistic development. All these changes have posed great challenges to school leadership and teaching practices in the classroom (Lee & Yin, 2011; Li & Ni, 2011; Qian, Walker, & Li, 2017).

Narrowing education disparities and tackling learning differences to promote education equality is another crucial focus of the educational reform in China. In order to rebuild the education system which was destroyed during the period of cultural revolution (1966–1976) and in pursuit for the efficient use of scarce educational resources, the government selected some primary and secondary schools to offer high priorities in fiscal supports, quality teachers and better student intakes (Cheng, 2010; You, 2007). These schools were so-called “key schools”. Such a bureaucratic policy on key school institutions has further broadened the education disparity throughout China and there were great inequalities between key schools and non-key schools (You, 2007). Students with high social economic status (SES) would be more likely to enroll at key schools through paying extra fees, which further exacerbated educational inequality. Therefore, the MOE issued a series of official documents since 1990s to cancel the policy on key schools, and took great effort to improve weak schools (*boruo xuexiao*).

In order to promote educational equality in compulsory education, a variety of related reforms were launched. For example, children were required to attend primary schools in the neighborhood, and the selective tests at the end of primary schooling were abolished (Ke, Chen, & Ren, 2013). These reforms could leave more rooms for primary schools to try innovative approaches in schooling and to allow holistic development in early childhood (Cheng, 2010). Nonetheless, it is still hard for weak schools to compete for better student enrolment and quality teachers with the traditional high-qualified key schools. Basic education inequality is still a noticeable issue in China. How to turnaround the weak schools to reduce education disparity is still one of the greatest challenges of Chinese educational reforms.

The Relationship Between School Leadership and Teacher Professional Learning

School leaders play a vital role in creating conditions for teaching and learning in schools (Hallinger, 2005; Hallinger & Heck, 1998; Leithwood, Patten, & Jantzi, 2010; Robinson, Lloyd, & Rowe, 2008; Sun & Leithwood, 2012; Zhang & Pang, 2016b). The nature of leadership which is a process of influence in which a person or a group exert the intentional influence on other persons or groups (Bass & Bass, 2008; Leithwood & Duke, 1999; Yukl, 2010) ensures that school leaders play a significant part in all matters of school life including teacher professional learning. Regardless of the range of leadership types established in the literature, all of them do centrally support teacher professional learning. These primarily include instruc-

tional leadership, transformational leadership, distributed leadership, and strategic leadership.

Instructional leadership focuses on the role of school leaders in curriculum and instruction (Hallinger, 2003), which includes promoting teacher professional development (Hallinger, 2005). Empirical studies do suggest that instructional leadership actively affects teacher collaborative learning (Goddard et al., 2015; Gumus et al., 2013; Hallinger & Lu, 2014; Murphy, Elliott, Goldring, & Porter, 2007). Transformational leadership focuses on the role of school leaders in school restructure, which mainly seeks to motivate teachers' commitment to school change (Leithwood, 1994; Leithwood & Jantzi, 2005). The commitment to change would inevitably lead to learning. Studies have also shown that transformational leadership has positive influence on teachers to take part in collective learning (e.g., Thoonen, Sleegers, Oort, Peetsma, & Geijsel, 2011). Distributed leadership emphasizes that leadership practices are distributed, that is, multiple persons rather than one person like the principal can share leadership responsibilities (Spillane, 2006). Finally, some strategic leadership practices have been found to be important to foster supportive conditions for teacher learning, such as setting directions, establishing supportive structure, providing adequate resources, as well as developing favorable relationships with teachers (Bryk, Camburn, & Louis, 1999; Buttram & Farley-Ripple, 2016; Evans, 2014; Printy, 2008; Youngs & King, 2002).

Notwithstanding the espoused universality of these leadership types in relation to teacher professional learning, leadership is essentially social-culturally contingent (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004). Most of past findings on school leadership are derived from Western contexts, and reflect Western social-cultural values, which are centrally different from the Chinese culture. The Chinese societal culture is characterized by large power distance and high uncertainty avoidance (House et al., 2004). Hence, school leaders in such social-cultural contexts tend to lead in an autocratic way, and followers tend to observe authority and to avoid conflicts (Oplatka, 2004). Despite that, there are some studies exploring effective school leadership strategies for teacher professional learning from a Chinese perspective (Liu, Hallinger, & Feng, 2016; Qian, Walker, & Yang, 2016; Wang, 2016). Still, related empirical studies are very limited and more in-depth explorations are needed.

Method

In order to understand how principals can effectively promote teacher professional learning in school, a qualitative case study method was utilized. In this study, two schools in Shanghai were chosen. Besides reasons of accessibility, Shanghai was chosen because it is a pioneer in educational reform in China, and has been ranked at the top rung of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) ranking conducted by OECD in 2009 and 2012. The choice of Shanghai schools is thus strategic in this respect. Two primary schools as typical cases (Patton, 1990) were

selected for this study because of their potential to provide intensive and holistic understanding of how principals successfully lead teacher professional learning and growth. Both primary schools were failing schools in the past.

In Shanghai, the Municipal Bureau of Education has launched special measures in supporting the weak schools. After identification of the weak schools in a district, the Bureau may formulate a series of specific plans to these schools to improve. Measures schools, such as, by seconding a prestigious principal from a good school to help turn around the weak school, with drastic changes in school administration, management, and leadership. Further supports from the District Bureau will be offered to the school as well, in term specific professional learning programmes to teachers and sharing of successful experiences from excellent teachers.

Under such a scheme, from the views of the principals and teachers initially, most of these students were low in learning capability and had low motivation and confidence in the study. The principals of these two schools, more or less in the strategies launched a school improvement programme, based on their former experiences in the successful school. These include: (i) the context was reviewed in terms of a SWOT analysis, (ii) the weaknesses of the students were figured out, (iii) offering opportunities to teachers meeting their professional development needs, (iv) strong encouragement and positive reinforcement were employed in teaching and learning, (v) development of tailor-made school-based curriculum to arouse student interests and motivation in study, and (vi) creating plenty of opportunity for students to attend minor successes.

When the present principals took over the schools, they made great efforts to initiate school reform and promote teacher professional learning and development. At last, the two primary schools have made great progress in school improvement and teacher professional growth. Due to their notable progress, the two schools have been selected by the Shanghai Municipal Education Commission as New-High-Quality schools *(NHQ)* to recognize their successes. The *Program of New-High-Quality Schools (xinyouzhi xuexiao)* was initiated by the Shanghai Municipal Education Commission in 2011, with the aim for school improvement (Hu, 2015). The program grouped some successful schools together as models of school change and as agents of change for weak schools. Those schools labeled with NHQ were not traditional key schools but weak schools originally. The NHQ schools usually admit ordinary students from families of low SES, but had been making great progress in school improvement and finally getting success in schooling through school change (Hu, 2015). The evidence of identified and observable changes in the NHQ schools include: (i) having increased students' performance to the expected standard level, (ii) having developed school-based curriculum to enhance students' holistic development, and (iii) having gained recognition of successful change from the local community (Hu, 2015; Xia, 2013). In the light of their successful school change, the experience of the two NHQ schools can provide rich insights on how strategies of effective principal leadership promote teacher professional learning.

Furthermore, multiple-cases design was utilized in the study to avoid the "put all your eggs in one basket" phenomenon (Yin, 2003). The two primary schools locate across two suburban districts in Shanghai, and differ in school size, history, and

Table 6.1 Demography of all participants in the case studies

School	Participants	Position	Experience
School S1	S1A1	Principal	Female, 17 years as principal
	S1A2	Department head	Female, 9 years' teaching experience
	S1A3	Teacher	Female, 7 years' teaching experience
School S2	S2B1	Principal	Female, 8 years as principal
	S2B2	Chinese TRG Head	Female, 9 years' teaching experience
	S2B3	Math TRG Head	Female, 8 years' teaching experience
	S2B4	English TRG Head	Female, 10 years' teaching experience

principals' demographic characteristics. Thus, the subsequent data analyses allow the depiction of leadership practices in different organizational contexts.

School S1 is a small primary school located in a suburban district in the central part of Shanghai, China. Most of the neighborhood children attending the school are migrant children and local children from ordinary families with low SES. The current principal (code as S1A1) took office at the school in 1999. At that time, school S1 was still an underperforming school. After taking over School S1, Principal S1A1 initiated a series of school reform, and finally succeeded in leading the school to reach a certain performance standard, and gaining recognitions from the government and the local community. Data was collected from Principal S1A1, a head of department, and a teacher. Comprehensive information about this case such as field notes and official documents was also collected, strengthens the triangulation of findings (Patton, 1990).

School S2 is a mid-size primary school located in a suburban district in the northeastern part of Shanghai, China. Most of its students are local children of Shanghai. Principal (code as S2B1), the current principal of this school, had taught in another school in the same district for nearly 10 years prior to being head of School S2 in 2008. Despite School S2 being considered an underperforming school, Principal S2B1 had actively promoted school change in recent years, and apparently had succeeded in improving teacher teaching and student learning. Four participants of School S2 joined the study. They included the principal and three subject teachers who were the Heads of the teaching and research group (TRG). The three TRG heads were recommended by the principal for the interviews because they have been involved in the whole process of school reform. The demographic information of all participants is shown in Table 6.1.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data was collected in June 2016. In School S1, a semi-structured interview was used for the principal (S1A1). One focus-group interview with the head of department (S1A2) and the ordinary teacher (S1A3) was conducted. In School S2, one

semi-structured interview with the principal (S2B1) and one focus-group interview with three TRG Heads were conducted (S2B2, S2B3, S2B4). Each was face-to-face interview and lasted around 50–60 min. The main research question that guided the interviews was "How do principals effectively promote teacher professional learning and growth in the process of school reform?" All the interviews were audio-taped and transcribed with the consent of interviewees.

The qualitative data analysis is an inductive process (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). First, open coding was adopted to identify the emerging initial codes of effective leadership strategies for teacher professional learning. Then, after repeated reading and inductive analyses, axial coding and selective coding were conducted to categorize initial codes. Moreover, cross-cases analysis was conducted to compare and confirm the identified common themes.

Findings and Discussions

The study identified a few similar strategic leadership practices for teacher professional learning: first, professional learning opportunities and resources; second, distributed leadership for collaborative learning; third, monitoring the effectiveness of teacher learning and fourthly, committing teachers to professional learning.

Professional Learning Opportunities and Resources

Providing teachers with adequate learning opportunities and resources, especially out-of-school learning opportunities and external teacher experts supports, were reported by both schools under study. Both principals and most teachers interviewed stated that it is important for teachers to have the opportunities to learn the effective teaching experiences and practices from other successful schools or teacher experts. The corresponding indigenous concepts are "Homogeneous groups may be less prone to innovate, and need to move across schools to connect with new concepts and practices" (*luobo dun luobo hai shi luo bo*) and "extensive knowledge base" (*yan jie*). The concepts indicate the importance of boundary crossing in teacher learning. Crossing Boundaries means that practitioners enter into a unfamiliar or unqualified territory and meet conflicts and differences (Engeström, Engeström, & Kärkkäinen, 1995; Suchman, 1993), which can create learning potential (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011). Out-of-school learning opportunities and external teacher experts provide teachers with cross-boundary learning opportunities to learn effective teaching experiences and practices from other successful schools or teacher experts.

> The possible reasons for my school to be successful in the change reform are many. To name a few, for example, the professional assistance and inspiration from the external teacher experts are very crucial for our success. If we just depend on ourselves, we only cook radish with radish. And then, what we get is still the radish. (S2B1)

My school did provide me with many development platforms and opportunities. For example, external teacher experts were invited to help us to improve teaching in the summer vacation. At that time, while I was doing a teaching research project, I had been getting much guidance and advice from the experts. With their professional assistance, my teaching research project finally won the Shanghai Government Teaching Research Award. … In fact, our principal had been very helpful to us. She has always been sensitive to our developmental needs, and she would try her best to identify and invite possible external teacher experts to help us in the development of our teaching. (S2B2)

Our school has paid lots of attention to the professional development of young teachers. It has a system of promoting teachers' professional development and expecting teachers to improve continuously. When I was a novice teacher, the principal has assigned me a veteran teacher as a mentor to guide my teaching practices. When I improved in my teaching and was ready, the principal encouraged and arranged for me to attend to the learning opportunity outside school. … (S1A2)

Distributed Leadership for Collaborative Learning

There has been a strong tradition of teacher collective learning in Chinese schools. Managing teachers' teaching and research activities is one of the basic duties of most principals. Distributed leadership strategies were repeatedly emphasized by both principals. Teachers were organized into different forms of learning groups based on their teaching subjects and grades. Subject-based TRGs are the conventional learning groups/communities. Most schools would generally re-arrange the forms of teacher learning groups according to school size. In small schools, teachers with the same teaching subject in different grades are usually organized into one TRG. TRG could be further arranged into different lesson preparation group (*beikezu*) for day-to-day teacher collective learning. However, in most large schools, there may be many teachers within the same subject in the same grade. They can be organized into one single TRG, or the TRGs with the same subject can be re-organized into one larger learning group (*nianjizu/da jiaoyanzu*). The heads of those Groups take responsibilities of managing regular teacher collective learning activities. In the meantime, there are designated vice principals or mid-level directors who take charge of the management of teacher professional learning at the school level.

There are fourteen teachers in our English TRG. There is a Director of English Panel who is my supervisor. At the same time, there is a Head of Lesson Preparation Group in each of the grades. We participate in some collective learning activities together, in addition to our individual learning in professional development activities. (S2B3)

There are lesson preparation groups and subject learning groups in each grade. Small learning groups will arrange learning activities at least once a week. Large learning groups will organize collective learning activities once every two weeks. (S1B2)

Both principals shared the responsibilities of teacher professional learning and development with other school leaders and teacher experts. The indigenous concepts are 'empowerment' (*fang shou zuo).* The concept indicates that principals empower heads of departments, TRGs

heads or teacher experts to implement instructional innovation. However, the empowerment is limited. Principals still have the highest decision-making power.

> I empowered my middle leaders and allow them to innovate as far as possible (*fang shou zuo*). However, when attempting some new teaching strategies or innovations, I will go with them together at the beginning. … If they need my existence, help, and advice, I will join the teacher collaborative learning activities. If they can tackle the problems on their own, I will let them try independently with freedom and without intervention. This is an important strategy to allow our middle leaders to grow, develop and mature. I would also try my best to match their needs whenever they need my financial, professional or academic supports. (S1A1)

> There are quite a number of TRGs in our school. I cannot participate in the learning activities of each group due to time constraint. Nevertheless, I will take part at least in some of the key activities as an encouragement to staff. For example, I attended a demonstration lesson by an ordinary teacher, because I thought it was very important at the beginning of the project. … I always monitor the progress of the learning activities, and listen to them to see whether they have difficulties. If necessary, I will join them together and try to provide necessary resources to help them. (S2B1)

Besides the formal leadership of the principals, teacher experts within the schools may also play an important role in informal and shared leadership for teacher professional learning, via apprenticeship and collective learning activities. In the apprenticeship scheme in school, a novice teacher usually will have one or two teacher experts to be his/her mentors and to supervise him/her, and help him/her to improve teaching practices. Moreover, teacher experts can play a modeling role in teacher collective learning activities in schools, and they are required to regularly share teaching experiences to novice teachers. In this way, teacher experts share responsibilities with formal school leaders to lead teacher professional learning within a school, in a model of distributed leadership as described in western literature.

> We first ask teacher experts in our school to develop and implement some model lessons that would be open to all teachers. Novice and other teachers are invited and encouraged to attend these demonstration lessons. During this demonstration lesson, most participants are asked to observe and reflect critically on the strengths of the lesson, explore areas for improvement, how teaching strategies lead to effective student learning, and what they can learn from the demonstration lesson for implementation in the coming individual lessons. That is, how teachers can learn from each other collectively and collaboratively to improve continuously. (S2B1)

> My supervisor (mentor/*shifu*) did inspire me a lot. My supervisor is a very kind mentor… She not only cares for my professional growth, but also my personal life.… She shares with me everything she knows and her experiences; without reservation. (S1A2)

Monitoring the Effectiveness of Teacher Learning

Some strategies designed to monitor the effectiveness of teacher learning were reported. First, there were institutional requirements of teachers' participation in

collective learning activities in school. For instance, teachers were asked to attend a certain number of learning activities in various formats, such as seminars, workshops, and lesson observations. In addition, it is a requirement for teachers to deliver a lesson to demonstrate what they have learned regularly.

> For example, I participated in a Shanghai municipal teacher learning program which lasted for eight weeks. After that, I was required to conduct an open lesson to demonstrate the teaching strategies and activities that I have learned from the program, within my school. (S2B3)

> I gave them a chance to share, reflect and demonstrate what they have learned from the professional learning programs. Although it seems like a kind of assessment, it also provides them with a platform for professional exchange and development. (S2B1)

> In the apprenticeship scheme, I was required to attend my supervisor's lessons and to reflect on teaching and learning approaches. It is a chance for me to reflect on how to run a successful lesson. In return, I was also asked to deliver an open lesson to my supervisor and other teachers to demonstrate what I have learned from them and seek advice for further improvement in my teaching. (S1A2)

In school S1, an appraisal and reward mechanism was explicitly designed to evaluate and monitor the effectiveness of the teacher learning groups.

> In our school, we assess the performance of various TRGs. For example, when the English TRG performed better than others, then they would be rewarded. This was a kind of incentive and recognition for the success of the TRGs…[One the one hand, while we recognize the success of professional learning in certain TRGS, the experience gained by the exemplary TRGs would be a model for other TRGs to follow. (S1A2)

Committing Teachers to Professional Learning

Both principals stated that they had to face teachers' resistance to learn and change. In response to this, transformational leadership strategies were used. The two principals showed strong commitment to continuous professional learning through role-modeling so that teachers could emulate, and in doing so to reinforce the improvement of teachers' professional learning.

> I think, as a principal, I can affect the teachers' beliefs in the importance of teacher professional growth and learning for school continuous improvement. Teachers would follow the principal's visions, beliefs and practices when a principal set himself/herself as a good model or example for others. If the principal works hard and pursue success continuously, and seeing teachers as the agents of change, the principal can gain teachers' sense of belonging, and give them a sense of security. Under a safe and encouraging climate with appropriate support, teachers will take their own initiative to learn when they are face with the challenges of education reforms. (S1A1)

> Our principal is sensitive and proactive in their response to educational reforms. She could always capture the latest information about an educational reform, and share it with us. She always worked together with us in difficult times, and encourage us to try our best to tackle challenges and to change and innovate. (S1A2)

Some other transformational leadership practices were also adopted by both principals in the course of school reform and change. These include: (i) praising and recognizing teachers for their efforts and accomplishments, (ii) helping teachers overcome their work and life difficulties, (iii) providing high-performing teachers with extra professional developmental opportunities, (iv) participating in teachers' activities and work collaboratively, and (v) enhancing communication with teachers so as to gain mutual understanding.

> I really love my teachers, and I always try to make them feel that I love them. Even when teachers have difficulties in their personal and private lives, I also try my best to help them. … I value and treasure our teachers so much, because they are the agents of school reform and they are critical to the success of the school. I am willing to spend time to them to talk about their school life (or personal life) when they are confused or frustrated. (S1A1)

> Encouragement is very important to everyone. I always encourage teachers to look forward, and to face challenges positively and proactively, especially when they encounter difficulties and failures. I always praise them during whole school meetings. When they accomplish success in innovation or change, they are always rewarded and praised publicly. (S2B1)

> Despite the fact that our principal is very busy, she still participates in our learning activities. For example, when I was in a district teaching contest last year, the principal and the Head of the TRG joined in the preparation work; encourage; gave advice; and help me in most of the activities…. The principal did a lot to help us without hesitation, and she really hoped that we would not miss any chance of professional learning and development. (S2B4)

Discussion and Conclusion

The findings indicate that the two schools, as most Chinese schools in other provinces or districts, have institutionalized a Teaching-and-Research System to lead teacher professional learning. From the case studies, we identify that principals' leadership practices to promote teacher professional learning include: (i) providing professional learning opportunities and resources, (ii) distributed leadership for collaborative learning, (iii) monitoring the effectiveness of teacher learning, and (iv) committing teachers to professional to learning.

First, professional learning opportunities and resources, especially learning opportunities outside of schools and inviting external experts' professional supports, are very important for enhancing teacher professional learning and growth in these two NHQ schools. On the one hand, promoting teacher professional learning requires necessary supports including learning opportunities and resources. On the other hand, school leaders should understand the importance of boundary crossing in teacher learning. External learning opportunities and external experts supports can connect school teachers to multiple learning communities outside of schools and can stimulate teacher learning across community boundaries. In this case, those teachers may become potential "knowledge brokers" (Wenger, 2000) who can import new practices into their own school.

Second, distributed leadership is commonly used for leading teacher professional learning in these two schools. Because the education system in mainland China is still highly centralized and bureaucratic, all schools are mandated to institutionalize a teaching and research system for school improvement. The principals can make use of the system to invite and involve middle leaders or teacher leaders in the top management level. Formal leaders like TRGs heads, heads of departments and vice principals do share the leadership responsibilities of managing teacher learning with principals in schools. Additionally, teacher experts within the school can also play a role in leadership to exert influence on other teachers' professional learning through collective learning activities and the apprenticeship scheme. This type of distributed leadership for collaborative learning is commonly in place of most schools in Shanghai or mainland China.

Third, while the school principals adopted a distributed leadership to a certain extent, their bureaucratic and centralized control in school management remain strong. The principals can monitor the effectiveness of teacher learning with his formal positional powers. Such practices of monitoring drawing from power vested in the leadership position were also identified in the two case studies and were emphasized by both principals. A mechanism was designed and run to monitor whether teacher professional learning processes are related and tightened to student learning outcomes.

Finally, transformational leadership strategies to help teachers commit to continuous professional learning are important and were evident in both principals' leadership. This is essential insofar as it mitigates resistance to change or learning due to teachers' beliefs and willingness. These strategies used by the two principals include (i) exerting personal influence, (ii) praising teachers when they performed well in professional learning and growth, and (iii) creating bonding among teachers by caring for teachers' work and life.

When comparing the findings in this study with those in the literature from Western education systems, we can identify some similarities and differences between them in the leadership strategies to promote teacher professional learning. Providing learning opportunities and resources and committing teachers to professional learning are similar strategies that can be found in Shanghai schools and those cited in the Western literature (e.g., Clement & Vandenberghe, 2001; Youngs & King, 2002). However, the combination of both distributed leadership for collaborative learning and strong monitoring on the effectiveness of teacher learning were the unique contextual and specific strategies used in Shanghai schools. In the Shanghai education system, like those others in mainland China, centralization, top-down approach, and bureaucracy are still the main and salient features and form the deep culture across Chinese schools. In addition, the findings demonstrate similarities with that of Hairon & Dimmock (2012)'s study in Singapore which is also an Asian country with strong bureaucratic culture. In the highly bureaucratic educational system like Mainland China and Singapore, educational administrators encourage teachers to innovate, and also exert control over learning process and results. That is, the two principals maintained a balance between bureaucratic control and cultural linkage (Pang, 1996) as well as, making use of simultaneously loose-tight couplings (Pang, 1998, 2003)

effectively. The experiences of how Chinese principals maintain a balance between teacher empowerment and hierarchical control would be an essential interest for school leaders' learning during promoting teacher professional learning.

This study has borrowed a few leadership concepts from the Western literature, for example, instructional leadership, transformational leadership, and distributed leadership. We use these concepts as a reference or a perspective to look into the leadership practices in Chinese schools because these theories have well developed and has strong knowledge base. The findings in the study show that the leadership practices in the two Chinese schools were more enriched and complicated than a single theory envisaged. The leadership practices in Chinese schools have a strong balance between bureaucratic and cultural linkages (Pang, 1996) and the Chinese principals have made use of simultaneously loose-tight coupling (Pang, 1998, 2003) than what has been found in the Western literature.

Conclusion

This study has identified a few effective school leadership strategies for teacher professional learning in Shanghai schools—specifically, providing professional learning opportunities and resources; distributed leadership for collaborative learning; monitoring the effectiveness of teacher learning, and committing teachers to professional learning. All these are in response to the major national education reform *Outline on the Curriculum Reform of Basic Education (Trial)* launched in 2001. These leadership practices seek to help the shift from examination-centered and teacher-centered approaches of knowledge delivery, which privileges academic scores over creativity needed for the modern knowledge society, towards competence-oriented approaches of learning, lifelong learning, and holistic student development. These leadership practices are also the result of decentralization whereby more autonomy is given to local government and schools to design school-based curriculum. However, it is still early days whether these leadership practices would turnaround weak schools and reduce educational inequality in compulsory education, and future further investigations with great samples and in other contexts will still need to be done in the future to assess the leadership effectiveness on teacher learning.

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Jie Cao is Assistant Professor in the Department of Educational Administration at Beijing Institute of Education. She graduated from the Chinese University of Hong Kong and earned a Ph.D. in education in 2018. Her research focuses on school leadership and teacher professional learning. Her research interests also include school change, organizational learning, and meta-analysis.

Nicholas Sun-keung Pang is GaoFeng Chair Professor, Department of Education, Faculty of Education, East China Normal University, Shanghai, China (2018-present); and Adjunct Professor of Department of Educational Administration and Policy, The Chinese University of Hong Kong (2018-present). He was also the former Professor and Chairman (2011–18) of the Department of Educational Administration and Policy at the Chinese University of Hong; and the former Director of the Hong Kong Centre for the Development of Educational Leadership (HKCDEL) (2011–18). Professor Pang specializes in *educational administration, management, and leadership*, as well as *school effectiveness and improvement*. He is a sought after presenter and keynote speaker, and has published widely, locally and internationally, with six books, as well as numerous book chapters and internationally refereed journal articles.

Chapter 7
Vulnerability as a Gear for School Reform: A Case of Mr. Toshiaki Ose

Eisuke Saito

Abstract Since the turn of the twenty-first century, the Japanese education system has consistently kept to pace with global economic, social and cultural forces. Nonetheless, Japanese society is currently facing a wide range of challenges such as social security problems, environmental issues, difficulty in sustaining economic vitality, widening regional disparities, socioeconomic disparities, and security issues. At the heart of the challenge is to recover bonds between people and reconstruct communities. Hence, education serves to develop students holistically, and with the ability to be independent yet having a sense of public duty and participation in the formation of society and country. This chapter argues for greater awareness and acceptance of the notion of 'vulnerability' in students, teachers and leaders as a means of coping with the increasing demands within the context of educational, societal and policy changes, albeit through a case study of one peculiar Japanese school leader.

Introduction: Issues Surrounding Children in Japan

In Japan, poverty and socio-economic gap have been discussed as serious issues over two decades after Asian financial crisis at the end of 1990s (Kariya, 2001; Uzuki & Suetomi, 2015), in combination with the impacts of neo-liberal policies. The economic status of Japan in terms of relative poverty has become worse year by year and now it is the sixth worst within member states of OECD (2015). Such economic recessions have created a huge crisis on schooling education—particularly in the forms of decrease of interest in learning and problematic behaviours due to severity of life experiences held by pupils. This impact is immense, and there is a rapidly expanding gap in interest in studying between children in different social strata (Kariya, 2001). A recent study also showed that pupils being from households under relative poverty or single parenthood have negative effects on his or her achievements, length of study time outside schools and parental educational aspirations (Uzuki &

E. Saito (✉)
Faculty of Education, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia
e-mail: eisuke.saito@monash.edu

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Suetomi, 2015). Therefore, it is crucial to come up with solutions on how to include such children in the schools to encourage them to keep learning.

In order to go against these trends, a school reform called the Lesson Study for Learning Community (LSLC) has been widely practised in Japan (Saito & Sato, 2012; Saito et al., 2015). In those schools, many pupils are likely to have difficult living conditions, such as single parenthood, poverty, domestic violence, and similar issues, and so they need a psychological space in their schools to unload their family life troubles and concentrate on learning. Therefore, the value of mutually accepting and appreciating each other regardless of background would ideally be set as an important value to develop within the school culture (Sato, 2012). In the area of Hamanogo Primary School, which is one of the first generation of pilot schools for LSLC and whose first school principal is the focus of this chapter, there are also similar serious socio-economic issues, and it has been a critical concern over how to accept children with difficulties in their lives and let them feel secure and safe in school in order to have good learning opportunities. For that purpose, it is critical for teachers and school leaders to understand complexity of emotions, ideas and attitudes of children with potential socio-economic risks.

However, some of the most successful school leaders and advocates of LSLC have themselves suffered from being isolated and vulnerable during their childhood or adulthood due to various difficulties (Kawakubo, 2005; Ose, 2003; Sato, 1995, 2006; Shimbun, 2005). They have suffered from, for example, being expelled from classrooms in their childhood, being hospitalised for serious illnesses, or having lost their loved ones. Through experiencing sadness, anguish, anger, and the like, both leaders and advocates strengthened their vicarious awareness for pupils' sadness regarding experiences in their schools. In other words, they developed their empathy as the basis to develop cultures in their schools for mutually accepting and appreciating each other by means of experiencing being vulnerable in many situations. In Japanese schooling education, emphasis is given to pupils being resilient, lively, or cheerful but those who are under socio-economically difficult situation cannot be so—for example, they would have parental divorce, economic hardships, domestic violence and abuse and so forth (Ose, 2003; Ose & Sato, 2003; Sato, 2012). Under LSLC, leaders emphasise calmness and peacefulness for every child to feel secure in classrooms, and experiences for leaders to be vulnerable have largely helped them empathise with children under difficulty and to consider the best way to care for them.

The aim of this chapter is to discuss a case of a Japanese school leader who had attempted to put into action the principles of LSLC to recover bonds between people and reconstruct strong communities in school from societal vulnerabilities resulting from challenges posed by neo-liberal policies. The focus on vulnerability would not only be interesting but also useful in understanding how school leaders can have positive impact on vulnerable school children, especially when school leaders themselves have experienced vulnerability, albeit at varying levels. The focus on vulnerability—a psychological construct—therefore illustrates the interactive effects of societal, policy and educational contextual forces.

What Is Vulnerability?

Recently, vulnerability has attracted much attention from educational researchers. There are some very workable approaches towards vulnerability in education, particularly for teachers in general, and the first approach to consider in educational work is about teachers' emotional experiences. Teaching always engages relationships of responsibility with pupils, other colleague teachers, parents, local communities, and others, and thus it also involves moral, political, and emotional dimensions (Hargreaves, 1998). Educational practices are always linked up with emotions because of the nature of the work as driven by moral commitment and care for those to whom teachers feel responsible (Kelchtermans, 2009). Vulnerability can be defined as an emotional experience with multi-dimensions for individuals to feel in various contexts (Lasky, 2005). It is a state of being influenced by the way people perceive their current situation which interacts with their views towards themselves, others, or society, such as values, identity, beliefs, and competence. This may take place as a result of critical incidents (Lasky, 2005, p. 901).

Some would consider vulnerability differently. Kelchtermans (1996, 2005, 2009), for example, argues that vulnerability is not an emotional matter, but a structural condition in which teachers are situated. That is, vulnerability is the lack of ultimate grounds for justifying one's actions as a teacher (Kelchtermans, 2005). Furthermore, from such a structural view, the condition of vulnerability also constitutes a very pedagogical possibility within the interpersonal relationships with pupils; in other words, an ethical and thus vulnerable commitment can open up the chance that education (literally) 'takes place'. Such moments can make the teacher realise that he or she is 'making a difference as a person' in the student's life (Kelchtermans, 2005).

There are, then, three types of sources of vulnerability according to Kelchtermans, namely: classroom, school, and societal levels. First, at the classroom level, teachers experience being vulnerable because of issues related to teaching and learning processes. For example, teachers have struggles in realising their limited impact on pupils' learning (Kelchtermans, 1996). In other words, by seeing pupils fail, the teachers would feel not only the limits of their impacts, but also they start to realise the limits of their own professional expertise and competences, even though they may be engaged in professional development (Kelchtarmans, 1996). Thus, teaching is perceived as a particularly stressful and demanding post, involving considerable amounts of distress, changes in psycho-physiological patterns, and an increasing sense of weariness (Caires, Almeida, & Vieira, 2012, p. 172).

At the school level, stakeholders are the second potential source of vulnerability (Kelchtermans, 1996, p. 309). Intensification of teachers' work erodes positive staff relationships and negatively changes trust relations in high modernity. This shapes social relations of low-trust schooling, and also impacts negatively on teachers' well-being in various senses and in their collegial professional relations (Troman, 2000, p. 331). Then, principals also are under the same type of vulnerability as teachers: they draw up decisions and act accordingly, with the understanding that there is

a strong possibility for each decision to be open to criticism. As such, a principal always runs the risk of his or her personal and professional integrity being questioned (Kelchtermans, Piot, & Ballet, 2011, p. 99).

At the society level, teachers tend to feel that their professionalism is being systematically placed under attack within the current reform context and also feel they cannot change this with their capacities—particularly when they observe and experience valued work conditions rapidly disappearing (Lasky, 2005). Namely, due to responsibilities for teachers to be accountable for national and international policies, teachers tend to have a sense of uncertainty (Kelchtermans, 2005). This may result in a situation where one's professional identity and moral integrity are threatened. Additionally, conditions in the workplace may, therefore, feel insecure or one's job may even be lost (Kelchtermans, 1996). Thus, series of educational reforms became a source of stress and anxiety to many teachers (Gao, 2011, p. 492). The teaching job is continuously intensified: more pressure for achievements in less time and with fewer facilities. Teachers have to implement what policymakers and higher authorities have decided (Ballet & Kelchtermans, 2008, 47–48). Regardless of whether central or local, educational policymakers and authorities are also another source of vulnerability (Kelchtermans, 1996, p. 309). In Gao's (2011) study, citizens on the internet were found to strongly believe that teachers alone should be responsible for students' learning (Gao, 2011, p. 490). Among the 'netizens', a strong notion exists about teachers as being incompetent. This is related to the fact that elite Chinese students are less likely to be willing to become teachers (Gao, 2011, p. 491). This phenomenon may be widespread across modern states.

Henry Nouwen's Theoretical Framing

Within the school setting, the phenomenon of vulnerability is experienced by not only students and teachers, but also school leaders. For the latter, the philosophical reflective work of Henry Nouwen on relationship between leadership and vulnerability can provide a guiding framework. Henry Nouwen, a Catholic priest and philosopher, discussed various issues in regard to vulnerability, particularly issues related to how vulnerability would function as a catalyst for further unity in a human community. Obviously, the discussion given by Nouwen is about the Catholic ministry and this study is not for religious purposes but about school leaders. Still, his perspectives and frameworks of discussions are helpful in discussing what teacher's and leader's vulnerability is. In this section, there will be explanation of the theoretical frameworks that the author extracts from the discussion by Nouwen to analyse the vulnerability of teachers, which in turn leads to encounters with others. In this framework, the author sorts the discussions given by Nouwen as follows: (1) loneliness as a source of vulnerability and basis of unity, (2) hospitality as unity and care, and (3) position of teachers as vulnerable.

First, Nouwen refers to a concept of 'loneliness', which he considers as the best expression to understand our brokenness: that is, a person is likely to feel lonely

under the growing competition and rivalry pervading our lives throughout our whole lives and leading us to this acute awareness of isolation (Nouwen, 1979, p. 83). This awareness of loneliness makes many people feel extremely anxious and motivates them to seek the experiences of unity and community (Nouwen, 1979, p. 83). This sense of isolation has been discussed as ‘Balkanisation’ (Hargreaves, 1994) in terms of teachers’ issues. The concept of loneliness by Nouwen (1979), in a sense, is larger to cover all the aspects of human lives.

Further, Nouwen (1979) discusses loneliness as it sources pain—but also views it as a precious gift—to look beyond the boundaries of our existence. That is, pain due to loneliness is largely shared with all others and in our rising from the depth of human conditions (Nouwen, 1979). Nouwen (1979) further argues that loneliness is not a source of despair and bitterness but a momentum for people to take a journey accordingly, seeking encounters with others in a community.

Related to this issue, Kelchtermans (2005) certainly refers to another aspect of vulnerability at teachers’ level, which can occur between teachers and pupils, stating that ethical commitment of teachers beyond vulnerability may open a chance to deeply educate their pupils. There are also discussions on the professional loneliness of teachers, such as Kelchtermans et al. (2011) discuss structural loneliness, which is evident in school leaders, as a matter of desiring a sense of belonging and having no other colleagues in the same position. However, discussions given by Kelchtermans (2005) and Kelchtermans et al. (2011) tend to be more about issues of vulnerability itself, rather than how it works for change in educators. Additionally, his discussions are about teachers, not necessarily about school leaders.

Second, then, to make one’s own wounds a source of healing, a necessity exists for a constant willingness to see one’s own pains and suffering as rising from the depth of the human condition which all men share (Nouwen, 1979, p. 88). Nouwen uses a term of ‘hospitality’ to refer to healing: hospitality is the virtue of breaking through the narrowness of our own fears and to open our houses to the stranger—in other words, hospitality is a basis of community to create a unity based on the shared confession of our basic brokenness and based on a shared hope (Nouwen, 1979). Mutual confession then becomes a mutual deepening of hope, and sharing weakness becomes a reminder to one and all of the coming strength (Nouwen, 1979, p. 94). Nouwen (1975) also refers to hospitality as ‘the creation of a free space in which we can reach out to strangers and invite them to be our friends’—the stranger is not just an ‘other’ whom we do not know or show interest in but can be a close other to live with us. For that purpose, the host should create a free and fearless place for the unexpected visitor (Nouwen, 1979).

Third, the position of school leaders within education and society should be discussed. Since Nouwen is a Catholic priest, his discussion targets Christian ministers and priests. However, largely what he discusses is quite applicable to cases of school leaders. According to Nouwen (1979), although Christian ministers would like to serve those who are in need, the ministers are inevitably outside of human struggles, away from where people’s actions, decisions, and strategies are taking place. Then, even in serving others, ministers can offer nothing else than to be vulnerable them-

selves without any power to influence or change others—this sense of self-uselessness and lack of efficacy makes them view themselves as vulnerable and powerless.

What Nouwen (1979) discusses can be applicable to cases of school leaders. As Kelchtermans (2009) argues, although many school leaders and teachers are willing to work to influence lives of pupils, it is not clear how much any change or growth in their pupils can be attributed to their teachers, and to further uncertain degree with school leaders, particularly from pupils' perspectives. Although the extant leadership literature suggests that school leadership is second only to teaching as within-school effects on student learning outcomes (Leithwood, Day, Sammons, Harris, & Hopkins, 2006), there are outside-school effects, which are beyond the control of school leaders and teachers, and school leaders thus may not necessarily feel strong conviction or feel strongly grounded about the appropriateness of their decisions and judgments.

Yet, there is an extended discussion about vulnerability and powerlessness as the source of school leaders' strength given by Nouwen. Nouwen (1979) continues to say that this sense of powerlessness and vulnerability is the starting point for where liberation starts; it is a sign of hopeful beginnings of illumination. In the similar case of the priest, there is a recognition that being a Christian priest does not mean any superiority in any sense, but rather an openness to be with others on the same grounds and conditions. So it is that first of all, the relationship under ministry should be reciprocal (Nouwen, 1989), which means both ministers and congregations mutually serving. This mutuality may sound risky to some Christian leaders because this concept reveals that they also need care from somebody else and are wounded and vulnerable servants themselves, although they are recognised as and call themselves 'leaders'. In fact, Nouwen (1989) points out that the ministers are the people who do confession least often within Christian communities. The ministers are also invited as members of community, not different from others, which means that they also have to be mutually responsible for the community, and so they require support and love by other members (Nouwen, 1989). In other words, Christian leaders have to serve the community with their whole existence, including their own wounded selves.

Then the question becomes in the parallel situation, how about school leaders? Despite the self-study of university faculty member by Parker (2010), regarding how she managed to teach against the impact of the great loss of her partner and how she revisited important feminist concepts of embodiment and authority through the process of recovery from grief while teaching, it is a self-investigation from a perspective of a single teacher at university level. Thus, still there is an abundant space for discussion on how school leaders unite themselves with their pupils or learners through their painful and vulnerable experiences—and even with other teachers, as well as other stakeholders, like parents of pupils. This is an important and indispensable question because the teaching profession is inevitably structured as vulnerable (Kelchtermans, 1996, 2009) and as the case of Parker (2010) indicates, even the private domains of their lives finds intrusion from their professional activities (Day & Kington, 2008).

Method

Although experiences of vulnerability tend to be considered as negative or problematic, it can be an opportunity to learn openness and trust, which people have to have for love and for experiencing compassion, learning, and rapport (Lasky, 2005, p. 901). In other words, teachers really can become more vicarious. As Kelchtermans (2009) emphasises, if vulnerability is systemically and structurally conditioned, it is strongly necessary to discuss more cases of how vulnerability can function as a catalyst for teachers to develop further in their goals and strengths. In order to discuss the vulnerability of school leaders within the frameworks of (1) loneliness as a source of vulnerability and basis of unity; (2) hospitality as unity and care, and (3) position of teachers as vulnerable, a case of one LSLC school leader will be analysed using a document analysis approach, where data is examined and interpreted to illicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Mr. Toshiaki Ose, who was principal of a primary school called the Hamanogo Primary School. Mr. Ose passed away in 2003 and his stories about his private and professional life were published in the forms of books as well as televised on some programmes. In this study, his case is going to be explained and analysed based on the books written by himself (Ose, 2003) and by other journalists (Kawakubo, 2005; Shimbun, 2005). Mr. Ose experienced being a cancer patient, which was a fatal illness for him, and he described how through this experience he learnt the meaning of ‘care’ (Ose, 2003).

Loneliness as a Source of Vulnerability and Basis of Unity

Being Diagnosed with Cancer

Mr. Ose was the first principal when Hamanogo Primary School was established. Mr. Ose worked for the Chigasaki City Board of Education as the manager for the inspection section. In his office, Mr. Ose read a book written by Sato (1996), a primary advocate of LSLC, and became deeply inspired by his vision of school reform. Mr. Ose then decided to base the philosophy of LSLC as the guiding one for the new school, Hamanogo Primary School, with himself as the first principal.

In 1999, right after a year from the establishment of the school, Mr. Ose was diagnosed as having cancer. Mr. Ose was hospitalised to have an operation. Then, afterwards, his wife was also diagnosed as having brain tumours and Mr. Ose and his wife needed to care for each other. The series of experiences they had going through such a difficult time gave an opportunity for him to radically revisit and review his ways of living.

Care—Fundamental Human Need

By having an operation, Mr. Ose became physically vulnerable due to pain and necessary treatments. Then, Mr. Ose had two types of very polarised experiences, namely being impressed with the care given by professional nurses and yet also being ignored by them, which led him to serious reconsideration about the roles of teachers in schools.

First, Mr. Ose (2003) described how the nurses served him and other patients, as expressed below:

> At hospitals, nurses undertake very important roles… For patients, more important than treatments are 'care' and 'cure'. Willingness to overcome illness need 'care' or 'cure', which are mainly supported by nurses. This is what I knew only after being ill this time… In 'relationship with those who need help', there is similar structure between medicine and education, as I believe. Treatment by medical doctors responds to 'learning together', an action by teachers. On the other hand, such roles as nursing, care and cure, by nurses also taken up by teachers. Thus, in schools, teachers have to have 'arts' for those purposes. (pp. 14–15)

The passage quoted above demonstrates the positive impressions held by Mr. Ose regarding care provided by nurses. The experience of receiving their care helped him consider more deeply, also, about the roles teachers might undertake.

At the same time, another type of experience led Mr. Ose to understanding deeply about the emotions held by pupils under vulnerability, particularly those who are unlikely to be listened to carefully. Shimbun (2005) described a conversation between Mr. Ose and his friend referring to one occasion in the hospital. Mr. Ose met a nurse who took care of him and greeted her with an expectation for her to ask him about his current situation. The nurse, however, replied him just by saying 'Hello'. While being disappointed, Mr. Ose realised one thing about pupils' perspectives:

> I realised it now—how desperately those who are disadvantaged really want to be spoken to, even just very shortly. So do our pupils. (Kawakubo, 2005, p. 36)

This realisation strongly drove Mr Ose to investigate how teachers can best care for their pupils, which he set up as one of the crucial missions to be undertaken at Hamanogo Primary School.

Noticed a Dearth of Care in School and Turn-Around as a Leader for Vicariousness

In many cases, Japanese educators expect pupils to be full of energy and might, leading them to have strength and competence. The same type of expectation is given to the teachers, too. Mr. Ose (2003), however, wanted to build up another type of school:

> The life under medical treatment became an opportunity for me to change my mind about the direction of school establishment. In that sense, fighting against cancer and re-encountering with picture books became, 'a moment of notice' to me as an educator. Then, it led me to

> radically questioning about the meaning of a school itself… Pupils with self-notice about their own weakness and teachers with self-notice on their own incompetence interact with each other including 'care and cure' as mutual response. Then, through such mutual responses, teachers live together with pupils, and adults themselves also grow themselves. As such a place, a school needs to be reorganised, as I believe. (pp. 15–16)

This meant a turn-around for Mr. Ose as a school leader. Mr. Ose was a very competent and highly well-recognised practitioner, who had a senior position on the local board of education. Mr. Ose had a successful career, in which he needed to be strong and competent all the time, winning the competition for promotion. However, Mr. Ose realised importance to be vicarious—to imagine how those who are left behind would feel. He determined to establish a school where those who have experienced disadvantages can identify themselves as protagonists in their school lives.

Hospitality as Unity and Care

Hospitality as Basis to Create a Unity and Hope Through Our Basic Brokenness

Ose (2003) discussed the vulnerability and brokenness of pupils:

> In the society, they (pupils) are small, vulnerable and easily broken. Recently it tends to be very gloomy as the social trends, social distortion and negativeness directly influence the pupils in schools, about whom I am concerned. Schools have become a real mirror of the society. (p. 16)

As discussed above, Mr. Ose observed problems and difficulties that the pupils had in Hamanogo Primary School. In this school, many of the pupils have social disadvantages, such as economic poverty, broken families, single parenthood and so forth. Generally speaking, long-term recession and neo-liberal policies forced many Japanese to go through a great variety of troubles for around two decades (Saito, Takasawa, & Shimomukai, in press). Due to such problems, many pupils are likely to give up learning and LSLC has been practised to make a turn-around for such pupils to have hope again in learning and their schools. Mr. Ose was also willing to develop Hamanogo Primary School to be such a primary school, by saying that it is their mission to provide the best 6 years in the pupils' lives. This is, as Nouwen (1979) put it, was a new creation and quite a reform for a school to become a place of 'hospitality'.

Vulnerable and broken are not only pupils—but teachers, too. In Hamanogo Primary School, there were teachers with confidence about their own practices—some of the teachers were famous for their practices, while some another was senior teachers. However, Mr. Ose and Prof Manabu Sato, who advocated LSLC, provided comments to critique such teachers' practices about a level of lack of attention and care for the pupils and their learning (Kawakubo, 2005; Ose & Sato, 2003; Shimbun, 2005). The

teachers needed to unlearn and relearn about what to do in order to build up practices for pupils to be really engaged in deep learning in a calm climate. This process is the one which all the teachers felt was difficult, putting themselves in vulnerable positions, because they had to deeply recognise their blindness and brokenness to be effective—they had to acknowledge their lack of awareness, sensitivity, skills, and knowledge.

In such an environment, Mr. Ose aimed to establish a school where both pupils and teachers could learn together, caring for each other. For that purpose, Mr. Ose kept saying to the teachers, 'teaching skills are something like natural talents—important is sincerity' (Shimbun, 2005). Ose and Sato (2003) introduced a case of practice that they sought for as follows:

> In the classroom, the sense of peace and confidence prevailed. Then in the very calm and gentle way, the class was conducted. The pupils came to surround the teacher's desk and had discussions. For each remark by the pupils, another one said, 'Oh, yes', 'Oh you mean that', 'yes, yes, yes' 'Wow', and 'Wow it is very interesting', 'Oh' and 'Ah', with empathetic smiles and nods… Then they look at those who spoke always. It is not like a 'presentation' but 'mutual listening' that was underlined. The teacher connected between remarks of pupils, between pupils and teaching materials, and between pupils and phenomena, thoroughly taking up the role of 'facilitator', to respond to any type of remarks. That is, the teacher studied the materials and topics in depth, to build up the lesson with larger open windows for pupils' participation. (p. 40)

Mr. Ose liked to have such a lesson in each classroom for each period on each learning day at Hamanogo Primary School.

Leader as Vulnerable

Vulnerable as a Patient with Cancer

Mr. Ose had a relapse and his cancer spread; he was informed about his remaining days. Mr. Ose (2003) felt great fear about death, as this passage illustrates:

> Nowadays palliative treatment against pain or suffer has been advanced, but still huge fear against death confront with me. I cannot do anything against departure from the beloved ones. (pp. 26–27)

In such a situation, Mr. Ose started to appreciate and re-evaluate sadness. That is, in the contemporary Japanese society, pupils today infrequently experience departures by their beloved ones in comparison with times past, due to the decrease of the family size, improvements in medicine, greater longevity, and so forth. Therefore, Mr. Ose decided to develop a series of lessons about his own illness and death, based on reading picture books with deep messages or stimulating pupil investigation into historical events. These approaches he called 'lessons of the life' (Ose, 2003):

> In childhood, if having sympathy to others' sadness and shedding tears are avoided, and the value of 'cheerfulness, joyfulness and strength' are pushed on pupils, their sensitivities and

> emotional lives can be rather monotonous and dry, as I am afraid. In 'lessons of the life', topics and materials are certainly heavy and gloomy, so they cannot be called as cheerful one. However, through thinking about the life and families, pupils' sadness and tears actually cultivate their souls and minds to deepen empathy towards others, as the sources of energy to live their future with pure minds. (pp. 28–29)

Mr. Ose decided to utilise his own vulnerability and illness for educating the pupils in his primary school—his own whole existence, his wounds (Nouwen, 1979).

The practice of 'lessons of the life' caused many debates in the school. Some topics of the series of this practice were too heavy and gloomy to some pupils as the teachers understood. That is, some of the topics were too sensitive for some pupils, such as those with family backgrounds of parental divorce or loss.

The aim of this chapter is not to go into detail about the processes involved (including some disputes) in trying to implement Mr. Ose's lessons from life; therefore, such details will not be discussed here. However, it should be emphasised that Mr. Ose devoted his whole existence for education in Hamanogo Primary School, even at the end of his life.

Reciprocity—Attending the School Until Near the Last Day

Mr. Ose passed away on 3rd January 2004, and came to work for the school until 24th December 2003. Thus, until almost the end of his life, Mr. Ose kept coming to the school. In the speech after the closing ceremony of the term on 24th December 2003, Mr. Ose stated as below.

> My condition is actually getting worse and I am so sorry for causing you a lot of trouble. However, by coming to the school, I can recover my vigour to some extent. Probably, if I step down from the job, I am afraid that I would die almost immediately. For the last two weeks, almost all parts of my body have got swollen. I cannot predict what would happen. In the spring this year, I could set up plans until six months later. However, I cannot plan anything for a month even. (Shimbun, 2005, pp. 174–175)

Kawakubo (2005) also quoted comments given by his colleague teacher: '[A]fter being informed about his remaining days, Mr. Ose gets back to his most important basics—being in a classroom, being a 'teacher'. When the fear of death started to erode his mind and soul, Mr. Ose realised that there was a magnificent reality inside himself. Therefore, Mr. Ose made his own life become the 'teaching material' to conduct "lessons of the life"' (Kawakubo, 2005, pp. 175–176).

For Mr. Ose, being at the school was vital. While Mr. Ose devoted his whole existence to the school, he also received the vitality needed to survive with dignity until the end of his life. Mr. Ose was supported and accepted by the teachers, and most importantly the pupils, in Hamanogo. That is, through observing himself from the lens of 'lessons of the life', Mr. Ose aimed to build up the space of care, which helped him stay alive while helping the others around him as well within the theory of LSLC. That was the ultimate way for Mr. Ose to demonstrate his leadership based on his vulnerability with vicariousness towards pupils in vulnerability.

Discussion and Conclusion

In Japan, due to the severe socio-economic structural issues, many children have been exposed to serious constraints, which lead them to be highly vulnerable. Then a question is now how schools can be the secure place for every child to feel settled down to learn. Bearing such situations in mind, this study aimed to examine the case of Mr. Ose, a school leader whose reform was to connect children, teachers, parents and other stakeholders through mutually understanding and accepting vulnerability. In terms of emotional experiences, being diagnosed as having cancer was a critical incident (Lasky, 2005) for him. Mr. Ose was influenced by this incident to the degree that he went through various changes as Lasky (2005) identified—from belief in competence to vicariousness with vulnerable others, namely disadvantaged pupils, from self-identity as being strong to becoming the one with self-recognition as the weak, and from self-promotion to caring for others. While in the previous studies, however, educational practices are defined as being linked up with emotions of teachers (Kelchtermans, 2009), in the case of Mr. Ose, emotions about his own personal experiences led him to define his leadership practices.

Furthermore, the practice of series of 'lessons of the life' would demonstrate some aspects of structural vulnerability (Kelchtermans, 1996, 2005, 2009). That is, as the teachers had various ideas about his practice, Mr. Ose would not necessarily have had justifiable grounds or certainty for pursuing all of the practices that he wished to initiate. In considering the serious and heavy nature of practices and the backgrounds of some pupils, although the teachers and pupils commented positively about the lessons of the life (Kawakubo, 2005; Shimbun, 2005), there can be further debates about the meaning of the practices towards pupils. Then, if pupils were to have some issues or problems because of this practice, relationships with other colleagues could also be sought out.

At a more macro level, the Japanese government attempted various reforms in neo-liberal and authoritarian ways, resulting in depriving the profession of teachers (Saito & Murase, 2011). In Hamanogo Primary School, however, teachers' professionalism and retention were indicated as a priority for development utilising LSLC, and Mr. Ose was the one first willing to develop the culture for care and cure as the basis of hospitability (Nouwen, 1979) for both pupils and teachers to appreciate and grow together. As Mr. Ose advocated, Hamanogo was established based on LSLC to go against the tendency to seek only for visible cheerfulness and strength. Such cheerfulness and strength are deliverables of competition in the society—those who are vulnerable are seen as not being able to survive, or at least, are considered as weak losers. Mr. Ose's leadership aimed to establish a school as a shelter for pupils against strong pressures caused by competitive social norms and neo-liberal policies (Saito & Atencio, 2015). Perhaps his efforts to reach out synergistically to others with his own weaknesses showing and to help others learn from vulnerability was an experiment to which all in education, even in other nations, need to more fully return.

Such attitudes of school leaders for hospitality (Nouwen, 1979) based on vulnerability would be totally opposite to the dominant preference in usual schools resilience, liveliness, cheerfulness (Ose, 2003; Ose & Sato, 2003; Sato, 2012). Mr. Ose experienced to be extremely vulnerable, realising an importance to create a school as a shelter for the increasing number of children with vulnerability due to socio-economic risks (Kariya, 2001; Uzuki & Suetomi, 2015). If the school organisational culture becomes more caring, the children will find their schools as secure and peaceful and gradually start to increase their interest in learning and reduce problematic behaviours despite the severity of life experiences (Saito et al., 2015). By so doing, despite a rapidly expanding gap in interest in studying between children in different social strata (Kariya, 2001; Uzuki & Suetomi, 2015), children can keep their hope for their lives and learning. It is, therefore, crucial for school leaders to maximise their sensitisation on the vulnerability of such children with potential risks through reflecting on their own vulnerability as Mr. Ose did. Such works by leaders would help teachers accept children with difficulties in their lives, and promote the feeling of security and safety in school.

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Eisuke Saito is a lecturer in the Faculty of Education, Monash University. Before starting to work for Monash University in January 2016, Eisuke, originally from Japan, used to serve as a consultant on educational development in various Asian countries, such as Bangladesh, Indonesia and Vietnam and as a faculty member for National Institute of Education, Singapore.

Eisuke worked for promoting lesson study for learning community (LSLC) in Indonesia and Vietnam since 2004 and 2006, respectively, and still has been working with teachers in Vietnam to further promote school reform based on lesson study. While Eisuke's research interest covers LSLC and school reform as mentioned above, he is also engaged in research into collaborative learning, professional development, and learning of teachers, the identity of teachers and social justice issues in education.

Chapter 8
School Leaders in the Midst of Reforms: Crisis and Catharsis in the Philippine Education System

Vicente Reyes Chua

Abstract This chapter argues that the Philippine education system is besieged by crippling challenges typified by increased drop-out and out of school youth, high student-pupil ratio, teacher shortage, lack of resources, relatively low teachers' salary, a dysfunctional bureaucracy and systemic corruption. To address these lingering issues, fragmented waves of education reform initiatives have been promulgated. One particular stakeholder in the education system—school leaders—find themselves wedged by systemic challenges on the one hand and disparate reform efforts on the other. The implementation of Republic Act 9155 (RA 9155) "Governance of Basic Education Act of 2001" also known as the Principal Empowerment Act manifests the dilemma of school leaders as they find themselves in fundamental disjunctures between the continuity of crises and the promise of change.

Introduction

This chapter highlights how one particular stakeholder in the Philippine education system—school leaders—who find themselves in fundamental disjunctures, are wedged by systemic challenges on the one hand and disparate reform efforts on the other. While navigating these disjunctures, school leaders undergo sense-making experiences. In this chapter, the sense making encounters of school leaders in the midst of reforms are viewed from the perspectives of identity, agency and ownership. Identity formation emerges as one of the fundamental reactions to these experiences. School leaders who find themselves in education reform campaigns that are within periods of great uncertainty realise that establishing and maintaining identity is a core attribute of sense-making. Furthermore, this chapter posits that as these school leaders traverse through various points of disjunctures, they make choices that either empower or disempower them making an impact on their sense of agency. Aside from identity and sense of agency, this chapter also affirms that whilst attempting to make sense, school leaders also experience decisions that impinge on their sense

V. R. Chua (✉)
School of Education, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia
e-mail: vicente.reyes@uq.edu.au

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of ownership. Viewing the experience of selected Philippine school principals, these theoretical assumptions allow this chapter to contribute in critically interrogating current debates on how educational reforms impact school leaders. Implications to policy and practice for school leaders in the midst of reforms are also discussed.

The Philippines: A Country of Contradictions and Crises

On the 21st of May 2014, high-profile nobilities and the "crème de la crème" of global finance raised their champagne glasses to celebrate the 23rd World Economic Forum on East Asia in the most unlikely of places—the developing country of the Philippines heralded to be the next tiger economy (Heydarian, 2014). This extraordinary gathering of luminaries in finance and trade occurred immediately after the Philippines was granted its highest ever credit rating from Standard and Poor's (S&P) in early 2014 as well as unparalleled investment upgrades from Moody's Investor Service and Fitch Ratings in 2013 (Batino & Yap, 2014). From these indicators, it would seem that the Philippines has indeed emerged as the next Tiger Economy (Mariano, 2016).

Alongside these highly-impressive economic accolades, serious social ills—particularly in the very important area of education—remain unrelenting. According to the 2013 Functional Literacy and Education, Mass Media Survey (FLEMMS),[1] sanctioned by the Philippine Department of Education (DepEd) "one in every 10 Filipino children and youth 6–24 years old was out-of-school" (Bersales, 2015, p. 32), which essentially means that close to 4 million young people are jeopardising their future chances of educational success and meaningful participation in society. These startling figures reinforce the sad fact that the "Philippines is still in the top ten countries with the highest out-of-school population" (Diola, 2014, p. 2). To make matters even more problematic, at the start of the school year in June 2015 and with the roll-out of the K-12 reform (from the original 10 years of basic education), a "shortage of more than 200,000 classrooms and 100,000 teachers" confronted young learners in elementary and high schools (Arcangel, 2015, p. 1). The damaging challenge of teacher shortages is aggravated by the fact that Philippine teachers, whose last pay raise was a decade ago in 2009 (Carcamo, 2015) are perceived to be the "lowest paid professionals in the country and are one of the lowest paid teachers throughout Asia" (Alcober, 2015, p. 2).

Understanding the context of this inquiry requires an appreciation of the unique features of the Philippines. This chapter posits that the archipelago of more than 100 million people can best be understood by viewing it from the lens of contradictions and crises with respect to its geography and economy and from the perspective of change and continuity and discontinuity in relation to educational policies.

[1]The 2013 FLEMMS is the fifth in a series of literacy surveys conducted by the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) in coordination with the Literacy Coordinating Council (LCC) and the Department of Education (DepEd).

Contradictions in the Philippine Economy: Growth Alongside Poverty

Official accounts from different government agencies complemented by media reports have trumpeted about how the nation "posted solid growth" in 2015 indicating an impressive economic record for the country (Asian Development Bank, 2016, p. 220). Figure 8.1 shows a consistent escalation of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita of the nation. Nonetheless, a meticulous examination of data from the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) indicates that "poverty incidence among Filipinos registered at 26.3% as of the first semester of 2015" revealing that one in four Filipinos struggles below the poverty line (Bersales, 2016, p. 1). It should be pointed out that in 2006; the poverty incidence was 26.9% (Balboa & Yap, 2010, p. 9). These data reveals the enigmatic detail that high rates of poverty incidence have festered even as GDP per capita steadily increased during the last decade. Despite its noteworthy economic performance measured by GDP, the Philippines represents "a concrete example of GDP growth that did not reduce poverty" (Schelzig, 2005, p. 85). This socio-economic paradox has become a quintessential feature of the Republic of the Philippines.

This paradox aptly describes a government that has "been unable to properly run the country" and "has failed to ensure the efficient delivery of necessary public services" that are absolutely vital in bringing "about the economic development and widespread prosperity the country deserves" (Schelzig, 2005, p. 87). Faced with a situation where the bureaucracy is unable to deliver basic social services, what has exacerbated the dismal Philippine condition has been the malaise of chronic and debilitating "systemic corruption" (Reyes, 2010, p. 396). Global rankings bolster opinions about corruption's vice-like grip on the Philippines. From 1995 to 2011,

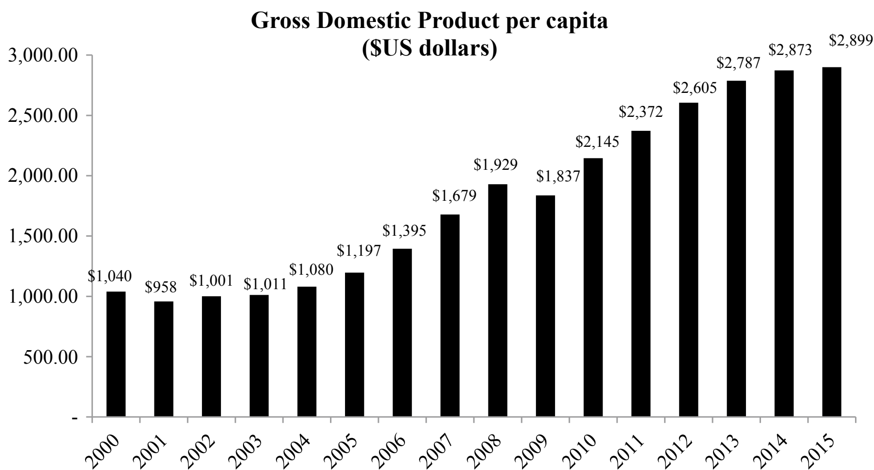

Fig. 8.1 GDP per capita. *Source* Asian Development Bank (2016)

the country averaged a 2.7 score (on a 10 point ascending scale) and subsequently a score of 35 (on a 100 point ascending scale in the Transparency International's (TI) Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) from 2011–2013 positioning it as one of the underperforming countries in its fight against corruption. Moreover, international surveys conducted by the Political and Economic Risk Consultancy (PERC) group on the impact of corruption on the business environment revealed an average score "of 8.5 (on a 10 point ascending scale) from 2005–2014" placing the Philippines very near the top of worst performers in relation to anti-corruption efforts (Political & Economic Risk Consultancy Ltd., 2014, p. 4). In the 2015 CPI compiled by TI, the country was "ranked 95th among 168 countries" giving it a "score of 35 out of 100," signifying a lowering of 10 notches compared to its CPI rank in the previous year (Hegina, 2016, p. 1). The incumbent Ombudsman of the Philippine government has declared that "corruption remains prevalent in the government," emphasising that her office received "thousands of complaints about graft and corrupt practices and other administrative violations" (Quismundo, 2016, p. 2).

Philippine Geography, Culture and Society: Culture of Crisis and Disaster

Bello, Docena, De Guzman and Malig have identified that the lingering "massive financial crisis" is the biggest disaster that continually besieges the nation (Bello, Docena, De Guzman, & Malig, 2004, p. 27). They argue that the Philippines pursued anti-development state approach (Bello et al., 2004) featuring trade liberalisation policies highly-influenced by neo-liberal ideology and epitomized by the unabated acquisition of foreign debt. The world's leading development aid lenders, namely the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) provided these foreign debts in the form of structural adjustment programs coupled with severe conditionalities, defined as "the idea of encouraging economic growth and development by linking financial assistance to the adoption of a particular set of policies recommended by the World Bank" (Pender, 2001, p. 399). Scholars and practitioners have undertaken careful analyses of these aid approaches of the IMF and the World Bank declaring that the "programs are a failure" (Dreher, 2006, p. 781) and that the fundamental approach of "structural adjustment did not succeed in adjusting macroeconomic policy and growth outcomes very much" (Easterly, 2005, p. 20). Echoing Bello et al.'s lament, the Freedom from Debt Coalition (FDC), a Philippine non-government organisation has pointedly identified the crushing Philippine debt as a substantial longstanding resource drain for the country:

> FDC said that from 1986 to 2015, or over a course of 30 years, the continued implementation of the policy on automatic appropriations for debt servicing has resulted in an average of 27.21 percent of annual public revenues automatically earmarked for interest payments, while principal amortization has eaten up an average of 67.61 percent of government's new borrowings (Punongbayan, 2016, para. 12)

The size, scope and stark differences characterising the geographic and cultural landscape of the vast archipelago poses formidable challenges to the bureaucracy in providing essential services. Scrutinising the continual shortfalls troubling it reveals that "it operates under conditions of extreme scarcity" (Quah, 1987, p. xiii). But what is even more insightful is not the daunting bureaucratic administrative ordeals posed by the vast Philippine archipelago; it is instead the propensity for crisis and disasters. The nation's geographic location exposes it to an unnatural share of natural hazards earning for it the "dubious distinction of rating the highest total number of disasters of any during the twentieth century" (Bankoff, 2003, p. 4).

Commentators have argued that the combination of the unremitting crises of poverty and frequent natural hazards in "one of the most disaster-prone countries in the world" (Gaillard, Pangilinan, Cadag, & Le Masson, 2008, p. 384) have given rise to a so-called "cultures of disaster" in the Philippines (Bankoff, 2003, p. 4). These cultures are manifested in the continual development of "specific coping mechanisms" that Filipinos have engendered represented "by historical records of architectural adaptation, agricultural practices and migration patterns" and more specifically through "popular manifestations of calculated risk assessment, resignation, mysticism, self-reliance and reciprocity" (Bankoff, 2003, p. 178).

The Promise of Reform: Empowering the School Principals Act and BESRA

The Republic Act (RA) 9155, the Governance in Basic Education Act of 2001 more commonly known as "empowering the School Principals Act" is a policy initiative designed to address the ills of the Philippine education system. Aside from a modification of its institutional identity, this was an invitation to break the cycle of centralised education administration that had crippled effective implementation of education for almost a century. Built upon School-Based Management (SBM), this initiative has given birth to the Basic Education Sector Reform Agenda (BESRA) that acknowledges among its key priorities the strengthening of SBM (National Education for All Committee, 2006). Initial results from the reform have been generally inconclusive: some say that significant improvements have occurred (Khattri, Ling, & Jha, 2010; Kimura, 2008) while others indicated challenges still persist (Bautista, Bernardo, & Ocampo, 2008; Caoli-Rodriguez, 2007).

> Republic Act (RA) 9155, also known as the *Governance in Basic Education Act of 2001*, provides the overall framework for principal empowerment by strengthening principal and leadership goals, and local school based management within the context of transparency and local accountability. RA 9155 also renamed the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS) to the Department of Education (DepEd). The mandates as well as the attached agencies for culture and sports were transferred to the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCAA) and the Philippine Sports Commission (PSC), respectively. Programs for school arts, culture, sports and physical education remained part of basic education curriculum. (Macasaet, 2002, p. 296)

RA 9155 offered a sea-change in the way education has been governed in the Philippines. It provided a new framework that provides support for authentic "decentralization by empowering field offices and, especially, the schools to take a more active role in initiating and undertaking cost-effective innovations at the local level" (Caoli-Rodriguez, 2007, p. 4). RA 9155 was reinforced several years later when DepEd launched the School First Initiative (SFI) from 2005–2010. SFI was designed to operationalise "decentralized basic education management by empowering schools and making them more accountable to learning outcomes" monitored through indicators such as completion rates and other specific educational outputs (Caoli-Rodriguez, 2007, p. 5).

School-Based Management and the PGCB

School stakeholders involved in twenty-first century neo-liberal inspired education changes find themselves facing "fundamental disjunctures" (Appadurai, 1990, p. 6) as they take on reform initiatives over and above their normal professional scope. These disjunctures can also be seen as the instances where change and continuity occur where elaborates on the sense-making experiences of teachers as they find themselves in these disjunctures brought about by global reforms and local responses (Reyes, 2016). The initial applications of school-based management occurred in Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand (Caldwell, 2005, p. 3). The results from SBM to student outcomes and school effectiveness seem to vary quite extensively. Nonetheless, in the Philippine context, SBM was used as the lynchpin for most of the contemporary major education reform efforts in the country. One such example is the Policy Governance and Capacity Building Programme for Philippine Leaders and Educators or PGCB.

PGCB was launched on the 22nd of March 2011. From the original ten schools of an earlier project called Leaders and Educators in Asia Programme (LEAP),[2] PGCB was "expanded into 400 schools throughout the country" (Ronda, 2011). Bankrolled by *Temasek* Foundation for SGD$ 1,462,886 (PhP 43 Million pesos), PGCB continued with some of the efficacious components of the LEAP project and driven by with the overall goals of developing management skills of division officials and school principals while at the same time improving the teaching skills of public school teachers. One major difference in the implementation of PGCB is the active participation and contribution of a key stakeholder, the government of the Republic

[2]The Leaders and Educators in Asia Program (LEAP) was an example of how an international non-government organisation—represented by Singapore's *Temasek* Foundation—a world-class institute of higher learning—represented by the National Institute of Education (NIE) in Singapore and a Philippine-based foundation—the *Ateneo* Centre for Educational Development (ACED) worked collaboratively to pursue education reform. Started in 2008, the three-year project attempted to make an impact in improving education in the Philippines. For more information see Reyes, (2016). Mapping the Terrain of Education Reform: Global Trends and Local Responses. New York: Routledge.

of the Philippines, represented by then Philippine Speaker of the House, the Hon. Feliciano Belmonte, Jr. Speaker Belmonte used to be the mayor of Quezon City who committed funds from his office to help finance the 10th school in the original LEAP programme. For PGCB, Speaker Belmonte has also earmarked around PhP 5 million pesos (SGD$, 171,000) from his Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF) as counterpart funding for the collaborative project (Department of Budget and Management, 2011) together with *Temasek* Foundation, ACED and volunteers from NIE Singapore. PGCB was set out to accomplish the following lofty objectives:

> The *Temasek* Initiative is a 3.5 year programme that will directly benefit 625 senior-level education officials and master trainers and 5400 Math, English and Science teachers from 400 schools in 10 participating divisions and districts (Philippine Information Agency, 2011)

Analysing the Impact of BESRA

A total of 150 school leaders participating in PGCB, participated in the survey. The unit of analysis in this inquiry is the school leader. The survey included 11 items divided into two sections: demographic information and perceptions on BESRA as reform strategy (see Table 8.1). Five items make up the demographic section. One item is a dichotomous variable, namely: (1) Gender. Another item is a nominal variable, namely (2) Leadership Style. Three items are ordinal, namely, (3) Highest educational level attained; (4) Designation and (5) Years of teaching experience. The section on perceptions on BESRA consisted of the remaining six items that were ordered polytomous variables (these specific types of variables are used since there are no assumptions made about their distribution in this cluster analysis) measured from a five-point Likert Scale that ranged from Strongly Disagree-Disagree-Neither Agree or Disagree-Agree-Strongly Agree:

Items that test perceptions of BESRA as a reform strategy to address education crises:

(6) My role within the Basic Education Sector Reform Agenda (BESRA);
(7) BESRA and strengthening School-Based Management (SBM);
(8) BESRA and improved teaching effectiveness and development;
(9) BESRA and enhanced quality assurance;
(10) BESRA and improved access and learning outcomes;
(11) BESRA and promoting institutional cultural change.

Cluster Analysis: School Leaders' Perceptions of BESRA

The analytical approach used for this inquiry was cluster analysis. This approach commonly employed in market research is described as a method of data mining

Table 8.1 Frequency distribution—Unit of analysis ($N = 150$)

		Number	Percent
Gender	Male	47	27.3
	Female	109	72.7
	Total	127	100
Highest education level attained	University degree	5	3.3
	MA/MS units	47	31.3
	Completed MA/MS units	78	52
	PhD	20	13.3
	Total	150	100
Years in teaching	Less than 10 years	11	7.3
	11–20 years	58	38.7
	21–30 years	59	39.3
	31–40 years	20	13.3
	41 years and above	2	1.3
	Total	150	100
Designation	Subject coordinator	5	3.3
	Head Teacher	24	16
	School Principal/School Head	82	54.7
	School Principal (Level II)	29	19.3
	District/Division Supervisor	10	6.7
	Total	150	100
What is your leadership style?	Autocratic	4	2.7
	Participative	63	42
	Laissez-Faire	10	6.7
	Distributive	32	21.3
	Others	13	8.7
	Undefined	28	18.7
	Total	150	100
I am fully aware of my role within the general framework of the Basic Education Sector Reform Agenda (BESRA)	Strongly disagree	0	0
	Disagree	1	0.7
	Neither agree or disagree	22	14.7
	Agree	110	73.3
	Strongly agree	17	11.3
	Total	150	100
I believe that BESRA is well on its way in accomplishing strengthened School-Based Management (SBM) in the schools within my Division/District	Strongly disagree	0	0

(continued)

Table 8.1 (continued)

		Number	Percent
	Disagree	2	1.3
	Neither agree or disagree	21	14
	Agree	97	64.7
	Strongly agree	30	20
	Total	150	100
I believe that BESRA is well on its way in accomplishing improved teaching effectiveness and teacher development in the schools within my Division/District	Strongly disagree	0	0
	Disagree	2	1.3
	Neither agree or disagree	21	14
	Agree	95	63.3
	Strongly agree	32	21.3
	Total	150	100
I believe that BESRA is well on its way in accomplishing enhanced quality assurance through clear standards and achievements in the schools within my Division/District	Strongly disagree	0	0
	Disagree	2	1.3
	Neither agree or disagree	20	13.3
	Agree	100	66.7
	Strongly agree	28	18.7
	Total	150	100
I believe that BESRA is well on its way in accomplishing improved access and learning outcomes through alternative learning approaches in the schools within my Division/District	Strongly disagree	0	0
	Disagree	2	1.3
	Neither agree or disagree	26	17.3
	Agree	102	68
	Strongly agree	20	13.3
	Total	150	100
I believe that BESRA is well on its way in promoting institutional cultural change in the schools within my Division/District	Strongly disagree	0	0
	Disagree	2	1.3
	Neither agree or disagree	24	16
	Agree	107	71.3
	Strongly agree	17	11.3
	Total	150	100

where information would be divided into analogous groups or clusters that consist of "objects that are similar to one another and dissimilar to objects in other groups" (Berkhin, 2006, p. 26). Cluster analysis has also been employed to "perform data reduction" with the end of identifying "natural" groupings within a large set" (Chan, 2005, p. 153). This method has also been termed as "the art of finding groups in data" (Kaufman & Rousseeuw, 2005, p. 5). For this inquiry, the collected data was explored for the possibility of identifying latent characteristics that are not fairly obvious, a "a multivariate statistical technique for grouping cases of data based on

the similarity of responses to several variables/subjects" where the emerging groups "are not predefined but are rather suggested on the basis of the data" (Verma, 2013, p. 318). Table 8.1 provides a summary of the data used.

How Do School Leaders Perceive the Impact of BESRA?

The conduct of cluster analysis revealed interesting results. There were a total of 34 school leaders (22.7%) who make up Cluster One ($M = 0.226$, $SD = 0.420$). A total of 96 school leaders (64%) constitute Cluster Two ($M = 1.28$, $SD = 0.963$). 20 school leaders (13.3%) compose Cluster Three ($M = 0.400$, $SD = 1.023$). Most of the scores in Cluster One are above the median and sit right at the 3rd quartile (75%). This is for almost all cases, except for the variable "I am fully aware of my role within the general framework of the Basic Education Sector Reform Agenda (BESRA)" and "I believe that BESRA is well on its way on promoting institutional cultural change in the schools within my Division/District." In these two cases, their scores sit right on the median. On the other hand, all the scores of Cluster Two respondents sit right on the median. The scores of Cluster Three respondents are below the median and sit right at the 1st quartile (25%).

In the analysis, three clusters emerge from the 150 school leaders who participated in the survey. The three clusters are groups of school leaders who appear to "coalesce" in terms of their perceptions in relation to School-Based Management as represented by BESRA. The sizes of the clusters are as follows: Cluster One—34 (22.76%); Cluster Two—52 (40.9%) and Cluster Three—40 (31.5%) (see Fig. 8.2).

Are These Three Clusters Distinct from Each Other?

A series of Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) tests were implemented to determine whether the three clusters that emerged are indeed distinct from one another. Using ANOVA as an omnibus test, we evaluated the null hypothesis that there were no statistically significant differences in the three generated clusters. Post hoc tests were conducted for the analyses that yielded significance levels.

The ANOVA and post hoc tests prove that the three clusters that have emerged from the analysis are distinct. Moreover, generating the omega squared ($\acute{\omega}^2$) calculations for each of the tests registers a range of 0.46–0.84, all of which are large effect sizes. Table 8.2 provides a summary of the practical significance that the tests are able to produce in relation to statistically significant differences among the three different clusters.

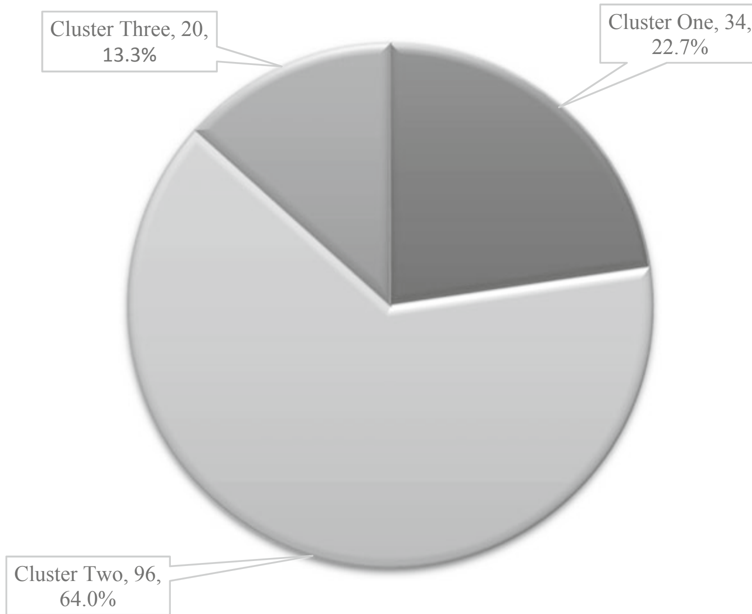

Fig. 8.2 Three emerging clusters from the data analysis

Crisis and Catharsis in Education Reforms: Navigating Disjunctures

In the context of this inquiry, three types of school leaders according to their self-perceptions alongside the BESRA reform initiative emerge: Cluster One can be described as school leaders who perceive that BESRA is well-placed in addressing crises in Philippine education. Cluster Two represents school leaders who are ambivalent about how BESRA addresses Philippine education crises. Cluster Three typifies school leaders who appear to be cynical towards BESRA as a solution to addressing the continuing crises in Philippine education. In the next section, illustrative case studies of three different school leaders who experienced disjunctures—notions of disconnection or being disjointed or out of synch –as they navigated their respective reform trajectories.

Table 8.2 Effect sizes of different clusters

	Cluster one	Cluster two	Cluster three	*F*	*p*	$\acute{\omega}^2$
My role within BESRA	4.35	3.99	3.10	65.564	0.00	0.46
BESRA and strengthening SBM	4.76	4.01	2.90	216.577	0.00	0.74
BESRA and improved teaching effectiveness and development	4.85	4.00	2.90	296.131	0.00	0.79
BESRA and enhanced quality assurance	4.82	3.98	2.90	398.729	0.00	0.84
BESRA and improved access and learning outcomes	4.53	3.93	2.95	105.412	0.00	0.58
BESRA and promoting institutional cultural change	4.44	3.94	3.00	87.456	0.00	0.55

Effect sizes metric: $\acute{\omega}^2 <= 0.01$ (small); $\acute{\omega}^2 = 0.06$ (moderate); $\acute{\omega}^2 > 0.16$ (large)

Champion-Driven Leadership: Stakeholder Transformation

Cluster One: School Leaders Who Believe that BESRA Is Well-Placed as a Reform Agenda

Cluster One, the smallest group with only 22.76% of school leaders, clearly demonstrated that they perceive BESRA as a potent vehicle to use in tackling the persistent education crises in the Philippines. The ANOVA tests conclusively indicate that those who belong to Cluster One recorded the highest standardised scores. It can be argued that most of the school leaders in Cluster One see BESRA as an important and powerful vehicle of reform. Furthermore, they see themselves performing an important role in championing the success of BESRA.

Paladin Elementary School[3] (Paladin ES) is one of the ten elementary schools located around Kananga, an agricultural community of "about 45,000 people located in the rural and rugged coastal town of Leyte in the Eastern Visayas province of the

[3]Pseudonyms have been used in describing the schools in order preserve the anonymity of the respondents.

Philippines" (Torrevillas, 2009, p. 1). Kananga is a first class municipality[4] according to average annual income (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2008). Paladin ES and the other schools around the municipality are very fortunate to be in the surrounds of the Energy Development Corporation (EDC), a geothermal complex which is the "second largest producer of geothermal energy in the world" (Torrevillas, 2009, p. 2). EDC has been known to provide support to the local community. In 2013, the entire municipality of Kananga was almost wiped out. Super typhoon Yolanda[5] destroyed almost all the visible built environment of the locale and ripped apart "virtually all of the coconut trees that have sustained families for generations" in the community of Kananga (Malakunas, 2013, p. 1). A painful period of rehabilitation ensued, where Paladin ES slowly started the road towards rebuilding.

Ms. Esperanza[6] is a relatively new school leader as she only obtained principalship upon taking over Paladin ES in 2010. The primary school is a medium-sized school with around 450 students who come mostly from agricultural families. In her words, she has seen "the best and the worst of times for the school" (Personal communication, Esperanza, January, 2014). She explained that the events during and after the traumatic catastrophe of 2013 "were really dark days for her and for the school" but the process of rebuilding that happened immediately after "was truly inspirational" (Esperanza, personal communication, January, 2014).

Ms. Esperanza maintains that the implementation of SBM within the BESRA framework should be seen by school leaders "as an opportunity to initiate important changes that really mattered" as opposed to one-size fits all approaches that typified the usual operations in the region (Esperanza, personal communication, January, 2014). She emphatically viewed her role within SBM as that of a "champion" whose main task was to "fight for the welfare of her school and her school children" (Esperanza, personal communication, January, 2014). She explained that it was not enough to rely on the funds that were now made available through SBM to school leaders. Frankly speaking, these funds, she said "were not enough" (Esperanza, personal information, January, 2014). She realised that with the very limited resources of the school, she had to champion the idea of fostering active community stakeholders who would, in her own words, embrace "the school as their own":

> After joining the PGCB programme in 2011, the idea of gaining support from my local community through stakeholder ownership was emphasised. It was an idea that I thought I should continue to explore. So sometime in July 2011, I started organising several meetings with a lot of different parents of the school. After spearheading these meetings for weeks and months, we finally organised a sizeable group of committed volunteers. With this group of parents and community leaders, we approached EDC for assistance. Realising that an

[4]First class municipalities are those that earn Ps 400 million pesos ($SGD 115 million) or more annually.

[5]Super typhoon codenamed Yolanda (International designation "Haiyan") struck the Eastern Visayas region of the Philippines in November 2013 causing catastrophic damage. The devastating tropical cyclone is the strongest ever typhoon to have hit landfall in the entire recorded history of mankind.

[6]In order to honour the confidence of those persons who were interviewed in the course of this inquiry, their names, and complete job designations are omitted here. Pseudonyms are provided.

> entire community was requesting assistance on behalf of the school, EDC provided valuable support to us then. The really good thing about it is that even after Typhoon Yolanda and all the terrible damage it caused, my group of parent and community volunteers and the EDC continued to support the school. (Esperanza, personal communication, January, 2014)

Interviews with other staff members of Paladin ES reinforce Ms. Esperanza's statements. "She was tireless in organising meetings with parents, teachers and the community about the need to not only support the school, but to actually become active stakeholders. And she did this over and above her role as school administrator" (Carlos, personal communication, January, 2014). A senior teacher claimed that "she really was our champion in getting parents, the local community and EDC to actively participate in the life of the school" remarked one of the veteran teachers of the school. One of the senior teachers emphatically stated that "the hours and days after Yolanda struck, we were all so drained, tired and traumatised," she added that "Ms. Esperanza stepped up and instructed all of us, parents, teachers, community members to do the tough work of cleaning up, collecting resources that could still be salvaged" (Abad & Benito, personal communication, January, 2014). Ms. Esperanza displayed traits of what could be described as champion-driven leadership someone engaged in "context-sensitive leadership processes that typically involve other leaders (such as formal leaders) as well as followers" (Taylor, Cocklin, Brown, & Wilson-Evered, 2011, p. 413).

Custodian Leadership and Organizational Reproduction

Cluster Two: School Leaders Who Are Ambivalent About BESRA as a Reform Agenda

Cluster Two, with the majority of respondents at 40.9% of school leaders, were ambivalent about the nature and the impact of BESRA on persistent educational challenges in their respective contexts. The ANOVA tests indicate that those in Cluster 2 registered scores that were on the medium-range (Neither Agree nor Disagree). A possible interpretation of this is that most of the school leaders in Cluster Two do not see BESRA as a reform vehicle that can initiate wide-ranging reforms in their context. A possible theorisation that can be made about school leaders in Cluster Two is that they perceive the crises that they face in their context as both structural and cultural, and realise that an essential part of their role is to preserve and protect beneficiaries of education with or without BESRA. They see their roles as being custodians of the status quo. This will be explained in the next paragraphs.

Conserje Elementary School (Conserje ES) is one of the 26 schools located in Valencia, a first-class municipality located at the southern tip of the island of Negros in Western Visayas, known as the country's sugar basket "since more than half of the available agricultural land in the lowlands is devoted to sugarcane cultivation" (REAP-Canada, 2016). Valencia with a population of about 35 thousand people is the capital of the province of Negros Oriental

(Philippine Statistics Authority, 2015b). Similar to Kananga municipality in Eastern Visayas, Valencia also hosts another geothermal plant managed by the EDC. On the whole though, the economy of the municipality, similar to the entire Negros Island is primarily agricultural where sugarcane plantations play a very important role employing "five million Filipinos" in the Visayas region. (de Boer, 2005, p. 29)

Mrs. Andanza has been the principal of Conserje ES, a relatively moderately sized school with close to 1000 students, for almost eight years. Asked about how SBM and BESRA make an impact on the way she manages the school, Mrs. Andanza's response is highly-informative, "I think that I, like many other schools in Negros Island face structural and historical challenges that not even SBM and BESRA can tackle" (Andanza, personal communication, February, 2014). She acknowledged that while additional resources have been made available through SBM, the reality is that only expenses in the nature of maintenance and operating costs are sanctioned. Capital expenditures and those that pertain to personnel services are "not included in the powers that local school leaders have under BESRA's SBM," she clarified (Andanza, personal communication, February, 2014). She brings up the point about the highly uncertain status of her school, particularly since it belongs to the informal qualification of being "squatters, in the land in which we occupy and we are really at the mercy of the landowner, in my case, the *hacienderos*[7] that own most of the land in this area" (Andanza, personal communication, February, 2014). Mrs. Andanza touches on one of the most vexing issues in Philippine education where "thousands of public schools across the country exists, but with no land of their own" (Mayuga, 2015, p. 1). In the case of Negros Island with more than half of the agricultural lands in the lowlands devoted to sugarcane planting, the phenomenon of *hacienderos* owning huge tracts of land, where schools are located, is not unusual:

> The haciendas have long formed the backbone of the sugar industry: small plantation enterprises (many between 50-150 hectares) owned by planter families or family corporations, worked by landless families that live on its premises and form tightly-knit communities, and by seasonal migrant cane-cutters. (Rutten, 2010, p. 207)

Mrs. Andanza brings up an even more pernicious issue, "I think more than the fact that the school does not own the land where it stays, the more disturbing issue we face is *tiempo negro*"[8] (Andanza, personal communication, February, 2014). This phenomenon is best described as the regular and seasonal large-scale absences of young students in schools, when they help their parents, usually seasonal farm workers in the large haciendas, to undertake paid menial labour. This is a truly damaging reality that exists in regions in the Philippines that have powerful hacienderos living alongside impoverished seasonal agricultural farmers—also known as *sacadas.* Not only are they oppressed, their families and more importantly children, are implicated too in what is clearly illegal child labour: "Weeding and harvesting times are the busiest times for children, when many of them drop out of school to perform farm

[7] The haciendero is a neologism adapted in the Philippines and in other Spanish-colonised regions in South America. It is derived from the term Hacienda, a Spanish word that means large farm estates. Haciendero is commonly known to mean elite landowners of large farm estates.

[8] Tiempo negro is a Spanish phrase that literally mean black time.

work" (de Boer, 2005, p. 29). Mrs. Andanza's statement is a surprising revelation particularly in supposedly modern-day 2014 when the Philippine government declares that it has categorically stamped out child labour. But even as recent as 2015, the pernicious practice persists, as reported by a research team from the University of the Philippines:

> However, the study showed that child labour in sugarcane plantations continues to exist despite the government's efforts to mitigate it. Their parents have allowed them to work at an early age for them to contribute to the family coffers. However, child labour cases are not discussed in the open due to the existence of child labour laws and policies. Thus, children working as sacada have remained hidden, undocumented and unprotected. Although child labour is not allowed, some sugar mill industry focal points and *barangay*[9] officials showed tolerance towards it. (Caragay et al., 2015, p. 13)

Other teachers from Conserje ES have commented on the profound cultural and structural problems that they face. "Honestly, I don't know if we can stamp out *tiempo negro*" one of the senior teachers states, "it's been around for centuries" (David, personal communication, February, 2014). Mr. Estrada, a veteran teacher for more than 20 years shares his insights: "BESRA and SBM, I believe, are good policies, but with the hard realities that we face here, they may not be truly responsive" (Estrada, personal communication, February, 2014).

Mrs. Andanza sees that "balancing the disparate needs of the school with the very real challenges in our community" and more importantly "trying her best to keep the students in school and also ensuring that the hacienderos are happy" are her top priorities as school leader (Andanza, personal communication, February, 2014). This inquiry posits that her leadership role can be seen primarily as maintaining and "preserving the status quo" (Whitney, 2005, p. 734). It can be argued that in the context that Mrs. Andanza faces, a school located deep in an agricultural location with its host of unique problems, the leadership manifested can be described primarily as custodian "defined as someone who is responsible for looking after something important or valuable" (Sthapit, Lamers, & Rao, 2013, p. 10).

Crisis Leadership and Reform Isolation

Cluster Three: School Leaders Who Are Cynical About BESRA as a Reform Agenda

Cluster Three, with the second largest number of respondents at 31.5% of school leaders appear to be cynical about BESRA as a reform agenda. The ANOVA tests reveal that Cluster Three had the lowest standardised scores compared to the other two clusters. One can theorise that school leaders in Cluster Three perceive that the challenges they face are so dire that BESRA is ill-equipped to address these.

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[9] The barangay is the most basic and grassroots local government unit in the Philippines.

Apremiante High School (Apremiante HS) is one of the 21 public schools (10 high schools and 11 elementary schools) of Navotas City in Metro Manila. The city has a population of roughly 250,000 people (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2015a) and is popularly known as the "fishing capital of the Philippines" due to the fact that "70% of its population" derive their "livelihood directly or indirectly from fishing and its related activities (Philippine Tourism Authority, 2009, p. 1). A perennial issue that has dogged Apremiante HS and the entire city of Navotas is the fact that "of the 21 public schools in Navotas City, 19 are in flood-prone barangays" (Tiongson-Mayrina, 2011, p. 1). The crisis of flooding that has besieged Apremiante HS and other schools in the area has had a long history:

> Navotas City and the neighbouring municipality of Malabon which are low-lying coastal and river areas are two of the most flood-prone locations in Metro Manila, Philippines. From the 1950 s till the year 2015, these two areas have been flooded especially during the annual monsoon season. The situation worsened especially beginning in the 1960 s and 1970 s when informal settlers "mushroomed along the banks of the *esteros*[10] and rivers and in other marginal locations" and became especially vulnerable to floods that occurred "several times each year". (Zoleta-Nantes, 2002, p. 248)

Mr. Altercado has been the principal of Apremiante High School, a large school with close to 2500 students for about 10 years. In relation to the influence BESRA and SBM have had on his school, Mr. Altercado was circumspect, "the policy is good on paper," he stated, "but when you carefully take a look at the current state of education in our country, schools—like ours—who experience yearly crisis, BESRA and SBM put us at a terrible disadvantage" (Altercado, personal communication, March, 2014). He was referring to the big change that BESRA through SBM initiated; removing the task of reforming school systems and addressing crisis as a national priority and converting these instead to localised concerns. Some commentators have incisively pointed out the same apparent weakness of SBM "with most of the country being at a disadvantage compared to the more affluent urban areas" (Poblador, 2010, p. B3) schools that are in trouble are denied the preferential options that they should receive.

The troubles that Mr. Altercado speaks of about his school are not only severe; these are also chronic. With the expected yearly inundations that occur, he estimates that during these times, "almost 90% of students and teachers are unable to attend school" what is worse, he adds is that the damage to school property and resources that eventually happen during these times "prolongs the forced closure of the school" and in the long run "pushes a lot of the Students at Risk of Dropping Out (SARDO) to discontinue schooling" (Altercado, personal communication, March, 2014). He laments that from a slightly cynical perspective, it would appear that "Apremiante HS and schools in similar dire and critical situations, have been abandoned after BESRA" (Altercado, personal communication, March, 2014). Senior teachers of Apremiante HS echo the sober observations of the principal: "Our biggest issue is the regular floods" lamented a veteran teacher, "and if our school is always flooded students

[10]Esteros are open canal waterways located in the Philippines. These have become the location where informal settlements (i.e. squatter colonies) have flourished in the nation.

no longer come" (Fajardo, personal communication, March, 2014). The solution to our "problem is outside of our control," another senior teacher pointed out, "the national and local government need to address the flood problems of Navotas" (Garin, personal communication, March, 2014).

The situation that confronts Apremiante HS can be classified as "long-term crises: ones that develop slowly and then bubble along for a very long time" (Smith & Riley, 2010, p. 54). Thus, in the context of Apremiante HS, which on top of crippling resource constraints (typical of most schools in the Philippines) also suffers recurring crisis, statements made by officials of DepEd, saying that BESRA through SBM offers the best reform solutions by addressing local problems through local resourcing can be interpreted as misplaced. Boin and Hart in analysing the nature of crises indicate that the popular notion of crises as opportunities for reform is "not only naïve, but also logically unfounded" (2003, p. 549). One can argue that Mr. Altercado exercises crisis leadership which refers to "dealing with events, emotions and consequences in the immediate present" (Smith & Riley, 2012, p. 69) without regard to medium and long-term forward planning. Consequently, the future promise contained within the rhetoric BESRA through SBM, for Mr. Altercado, ring hollow.

Conclusion: Crisis and Catharsis in Philippine Education

This inquiry reveals that using a self-reported survey on their perceptions of the impact of reforms, three clusters or leaders emerge: Cluster One (the second largest group), which this inquiry refers to as champion-driven leaders; Cluster Two (the largest of the three groups), described as ambivalent leaders, and Cluster Three (the smallest group), labelled as cynical leaders. The inquiry provided three illustrative cases of school leaders, one from each cluster, describing how each navigated the dis-junctures—the clash between the required changes of the reform and the very real crises that they faced—in their respective contexts. These illustrative cases pointed to the fact that BESRA afforded opportunities for some leaders to exercise traits of champion-driven leaders manifesting empowered sense of agency. Some leaders, wedged between structural and cultural challenges and the demands of reform, displayed a sense of agency electing to maintain the status quo and practice a type of custodian leadership. Weighed down by crippling and chronic crises, some leaders expressed that reform initiatives, exacerbates their situation, creating the effect of isolating them instead of making them part of the entire reform initiative. Leaders who find themselves in these challenging scenarios clearly demonstrate cynical beliefs and behaviours.

This inquiry argues that there seems to be an almost automatic inclination to look upon reforms as something inherently good. It is a known fact that reforms are usually borne out of careful studies among policy makers and politicians to come up with the best solutions to address problems. Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that most of the time, the final version of reforms is in reality results of compromise between various stakeholders championing their respective agenda. With this premise, it is

imperative that reforms—and in this particular case—education reforms, need to be problematised:

> This leads me to conclude that the official line in educational discourse and educational reform rhetoric serves a dual function. First, it diverts public attention from the real issues behind the growing disparities between the haves and the have-nots in this country. Second, it manufactures a sense of false hope in people that increasing the nation's educational performance will enhance people's economic opportunities. (Gabbard, 2000, p. vi)

Problematising education reform becomes urgent particularly in a neoliberal context where "policies and processes" legitimise a situation where "a relative handful of private interests are permitted to control as much as possible of social life in order to maximise their personal profit (McChesney, 1999, p. 7). The dangers of market-driven educational policy are not easy to detect. Material improvements and physical infrastructure progress are intuitively signs of positive development occurring. However, changes in education undertaken under the guise of neo-liberal reforms often give rise to "systems of inclusion as simultaneously systems of exclusion" necessitating the implementation of education reforms to "be made problematic" (Popkewitz, 2000, p. 40).

In this chapter, the challenges for school principals to lead school improvement resulting from BESRA are a handful and are inter-dependent with one another. They include a huge national debt, poverty, corruption, and size and stark geographical and cultural differences across the archipelago. These challenges by itself and as a collective set are very massive so much so that they linger across time, and crucially have significant effect in hampering well-intended reforms regardless if they are initiated internally or externally. In other words, one seriously wonders if any school leader is able to initiate, develop and sustain educational reform in his or her school within the context of continual national crises. Nevertheless, future research should continue to investigate interventionist approaches—internal or external—to improve schools in the Philippines, especially promising approaches that have both substantive, systemic and sustainable impact.

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Dr. Vicente Chua Reyes, Jr. is with the School of Education, University of Queensland, Australia. He is co-editor of the Policy and Leadership Studies Working Papers Series of the National Institute of Education (Singapore). He was a member of the Executive Committee of the Educational Research Association of Singapore (ERAS). He is a Fellow of the Centre for Chinese Studies of the Republic of China (Taiwan), the National Taiwan Normal University and also of the University of Macau. He is also a Visiting Academic at the Institute of Education, University of London. He has experience in educational settings spanning Australia, Singapore, the Philippines, Indonesia, Spain, Italy, the United Kingdom, and in the United States of America. Vicente used to be a Teaching School Principal for an elementary and high school in the Western Visayas region of the Philippines. Trained as a political scientist, his current research interests are in educational leadership, young people's conceptions of political interest and civic participation. He also pursues

research inquiries into the impact of Information Communication Technology (ICT) to education, issues of corruption and bureaucratic governance and reforms. His latest book with Routledge is entitled “Mapping the Terrain of Education Reform: Global Trends and Local Responses in the Philippines” (2016).

Chapter 9
Leadership for Instructional Uncertainty Management: Revisiting School Leadership in South Korea's Context of Educational Reform

Seung-Hwan Ham, Byeong Chan Kim and Wang Jun Kim

Abstract Based on a thorough review of research about South Korean school leaders and their impact on school improvement, the present chapter provides an analysis of how they lead and manage schools in ways that soften the test-oriented mindset while promoting constructive changes that seek to nurture all students' academic engagement and wellbeing. Special analytical attention is devoted to understanding how South Korean school leaders work with teachers and other stakeholders to creatively overcome the sharp contradiction between the new visions of education that are transformative and the prevailing rigid school structure and culture that prevents true educational experimentation. The chapter concludes with discussions regarding the possibilities of broadening traditional conceptualizations of educational leadership by integrating an international comparative perspective into leadership research and theorization.

Introduction

Over the past several decades, extensive research has been conducted on school leadership, as it has been identified as an integral determinant of school capacity and effectiveness (Gumus, Bellibas, Esen, & Gumus, 2018). Notwithstanding the progress, most debates on school leadership have tended to evolve in universal terms

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S.-H. Ham (✉)
Education Administration and Policy, Hanyang University, Seoul, South Korea
e-mail: hamseunghwan@gmail.com

B. C. Kim
Graduate School of Education, Kyung Hee University, Seoul, South Korea

W. J. Kim
Educational Administration, Gyeongin National University of Education, Incheon, Gyeonggi-do, South Korea

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without close analytic attention to the societal context in which the notion of leadership is shaped and its practice exercised (Dimmock & Walker, 2005; Hallinger & Leithwood, 1998; Ham et al., 2015). Revisiting the notion of school leadership in South Korea's unique societal context of schooling, this chapter sheds light on the relationship between leadership and school improvement, with particular attention given to how school leadership may be conceptualized alternatively as a social process through which school leaders assist teachers to successfully deal with new discursive constellations of demands for improved education.

In any modern society in the world, one can hardly question the legitimacy of the belief that the utmost concern of public education is to educate youth to become both competent individuals and responsible citizens (Fiala, 2006). The future of society is widely believed to be determined by the quality of education that youth receive in school (Dee, 2004; Hanushek & Kimko, 2000). Like many other countries in Asia Pacific and beyond, Korea has also recently witnessed the rise of scholarly and policy discourses on educational reforms for tomorrow's schools in which creative and innovative approaches to teaching are emphasized to help all students find their learning more meaningful and engaging.

The function of education as a futuristic public project, however, is subject to substantial doubt in today's educational environment in Korea. As academic performance in the so-called core subject areas has been strongly emphasized in the context of the high-stakes testing regime, teachers are under the strong pressure of accountability, finding it hard to be motivated to help students engage deeply in authentic learning experiences. As a Washington Post article noted, "South Korea is the scene of perhaps the world's fiercest competition for a top-of-the-line education," where a child even in an average family turns into "an achievement-seeking machine, with parents providing the pressuring, planning, and funding" (Harlan, 2012). The implication of such a gloomy diagnosis of the current scene of education in Korea is clear—in spite of the urgency and importance of promoting more meaningful and diverse learning opportunities for all students, the mission is unlikely to be achieved without truly comprehensive change in the whole educational ecology.

In this chapter, we first discuss the current societal change underway in Korea and its challenges for public schooling. We then describe a new epistemic model of education that has recently been evolving in Korea in an effort toward redesigning schools. In line with this new model, we move further on to the notion of leadership as viewed from an instructional uncertainty management perspective, which sheds new light on the relationship between leadership and school improvement in terms of the social process through which increasing societal demands for improved education for all children are effectively addressed collaboratively. Finally, the chapter concludes with discussions regarding the importance of nurturing a healthy socio-ecological environment where effective leadership for school improvement is no longer evidenced by anecdotal observations but by everyday practices that unfold in all schools in a sustainable way.

Looking Inside Out: Challenges with Public Schooling in Korea

For more than half a century, public education has represented a key policy domain for Korea's economic development and sociopolitical progress. Korea, having risen from the rubble of four decades of oppression under colonial rule and a devastating war, has now become a role-model state whose success is considered worthy of being emulated by many developing countries across the world. In less than half a century, Korea has built one of the world's leading economies and has become a country of technological innovation. Further, it has also made a successful transition from a military dictatorship to a dynamic polity of democracy. These developments throughout the modern history of Korea are widely believed to have been possible largely because of the nation's strong emphasis on the value of education.

Not surprisingly, Korea's educational profile is a dazzling example of a success story to many outside observers. Political leaders around the world, such as the former U.S. President Barack Obama (2011), lauded Korea for its rigorous education system and the society-wide valorization of education. In addition to the close-to-universal enrollment rates for both elementary and secondary education, the quality of education, as measured by students' academic performance, is also very impressive. Korea has long been one of the top-performing countries in international assessments such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS).

While well known for its sterling performance in large-scale international assessments in a range of cognitive domains, Korea has suffered from the criticism that its education system is effective in producing good test-takers without fostering meaningful learning. Students have usually been viewed as passive recipients of a standardized package of knowledge for tests rather than as active agents of learning and creative producers of knowledge. Inside observers of public education in Korea have long been well aware of this dark side of the impressive academic performance of their students. As standardized measures of academic performance are heavily emphasized in everyday discursive practices of education in Korea's high-stakes testing regime, few students actively seek opportunities to engage in authentic learning experiences.

The unquestioned emphasis placed on the testing and sorting of students leads to highly competitive and pressurized student culture. It is quite common for most students in Korea to suffer from extreme competition both in and out of school, as education is seen as a tool for status competition. This is a competition not just between students but also between their parents, inasmuch as many parents believe in the symbolic value of their children's educational success as an important status marker for family. A New York Times opinion article described Korea's education system as "a system driven by overzealous parents and a leviathan private [cram school] industry … [which results in] the physical and psychological costs that students are forced to bear" (Koo, 2014). In an educational culture permeated by grueling competition, meaningful and rich learning experiences fostered by caring and collaborative

interaction among students are beyond imagination. Although Korean students' performance is remarkably higher than their peers in most other countries across the world, their academic confidence and enjoyment have consistently been reported to be very low (Song & Jung, 2011). Further, a substantial proportion of students feel unhappy and alienated in school largely regardless of their academic performance, which has now become a central topic in research and policy debates in Korea (Choi et al., 2013).

The current education system of Korea, which is geared toward "achievement contests," systematically and inevitably produces a large number of "losers" at the expense of a small portion of "winners" in the zero-sum game of competition in public education. With the exception of those students who are doing quite well on tests, the majority of students are rather "invisible," literally wasting much of their time at school. The accumulation of their wasted time throughout their school lives consequently leads to serious challenges in developing positive self-concepts and planning future careers. Even the high achievers are not really the winners, because instead of becoming empowered and responsible citizens, many of them are liable to become passive consumers of a fixed set of knowledge rather than critical users and creative producers of knowledge.

Scholarly and policy efforts to develop an integrative and holistic approach to teaching and learning as an alternative model of education, as currently being envisioned and tested in Korea in various ways by both researchers and practitioners with support from the government, can be seen as a response to such a criticism to help future citizens grow as lifelong learners and creative problem solvers so that they can gain and produce the knowledge they need as they move forward in their lives. The next section describes one strand of such efforts exerted in Korea to redesign its public education.

Moving Beyond Complacency: Leading Toward New Possibilities in Education

In recent years, newly emerging policy discourses and initiatives in Korea tend to highlight the centrality of creating an educational environment in which all students can experience authentic intellectual achievement through exposure to creative ways of thinking and learning (Cha, Ahn, Ju, & Ham, 2016; Joo et al., 2016). The 2015 revision of the national curriculum standards of Korea, for instance, puts strong emphasis on nurturing all learners' creative capacities and diverse talents, i.e., student-centered education mindful of creativity, diversity, and equity. Such new models of education sharpen the importance of school leaders' effective leadership—for example, they should effectively help teachers build a healthy school culture in which all teachers are encouraged to continuously grow as reflective and innovative practitioners of instructional design and implementation.

This movement in Korea is not an idiosyncratic case, but this is part of a global trend. The dominant world-model of public schooling, which has lasted over the past two centuries with few drastic modifications, is currently undergoing substantial reform in many parts of the world. Such reform initiatives are typically rooted in the reasonable doubt concerning the model's adequacy for educating competent and responsible members of today's changing world—the world in which we witness new social changes that are intertwined with increased human mobility and rapid technological innovation, all on a global scale as well as at a local level. Although the dominant model of public schooling that has survived until today was once quite successful in terms of its instrumental efficiency in teaching massive groups of future citizens a standardized set of knowledge, skills, and attitudes, the utility and legitimacy of such a traditional model of schooling is increasingly subject to doubts and criticisms internationally.

In an effort to develop a conceptual framework for redesigning the traditional model of schooling, an alternative approach to schooling—often called the *yungbokhap* model of education—is currently being envisioned in scholarly and policy circles in Korea.[1] This alternative model emphasizes the centrality of the role of education in promoting all students' authentic and meaningful learning experiences. The central point where this alternative model departs from the traditional model is that the alternative model problematizes the practice of empowering some students at the expense of many others who are alienated from deep engagement in meaningful learning, while the traditional model of schooling tends to keep producing visible success stories at the cost of unheard stories of failure. If we understand education in a democracy as a futuristic public project for society as a whole, then education should be built and designed to contribute to the welfare of all students, who will determine the future of society.

This alternative model of education is based on a socio-ecological perspective that sheds light on the importance of nurturing a larger educational ecology in which sustainable school improvement is constantly fostered from inside schools rather than being imposed externally in a top-down manner. One of the ways in which this model may be understood is to assess education based on the *ABCD* framework, which stands for *autonomy*, *bridgeability*, *contextuality*, and *diversity* (Cha et al., 2016). This framework is an effort to provide a large yet realistic picture on how educational reform initiatives may develop in Korea and beyond. Below, we briefly discuss school leadership with reference to this framework.

[1]The Korean term *yungbokhap*, roughly translated, means holistic integration. Earlier versions of the *yungbokhap* model of education focused solely on curriculum integration, but the latest version of the model is conceptualized as an integrative and holistic approach to teaching and learning, not only in terms of classroom practices but also in terms of administrative supports and policy arrangements at multiple layers of the educational ecology. The Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation (KICE), a government-supported research institute, has conducted extensive policy-oriented research on a range of related topics. However, it should be noted that there have been also criticisms on this new model. The most common criticisms center on the earlier model's narrow focus on curriculum integration. For the evolution of the model and the criticisms, see Cha et al. (2016).

Autonomy: An important aspect of effective leadership is that school leaders do not fail to pay careful attention to helping teachers become professionally autonomous to constantly improve their teaching. In recent decades, educational discourse in Korea has been problematizing the phenomenon that students are viewed as passive recipients of a standardized package of information and knowledge. Educational policy priorities have shifted the focus from authoritative structures of knowledge ready for consumption to increased student empowerment and learner centrism. Student learning is now understood as being facilitated and enriched through promoting inquiry-based and discovery-oriented approaches to curriculum and instruction. In light of the importance of individual students' active and self-directed engagement in learning, students are increasingly portrayed as capable individuals whose learning processes evolve toward greater autonomy and self-reflection in their growth. In accordance with such a discursive shift, the profession of teaching is increasingly understood as a highly complex job that involves numerous instances of classroom teaching where immediate professional decision-making is required to foster student engagement in active learning. As autonomous professionals, teachers are not only curriculum implementers but also curriculum theorists and instructional designers. A high level of school autonomy is also needed so that teachers may be given wide latitude and professional discretion to make important decisions in curriculum development and implementation.

Bridgeablility: It is important for school leaders to help teachers understand schools as collaborative and dialogic communities of inquiry in which differences in knowledge, experiences, and perspectives may be creatively bridged over through a variety of methods of interdisciplinary thinking and problem-solving skills. The changing discursive construction of public education in Korea sheds light on the importance of creating an educational environment where students are encouraged to become active and entrepreneurial learners who experience authentic intellectual achievement through interdisciplinary approaches of thinking and learning. In contrast to the traditional view of the school curriculum as a collection of segmented sets of knowledge to be consumed by students, today's students are expected to become active agents of learning and creative producers of knowledge. Most educational scholars and policymakers today would consider it problematic if students remain passive recipients of a standardized package of knowledge, even if they demonstrate high performance on tests. In line with this transition, the image of learners is shifting toward an integrative knowledge designer who is capable of contributing to knowledge building through creative methods of deconstructing and reassembling different bodies of knowledge. Student learning that involves such an interdisciplinary and inquiry-oriented model of education also requires a new image of teachers because such a model inevitably requires a high level of intra-school collaboration whereby teachers can not only learn from diverse experiences and perspectives but also enrich their instructional practice. This accounts for why a range of educational reform ideas and policies in Korea and many other countries commonly highlight the image of teachers as professionals who are empowered to actively develop curriculum models and instructional strategies, not only by themselves but also in collaboration with their colleagues.

Contextuality: Effective school leaders are expected to work closely with teachers to build a school culture where the meaning of the curriculum is not restricted to the "text" of curricular content, but it extends to the "context" that the curriculum can possibly evoke for students. Educational reform ideas in Korea have stressed the importance of nurturing students' rich learning experiences that are meaningfully re-contextualized in relation to various layers and aspects of socio-historical reality. Students are expected to grow as lifelong learners and creative problem solvers so that they can gain and produce the kind of knowledge and skills they need as they move forward in their lives. Thus, learning is seen as more than a simple process of mastering a predetermined set of knowledge that is often alien to individual students. Rather, learning is conceptualized as a process of students' active interaction with their social context. Such a conceptualization of learning recognizes students' own contextual positioning as an anchoring point from which learning can unfold in a variety of ways constructively. What this kind of learning entails is students' active interpretation of and participation in multiple layers of social context of which they themselves are part either physically or genealogically. Teaching strategies that are consistent with such authentic and meaningful learning are understood as processes of fostering individual learners' ability to creatively re-contextualize knowledge so that it may be actively reinterpreted and given meaning from the learners' perspectives.

Diversity: School leaders are obliged to find various ways to support teachers to ensure that they understand the importance of educators' keen awareness of student diversity and the effective use of such diversity as a valuable asset for teaching and learning. Students are diverse, and individual students' distinctiveness and uniqueness must be given special attention so that they can experience greater engagement with meaningful learning. Contemporary democratic values that valorize individual personhood as the fundamental basis of one's distinctive and special roles in society undergird various public policies in education for empowering all learners regardless of their socio-cultural group memberships. Curriculum standards and contents in Korea have also been, although slowly, revised to represent more diverse perspectives and possibilities. Furthermore, cultivating the diversity of human talents is very important in today's globalized world. Our future citizens will no longer live in isolated societies. In the globally interconnected world, human activities inevitably involve a greater degree of exchange of ideas and other human products. Competent individuals are no longer those who understand how to conform but rather those who can challenge and innovate from different perspectives. The rise of such a new social reality makes it an important social priority to ensure that all students are given enough and equitable opportunities to grow as competent lifelong learners who can develop their own talents in unique ways. Such a diversity of talents is an essential condition for individual citizens to initiate collaborative and transformative engagement with their local, national, and transnational communities.

In the next section, we move further on to the topic of leadership in the context of the social demand for, and evolution of, a new educational paradigm in Korea, i.e., the context of the changing world where schooling as a social institution is no longer legitimated by the traditional one-size-fits-all conception of education. In particular,

an instructional uncertainty management perspective is introduced to expand our understanding of the relationship between leadership and school improvement.

Working Toward School Improvement: Leadership Amid Instructional Uncertainty

Rather than viewing the school curriculum as a collection of segmented sets of knowledge to be passively consumed by students, newly emerging epistemic models of education tend to highlight the importance of creating a new educational environment—an educational ecology in which students are provided with ample support to become active learners who experience "authentic achievement" (Newman, 1996) by participating in rich opportunities for engaging in creative ways of thinking and learning (Cohen, McLaughlin, & Talbert, 1993; Robinson, 2015). The 2015 revision of Korea's national curriculum standards was certainly a significant progress toward such a new model of education despite dissonance between policy intentions and actual effects.

Such a new model for promoting ambitious learning for all students presupposes a greater level of importance in school leaders' effective leadership. Non-traditional and innovative approaches to teaching and learning inevitably necessitate principals and other school leaders to play a central role; they should effectively support teachers in building and sustaining a healthy school climate in which teachers are encouraged to continuously grow as reflective and innovative practitioners of instructional design and implementation (Hairon & Chai, 2017; Rowan, Raudenbush, & Cheong, 1993). School leaders who demonstrate effective leadership are characterized as helping teachers collaborate with one another to constructively challenge and gain new insights into their teaching practices (Ham, Duyar, & Gumus, 2015; Ham & Kim, 2015). Teachers under such leadership are likely to feel less uncomfortable with confronting and managing instructional uncertainties that would result from integrating non-traditional teaching into their instructional practice.

Teaching is often an uncertain and complex task; instructional decisions with respect to how to promote student learning in a particular classroom environment can never be made with absolute certainty (Floden & Buchmann, 1993; Labaree, 2000). Further, the practice of teaching is, by nature, context-specific and full of situated-complexities, so that it cannot always be theorized in a generic way of explanation. Indeed, the profession of teaching is often seen as "the very prototype of the idiographic, individual, clinical enterprise" (Shulman, 2004, p. 139). This accounts for why teachers usually have a wider range of concerns than educational administrators and policymakers, whose attention is usually focused on a relatively small number of educational agenda items in relation to certain reform ideals that are often alien to concrete realities that teachers experience in their local schools (Kennedy, 2005).

The notion of instructional uncertainty is useful here, which is conceptualized as a state of doubt or a feeling of incertitude about particular instructional situations as perceived by teachers (Cha & Ham, 2012; Ham, 2011). Instructional uncertainty arises from teachers' recognition of instructional complexities that result from their efforts to use non-routine teaching strategies for fostering students' active engagement in authentic learning opportunities. While there are a variety of non-routine instructional approaches, most would agree that a central feature that underlies these approaches is the pedagogical philosophy that highlights the importance of students' engagement in inquiry-based learning, for which teachers minimize direct instruction and attempt to lead students through a series of questions and activities to help them understand, discover, and even create new knowledge (Fosnot, 1996; Weimer, 2002). As the image of good teaching constantly changes from unidirectional knowledge delivery to multidirectional and multimodal interaction, teachers are often situated "in an environment of substantive uncertainty, [where] pedagogical doctrines rarely provide procedural templates of sufficient specificity to guide [their] day-to-day practice effectively" (Bidwell, 2001, p. 106).

Teachers often prefer conventional teaching to protect themselves from the uncertainties that could emerge from students' unexpected reactions (Kennedy, 2005; McNeil, 1986). When teachers use instructional strategies that open up possibilities for students to engage in inquiry-based authentic learning, teaching becomes a more non-routine and unpredictable job, whereby instructional uncertainty inevitably increases. This is especially the case in Korea because most students expect teachers to be authoritative instructors who deliver the curricular contents to students in efficient ways—i.e., in ways that lessen the cognitive load on the part of students for the sake of test scores and formal academic records. As teachers put more effort to incorporate innovative—usually constructivist—strategies into their classroom teaching, they are faced with greater instructional uncertainty; that is, the practice of teaching becomes less reducible to predictable routines or "defensive teaching" (McNeil, 1986) practices, thereby exposing teachers to a greater extent to the notion of "teaching as an improvisational activity" (Heaton, 2000, p. 60) that requires "moment-to-moment responsiveness" (p. 63) in interacting with students. In most schools in Korea, neither teachers nor students are very familiar with the practice of such non-routine teaching and learning.

Such unfamiliarity and even discomfort with instructional uncertainty sharply contrasts with the increasing societal demands for a new model of improved education in which the practice of teaching is understood as a complex and non-routine job performed by highly professional educators. Working with this tension, teachers often benefit from reaching out to other teachers (Cha & Ham, 2012; Ham, 2011), whereby they can not only "reduce inappropriate pressures for certainty" (Floden & Buchmann, 1993, p. 380) but also exchange practical suggestions for dealing with uncertainty. That is, "[i]f the complexity of the task [in teaching] generates uncertainty, then lateral relations between [teachers] can serve as a source of problem-solving and processing of information as well as coordination" (Cohen, Deal, Meyer, & Scott, 1979, p. 21). By sharing understandings as well as exchanging ideas in an interactive and participative manner, teacher learning at school becomes

"distinctly organizational [as] it relies on the combined experiences, perspectives, and capabilities of a variety of [teachers as] organizational members [of a school]" (Rait, 1995, p. 72). This accounts for why "[n]etworks of colleague-to-colleague consultation and advice … [are often] more capable of coordinating the work of colleagues than the formal administrative hierarchy" (Bidwell, 2001, p. 105).

Such instructional uncertainty arising from promoting students' engagement in authentic learning can be more successfully managed, rather than simply avoided, if teachers work in a school where the principal and other school leaders demonstrate effective leadership (Ham et al., 2013; Ham & Kim, 2015). School leaders who effectively perform leadership with a transformative vision are keen to provide teachers with opportunities to revisit and improve their teaching, thereby "helping teachers generate reforms internally" (Youngs & King, 2002, p. 643). They are facilitators of teacher growth, who promote and sustain a school climate for continuous learning by keeping teachers well informed about various possibilities for constructively challenging and constantly providing new insights into their teaching practices. Such school leaders also function as supportive others who facilitate uncertainty management as "sources of information, collaborators in information gathering, evaluators of information, or buffers against information" (Brashers, 2001, p. 485). This type of leadership helps teachers reflect on their own practices and consider alternative frameworks for understanding teaching and learning, thereby assisting teachers with confronting instructional uncertainty that arises from their efforts to improve instructional practices.

Considering that innovative teaching inevitably accompanies a greater level of instructional uncertainty than conventional teaching, not all teachers would be readily willing to promote students' ambitious learning in their classroom teaching without effective leadership demonstrated by their school leaders. In this respect, effective leadership can be conceptualized as leadership for instructional uncertainty management—whereby teachers are encouraged and helped to collaboratively manage instructional uncertainties that emanate from their efforts to successfully integrate non-traditional strategies and innovative ideas into the planning and implementation of their classroom teaching to promote all students' meaningful learning.

Discussion and Conclusion

One might plausibly expect that school leadership would not matter much in Korea given its highly centralized education system compared to many Western countries. This is based on the popular assumption that teachers in a centralized system are passive practitioners who implement mandated policies. However, research has shown that

> even under an extremely controlled education system, teachers can still enjoy the necessary autonomy in expanding the required objectives for their teaching, deepening the coverage of what they are required to teach, and reasonably defending or accepting criticism and suggestions offered. (Wang & Paine, 2003, p. 92)

What this suggests, we believe, is that schools share some characteristics as "loosely coupled" (Weick, 1976) organizations even in centralized systems of education, where school leadership can still make a meaningful difference in teachers' instructional practice, i.e., the technical core of schools. Further, educational governance in Korea has recently undergone slow yet incremental changes toward an increased degree of local and school-based autonomy in educational administration and management, rendering it imperative that school leaders play a greater role than before in school improvement and capacity building efforts.

One might also suspect that school leaders in Korea have rather limited latitude in school improvement due to highly prescribed national curricula. This seems only partially true. In recent decades, academic and policy discourses on education around the world have shifted their focus from authoritative structures of knowledge ready for consumption to increased student empowerment and learner centrism (Gill & Thomson, 2017; McEneaney & Meyer, 2000). It is now largely acknowledged internationally that student learning can be facilitated and enriched through promoting inquiry-based and discovery-oriented approaches to curriculum and instruction (Cohen et al., 1993; Rennie, Venville, & Wallace, 2011; Zhao, 2012). In accordance with such a discursive shift, many educational reformers in Korea have also ruminated on how to create school environments in which teachers are constantly encouraged to develop and use instructional strategies in order to foster student engagement in authentic and meaningful learning opportunities.

Such an evolving educational landscape of Korea, coupled with the ongoing movement toward a lesser degree of centralization in public administration for education, makes the leadership performance demonstrated by school leaders even more important—many school leaders effectively collaborate with teachers to improve schools in accordance with new transformative visions of education, while there are yet many other school leaders who let their schools remain unchanged following the inertia of the past practices, either unwittingly or cynically. Effective school leaders assist teachers to confront, rather than avoid, uncertainties that arise from transformations of practices in, and underlying assumptions about, teaching and learning. Teachers may better recognize and inquire into various kinds of instructional uncertainty when school leaders provide the necessary administrative and professional support for teachers to become "professionally creative and autonomous" (Shulman, 2004, p. 151) enough to develop and use instructional strategies to implement more innovative and reflective teaching.

School leaders should understand that teachers' experience of "uncertainty is an essential driving force in teaching" (Floden & Buchmann, 1993, p. 380). It is because the recognition of uncertainty in teaching makes teachers "stop and think and want to find out more. … Being aware of the uncertainties [involved in] teaching … can be [a constructive] attitude towards the profession of teaching" (Munthe, 2007, p. 17). In this respect, effective school leaders often encourage teachers to become empowered agents who contribute to building and sustaining "collaborative cultures" (Fullan, 2008, p. 17), whereby teachers may collectively "engage in continuous and sustained learning about their practice" (Elmore, 2004, p. 127) and thus effectively manage, rather than simply try to eliminate, possible sources of instructional uncertainty.

Despite the increasing importance of effective school leadership in Korea, many school leaders find it hard to demonstrate effective leadership. One reason for this comes from the fact that there is no specialized educational track for training school principals. Principals in Korea, in most cases, were once teachers for many years; that is, they were "promoted" to the principalship, the highest level in the career ladder that only a few teachers achieve in Korea. While this means that principals in Korea have considerable expertise as educators, this does not necessarily mean that they are well prepared to translate their educational expertise into effective leadership. Since principals learned how to lead from the apprenticeship of observation while they were teachers, leadership performance varies considerably among principals depending on their personal experiences with the principals they worked with as teachers. Some sorts of specialized and systematic professional development opportunities would help them in developing leadership competencies, both prior to and after assuming the formal principalship.

In addition, teachers and principals of public schools in Korea are all civil servants who cannot work for a single school for many years but must rotate around different school districts regularly. This constant mobility of school staff gives additional challenges. Both principals and teachers should adjust themselves to new school environments, again and again, thereby finding it hard to envision a long-term perspective on leadership and followership at a school. Although this rotation policy intends to equalize educational quality among schools in different school districts, this is also a bureaucratic control over teachers, which serves as a constraining condition rather than an enabling condition for effective and sustainable school leadership. We are not proposing that this policy should be abolished or revised, but we believe that research about school leadership in Korea should pay closer attention to various conditions that shape teachers' and principals' everyday routines of practice through which they interact with each other and with their students and parents.

As a final note, we also wish to emphasise that school leadership, as an integral indicator of school capacity, cannot be independent of the larger educational ecology within which school capacity is built and sustained. A newly envisioned model of schooling will be feasible only to the extent to which such a model can take root within the larger socio-ecological environment. Unless we align our efforts across different layers of public schooling, many school leaders' effective leadership performance is likely to remain just exceptional and rare cases that would not possibly be scaled up to a large number of schools. That is, the success of a new model of education will depend on how successfully a healthy ecology for education is nurtured. This is not simply the responsibility of some school leaders but the obligation of all educators because their professional beliefs and practices collectively constitute the core component of the larger socio-ecological environment of public schooling.

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Dr. Seung-Hwan Ham is an associate professor of educational administration and policy at Hanyang University, Seoul, South Korea, where he holds professorships in both the Department of Education and the Department of Multicultural Education. His research interests center on school organizational and larger institutional contexts of public education, especially with regard to their multilayered effects on educational equity and student wellbeing. His current research projects aim to identify the characteristics of effective policies and leadership practices for educational and social inclusion of diverse students. His papers have appeared in many international journals not only in education but also in the social sciences broadly, including the American Journal of Education, the Australian Journal of Education, the Social Science Journal, and the International Journal of Intercultural Relations. His recent papers in Korean have been published in the Korean Journal of Educational Administration, the Korean Journal of Local Government Studies, and the Korean Social Policy Review. He currently serves as an editorial board member of two premier international journals: the Journal of Educational Administration (Emerald) and the Multicultural Education Review (Routledge). He has recently co-edited a Springer book titled Multicultural Education in Global Perspectives: Policy and Institutionalization, as well as a Routledge book titled Routledge International Handbook of Multicultural Education Research in Asia Pacific. He has recently co-translated a Jossey-Bass book titled Designing for Learning: Creating Campus Environments for Student Success into Korean. Before joining Hanyang University, he worked as a research professor and associate director of Pohang University of Science and Technology's Center for Excellence in Education. He was also a course instructor and research fellow at Michigan State University, where he received a Ph.D. in educational policy.

Dr. Byeong Chan Kim is a professor at Kyung Hee University's Graduate School of Education. Over the past two decades, he has conducted extensive research on educational administration. Many of his papers, mostly qualitative studies of education in Korea, have been published in the Korean Journal of Educational Administration on such topics as school organization, school culture, principal leadership, supervision, and teaching culture. His research articles also appear in the Journal of Korean Teacher Education, where he has published on teacher qualification policy, teacher education, and teacher professional development. His research interest extends to comparative perspectives on educational systems, which has led him to visit overseas institutions including the University of Helsinki to conduct long-term on-site research. Actively engaging in educational policy development in Korea, he has served on various consultation committees for the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education and the Gyeonggi Provincial Office of Education to offer

policy advice on school improvement and teacher quality enhancement. Also serving in leadership service positions of academic associations, he organized several conferences for the Korean Educational Administration Society and the Korean Society for the Study of Teacher Education. He currently works as an academic committee member of the Korea Comparative Education Society. Prior to joining Kyung Hee University, he was a middle school teacher for ten years and a researcher for two years at Seoul National University's Education Research Institute.

Dr. Wang Jun Kim is an associate professor of educational administration at Gyeongin National University of Education, Gyeonggi-do, South Korea. He received his Ph.D. in Educational Policy at Michigan State University. His scholarly interests focus on organizational behavior, leadership, and policy in education. His current research projects center on restructuring of local educational authorities (LEAs) in order to build up LEAs' capacity for supporting schools (funded by the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education) and on building an educational policy evaluation model (funded by the Incheon Metropolitan Office of Education). He coauthored a few books such as Practices in Elementary Schools, Theory and Practices in Educational Administration, and Educational Policies for the Disadvantaged. His papers appear in many journals such as the Korean Journal of Educational Administration, the Journal of Korea Teacher Education, the Korean Journal of Elementary Education, and the International Journal of Quantitative Research in Education. He currently serves as a board member of academic associations such as the Korean Educational Administration Society and the Korean Society for the Study of Teacher Education. Before joining Gyeongin National University of Education, he worked as a senior researcher at Seoul National University and as a researcher at Korean Educational Development Institute.

Chapter 10
National Policies, Education Reforms, and Leadership Training and Development: Towards Building a Critical Force of Scholar Leaders in Malaysia

Ibrahim Ahmad Bajunid

Abstract This chapter traces the history of national and educational developments with focus and reference on school leadership development—specifically, the Malaysian Education Staff Training Institute (MESTI), which was subsequently changed to the Institut Aminuddin Baki (IAB). This chapter describes and examines the national development plan of Vision 2020 and the educational development plan—Education Blueprint 2013–2025. The developments of policy initiatives and education reforms over the years have profoundly shaped the historical developments of MESTI-IAB. Besides being responsive to national plans, MESTI-IAB has sought to provide foresight in leadership training and development taking into consideration the educational developments that have been taking place in the international scene. This chapter also critically engages in key issues on educational leadership moving from focusing merely on education, to explorations of philosophical stances.

Introduction

During the last six decades in Malaysia, there were developments in infrastructure, institutions, laws, rules, regulations, policies, programmes, human talents, and resources. Developments were driven to date by 11 Five Year Malaysia Development Plans (MDP), including long-term the Outline Perspective Plans. In all the Malaysia Development Plans there were sections on Education and Training which outlined the goals to be achieved by the education sector. As an illustrative example, the 9th Malaysia Plan identified five thrusts that have direct significantly influence education:

I. A. Bajunid (✉)
Malaysian Association for Education, Petaling Jaya, Malaysia
e-mail: iabajunid@gmail.com

Inspiring Authentic Benevolence Global, Petaling Jaya, Malaysia

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1. To raise the Malaysian economy up the value chain.
2. To raise national knowledge and innovation capacity, and to foster the development of "first-class mentality".
3. To address the recurring socio-economic gaps and imbalances in constructive and productive ways.
4. To raise the level and sustainability of the quality of life.
5. To strengthen institutional capacity building and implementation capacity.

In addition to the Malaysia Development Plan, there were various Education Development Plans. The Education Development Plan 2001–2010, which is a Master Plan, focuses on Generating Educational Excellence through Collaborative Planning. The Quality Agenda underpins the thrust of the Master Plan focusing on the following areas (Ministry of Higher Education, 2011).

- To build a Malaysian nation
- To develop human capital
- To make national schools attractive
- To narrow the educational divide
- To raise the prestige and status of the teaching profession
- To quantum leap excellence of educational institution.

Into the second decade of the twenty-first century, Malaysia formulated an Education Blueprint for both school and higher education-the Education Blueprint 2015–2025 and beyond.

The national challenge is to drive development evolution from the agriculture-based economy in the 1960s, to the manufacturing based economy in the 1980s, and to the service based economy from the 1990s onwards with focus on the knowledge economy. The next stage of evolution of the economy is the Knowledge and Innovation-Driven Economy beyond the traditional factors of production of capital and labor. Educational development, and specifically the development of a critical force of teachers and educational leaders for the teaching profession, came in the wake of various kinds of development forces and initiatives. Although not articulated forcefully or dramatically, education and teaching lie at the center of individual, family, societal and national transformations. Notwithstanding the developments that had taken place in education in Malaysia, what remains consistent is that education is about the acquisition of knowledge and wisdom, transmission of culture, and preparation of individuals for employment and citizenship. Both school teachers and leaders are therefore responsible to nurture the next generations of the multiracial society, and to hone their potentialities for the betterment of present and future societies (Asmah, 2003; Asrul, 2002; Ding & Ooi, 2003; Tan & Santhiram, 2010).

This chapter seeks to describe the linkages between policy initiatives, education reforms and the role of leadership training and development with special emphasis on the Malaysian Education Staff Training Institute (MESTI), which was subsequently changed to the Institut Aminuddin Baki (IAB). Essentially, the developments of policy initiatives and education reforms over the years have profoundly shaped the historical developments of MESTI-IAB. Nevertheless, MESTI-IAB has sought to

provide foresight in leadership training and development taking into consideration the educational developments that are taking place at the international domain. This chapter first provides the historical developments of MESTI-IAB followed by the developments of policy initiatives and education reforms. Finally, in view of the proposed disconnections in educational policies and initiatives, some key thoughts will be presented for consideration.

The Strategic Role of MESTI-Institut Aminuddin Baki-the National Institute of Educational Management and Leadership

Under the government's recommendation, the Malaysian Education Staff Training Institute (MESTI) was established in 1979 at Wisma Mirama, and then later at the National University of Malaysia. It then moved to its temporary campus in Lembah Pantai. In 1982, MESTI moved to its main campus in Genting Highlands. MESTI's name was later changed to Institut Pengurusan Pendidikan Negara (IPPN)—the National Institute of Educational Management, which was again changed to Institut Aminuddin Baki (IAB). IAB, like the National Institute of Public Administration, had the responsibility of training at least four groups of clienteles: (i) systems managers, those who work in the Ministry of Education, state Departments of Education and Districts; (ii) Principals and Headmasters of Schools, (iii) School personnel who conducted administrative jobs, and (iv) the support staff of the Ministry of Education. The focus since the inception of MESTI is the training of school headmasters and principals. Today IAB continues the mission in ensuring that every headmaster and principal in the country receives educational leadership training while in-service or pre-service. Since its establishment, MESTI–IAB, has been the leading institution in the country for the training of educational leaders and education support staff across the education system (Government of Malaysia, 1979).

Foundational Needs Assessment Research: Compendium of Competencies

When MESTI was established, it conducted a national needs assessment study regarding the training needs of administrators. The study identified 184 Main Duties and Responsibilities of Principals. A Compendium of Competencies for Principals was then generated. It conceptualized and established courses classified as Core Courses, Integrational Courses, Elective Courses and, Specific Courses for various clienteles. From the needs assessment study, a schedule of competencies of educational administrator's in the Malaysian educational system was derived, conceptualized and formalized. The basic conceptualizations underwent various iterations but the structure

remains as the fundamentals of the corpus of administrative training. The core areas of training needs include instructional leadership, curriculum and assessment leadership, financial management, hostel management, student affairs management, management of resources, school plant maintenance/physical environment management, office management, public relations and community leadership (Bajunid, 2003).

Programme Offerings

By 2005, the training offered by IAB covered a wide range of areas such as training of trainers, instructional leadership, models of teaching for educational managers, curriculum management—37 courses in total. Although over the years, the various training courses were renamed, the structure and contents updated for relevance remain useful. In re-shaping educational thought of leaders, another 33 courses were added (e.g., entrepreneurship-technopreneurship, cyberpreneurship, eduprenueurship; edu-tourism; mentorship for educational administrators; creativity and innovation programme for administrators; futures studies for educational administrators). Of importance is the Diploma in Educational Management and Leadership Leading to the National Professional Qualification for Headship Programme (NPGH) with the following course contents:

1. Organization Management and Leadership
2. Visionary Leadership
3. Curriculum and Co-Curriculum Management
4. Head teachers as Managers
5. Human Resource Development
6. Head teachers as Instructors and Programme Facilitators
7. Financial Management and Office Administration
8. Head teachers as Problem-Solvers
9. Towards Total Quality Management (TQM/ISO).
10. ICT Literacies and Computer Management
11. Performance Management System
12. Self Development Leadership
13. Management of Effective Teaching-Learning
14. Head Teachers Role in Coaching and Counselling
15. Management of Learning Evaluation
16. Etiquette and Protocol for Educational Leaders
17. Statistics and Educational Research Methods
18. Strategic Planning Towards Effective Schools
19. Best Practices for School Improvements
20. Practicum.

Participants observe and learn about administration and management in three areas, specifically, management and leadership; curriculum and pedagogy; and financial management and office administration (Bajunid, 2008c, 2008d).

Leadership Training and Development

From the universe of universal and indigenous knowledge corpus on educational, administration, management, leadership, and entrepreneurship, IAB designed the curriculum of the National Professional Qualifications for Head teachers (NPQH). In its design, the NPQH was informed by similar qualifications in Britain, the United States, and Australia, but with indigenous corpus for relevance. Initially, the NPQH was offered to principals and Headmasters who were already in-service as well as those who aspire to become Principals and Head teachers. The institutional Plan was to offer the NPQH and use it as a requirement for the selection of head teachers to lead schools.

The NPQH was revised continuously. A later review and revision led to its renaming as the National Professional Qualifications for Educational Leaders (NPQEL), and it became a necessary qualification for those who would become education administrators. In the late 1990s, the Principal Institute modeled after Harvard University's Principal Institute was established in the University of Malaya. The Principal Institute offered Master and Doctoral Programmes in Educational Administration. The Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris, (the Education University), Tanjung Malim, Perak, also begun offering Bachelors, Masters and Doctoral Degrees in Educational Leadership. Several of the twelve Faculties of Education of Public Universities also offered Educational Management degrees at Master and Doctoral levels. Private Universities typically offered the Master in Business Administration. However, because of demand, several of these private institutions, for instance, Tun Abdul Razak International University, the Open University and Asia e-University, begun offering degree programmes at Masters and Doctoral levels on Educational Management and Leadership.

Leading Edge Initiatives

Throughout its establishment, IAB has made several leading-edge initiatives. First, it is interesting to note that ahead of all other institutions, it had designed and offered a course on Edu tourism in the early 1990s. Only by early 2000, the idea of medical tourism and education tourism gained popularity. Also, the Kuala Lumpur Mayor's Tourism Award had been implemented for several years but without admitting a Category on Educational Tourism. However, in 2017, for the first time the Category of Education Tourism was added. This is an example of how ahead of time an institution can be. Other examples of leading-edge courses introduced then include Best Practices in Institution Building, Portraiture in Educational Management, Case Writing on Educational Management, Lessons Learned from Educational Leaders of the Past, Wisdom in Educational leadership, and Spiritual Dimensions of Educational Leadership.

Secondly, IAB and the University of Malaya had initially used the term "educational administration" and amended it further as "educational administration and management". Again, in the early 1990s, IAB amended its designation as "educational management and leadership", and hence, the National Institute of Educational Management and Leadership. These changes reflect IAB's effort at being relevant to the world's development and trends in education leadership training and development. In the tradition of British, Australian and even American academia, the term "*administration*" was used to refer to the philosophies, policies, practices, and processes engaged by educational leaders. The tradition is also the tradition of Public Service Administration. In Malaysia, the Training Institute for Civil and Public Services established in 1972 uses the term "Public Service Administration". The Commonwealth Council also uses the term for Educational Administration (CCEA), which later amended the usage to be Commonwealth Council for Educational Administration and Management. The Malaysian Society of Educational Administration, a Member of CCEA, changed its name to the Malaysian Society of Educational Management and Leadership.

Thirdly, in its future scenario scanning in the 1990s, IAB offered the course on Entrepreneurial Leadership, along with the course on Education Tourism. This is consistent with the rise in importance for entrepreneurial leadership in the late 1990s and early 2000s when the Malaysian Government approved the establishment of private schools, colleges, university colleges, and universities. During this period of dynamic paradigm change newly recognized leaders were owners and leaders of colleges and universities who had contributed to educational development for many decades, and collectively created opportunities for hundreds of thousands of students from Malaysia and abroad (INTI, 2012; Tan, 2002, 2009). These leaders came to be known as "*edupreneurs*". With the expansion of higher education in Malaysia, from only one university, the University of Malaya, in 1960 to over 75 universities in 2017, the curriculum of universities includes the course on "*entrepreneurship*" for all students. This compulsory inclusion is because of the realization that the private sector and the government sector could not provide jobs for everyone and most graduates will have to be entrepreneurs. The *entrepreneurial* mindset has to be nurtured from the early years of schooling and headteachers, principals and educational leaders are expected to foster the entrepreneurial mindset through formal courses and informal and non-formal learning and practical experiences. It is therefore important for training organizations to be promoting ideas seeking, and to design programmes ahead of and relevant to the times. Such programmes are expected to nurture and develop the passion of learning, and open and positive mindsets among educational leaders in the public and private systems of education (Bajunid, 2008d, 2008e, 2011).

Fourthly, IAB had been the driver of the quality journey in education. The journey on quality begun modestly by the training of educational leaders in the system, procedures, and protocols of the Quality Control Circles (QCC). Hundreds of QCCs were formed. Thousands of headmasters, principals, and educational leaders mastered the language of quality and the procedures of quality control circles, including the best use of people and ideas and resources. There were annual competitions relating to QCCs. Educational leaders developed a common language of the QCC Tools. Among

the tools of quality control enjoyed by all were the Ishikawa Diagram, known as the Fishbone Diagram, the Pareto Diagram, Graphs and Control Charts, Brainstorming Meeting, Gathering Information, Analyzing Information, Histograms, Scatter Diagrams, Finding Root Problems, Learning to Observe and Record, experimentation, teamwork, pooling ideas, using untapped resources and generating doable, effective and elegant solutions (Imai, 1991; Katsuya, 1994; Langford & Cleary, 1996; Lickona, 1992; Miller, 2004). The early team of IAB staff were so enamoured by the QCC that they gave of their best to develop the QCC mindset among the thousands of educators in the country in the 1980s' generation of education professionals. In the training of educational leaders, particularly principals and headmasters and their teams, there was the focus on fostering the culture of excellence along the quality journey.

MESTI/IAB's significant milestones can be contextualized within the framework of the National Development Plans and Education Development Plans, and Education Initiatives such as the Curriculum Reforms of Primary and Secondary Schools in the 1970s and 1980s, and the development of Higher Education in the 1990s and 2000 onwards. One of its key missions is the development of indigenously based philosophies, practices and realities. To this end, its earliest initiative was the Study of the Duties and Responsibilities of Headmasters and Principles. As an outcome of the study, MESTI/IAB developed a Compendium of Competencies for Educational Leaders, particularly school leaders. As it developed its various courses and programmes using its own staff and invited experts, it developed the corpus of Knowledge on Educational Administration and Management and Leadership. This corpus development is ongoing. Evidence of the evolving corpus is evident in the various course offerings and initiatives during its 38 years of existence. In a nutshell, IAB's programmes for educational leaders since its inception have been preparing and developing leaders in education in response to the needs of the government and its vision for the nation.

Vision 2020 and Towards National Transformation Plan 2050

As Malaysia developed incrementally driven by its various policies and guided by the National Development Plans, Sector and Ministerial Plans, from time to time new future-focused significant ideas were introduced (Buderi, 2000; Ikeda & Tehranian, 2000). These ideas, which come as polices are embedded and synergized within existing programmes, projects and activities, or new programmes that are developed to accommodate or to give priority to the newly introduced policies, plans or vision. Vision 2020 was introduced in 1991. The Multimedia Super Corridor and Digital Era Policies in the mid-1990s. The Knowledge Economy Policy in the 1990s, and the Innovation Economy in early 2000s. With the introduction of new policies, plans or vision, all organizations would review and revised their programmes, projects, and activities to be in strategic and operational alignment. Vision 2020 was such an

overarching national agenda that all development and operational plans were revised to address and meet the goals of the vision as articulated.

On 28 February 1991, the then Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad launched an overarching vision, which directed the resources of development for the nation the next thirty years. Since then all development programmes, projects, and activities were inspired and driven by Vision 2020. The following are key ideas of the vision.

- A Malaysian who is born today (February 28, 1991) and in the years to come will be the last generation of our citizens who will be living in a country that is called "developing". The ultimate objective for Malaysia is a fully developed country by the year 2020.
- Malaysia should not be developed only in the economic sense. It must be a nation that is fully developed along all the dimensions: economically, politically, socially, spiritually, psychologically and culturally. We must be fully developed in terms of national unity and social cohesion, in terms of our economy, in terms of social justice, political stability, system of government, quality of life, social and spiritual values, national pride and confidence.
- Malaysia can be a united nation, with a confident Malaysian society, infused by strong moral and ethical values, living in a society that is democratic, liberal and tolerant, caring, economically just and equitable, progressive and prosperous, and in full possession of an economy that is competitive, dynamic, robust and resilient.

Also, nine challenges were noted in Vision 2020 (Bajunid, 1988; Mahathir, 1991), which include the following:

1. Establishing a united Malaysian nation with a sense of common and shared destiny. This must be a nation at peace with itself, territorially and ethnically integrated, living in harmony and full and fair partnership, made up of one "Bangsa Malaysia" (Malaysian nationality) with political loyalty and dedication to the nation.
2. Creating a psychologically liberated, secure, and developed Malaysian society with faith and confidence in itself, justifiably proud of what it is, of what it has accomplished, and robust enough to face all manner of adversity. This Malaysian society must be distinguished by the pursuit of excellence; fully aware of all its potentials, psychologically subservient to none, and respected by the peoples of other nations.
3. Fostering and developing a mature democratic society, practising a form of mature consensual, community-oriented Malaysian democracy that can be a model for many developing countries.
4. Establishing a fully moral and ethical society, whose citizens are strong in religious and spiritual values and imbued with the highest of ethical standards.
5. Establishing a mature liberal and tolerant society in which Malaysians of all colors and creeds are free to practice and profess their customs, cultures and religious beliefs, and yet feeling that they belong to one nation.
6. Establishing a scientific and progressive society—a society that is innovative and forward-looking, and one that is not only a consumer of technology but also a contributor to the scientific and technological civilization of the future.

7. Establishing a fully caring society and a caring culture—a social system in which society will come before self, in which the welfare of the people will revolve not around the state or the individual but around a strong and resilient family system.
8. Ensuring an economically just society. This is a society in which there is a fair and equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation, in which there is full partnership in economic progress. Such a society cannot be in place so long as there is identification of race with economic function, and the identification of economic backwardness with race.
9. Establishing a prosperous society with an economy that is fully competitive, dynamic, robust and resilient.

These challenges, however, have not been fully overcome thirty years after they were identified and explained. An example of "Future Focused Role Imagery (FFRI)," is Vision 2020—a vision for Malaysia to be a developed nation. It is explained that in FFRI, "*Our identity is a figure which we fix against the ground of the time perspective we acquire. The resulting role conditioned by time can be called the "future-focused role – image.*" The FFRI is our self-image projected into the future, and it lends meaning to much of what we do in the present (Toffler, 1972, 1980, p. 21). One particular critical aspect of the *futural* imagery is that in 2020, the schoolchildren who were primary school children the 1990s when the Vision was envisioned will be the people running and leading the country in 2020. The question is whether the curriculum and learning experiences with the content knowledge and the learning processes do prepare these students adequately to become the leaders responsible for their own future and the future of the nation and humanity. To ensure that the *futural* imagery is used to advantage, the educational leaders of today have to develop good ideas and ideals of the model of leadership, followership, and citizenry expected to function in democratic societies of the future (Bajunid, 2008a).

As stated earlier, within the context of Vision 2020, there were other strategic ideas of development. One such idea was the *knowledge economy* (Bajunid, 1995). The justifications for the *knowledge economy* include the following: Erosion in Global Competitiveness; Increasing foreign Competition; The Impact of Globalization and Liberalization; the Need to Seek Higher Value-Added and Value-Created Products and Services; the need to move into more profitable and wealth generating stages of production; the need to seek new sources of growth; and meeting the challenge of enhancing total factor productivity (TFP). The seven strategic thrusts of the *knowledge economy*, which influence development thrusts in all sectors are as follows:

1. Cultivate and secure the necessary human resource.
2. Establish the institutions necessary to champion, mobilize and drive the transformation to a *knowledge economy*.
3. Ensure the incentives, infrastructure and infostructure necessary to prosper the optimal and ever-increasing application of knowledge in all sectors of the economy and to the flourishing of knowledge enabling, knowledge-empowering and knowledge-intensive industries.
4. Dramatically increase the capacity for the acquisition and application of science and technology (including the communication technology) in all areas.

5. Ensure that the private sector is in the vanguard of the *knowledge economy* transformation.
6. Transform the public sector into a Knowledge Civil Service.
7. Bridge the knowledge and digital divides.

The focus on the knowledge economy, the multimedia super corridor, and other significant development ideas and programmes have implications on sectors beyond the economic sector. In the wake of the knowledge economy and demand for knowledge workers, the education system saw the urgency and reality that teachers must not be left behind as people in all other sectors continue to raise their mastery of knowledge in all domains. In the 1990s, the long-awaited policy came to be regarding all teachers being given opportunities to acquire university degrees. It was decided that by 2010, all teachers in secondary schools would have acquired university degrees, and thereafter all primary school teachers will have acquired university degrees. This policy came together with the policies of the democratization of higher education and lifelong learning. The latter policies expanded higher education and created opportunities for non-traditional students to obtain university degrees—thus, gradually changing the profile of learners from ages 17–24 years to those beyond those years, even into the 70s and 80s. Among the organizations given, the responsibilities of educating teachers to pursue their degree studies are the Open University and the University Pendidikan Sultan Idris (UPSI), while the 27 Teacher Education Institutes concentrated on in-service, continuing professional development of teachers. While the Open University focused on the training of Secondary school teachers and UPSI on primary school teachers. In the context of these large scale developments, universities saw the opportunities of designing educational management and leadership programmes, especially at the Master's and Doctoral levels, and offering the programmes to educational leaders; particularly, institutional leaders, headmasters, principals, and system-level leaders. The Malaysian Education Association (MAE) has, in fact, made the call that teachers should pursue Master's (as mandatory) and Doctoral degrees to ensure the relevance and knowledge status of teachers who are engaged in *leadership for learning*. Although there are the various mega changes in the country involving various elites and knowledge leaders, typically, principals are not seen as the knowledge elites and part of the National Knowledge Capital community.

Educational Development Plans: Education Blueprints 2013–2025

During the 60 years of development, there have been many overarching documents for development including Laws, Commission and Committee Reports, Annual Development Plans, Strategic Plans, and Blueprints. While overarching documents such as Vision 2020 remain in use, often, with newly appointed political, professional and bureaucratic leaders, there is planning amnesia regarding the older plans. Authen-

tic leaders, however, usually maintain and build upon and enhance the older plans and do not diminish or discard them. The current plans on education for which the Government had spent millions using international consultants is the Education Blueprint 2013–2025. Before the Education Blueprint, there was, for instance, the Education Development Plan 2001–2010—Integrated Plan for generating Excellence (*Pembangunan Pendidikan 2001–2007—Perancagan Bersepadu Penjana Kecemerlangan Pendidikan)*. The plan covered both preschool, primary school, secondary school, special education, and tertiary education, specifically community colleges, polytechnics, and universities. Among other emphases are the emphases on Access to Education, Equity in Education, Quality Education, Educational Efficiency and Effectiveness. The seven thrusts of the new national education Blueprint in 2007 include the following: building the nation-state, developing human capital, strengthening national schools, narrowing rural-urban education gaps, strengthening the teaching profession, raising the standards of excellence in schools. The National Education Blueprint (2013–2025) launched in 2013, reinforced the earlier national aspirations for access, quality, efficiency, and added the aspiration of unity. The Blueprint also identified the student aspirations that include knowledge, bilingual proficiency, thinking skills, ethics and spirituality, leadership skills, and national identity.

To transform the education system, eleven shifts were identified. They include the following: provision of equal access of quality education of an international standard; to ensure every child is proficient in Bahasa Malaysia, English and an additional language; develop values-driven Malaysians, transform teaching into the profession of choice; ensure high-performing school leaders in every school; empower State Education Departments (JPNs) District Education Offices (PPDs), and schools to customize solutions based on needs; leverage ICT to scale up quality learning across Malaysia; transform Ministry delivery capabilities and capacity; partner with parents, community and private sector at scale; maximize student outcomes for every ringgit; and increase transparency for direct public accountability. Stylistically, three waves of Blueprint Implementation were identified, namely: The First Wave (2013–2015): Turn round system by supporting teachers and focussing on core skills, The Second Wave (2016–2020): Accelerate System Improvement, and the Third Wave (2021–2025): Move towards excellence with increased operational flexibility. The notion of development in "waves" assumes that development is linear and sequential. Usually, however, development is simultaneous, juxtaposed, and incremental in leaps and bounds. The time frame of "waves" is more for practical monitoring reasons as well as motivating the critical mass to focus on the "doable" immediately and incrementally.

The Blueprint also analyzed and presented relevant research data. It also places the country in the global context by comparing the education system when using Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMMS) results. The implication of the Blueprint to leadership development is that leaders have to begin to have global mindsets and to compare and benchmark achievements in global terms. In higher education, institutions compete to acquire SETARA rankings and global rankings such as the

QS Times and Jian Zhao and other rankings (Kaur, Sirat, & Tierney, 2010). The minister of the day, had in fact, declared that the Malaysian Education system will be among the 30 best education systems in the world. There were other Strategic Plans and Blueprints for Higher Education. There were also other Strategic Plans and Blueprints by political parties and Non-Governmental organizations, for instance, the Strategic Plans for Chinese and Tamil Schools. Training organizations are expected to develop training programme, which include familiarizing and ensuring mastery of the Blueprints, by specific and significant clienteles. At the same time, however, principals and headmasters are expected to develop their own initiatives to implement the eleven thrusts, the system and student aspirations and monitor the implementation by using these indicators. While only a few thousand copies of the documents are printed and the media publicised the Blueprints, it is understandable that the almost 500,000 teachers and over 12,000 principals and headmasters do not necessarily have access to and do not necessarily internalize holistically and comprehensively all the contents of such plans.

The Multimedia Super Corridor

In the early years of the Multimedia Super Corridor (MSC), seven multimedia applications known as the Multimedia Flagships were set up. The flagships which were/are the building blocks for the creation of a technologically and digitally advanced society were Electronic Government, Smart School, Research and Development cluster, multipurpose card, Telehealth, Worldwide Manufacturing Web, and Borderless marketing. A critical mass of IT leaders and elites supported and championed the various Flagships. The Smart School (and Smart Educational Institutions, which promoted E-Learning, became one of the most important nucleus of the MSC. In addition to the Multimedia Super Corridor Initiative launched in the 1990s, in 2002 the Malaysian Government launched the Bio valley and Biotechnology Initiative. The Biotechnological Initiative would focus on the following: Genomics and Molecular Sciences, Agro-Based Industries, Nutraceutical Sciences, Biopharmaceutical Sciences, Natural, and Herbal Sciences, and Marine Sciences. The infrastructure needed for the innovation economy are know-how and skill, well-functioning market, support for basic R&D, innovation and commercialization, access to capital, legal structure (patent, copyright system, regulation, enforcement, tax laws), transportation infrastructure for ideas (web access, forum for ideas exchange), a critical mass of creative people and the creation of a creative and innovative cultures and society. The other elements of innovation are collaboration, ideation, implementation and value creation (Emelia & Sazali, 2015). All these changes demand changes in the school, university, and training institutions curriculum and in the re-education, and continuing education of educational leaders. There is the need for headmaster, principals and educational leaders to engage in new knowledge mastery and develop new mindset habits in being anticipatory, future-focused, responsive, open-minded with readiness for change and exploration of new paradigms of education (Bajunid, 1997, 2001a, 2003).

As the nation was engaged in the National Information Technology Agenda, the clarion call in school was that the “*teacher is no longer a sage on stage, but, as a guide by the side*” in the evolving learner/student-centered culture and outcome-based education of teaching and learning, As teachers in schools, especially older ones have to master IT skills and become IT literate, in the same way, lecturers in teachers’ college have to quickly master the new skills in order to function relevantly in the context of the Digital Age. What is clear is that teacher education institutions and teacher educators are expected to be the leaders of educational knowledge leadership if they want to remain relevant and contribute effectively towards the professionalization of the profession (Bajunid, 2001b; Naisbitt, 1999).

Since Vision 2020, the knowledge economy and the Multimedia Super Corridor Digital Era policies, there were other initiatives offered in building a united nation. Among the initiatives were the promotion of the concepts of the *Innovation Economy, the Blue Ocean Strategy, 1 Malaysia, Islam Hadhari (Civilizational Islam), and Wassatiyah (Moderate Islam-Moderation in the Faith)* (Muhammad Haniff, 2004; Mohd Najib, 2010). The government also embarked on highly systematic transformation plans known as the Government Transformation Plan, Economic Transformation Plan, and other transformation plans in all other sectors. In the education sector are the transformation strategic plans for the school system and for higher education. For the school system, generous resources were allocated in the formulation of the Education Blueprint (2013–2025) as well as the Higher Education Blueprint (Kementerian Pengajian Tinggi Malaysia, 2005). As the nation approaches the year 2020 and the 14th General elections, it begins the conceptualization of National Transformation Plan 2050 (NTP, 50), in continuation of vision 2020 and beyond.

The emergence of the idea of the Smart School came in the wake of the initiatives of the Multimedia Super Corridor (MSC) together with the establishment of committees, for instance, the National Information Technology Committee (NITC); the establishments of institutions such as the Multimedia Development Corporation; and the development of polices, frameworks and blueprints such as the Knowledge Economy Master Plan, and action plans such as the National IT agenda. Education is at the core of every effort to transform society. However, there are fragmented connections; no common threads that run through robustly, and there are disjunctions between education and training at all its levels, particularly between schooling and higher education. The case of lifelong learning is illustrative for it is not fully understood or realized at the national level. By 2015, however, the process for the Roadmap of Lifelong Learning has become clearer as more institutions and leaders have come to embed lifelong learning philosophies and policies in the institutions and in the system (Bajunid, 2002a, 2002b).

Successes and Failures of National and Educational Policies and Initiatives

Every ministry had its own strategic plans and other initiates articulated and driven by the leaders and teams at any particular period. There have been, for instance, many Strategic Plans of the Ministry of Education. Not all the agenda set in the various plans were faithfully implemented. Failures to fully implement these carefully formulated plans could be due to several reasons: (1) exclusiveness and ownership, (2) lack of understating or no buying in the vision, (3) lack of resources, (4) poor teamwork, (5) no robustness of alignment with all the significant actors and units and departments, (6) lack of resources, (7) lack of time, (8) absence of or poor leadership at the implementation levels, and (9) conflicting priories at the various levels of implementation. These problems essentially highlight the dissonance or gaps between policy-makers, planners, and implements and stakeholders across the system. Malaysia's experience in systemic planning has shown evidence of great success with tangible and intangible results. However, many programmes, projects, and activities which fail or do not meet set standards, are typically not reported except when they are raised in parliament or raised by the Public Accounts Committee or mass media. The evidence of impact and effectiveness of programs and projects, which are successful, are indeed many, as are projects, which do not achieve the expected impact.

While there were many successes in the implementation of educational policies, there were also several significant failures. Policies were withdrawn or were not implemented appropriately because of lack of resources, resistance by stakeholders, no critical mass of champions or poor leadership, discontinuity of leadership and uninspired drive. Among these policies and initiatives were the Integrated Science Syllabus for Lower Secondary Schools adopted from Scottish Integrated Science Project; Modern Chemistry, Biology, and Physics adopted from the British Nuffield Science and Mathematics (O-Level) project; the vocational schools policies; the *Bahasa Baku* (Standard Language Policy); and the Islamization of Knowledge Policy. The Bahasa Baku Policy was introduced 1998 and stopped in 2000. The Islamization of Knowledge was introduced not just in the education sector, but in the civil service and across all aspects of society. Embedded in this policy is the ongoing ideological debate of whether Malaysia is a secular state or an Islamic State, and so, the society and education system must reflect the ideology of statehood (Al-Attas, 1979; Alhabshi & Ghazali, 1994; Huntington, 1996; Noor Hisham, 2015).

The most controversial of the policies was the Teaching of Mathematics and Science in English Policy (PPSMI), implemented in 2003, with full implementation across all the levels of schooling in 2008 but was withdrawn in 2009. The "Dual Language Policy" and the MBMMBI Policy to uphold and raise the sovereignty of the Malay language and to strengthen the mastery of the English language replaced the PPMSI. Other policies, for instance, for Special Education, for Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET), the Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) Curriculum have also been introduced, (Kementerian Pengajian Tinggi Malaysia, 2012). The School History Curriculum introduced in the 1970s

was revised and reintroduced. The implementation of these various changing policies meant the mobilization of the whole education system to focus on these policies: curriculum was reviewed and reformulated, teachers were retrained, the examination system adjusted the assessment contents and procedures. Resources had to be deployed, and education system leaders at federal, state and district levels had to be briefed and mobilized to assist in driving initiatives and policies. Principals, headmasters and other school leaders became the institutional levels of implementers. Such massive involvement of personnel and resources always meant that there were misinformation, misunderstanding, gaps in competencies and commitment and unequal resources at the operational on-site levels. Educational leaders, principals, and headmasters have to have the presence of mind and the "*changemasters' mindsets*" to be in command of such changes and lead in ambiguous and sometimes turbulent contexts (Naisbitt, 1999, 2006). An understanding of the "*changemasters mindsets*" can be reached when there is deep learning and understanding of the ideas, philosophies, principles contained in national policies during the last sixty years (Malaysia, Public Service Department 1993; Malaysia, 1998, 2003, Ministry of Higher Education, 2011).

The training programmes for principals were not just the predesigned standard programmes but had to take into account specific and ad hoc programmes, which became a national priority. The lesson learned by curriculum developers for principals and headmasters is that the competencies set had to include conceptual skills and mastery of implementation of policies competencies (Abdul Shukor, 1985; Abdul Wahab, 1990). Any educational reforms, policies or initiatives conceptualized at the central and federal level must ensure understanding, belongingness and ownership of the realities of programmes at school levels involving the network of leadership of school principals and headmasters and their teams, parent–teacher associations, board of governors (in institutions where there are such boards), alumni, local politicians, state leadership and other significant stakeholders.

There have also been the beginnings of documenting the successes of educational policies and practices shared as "best practices" during training for principals, headmasters and educational leaders. However, because of political, bureaucratic and cultural sensitivities, the cases of failures of educational policies and practices have not found their places as lessons learned in most programmes for administrator training. As the teaching profession matures, there is now a growing autobiographical and biographical literature and knowledge corpus, in the *indigenous genre, which* records the contributions of educational leaders and the contributions of educational institutions, public and private (Talib, 2008, 2014; Zakaria, 2017).

Finally, there are often the apparent disconnect between curriculum changes in schools and curriculum changes in administrator/leader education, and teacher education too. Changes in the economic sector occur so fast that the education sector sometimes does not keep track. The educational bureaucracy grew in size with a large number of leaders in compartmentalized domains, and coordination can become problematic. To some extent, both teacher colleges and university teachers tend to align themselves more to

the colleagues in the world of academia and to get peer recognition from colleagues in academia more than to get recognition from colleagues in schools.

Conclusion

The aspect of the contesting ideology pertaining to administrator, and teacher, education has been a neglected aspect, which had traditionally focused on the technical and professional aspects of competence acquisition and not any in-depth debates on contesting ideologies. Interestingly, teachers in the Islamic Teachers Colleges and the International Islamic University do have their own faith-based debates on ideologies. An example of faith-based assumptions in principal-ship and headmaster training is noted as follows:

> The teacher in Muslim society is not a mere wage-earner or a professional worker, but a committed member. His excellence does not depend only on his qualification or his Knowledge; it depends upon what type of person he/she is in terms of his faith and belief, and in terms of his conduct and character. His role transcends that of an instructor as far as he becomes the mentor, teacher and guide of the younger generation. (Al-Afendi & Baloch, 1980)

However, in administrator education, one of the major focuses is instructional leadership. For as long as administrators do not feel confident to have professional conversations on pedagogy, informed by theory and expertise of the reflective practitioners, the idea of the school as a learning organization for reflective communities of practice cannot be realized (Bajunid, 2011). Administrator and teacher education can no longer complacently do more of the same but will have to compete to understand the challenges of the times and to take appropriate measures to ensure that trainees and in-service teachers under their tutelage will master relevant knowledge and competencies to be leaders in the new contexts of schooling. The job of the school leaders has been transformed by global and local forces, at once ideological, demographic, technological, economic, socio-cultural and religious. The next generation of teachers and principals need to acquire knowledge and tools, which enable and empower them to equip the future generation of students with relevant employment and life-skills. Educational leaders who have the opportunities of leadership also have the opportunities of linking and synergising, philosophies, ideas, policies, practices from past, present and the futures in relevant, timely, holistic and integrated perfection.

Terra Incognita in Educational Administrator-Leadership Education

Few educators have created the opportunities to explore education from multiple perspectives at the level of connoisseurship for such subjects have not been subjects of

directions for continuous professional growth. In the conservative and ideologically cautious cultural traditions, there are few intellectual spaces for education critiques in the traditions of interrogating teaching as a subversive activity, the pedagogy of the oppressed, deschooling society, the bell curve wars and the ideologies of the curriculum (Freire, 1972; Illich, 1970; Bakri, 2003; Progler, 2010;). While there are relatively transparent procedures in the selection of pre-service teachers, the selection criteria for principals and headmasters—the criteria for them to have intellectual character, and to be the intellectual, pedagogical and knowledge leaders responsible in influencing the next generation of teachers have not been clear. The efforts to make sense of educational happenings are acts of knowledge leadership. Making sense of national concerns and making the connections with Teacher-Administrator-Leader Education would involve understanding such diverse concerns as maintenance management, and strong philosophy and policy studies background, and understanding the challenges of national accountability and integrity, human rights watch, human resources development and inter-faith dialogues.

There are several areas of the *terra incognita* in administrator education, for instance, the study of teacher trade unionism and professional associations, educational philanthropy or intellectual character development. These knowledge areas are actually aspects of the politics of education. This neglect of making the connections is because of the compartmentalization and sub-specializations of subjects at all levels of the education system. It is generally assumed that emphases on religious or moral education will automatically cultivate and shape strong and good character. Understanding of character education is however superficially limited to indoctrination of students to becoming good persons, and not related to the professional or intellectual character or civic character of teachers or of students, and the shaping of the national character of the citizenry. It is clear that the exciting script and drama of Educational Knowledge Management has not been explored in imaginative ways, or in dramatic ways in the domain of educational leader thinking and values. The man or woman in the principal's office who has the capacity to influence and shape the minds and nurture the spirit and souls of children, staff and even parents, must be responsible and wise leaders. Typically, the economic sector and economists as well as political elites and religious elites define realities and map out directions and contents towards societal and national growth and development.

The education sector and educational leaders have not been assertive or effective in defining realities and charting out future visions for the future generation. More significantly, they have not really been influencing society across all sectors using educational worldviews and mindsets. Generally, educational leaders, headmasters, and principals are not considered as national elites who initiate societal change but more as implementers of change initiated by other elites. In reality, however, educational vision for the transformation of society and the development of individuals, families, and communities, is not a secondary or derivative vision but is actually an untapped, unpromoted and unrealized foundational or primary vision. Educational leaders, scholars, principals, and headmasters are actually scholars who constitute the community of educational elites contributing to the definition of realities, chart-

ing out the direction, tangible and intangible substance, and spirit of national growth and humanity's betterment.

That character, intellectual character, and leadership is so important in the agenda of change and transformation, in institution building and development of the professions towards the betterment of society has been noted by many writers and scholars (see, for instance, Tichy & Cardwell, 2002; Spillane & Diamond, 2007). In regarding Leadership as a Master Discipline, the Leadership Scholar- Guru reasoned that:

> I have come to see leadership not only as a field of study but as a master discipline that illuminates some of the toughest problems of human needs and social change, and in the process exploits the findings of political science, history, sociology, philosophy, theology, literature and psychology. I have come to see, too the contributions that the study of leadership can make to those disciplines …
>
> … No single discipline-philosophy, history, political science-alone can deal adequately with the phenomenon of causation because the subject lies outside as well as inside every discipline. A multidiscipline is necessary to borrow from and synthesize existing intellectual resources, and to generate new ones in the process, a discipline that can approach causation using the widest array of conceptual and empirical tools. That discipline is leadership – the X factor in historic causation. (Burns, 2003, pp. 9, 20–22)

In the context of the above conceptualization, it is clear that there is much that education leaders need to learn in multidisciplinary modes to solve the toughest problems of the complex web of education, social change and the developmental needs of students, staff, parents, communities, national and global societies. At the heart of leadership is knowledge leadership and the challenge to understand profoundly and take stances regarding what matters in education and in life (Bajunid, 1995; Huntington, 1996; Ikeda & Tehranian, 2000). Notwithstanding the focus on leadership, there are other important foci such as on administration, management and entrepreneurship, and the less understood notions of "influencer," "courageous follower" "team-ship", and "social entrepreneurship" which provide insights in holistic ways to our understanding of change and development (Bennis, 1998; Bornstein, 2007; Patterson, Grenny, Maxfield, McMillan, & Switzler, 2008).

There is also little on aesthetics and high culture education. This cultural desert in the teacher and education leaders' curriculum is indicative of the technical orientation, employment and business priorities of the education system and of institutions of higher education. The question is that if those people who are to be entrusted to educate the next generation are not instilled with the ideals of high culture from their own indigenous civilizations and world civilizations, who are to educate and wean the future generations into the finer things/essences of life? Beyond the technicalities, bureaucratic and regulatory controls and compliance and managerial competencies, is the significant matter of character. The principal in the school makes decisions based on his or her own worldviews and values in the monocultural or multicultural institutions. His professionalism is always in contention with or in reinforcement with the values of politicians and significant others who influence him. The extent of the principal's professionalism and personal beliefs will determine the stances he or she takes regarding the rights of students, parents, and staff, and the boldness and discretion he/she exercises in managing, and coping with challenges (such as

racism, extremism, and religious bigotry). If not managed well, these problems may obstruct fairness and justice in decision-making as well as affect the culture of positive thinking, truth, and wisdom-seeking in society. Ideally, the vision of educational leaders should reinforce the vision of the nation to become one of the leading and stable nations in the world acknowledged by evidence-based criteria and indicators of various global indexes of development.

Note

1. The author is Member of the Task Force, which established MESTI/IAB. He continued to serve MESTI for the next 20 years, and became the longest serving Director of the Institution. He was also directly involved in the development of MESTI's policies and initiatives the first two decades.
2. In Malaysia, the term "Headmasters" is used for heads of primary schools and "Principals" is used for Heads of Secondary schools. Early on, until the 1990s, Principal was also used for Heads of Teachers Colleges. In the 2010s, Heads of Teachers Colleges are referred to as "Directors". This change came together when Teachers Colleges were upgraded and renamed Teacher Education Institutes.
3. "Administrator Education" in this paper covers principals and headmaster education as well as the education of other educational leaders.
4. Universities had established their own staff-training units for the training of their academic and administrative staff, Deans and Deputy Deans. In 2007, the Ministry of Higher Education established the Academy of Leadership (AKEPT) at Enstek, with the mission to provide leadership training for university staff, especially university leaders from both government and public universities, university colleges, polytechnics, and community colleges. The University Institute Technology Mara (UiTM) which had long established its staff-training unit had also established its own Leadership and Development Academy located by the side of and as neighbor to AKEPT in Enstek, Negeri Sembilan. In some ways, training institutions compete with each other, offer duplicate and complementary programmes.
5. The following acronyms are used interchangeably in this chapter because they refer to the same institution which changed its name over the years; Malaysian Education Staff Training Institute (MESTI), 1979; Institut Pengurusan Pendidikan Negara (IPPN) 1982—The National Institute of Educational Management; and Institut Aminuddin Baki (IAB) 1986-The National Institute of Educational Management and Leadership.

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Professor Emeritus Dato' Dr. Ibrahim Ahmad Bajunid is the President of the Malaysian Association for Education (MAE) and Director of IAB Global (Inspiring Authentic Benevolence). He was the Deputy Vice Chancellor INTI-Laureate International Universities and Professor of Management, Education and the Social Sciences. Dr. Ibrahim was Director of the Regional Centre for Educational Planning, United Arab Emirates, Professor of Management, Leadership and Policy Studies and the Founding Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at University Tun Abdul Razak (UNITAR) and former Director of Institut Aminuddin Baki (IAB)—The National Institute of Educational Management and Leadership.

He is Distinguished Fellow of Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Distinguished Associate of the Institute of Educational Leadership, Consultant, Centre for Civilizational Dialogue, University of Malaya and Senior Fellow, University Islam Malaysia. For more than four decades, he has been the key figure in the Field of Educational Management and Leadership in Malaysia. He has supervised Masters and Doctoral Degree Students and has written several hundred academic and general articles. He has a column in a national newspaper where he explores development concerns in society and generates ideas for elegant solutions to societal problems and initiatives. He is the recipient of the National Educational Leadership Award, the highest Educational Leadership Award in Malaysia awarded only to a few individuals who have demonstrated distinguished and exemplary leadership across institutional, national and international contexts. Also, for his leadership and contributions in academia, he was awarded the Honorary Doctorates by the Education University of Malaysia and by the University of Malaya. He is Member of the Malaysian Qualifications Agency, and Visiting and Adjunct Professor at a number of Universities.

Chapter 11
Conclusion

Salleh Hairon and Jonathan Wee Pin Goh

The primary premise of this book centers on the assumption that school leadership actions and practices are influenced and shaped by its surrounding inter-playing contexts (e.g., economy, policy, society, and culture). The secondary premise centers on the assumption that as the literature on school leadership has grown out from Western shores—namely, Anglophonic countries, much more work needs to be done to understand how contexts influence and shape school leadership beyond Western shores. This book aims to contribute to this knowledge base, albeit in the Asia Pacific region of the world, through synthesizing the contributions of authors from eight countries—namely, Singapore, Indonesia, Taiwan, China, Japan, the Philippines, South Korea, and Malaysia.

From our analysis and synthesis, one key theme that stands out is the need for greater decentralization whilst still remaining centralized. The need for greater decentralization stems from the need to give greater autonomy to school leaders and teachers to explore, craft, and trial pedagogies that are more suitable to meet student learning outcomes that go beyond merely attaining achievement test results, and that are more in tuned to twenty-first century competencies (e.g., critical thinking, creative thinking). In this new climate, school teachers are now compelled to not only deepen but also broaden their pedagogies. School leaders, on their part, are now required to provide the necessary support for this. However, the move to give greater autonomy to school leaders and teachers cannot be an unfettered one. In other words, autonomy at the various levels of the school organization and education system hierarchy will need to be bounded. This bounded-ness is understandably more crucial bearing in mind the Asian value for hierarchy. This bounded-ness has been observed by Hairon and Goh (2015)—highlighting that the empowerment in distributed leadership is found to be bounded. At the classroom level, teachers have greater autonomy and decision-making power on the delivery of the curriculum than students, but not key

S. Hairon (✉) · J. W. P. Goh
Policy and Leadership Studies Academic Group, National Institute of Education,
Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, Singapore
e-mail: hairon.salleh@nie.edu.sg

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curricular decisions of the department. At the department level, middle leaders have greater autonomy and decision-making power on the curricula than teachers, but not key curricular decisions of the school. This social order is unlike most egalitarian Western societies, where individuals have and deserve equal rights. In Asian societies, social relations are governed by hierarchy or respect for authority, and hence to be observed as high power distance societies (Hofstede, 2011). The cultural value of respect for authority is especially understandable for countries with Confucian/Chinese heritage (e.g., China, South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and Singapore), and Asian countries in general such as Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines—with the Malaysian and Indonesian societies being further influenced by the Arab-Islamic heritage. The need for more decentralization whilst still remaining centralized also suggests that the cultural values of respect for authority, hierarchy and high power distance, have a long history in their respective societies, which predates modernity. These cultural values are therefore deep-seated in the psyche of people within their respective communities and societies. For good or bad, it is therefore difficult and slow to shift from one paradigm at one end to the other. All the countries mentioned in this book were influenced by Western modernization influence at various time periods (e.g., colonization) but still maintain their Asian cultural heritage. Hence, balancing autonomy and control, decentralization and centralization, and influences of modern Western values and Asian cultural heritage will be the major challenge for school leaders, school teachers and education policymakers at least in the Asia Pacific region.

The second key theme that stands out in the contributing chapters is the Asian value for collectivism supporting the decentralized efforts in these countries. This applies even to China. Even though the state continues to maintain standardization in the way schools implement professional learning communities, school leaders do share power with teachers in order to gain staff commitment. In education contexts, this augurs well in terms of building a learning culture in schools to encourage and help teachers collaboratively learn from one another—understandably so to broaden and deepen their pedagogies so as to satisfy new learning outcomes for students. Again, the Confucian value for collectivism—that is, group identity over individual identity, plays a significant part in maintaining social relations for the sake of social harmony. What is interesting is that the collectivism practised in the Asian cultural context is consistent with the cultural value for hierarchy. In Confucianism, collectivism is tied closely to hierarchical relations comprising father-son, emperor-subject, husband-wife, elder-younger, friend-friend relationships. It is the glue for social harmony, for people to share, care, understand or tolerate differences, resolve conflicts and promotion of prosperity (Chau, 1996; Lee, 1996). The close relationship between collectivism and hierarchy can also be observed in the three non-Chinese Asian countries, albeit may not be similarly nuanced to Confucianism. This perhaps explains why collaborative learning spaces such as professional learning communities in schools would play out differently in Asian in contrast to Western cultural contexts—the latter probably placing greater cultural value on individualism than collectivism. Asian societies generally value collectivism over individualism in contrast to Western societies, which generally value individualism over collectivism

(Hofstede, 2001). This, however, does not mean that PLCs in Western contexts are not amenable to collaboration. Rather, the outward manifestation of collaboration will differ between Asian and Western contexts due to the individualism-collectivism polarity.

The third theme that has surfaced across the chapters is the notion of "*leadership for learning*". Notwithstanding the various interpretations of this term, it is a perspective which views school leaders as leading learning in the school organization and prioritizing learning as the key lever for school improvement. This concept is germane to notions of instructional leadership, distributed leadership, teacher leadership, curriculum leadership, professional learning communities, and professional learning. In Singapore, distributed leadership is becoming more valuable insofar as this would help in the distribution of instructional leadership practices from senior and middle leaders to teacher leaders—supported by professional learning community opportunities. In Indonesia, the push for increasing devolution is opportunity for school leaders to initiate the development of their teachers to work and learn together towards the development of the school curriculum. In Taiwan, increasing deregulation, a more democratic society, and the greater push for principals to share their power with teachers is immense opportunity for teachers to work and learn together to make the necessary curricular and pedagogical changes. In China, professional learning community has continued to be the choice for teacher professional learning. In Japan, teacher learning in community through platforms such as lesson study has been a long kept tradition. In the Philippines, decentralization efforts commensurate well with school leaders and teachers making the best out of their available resources to support teaching and learning, which includes learning from one another (e.g., professional learning community). In South Korea, there are signs of increasing local and school-based autonomy to encourage the instructional changes that foster student engagement. Lastly, in Malaysia, leadership for learning has been highlighted as an essential concept in the preparation of future educational leaders.

The discussions emanating from the chapters of this book have strong implications on school leadership within the context of current times, and has implications on education in contexts across the Asia Pacific region, and beyond. In the Asia Pacific context, it is worth noting the significant variations across the countries discussed in this book. First and foremost, there are variations in terms of the movement towards greater decentralization within a predominantly centralized education system. For example, greater autonomy is given to school leaders in Singapore to initiate curricular innovations, but this is less so in countries such as South Korea. In terms of resources, countries such as Indonesia and the Philippines seemed to be facing acute challenge in providing sufficient resources to schools while this may be less of a case for countries such as Singapore. The challenge of insufficient resources is exacerbated by the relative large land size. There are also obvious variations with regard to political will for educational change and improvement by various stakeholders. For example, while policymakers, school leaders and teachers in countries such as Singapore, China, and Taiwan are highly coordinated to make education reforms work, the coordination for other countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia may be less so. Last but not least, there are variations in terms of history. It is indeed interesting to

see how the historical legacy of bureaucracy established by early colonial influences have a long-lasting impact on present education systems such as the British (Singapore and Malaysia) Dutch (Indonesia), American (the Philippines) and Spanish (the Philippines) yet in varied ways.

In terms of lessons to be learned beyond the Asia Pacific region, schools can no longer be obsessed with only attaining academic achievements but learning outcomes that equip students with the necessary knowledge, skills, and values to respond successfully to complex problems and economic needs of their respective nations but in an increasingly uncertain and disruptive future. The school curriculum must, therefore, be crafted, and re-crafted, in ways that support the learning of students that accommodate these learning outcomes. School leaders must, therefore, provide the necessary leadership and support for this to happen. This emphasis perhaps explains why instructional and/or curriculum leadership, distributed leadership and teacher leadership, network leadership and system leadership have grown in significance over the last decade or so.

While instructional leadership looks into improving teaching and learning which is considered the bread and butter of the business of schools, distributed leadership affords the distribution or dispersion of instructional leadership practices to other leaders in schools beyond the school principal. This more distributed leadership support affords the exploration and trialing of new pedagogies by teachers. A result of distributed leadership is the development of teacher leadership (Hairon, 2017; Harris, 2003). Within the school context, the nexus between instructional leadership, distributed leadership and teacher leadership seems to be very tight. Beyond the school context, there is a growing recognition for the development of network leadership and system leadership. While the former supports the growth of distributed leadership in response to the growing complexity in social relations, the latter supports the need to maintain order and control at the system level. For example, school leaders in Singapore are encouraged to have the mindset of "leading nationally"—that is, their leadership decisions and actions must take into consideration other schools in the country in order to achieve system level school development and improvement. System leadership also provides support and assistance for school leaders as they in turn share leadership with teachers to design and implement the best curricula and assessments for students (Olivier & Huffman, 2016).

Notwithstanding the common development on these leadership models for school improvement, the descriptions and discussions in this book have provided the contextual peculiarities and complexities that Asian school leaders have to maneuver. Beyond the broad culture peculiar to the Asia Pacific region, there are also subcultures (e.g., Singapore societal value for pragmatism). Beyond cultures, there are peculiarities of governance at the school, district and national levels. Beyond the economic, political, social and cultural peculiarities, there are geographic and historical—even institutional and personal life histories and experiences—contextual considerations and influences that shape the leadership practices in schools. What is most interesting is how these contextual forces intertwined with one another in shaping the leadership decisions and actions in schools, and how stronger or more primal contextual factor/s have stronger influence over others. While policies have a

seemingly large influence over school leaders' decisions and actions in schools, the historical, geographical, social, cultural and political may either afford or constrain school leaders' decisions or actions in the implementation of policies. Clearly, more research still needs to be done to unravel such contextual uniqueness and complexities and its impact on school leadership in the different education systems of Asia Pacific societies, and beyond.

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Dr. Salleh Hairon is Associate Professor, Policy and Leadership Studies Academic Group, at the National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His research interests center on school leadership for teacher learning in communities comprising distributed leadership, teacher leadership, professional learning communities, teacher professional development, and action research.

Dr. Jonathan Wee Pin Goh is Associate Professor, Policy and Leadership Studies at the National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His teaching and research interests include educational marketing, school leadership, student learning approaches, intercultural communication competence, and cross-cultural aspects of service quality perceptions, as well as customer satisfaction and motivation. In recent years, his interest has been in the area of measurement, evaluation, and psychometrics including data analysis techniques such as Rasch Analysis and structural equation modeling. His works have been published in the International Journal of Educational Research, Educational Research, Higher Education, International Journal of Leadership in Education, and School Leadership and Management, and Educational Management, Administration and Leadership.

Correction to: Leadership for Instructional Uncertainty Management: Revisiting School Leadership in South Korea's Context of Educational Reform

Seung-Hwan Ham, Byeong Chan Kim and Wang Jun Kim

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