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From the editor

Dear Readers

With great pleasure and hope, we present the first issue of Contemporary Educational Leadership (CEL), an international journal whose main aim is to publish different theoretical and empirical articles, case studies, reports and book reviews on all aspects of educational leadership and management in education all around the world. Among the fundamental concerns of the journal, the most important will be to promote the development of understanding the specificity of educational leadership and management adequate to the needs of contemporary schools and educational systems. The editorial team of CEL has the ambition to open possibilities for those broadly interested in all aspects of educational leadership and management to publish both theoretical and practical articles that: explore new, re-conceptualised and educationally adequate views on leadership and management in schools; promote basic educational values such as individual human development and learning as core elements of educational leadership and management; are aimed at both academic and practitioner audience and promote cooperation between them; stimulate changes in education at all levels based on theory and research; show examples of good practice; inspire to look for new directions in thinking about educational leadership and management; revive the process of ongoing debate(s) in the field.

The first issue of CEL consists of a series of papers that will, as we hope, successfully start this process. The article that opens that series by *Roman Dorczak from Jagiellonian University* raises (in a slightly provocative way) the problem of the understanding of educational leadership. It starts by an attempt to draw the dominant dimensions and ways of understanding educational leadership pointing out the fact that they are influenced by 'non-educational' thinking. Then, it proposes to built educational leadership understanding starting from the beginning and taking into account 'really educational values'. A list of such values is presented and confronted with the values that are dominant in the existing thinking about leadership in schools.

Robin Precey from Canterbury Christ Church University, writing from the English perspective,

argues that current approaches to educational leadership of governments and policy makers around the world are managerial and simplistic, ignoring the complexity of the world in and around schools. He, then points out that this exposes school leaders to the conflict between doing what they are expected by educational authorities or doing what is morally (educationally) proper. Playing leadership roles in such a context requires special leadership qualities and ways of their development.

The next article by *Grzegorz Mazurkiewicz from Jagiellonian University* focuses on a similar issue of leadership competencies and qualities that are crucial in leading schools in the contemporary challenging realities. Again, the need of educationally adequate conceptualization of leadership is raised and some predictions of the directions of leadership development in the Polish context or recommendations for the necessary changes in that area presented.

Antonio Portela from the University of Murcia discusses in his article the problem of school engagement, participation and disengagement. The article draws attention to the fact that one of the main aims of schools is to incorporate students into the society and points out that there is a growing problem of school disengagement around the world and a need of adequate understanding of the complex and multidimensional phenomenon of school engagement. To describe that phenomenon, the author uses the theoretical framework based on French philosopher Jacques Ranciere's work. Concluding, some key implications for school leadership are also raised.

The article by *Joanna Madalińska-Michalak* from the University of Łódź consists of two main parts. The first part gives an overview of the project Leading Schools Successfully in Challenging Urban Context: Strategies for Improvement. The second part presents the results of the research on the leaders from schools that took part in the project, showing the answers to such questions as: What do the researched successful leaders have in common? What do most of the researched successful school leaders do? What kind of people become the researched successful school leaders?

The final paper by *Jan Fazlagić from Poznań University of Economics*, written from the perspective of universities and other higher education organizations, provides a framework for the measurement and evaluation of internationalization processes in higher education institutions that seems to be one of the important and growing challenges for leaders in such educational organizations.

The content of that issue seems to be a good invitation for discussion that can deepen our understanding of what is important in the theory and practice of contemporary educational leadership. We hope that the readers will be inspired and ready to join us in our challenging journey.

Roman Dorczak Editor-in-Chief

Putting education into educational leadership - the main challenge of contemporary educational leadership

Roman Dorczak

Jagiellonian University

Abstract

Regardless of more than two decades of the presence of leadership concept in educational field, there is still need of educationally adequate understanding of educational leadership. Most theories of leadership in education and their practical applications simply transfer leadership theories form general management theory without any deeper attempt of educationally contextualised reflection whether they really suit the needs of educational organizations. Their main disadvantage is the fact, that they are built originally on values that are not necessarily central or important for educational purposes. The author argues that the contemporary dominant understandings of educational leadership in their main dimensions are grounded in context external to education and influenced by values that are not (or should not be) central for educational organizations and purposes. Showing that the author proposes educationally adequate understanding of the main dimensions of leadership and a set of values that should be central when building theory and practice of contemporary educational leadership.

Keywords: education, leadership, educational leadership, educational values

Introduction

During the last two decades, the concept of leadership has become popular in educational field gradually replacing educational management in the same way as management had replaced educational administration in the 1980s and 1990s (Gunter, 2004). It seems that the main reason for this shift from management to leadership was the insufficiency of more traditional managerial approaches in facing the challenges of contemporary schools and school systems. Numerous examples of research showing the importance of educational leadership in raising educational effectiveness of schools and student's achievement have strengthened such trend (Leithwood, Day, Sammons, Harris, Hopkins, 2006; Marzano, Waters, McNulty, 2005). The problem is that most theories and practical applications of educational leadership have at least three important defects: Firstly, they are built on the theories of leadership developed in the field of the general management theory where the understanding of leadership is different from educational understanding and highly contaminated with managerialism (Dorczak, 2009). Secondly, such understandings of leadership are developed basing on values that are not necessarily educationally important or are not in the heart of educational values hierarchy (Bottery, 2004; Dorczak, 2012b). Thirdly, in the end, they are mostly developed in the English-American neo-liberal ideological context, not necessarily adequate for other cultures and/or the educational culture of schools as specific organizations (West-Burnham, 2011). In this light, it may be argued that there is not much (or not enough) education in most contemporary theories of educational leadership. It, therefore, seems necessary to bring education back to educational leadership (or/and educational management or/and educational administration).

1. Educational leadership – current state or dominant picture

Theory of leadership in education (or educational leadership) and more significantly the practice of educational leadership since its beginnings uses concepts and definitions developed in general management theory to understand leadership in business organizations. Such understandings were and still are transferred to education with little or no at all understanding of the specificity of educational organizations and educational processes (Dorczak, 2012a). Most authors simply try to adjust well known and popular theories to the needs of educational organizations and educational leadership, focusing on those aspects that suit best the needs of educational context. It seems that in most cases, even authors that understand well educational context, use unconsciously the understanding of leadership that is inadequate in educational context. To show the most important aspects of that problem, we have to look at the key elements or dimensions of leadership. Bush (2011), trying to answer what is educational leadership, have proposed three dimensions important for its definition: influence, vision and values. We can then try to look at the dominant way of understanding educational leadership through such lens.

Influence

Most definitions of leadership treat **influence** as the central element of its nature. Leadership involves social influence of one person or a group over other persons or groups of people to reach goals within the context of an organization (Yukl, 2002; Northouse, 2007). Influence as leadership dimension is purpose-

ful, being intended to lead to certain outcomes defined by formal leaders and/or authorities (Cuban, 1988). The ability to influence others is also understood by most authors as a special quality of few personalities (leaders) who have mental powers to influence others (Kets de Vries, 2008). Such strong connection of understanding leadership with thinking that personal features needed for leadership are unique rather than universal is present not only in most theories of leadership (and educational leadership) but also in thinking of people playing central roles in educational institutions as it was shown for example in the recent research on thinking of Polish school leaders about their understanding of leadership (Mazurkiewicz, 2012).

Bush (2008) stresses that influence is different from authority connected with formal positions important in management. In that sense, not only formal school heads can be leaders but every other member of school community. It is worth noticing that, from the educational perspective, this is a very important and promising advantage of leadership theory contrary to management that connects strictly authority and possibility to influence others only with formal position. It opens the possibility to define leadership as something broader than personal quality of formal leaders or few members of an organization only. There is, therefore, no surprise that the concept of distributed leadership become so popular in the attempts of describing educational leadership (Harris, Spillane, 2008). Unfortunately, it is usually seen as leadership that is distributed, which implies the idea of distribution that is always an act controlled by someone else than a person who receives distributed powers. Again, the role of few people who are leaders with a special power (the power of distribution of leadership within a group or an organization) is stressed and the promising feature of distributed leadership concept is wasted.

Vision

Connecting leadership with a **vision** has been a significant element of numerous theories in the field of educational leadership since its appearance. Theories of *visionary, charismatic, inspirational, transformational or transformative* leadership were easily transferred to the educational leadership theory as the necessity of a clear and appealing vision is especially

important in educational processes that are (or should be) in their nature focused on individual, group and social transformation and development (Precey, Jackson, 2008; Shields, 2009). Educational research also shows that having a clear vision and being able to achieve it is very high on the list of expectations towards school heads expressed by teachers, parents and others involved in school life (Dempster, Logan, 1998).

Schools as organizations need a vision and that dimension of educational leadership has the potential to transform schools. Unfortunately, there are at least four serious dangers connected with the presence of the notion of vision in the understanding of educational leadership. First among them is the fact that vision can (and frequently does) blind leaders and those who are led and results in indoctrination with all its personal, organizational and social consequences (Fullan, 1992). Second problem is similar to the one mentioned when talking about influence – a vision usually or most often comes from a leader and is presented to others. Leadership understood this way is again usually limited to those who are formally in leadership positions. Thirdly, there is also a universal problem of political influence and power in educational systems. Having a vision, frequently means in school reality - to conform to the centralized expectations of those who create educational policy. The vision is more often than not centrally designed by educational policy experts of the Ministries of Education or other educational authorities at different levels that decide about schools and has to be promoted and implemented by those who formally play leadership roles in schools and have to subordinate to educational authorities (Hoyle, Wallace, 2005). Last but not least, there is a problem of 'depersonalization' when the members of school community are 'used' to realize a vision that is good from the point of view of the interests of particular groups, school as an organization, other organizations around school or the society in general and disrespects or even neglects the interests of the individual development of students (Precey, 2011).

Values

Leadership is always grounded in values. It is not a surprise that the clearer and the more clearly expressed and visible is the set of leadership values, the more effective school leadership is (Day, Harris, Hadfield, 2001). Values are without doubt the necessary foundation of understanding leadership for its practical consequences at the level of decision making in an organization. At the same time, there are some threats connected with that aspect of leadership strongly visible in the theory, research and practice of leadership in education.

First threat comes from the fact that describing leadership most theories stress that it has to be built on personal and professional values of a leader (Bush, 2011). The problem is that leaders understood as strong personalities build their leadership actions more on their personal than on professional values which results in one-way influence and indoctrination, that is completely incompatible with the needs of contemporary democratic educational systems. Such picture can be found both in the numerous theories of leadership and the thinking of existing school leaders (Mazurkiewicz, 2012).

Another threat comes from the fact that values promoted in educational leadership are very often those of political forces, governments and educational authorities, not school leaders or school communities. It usually results in a slightly schizophrenic situation where the rhetoric of official school leadership is different from the beliefs and actions of school leaders and other professionals involved in educational processes as people tend to rather oppose and disagree with actions and changes based on values that are 'external' from their professional system of values and their understandings grounded in their particular and specific school communities with their unique needs (Hargreaves, 2004).

Another important problem in the area of the values of educational leadership is the list and hierarchy of those values. It can be argued that the list of values important in the discussion about educational leadership was and still is strongly influenced by the neo-liberal phraseology and hierarchy of values that invaded public and educational domain together with the managerial thinking of the late 1970s and 1980s. Such managerial language penetrated public and professional thinking about education and educational leadership to such an extent that most of people active in educational leadership research and practice do not even ask the question if their

professional language and values behind it are really educational. It can come as a big surprise how many educationalists will agree that we should put on the list of the core educational values important not only for school leadership but for education in general such values as: Quality, Accountability, Effectiveness, Innovativeness, Change, Productivity, Economic Growth, Teaching and Learning.

When we look at the statements expressing the educational policy of most governments, OECD reports and documents, periodicals devoted to school management and leadership, books and research papers in the field, we can find those values as most frequently used. But does it really mean that those are the core and the most important educational values? I will risk the statement that it must be argued that those values are not the core educational values to build on them the understanding of education and educational leadership. They are, obviously, important and worth taking into account when thinking about educational processes and leadership in education but they have to be subordinated to values that are more central for education. The fact that they are central for educational leadership that at the same time undervalues, ignores or even neglects 'educationally important values' is the main problem of contemporary educational leadership.

2. Educational leadership – what should it really mean ?

Trying to define the desired understanding of educational leadership we can use the same perspective of three main dimensions proposed by Bush (2008): influence, vision and values. However, it seems more accurate to start from the perspective of basic educational values.

Values of educational leadership

Contrary to the values listed as highly important in the dominant understanding of educational leadership influenced by managerial thinking one can try to formulate the 'educational' list of values such as: Individual Human Development, Cooperation, Inclusion, Trust, Responsibility and Learning.

Defining an educationally adequate hierarchy of

values for building educational leadership understanding on it, we have to start from recognizing that the central educational value is individual human development (Kohlberg, Meyer, 1972). The main and the most important aim of schools and other educational organizations is to support the individual development of students and of all others involved in educational processes (Piaget, 1997; Łuczyński, 2011). A leadership understanding built on the recognition of the central position of that value can be called developmental leadership (Dorczak, 2012) or person-centered leadership (Fielding, 2006a). All other values that constitute the hierarchy of educationally important values have to be subordinated to that central value helping create the best conditions for the individual development of students and of all others involved in educational processes. What are those other values that are more important than: Quality, Accountability, Effectiveness, Innovativeness, Change, Productivity, Economic Growth and Learning, listed as the most frequently present in the discussion around educational leadership?

Individual human development cannot really happen without social interaction and **cooperation** with others. The value of cooperation means not only putting stress on team work as it is in most theories of leadership valuing group or team work, such as transactional, distributed or participative leadership concepts. It means, first of all, the creation of such organizational environment of schools that allows (and going further - demands) for active involvement of all students and staff in all possible activities that take place in schools (Fielding, 2006b).

The value of cooperation understood this way brings another value of **inclusion**, stressing the necessity of active involvement of all members of school community in all its activities, regardless of personal features of individuals or, in other words, taking into account personal features and helping to overcome any internal or external obstacles preventing individuals from full participation in educational processes. Such element of leadership is best expressed in the concepts of *inclusive leadership* (Ryan, 2006; Mac Ruairc, Ottesen, Precey, 2013).

In order to build school as educational community that enables the individual human development of everybody through cooperation and inclusion of everybody, it must be built on **trust** as one of the central values important for educational leadership. It gives confidence and constitutes a firm basis for safe development that sometimes must involve difficulties and conflicts. It is an especially important value in contemporary education that has to secure safe developmental environment in the challenging and competitive world (Fullan, 2003; Precey, 2012). Trust as educational value is connected with **responsibility**. It can be seen at different levels starting from individual, through group, organizational to social or political (or policy making) level of responsibility. It requires awareness of values, conviction that it is important to stand for them but also competencies and skills to act in their favor (Starratt, 2005).

Last on the necessary list, but not at all least, is the value of **learning**. It is with no doubt one of the core educational values, necessary to be taken into account when thinking about values important for educational leadership. Learning is, apart from individual development, one of the two core educational processes that constitute the specificity of schools as organizations. It is obvious, then, that it is so frequently used in the attempt of conceptualization of educational leadership that it is even called leadership for learning (MacBeath, Dempster, 2009; Mazurkiewicz, 2011).

It must be, therefore, noticed that there is a fundamental problem with the presence of value of learning in the discussions about the core educational values and educational leadership. The problem is connected with the fact that most authors overestimate the value of learning and underestimate or neglect the value of individual development. Such situation is caused mainly by the fact that learning started to be valued as important in the managerial context of school quality control, effectiveness, accountability or productivity of schools. Agents promoting the value of learning understand it mainly as the process of knowledge acquisition that can be monitored, measured and controlled in the same way as other organizational processes. The connection of learning with a broader process of development is less interesting for such approaches as more complex and not easy to be measured and shown in league tables or PISA results tables.

The value of learning, if we need to use its potential for building proper understanding of educational leadership, needs careful attention in order to define it in educational context according to its socio-constructivist nature and its complex interrelations with broader processes of individual human development (Vygotsky, 1978; De Corte, 2010).

Influence and vision in educational leadership

In the context of such educational values as presented above, it is clear that the dimensions of influence and vision that are important for leadership understanding (at least in its more traditional concepts) have to be seen from completely different perspective. It can or even has to be called 'educational perspective'.

Educational leadership has to promote a **vi-sion** of education that is built on educational values with the individual development of all people as the main and the most important value that has to subordinate all other values (Piaget, 1997). That vision treats school as a change agent that, through individual development, has the potential to transforms groups, communities, organizations and society (Dewey, 1963). Such vision of school and educational leadership built on it can bring education back where it was or still is absent or not sound enough.

The same rethinking and redefinition is necessary when we look at the dimension of **influence**. In leadership theories, it is usually seen as the intended influence of leader(s) on others to help promote a vision and reach organizational goals. In the educational leadership concept, influence has to be understood as a mutual or multidirectional process of influencing each other that is the key aspect of learning processes and broader developmental processes of all individuals involved in educational processes that take place in schools being, as Fielding calls it (2006a; 2006b), person-centered communities.

Conclusions

Educational leadership theory and practice have a long history and an enormous amount of experience. As it was said, most of it is contaminated with the understanding of leadership that is grounded in contexts other than educational. On the other hand, there is a lot of theories that underline aspects or dimensions important for the educational nature of school leadership. The main task of contemporary educational leadership theory and practice is to consolidate those different dimensions in a more complex and coherent picture of educationally adequate leadership. Another task that has to be undertaken is to promote such educational understanding and influence the public debate and policy in order to change the dominant language of discussion about schools and educational leadership into educational language sensitive to 'educational values'. The present article can be treated as a small step in that direction.

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Breathing life back into leadership: adjusting to the realities of the leading in education

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Abstract

This article argues that the current approach to education that is spreading across the world is managerial in its approach and as a result leadership within schools is being stifled. It asserts that many leaders of schools feel suffocated and unsure about whether to just do as they are told or to display real leadership and do what they feel is morally right. The Standards Agenda of many governments is based on a simplistic notion of organisations and the real world is much complex. Complexity is explored and the implications for effective leaders in an increasingly complex world are explained. These arguments are built on to helpfully layout some important qualities that school leaders in the rest of the twentieth century require. These can be learnt and so there are implications for leadership development that require further exploration.

Keywords: managerialism, leadership, Standards Agenda, GERM, PISA, transactional, transformational, complexity, complicatedness, values, trust, integrity, ambiguity, adaptability, flexibility, resilience

1. Pushing down the pillow of managerialism on the face of headteachers: the suffocation of leadership in schools

It is an obvious truth that we all need leadership that is effective to help us enjoy life's benefits. Where would we be without talented, committed people who take on leadership roles to help us see a view of a better future and steer us towards it whether this is in politics, health care, banking, government or more particularly in education? We also need managers who can realise that vision and use their skills to try to make the hopes of a better future a reality today. This has always been so from time immemorial. However in recent years, as leadership and management have increasingly become a focus for research in order to gain greater understanding of what they are about, the landscape in education has been changing. There has been a growing recognition of the importance of leadership specifically at all levels in schools, not just the most senior, in order to bring about organisational improvement. The leadership competencies of middle leaders who are in strategically significant pivotal roles as well as those of teachers working on a daily basis in classrooms with students are increasingly seen as important and in need of development. Our greater understanding has come through the work of, for example, Frost & Durrant (2003), Harris (2004), Moller

(2005), Hallinger & Heck (1998), Leithwood et al (2005), Horner et al (2003), Marsh (2000), Marzano, Waters & MacNulty (2005). The conclusion? Leaders do make a difference – for better or worse.

But language can be confusing. Generally writers distinguish between "leadership" and "management". The former is often referred to as creating a vision, developing a strategy, keeping an organisation on track to realise its values. Bennis (1989) refers to it as "doing the right thing" underlining the importance of moral purpose and actually ensuring the activity is carried out. Management on the other hand is seen to be more to do with ensuring the operational systems work, putting into place dayto-day procedures that deliver the strategy. Bennis (1989) calls it "doing things right". Others also refer to administration which is dealing with the detail of checking systems, what might be called "checking things are done right". These are not three separate hands...clearly they are touching and ideally gripped together in order to ensure the strategic plan based on values happens and that it does so effectively and efficiently within the allocated resources.

If these are the inter related terms – leadership, management and administration - that can be identified and agreed upon, it is arguable that in many countries what is referred to as leadership in schools is in fact management. The values and vision for what happens inside schools is increasingly across the world set by policy-makers (usually politicians) frequently following a Standards Agenda. In broad terms this Standards Agenda involves mechanisms that feed off and into each other such as a prescribed national curriculum, standardised testing, publication of results to the world, parental "choice" over schools for their children, national inspection systems with grading of schools and publicly available reports, performance pay, the erosion of local authorities and establishment of the direct control of schools by central government. In such a situation all that is left for school "leaders" to do is in fact manage the school through the hoops that get increasingly smaller and over the bars that are raised higher and higher and set for them by the politicians. Sahlberg (2010) calls this the Global Education Reform Movement (GERM).

It can be argued that *GERM* has had a number of consequences. First it has encouraged Governments

to believe that if schools run like businesses then they will be better places of learning. In the world of economics, it is believed that competition leads to an improvement of service and product. Competition between businesses also drives prices down as businesses compete for a share of the market. So it is argued that the quality of education improves with competition and becomes more cost effective. Second, schools need more autonomy in order to compete. Co-operating schools cannot compete as easily as schools that behave like businesses, selling the same product to a finite number of consumers. The best school is the one that is performing better than its competitors. So the first symptoms of an educational world affected by GERM are isolation and competition. Third, in order that schools can be compared to see which are best, then ways of measuring and comparing have to be designed. These are often based on school inspections, standardised testing and evaluation of teaching effectiveness. These tests allow schools to be compared to each other, reduce the education of our children to a collection of attainment targets connected to literacy and numeracy. These are the easiest bits of education to compare schools within countries and between countries. The things that are easiest to measure and test have little to do with creativity and the human spirit. A consequence of this is that schools narrow their curricula in order to prioritise the subjects against which success is measured. For example the arts, creativity, sport, debate and languages will be lost in this race for success (Robinson 2009). Teaching may well move from an art of pedagogy to a mechanistic instruction designed to deliver outcomes. Fourth, GERM positions parents as consumers of a product and allows them to choose the schools that are best and so mirror market style forces. This increase in choice (which is in fact an illusion for many) leads to greater segregation of students. Fifth, as a consequence of competition, isolation, standardised testing, public access to test and inspection data and a belief in free choice of schools for parents, another sign of GERM is an increase in 'accountability'. If policy-makers apply pressure and make teachers fearful then results will improve although professionalism may decline. The Ofsted regime in England for example spawns a "name, blame, shame and tame" culture akin to that of football management. Sahlberg makes the point that the GERM is spreading like a virus across the world. It is seductive to politicians who may be obsessed with their position in international league tables such as PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment). After all they are elected and are responsible for the public purse. So why should politicians through their agencies not lead and indeed manage education? Has this not always been the case in education across the world? To some extent perhaps, depending on which country you are in and when? However in recent years a number of factors have exacerbated the spread of GERM. These include a global recognition that education is a keystone for economic and social development. If a country wishes to become wealthier and happier then education standards need to rise. This is a popular mantra for politicians seeking to be elected: for example in the UK Tony Blair fought a general election on the policy of "Education, Education, Education". It touches and emotional as well as a rational nerve with parents/carers and all who have experienced or missed out on schooling. Greater and speedier sharing of information across the world about education standards partly due to technological developments have meant that politicians are made more aware of what is happening in other parts of the world. As a result of these reasons, in many countries educational leadership is seen to be far too important to be left to professional in schools.

So one might argue that leaders in schools in many countries that are affected by GERM do not in reality lead ...they manage. Language has been corrupted. The externally set strategy and even modes of delivery combined with the high levels of public accountability enjoyed or endured by those in charge of schools means a particular approach to leadership is now dominant – that of transactional leadership. Headteachers merely decide how their schools should climb the ladder positioned against the wall by others. They no longer, if they ever did, decide where to locate the ladder and at what angle. The heads of Headteachers are on the block awaiting execution so they in turn need to control tightly. This transactional approach means that human interactions, whether they are adult to adult or adult to child, are founded on exchange with an emphasis on immediate cooperation through mutually agreed benefit. You scratch

my back and I will scratch yours but if you do not scratch me then tough. So-called leaders tend to manage their schools through reward for hitting ever more challenging, externally prescribed targets or punish for failing to so do. Today this means not so much the stick or carrot, more the redundancy and career stiflement or performance payment and promotion. These head managers and those who work for them in management roles tend to be autocratic and can be bullies either benign or otherwise. Such an approach is based on a Tayloresque scientific view of organisations with "one best way" to do things so the headteachers job is just find it (unless they are told by those outside their school what this has to be) and make everyone do it like that. Bureaucracy is the handmaiden of this scientific mistress. This picture painted may be a caricature but the point is that the current dominance of a centrally controlled Standards Agenda in many countries that is spreading means that leadership within schools is being suffocated and management is being nurtured. Do as you are told not what you think is right is the drum beat to which those in charge of schools are now forced to march. If one falls out of step s/he is pushed in line, relegated or removed from the inexorable march towards the externally imposed targets.

2. Schizophrenic headteachers: to push the pillow away or give into slow suffocation?

School leaders and managers, like all human beings, may be motivated by a combination of many factors - power, status, a need to please people, money - but most school leaders chose to do the job because they want to make a positive difference in children's lives through the effective deployment of adults also in their charge. Most wish to run schools that are inclusive and are built of high quality, effective relationships. Thus, there is currently a deep schism and hence fundamental problem with the way many would like schools to be led and the top-down externally imposed performance culture which pushes leadership towards autocratic, transactional, often demeaning and immiserating approaches. This is tearing many leaders apart in countries such as England in a very real sense - morally, emotionally, psychologically and physically. A healthy worklife balance is but a forgotten dream. They and those whom they lead are being damaged and often leave the profession (Farber 2010). This will continue to be so until the policy agenda understands the complex nature of schools and their leadership and changes to a more person-centred approach (Fielding 2004).

There are better ways to run schools than the transactional approach described. Shields (2003) describes two other approaches to leadership that nurture individuals and put relationships at the centre of the organisation. Transformational leadership is based on meeting the needs of complex and diverse systems. It sets direction and develops people with the leader developing common purpose. She sees this approach related to school effectiveness, reform and improvement and instructional leadership. Since the values and vision are set within the school community, albeit influenced by external factors, it involves leadership and not just management of someone else's agenda. She also argues strongly for a third way - that of transformative leadership and asserts that we "live in a world in which the promise of schooling as an agent of change remains unrealised" (p57). Hence Shields states a case for transformative leadership that is built on critique and promise, emphasising deep and equitable change in social conditions with the deconstruction and reconstruction of knowledge as an intrinsic process. It is related to leadership for social justice theories and critical theories (gender, ethnicity, class). Such leaders live with tension and challenge and require moral courage and activism for social justice. Education is seen by such leaders fundamentally as a social project not just limited to the building we call school. This third way is extremely challenging and potentially transformative for schools and their communities. It involves real leadership.

Unlike transactional leadership, which takes a more simplistic view of the human world, the last two approaches examined by Shields both require competencies to embrace complexity and diversity as well as operational knowledge and skills. Klemp (1980:21) defined competence as "an underlying characteristic of a person which results in effective and/ or superior performance on the job." While a more detailed definition is "a cluster or related knowledge, skills, and attitudes that reflects a major portion of one's job (a role or responsibility), that correlates with

performance on the job, that can be measured with well-accepted standards, and that can be improved with training and development" (Parry, 1996 p50)." It is about what you do rather than what you think or say and for leaders to possess the elixir of leadership that is integrity, all three need to be aligned. Leaders who talk the talk and do not walk the walk lose trust. Thinking the talk you walk is also vital for leaders who wish to lead their schools with integrity.

In summary, in terms of relationships transactional leadership that characterises many schools pursuing the Standards Agenda tends to use (and some would say abuse) people. Transformational leadership respects, engages and works with people within a school. Transformative leadership does so with the whole community both inside and outside the school.

3. It's not as simple as they think: the necessity for leaders to understand complexity

"Life is what happens to you when you are making other plans". [John Lennon]

There is more recognition and better understanding of the complexity of the world of schools (Day 2001). On one level public services and particularly schools can be viewed as predictable being governed by regular routines – schools have terms, semesters, plans, schedules and timetables. The prevailing culture in many countries (Bottery 2004) with a language of performance, targets, attainment, inspection, inputs, and outcomes rests on a belief that the variables in relation to school improvement are known, understood and can be controlled by leaders and managers. As the words of John Lennon remind us, reality tells us this is not true. Collins (2001) has pointed out the "Doom Loop" associated with such cultures of reactive, quick-fixes to problems. Solutions cannot be downloaded. We all know from our own experiences that organisations, like human beings and their lives are complex, unpredictable and on occasions messy. Moreover, schools are becoming increasingly diverse in terms of function and membership. Leadership that fails to recognise this complexity and diversity and, more especially, is uncomfortable with this reality is destined to frustration and tears.

What does the term "complexity" mean? When

living beings come together and act in a group as in schools, they do so in complicated and unpredictable ways: societies often behave very differently from the individuals within them.

Complexity was a phenomenon little understood a generation ago, but research into complex systems now has important applications in many different fields, from biology to political science. In the late 1940s Ilya Prigogine in Brussels researched chemical reactions and won the Nobel 1977 prize ,, for his contributions to non-equilibrium thermodynamics, particularly the theory of dissipative structures". He later went on to write (1997) about traffic management and how complex reactions can be predicted. We can create order from disorder. His ideas are now increasingly being used to explain how large groups of individuals behave collectively. Today complexity theory is being used for example to try to explain how birds flock, how a large crowd moves through a building, movements on the London Stock Exchange, the spread of diseases, the impact of the internet and to better understand how organisations such as schools function. With increased globalisation it has become more popular since phenomena move around the world speedily today e.g. the SARS epidemic moved from Hong Kong to Toronto due to air travel and, indeed, the spread of *GERM* across the world (Sahlberg 2010). Some important aspects of complex development are:

- Uncertainty
- Unpredictability
- Evolution

Complexity theory is both a mathematical technique and a point of view. It is critical in terms of managing and leading complex organisations. Leaders need to understand complexity theory and adopt attitudes and styles that embrace this point of view.

4. Complexity theory's relationship with complicatedness

"Complicated" entails three elements working together: design, prediction and control. A leader who takes this view of the organisation for which they are responsible recognises that like a machine e.g. jet engine, it may be difficult to understand but ultimately it is understandable and thus, through intelligent design, predict and control. You just need to be clear enough

to take it apart and put it back together again better.

This does not apply to complexity. Unlike complicated systems complex ones can create new order. When there is a significant change a complex system is pushed away from equilibrium and cannot carry on operating under the old regime. It needs to explore new ways of being and adapt. If it does not, it will die. It cannot be predicted or controlled or designed. It may be understandable but only in hindsight. Cities are good example of complexity theory at work. They evolve in both planned and unexpected ways through the ages. Schools are also in reality complex organisations. They may be seen like Russian dolls with social, cultural, economic, technical, and physical as well as community forms and also nesting in whole-school, department, year group and so on incarnations. Complex systems are often multi-dimensional and nested. The components of a complex system may themselves be complex systems. For example, an economy is made up of organizations, which are made up of people, which are made up of cells - all of which are complex systems. The same is true of schools.

Does this mean that leadership and its handmaidens of management and administration go out the window? No. We handle complexity all the time. It is a way of thinking and of understanding the reality of our world and leads to an attitude and different leadership styles and competencies. It is also a young area of research and we have much to learn.

5. Complexity in the school context.

Increasingly, as we have seen, it makes more sense to see schools as complex rather than simple or even simply complicated and this has resultant implications for their effective leadership. Radford (2008) has questioned the dominant discourse of prediction and control in education. "This discourse assumes that education, though complicated, nevertheless takes place within a bounded system of relatively stable, linear and balanced causal interaction" (p1). He argues that a more realistic approach is one based on the "complexity" paradigm (requiring transformational and transformative rather than transactional leadership). Under this paradigm schools are seen as "open systems, subject to non-linear and dynamic interactions among the multiple

factors of which they are constituted, and often unpredictable." He argues that this paradigm is subversive of our ambitions of predication and control.

Scharmer (2007) drawing on the work of Kahane (2004) defines three types of complexity:

• Dynamic – where the cause and effect are far apart. This is certainly true of schools where there are very few quick fixes.

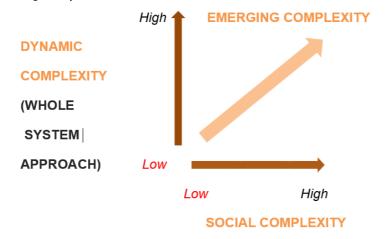
- Emergent—in which the future is unfamiliar and unpredictable. Again, schools find themselves increasingly in this world of rapid change including that of government policy
- Social here are many different perspectives. Schools are made up of many individuals some passing through the trauma of adolescence. There are myriad interactions happening at any one moment. These may be seen in relationship as below (**Figure 1**)

Schools themselves have always been complex organisations but they are becoming more complex as the twenty first century speeds towards us. This is despite the political paradigm of complicatedness or even simplicity in relation to schools. There are a number of reasons for this. First, within many countries of Europe, free movement of peoples, particularly for employment, has led to increasingly diverse communities. Linguistic, religious, economic, cultural and ethnic differences may be viewed as opportunities or threats. As a school's community, mainly in urban areas, becomes more heterogeneous, then complexity grows and the demands on leadership change. Second, education leaders work not only

with increasingly diverse student, school staff and parent/carer populations but they also may lead other professionals from diverse backgrounds in relation to multi-agency working. 2008). Third, in many countries, there are rapidly changing and varied arrangements for the provision of education. For example, in England marketisation has led to an increasing number of federations with executive leaders (sometimes called executive head teachers) leading more than one school which may all cater for one age range (phase) or be cross-phase. Recent legislation (2010) encourages popular schools to become larger and for "successful" schools to become Academies and take on responsibility for "failing" schools. Interest groups such as parents are encouraged by the government to set up "free schools". The research into systems leadership (Hopkins & Higham 2007), Hargreaves and Shirley (2009)) reflects this growing diversity and complexity in leadership. The rapid and recent change in the role of many leading in schools puts these people in a context beyond the traditional school. Leaders need to be more culturally aware and proactive in leading values of respect and social justice in action. The articulation, modelling and monitoring of such values become very important in order to facilitate relationships that are positive and productive. If / when other countries catch the GERM from England then such complexity may well grow for them also.

This world then (including schools) is becoming more complex but this is often not recognised in education policy nor leadership.

Figure 1. Complexity



(MULTI-STAKEHOLDER APPROACH)

Source: own elaboration

6. The Implications of this for school leadership

We handle complexity all the time in intuitive ways and often fall foul to its consequences. For leaders including those working in highly complex systems such as schools much is not unknowable. But we can be smarter. To be so, leaders (and managers) need to try to recognise and respond appropriately these essential elements of complexity theory. This is a way of thinking and understanding the reality of our world. It is an attitude. We need to change the way we lead schools and the way we prepare leaders. Leaders need to be freed and trained to deal with real life and all its rich complexity. Leaders, Scharmer (2007) maintains, need to be able to understand and work in situations of emerging complexity where:

- The solution to the problem may well be unknown
- The problem itself is frequently still unfolding and
- The key stakeholders are often not clear

What are the leadership qualities needed to be a successful leader in this real complex world? They are many and varied but a few stand out:

Leaders with thought-through values that enable them keep the organisation on course with a sharp focus. Most important in such complex situations is that the leader has a sharp focus on the school's core purpose and in particular student learning. This may well be infused with other fundamental values such as liberation, democracy, equity and justice depending on context (Shields 2010). Biesta (2013) helpfully distinguishes between the current responsive management and the need for responsible in a global networked society. Responsive approach is where education adapts to the demands of a global networked society. A responsible approach demands a more critical position "vis-a-vis the different manifestations and demands of such a society" (p733). He argues for the latter from school leaders on the grounds that education should always be understood as more than just a function of existing social and societal orders because it comes with a duty to resist. This is inherently both educational and democratic.

Leaders who are hard headed with a focus on making a positive difference. Shields (2010) expresses this as school leaders needing to effect deep and equitable changes. Karsath (2004) uses the term

"Robust" in that they can tackle challenges in a climate of uncertainty and a spirit of critique. This is different from the hard hitting term "impact" which suggests immediate, imposed, easily discernible often destructive relationship between an aggressor and a victim...a word found in much of the Standards Agenda literature. Making a positive difference is pre-occupied with the care of other human beings, longer term transformational change and a co-operation and emulation.

Leaders following at least a transformational and ideally a transformative approach. Leaders who recognise complexity build trust, openness. Karseth (2004) calls this propensity to be open and inclusive "Raus". Such a leader values diversity, practical approaches and new ways of thinking. There work is characterised by generosity rather than greed (Gronn, 2003). They make room for experimentation and taking risks. "The paradoxical conditions necessary for educational transformation are individual freedom of choice and collective responsibility for the whole - and individual and group autonomy and interconnections." Marshall (1966). Leaders celebrate this and closely matched the conditions for transformational and transformative ways of working outlined in section 2.

Leaders consciously develop trust in their schools. Trust is an essential key component to transformational leadership (Covey (2006), Bottery (2004), Precey (2013;2012) and this needs to be consciously developed by leaders.

Leaders with integrity – this means that leaders do what they say and say what they think. Shields (2010) makes the point that leaders have to demonstrate moral courage and activism. A Norwegian writer Karsath (2004) calls this Redelig where ethical and democratic rules are followed. People are treated with respect. This can enhance learning: "Instead of presenting content/information/knowledge in a linear sequential manner, learners can be provided with a rich array of tools and information sources to use in creating their own learning pathways. The teacher or institution can still ensure that their critical learning needs are achieved, by focusing instead on the creation of the knowledge ecology. The links and connections are formed by the learners themselves". Mc William (2008)

Reflective Leaders – Scharmer (2007) suggests that leaders of organisations need to provide space for

and facilitate a shared seeing and sense-making of the newly emerging patterns. He calls this "co-sensing". This requires leaders at all levels to establish places of deep reflection ("co-presencing"). In the busy life of school leaders this is difficult but, he would maintain, essential. He also suggests that we need places and infrastructures for hands-on prototyping of new forms of operating in order to explore the future by "co-creating". In an increasingly complex world leaders need to create opportunities for shared observation and reflection. Without this, Scharmer argues, we will continue to have schools that prevent our children from unfolding their capacity for deeper learning as we will be relying on past experiences to solve new, previously inexperienced problems. Shields (2010) agrees arguing that leaders need to deconstruct and reconstruct knowledge frameworks that generate inequity. Such leaders are more likely to spot black swans (Taleb, 2012) and avoid being a turkey.

Leaders who are critical and cultivate a culture of healthy scepticism -Such leaders who can work with complexity do not unquestioningly accept the status quo but are ever watchful. Wheatley (2007) explains that such watchfulness is accomplished by developing a set of questions that leaders throughout the school ask regularly and with discipline. Quantz, Rogers and Dantley (1991) argue that transformative leadership "requires a language of critique and possibility" (p105) and "a transformative leader must introduce the mechanisms necessary for various groups to begin conversations around issues of emancipation and domination" p112). In the same vein, Shields (2010 p58) maintains that transformative leaders, "in addition to the more traditional aspects of their work (creating budgets, overseeing instruction, achieving accountability etc.) need to balance both critique and promise and challenge inappropriate uses of power and privilege. Karsath (2004) calls this Reflekterende: Such leaders encourage critique and scepticism. They create collective spaces for knowledge building through professional discussions where all parties participate. But these leaders are open to change. They do not look at the world around them purely to prop up their beliefs but their views may change when they have learnt what is really going on.

Leaders who are flexible, adaptable, entrepreneurial and maverick. Smart leadership that thrive

in increasing complexity are clever. Such people have their fingers all over the political, economic, social and psychological pulses. They scan the horizon looking for the elements of complexity – points of bifurcation, connectivity, feedback, evidence for self-organisation and emergence, attractors and recursive symmetries, lock-in, feedback and post-event rationalisation. They exploit their benefits and try to reduce their dangers.

Leaders who are comfortable with ambiguity. So much of the predict and control managerial culture is based on the false notion of certainty in education. This lulls leaders into a false sense of security and means they and others are surmised or resigned when events do not follow a script. Much is in realty unknowable. Leaders who are effective in the real world of complexity are comfortable with the not knowing. They have to learn this and this is often by trial and error and reflection and analysis. It may well also involve "failure" in managerial terms.

Leaders who learn quickly from mistakes and encourage that learning in others. They do not resolutely punish failure. At present, in GERM infected countries, this is counter-cultural and here a football manager culture has developed where results matter and failure means swift removal of managers and coaches from high profile jobs. In the Championship football league in England for example as of May 2014 only 3 out of 18 managers have held onto their jobs for 3 seasons. The name, blame, shame, tame of culture has been a consequence of Ofsted and the Standards agenda in education as perceived mistakes within this tight agenda are not tolerated. Yet this approach is unintelligent and wasteful. All leaders make mistakes at some point and it is these that provide the most valuable learning experiences. In their book "Wounded Leaders" Ackermann and Ostrowski (2002) explore what happens to leaders who are disoriented (Mezirow 1978) by events and the ones that get stronger as leaders and people do not ignore them or let them overwhelm their professional and personal sense of self but rather use the events with support to grow as better leaders. Joseph Campbell (2008) describes in "Hero's Journey" describes how a hero "ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man" (p2). In laying out his monomyth, Campbell describes a number of stages or steps along this journey which we can use to try to understand the realities of leadership in schools today. The hero (headteacher) starts in the ordinary world, and receives a call to enter an unusual world of strange powers and events - a call to adventure (to become a school leader). If the hero accepts the call to enter this strange world (of school leadership), the hero must face tasks and trials (a road of trials), and may have to face these trials alone, or may have assistance. At its most intense, the hero must survive a severe challenge (school accountability systems), often with help earned along the journey. If the hero survives, the hero may achieve a great gift (the goal or "boon"), which often results in the discovery of important self-knowledge. The hero must then decide whether to return with this boon (the return to the ordinary world), often facing challenges on the return journey. If the hero is successful in returning, the boon or gift may be used to improve the world (the application of the boon). Along the way the hero learns from their mistakes but importantly with support from mentors usually those who have been on the journey themselves before. Sadly in high accountability school systems, too many ledvers find themselves removed from the journey or decide that the pressure is such that they want to leave the journey themselves. If they survive, their skills and knowledge are not always appreciated or disseminated. Mistakes maketh man and woman. It is wise to acknowledge how the fallen are often mighty.

Leaders who develop resilience and an inner strength. Resilience is increasingly seen as a key part of an effective leaders make-up in the twenty first century. Resilience is strength of character, adaptability, buoyancy, flexibility and the ability to bounce back. This crucial aspect of leadership is very much linked with the former point about learning quickly from poor decisions. Through the trials and tribulations of leadership resilience can be developed (Ackermann al 2002). The journey can make one a better leader (Campbell 2008). In his important work "Reservoirs of Hope" (2003) Flintham tells us of the importance of hope in school leadership. "The successful headteacher, through acting as the wellspring of values and vision for the school thus acts as the external

'reservoir of hope' for the institution. In the face of burgeoning demands for change, colleagues look to the headteacher for spiritual and moral leadership, to provide the necessary coherence and unity of vision and to maintain its underpinning integrity of values".(p3). This reservoir has a spiritual and moral basis and may come from a combination of background and upbringing (generational imperative), religious beliefs (religious imperative), egalitarian imperative and a belief that everyone should have the chance to benefit from education, a vocational imperative and desire to do the job to the best of their abilities, and a transference imperative ("Would I be happy if this were happening to my own children?"). The reservoir of hope needs to be constantly refilled as leaders are giving hope to others all the time especially in a world of complexity. The reservoir can be topped up by self-belief, faith, feedback, support networks (family, friends, colleagues and sometimes external sources. "This study worked to the principle that school leaders develop best when given the opportunity to reflect on their existing practice, to analyse in detail critical incidents within their on-going leadership story with a view to identifying strengths and weaknesses, to examine alternative models of good practice and to identify developmental ways forward appropriate to their existing contextual situation....Successful engagement with this principle enables development of leadership qualities not by directive input but by reflective awareness and consensual agreement, *leading to ownership of action and a thirst for further* engagement" (Flintham p26). Linked to point 9 that successful leaders in complexity are learning leaders as well as leaders of learning, they grow in self-confidence, self-awareness, capacity to take risks and in "being" rather than simply "doing". Critical incidents are particularly important in powerful learning.

Resilient leaders have realistic goals in their lives. They are thoughtful rather than impulsive and they are good communicators. They feel positive about themselves and others for whom they care. They are energetic optimists. They take control of their own minds and lives. They develop effective support networks which they use and contribute to. They have a sense of humour. In a follow-up piece of research "When Reservoirs Run Dry" (2003) Flintham looks at the human and

professional costs when these support networks are inadequate or even non-existent and leaders leave their jobs early. 'Quis custodiet ipsos custodies?' - who cares for the carers? is a very important question in the real world of schools today.

Leaders who keep themselves fit for purpose. The prevailing Standards Culture in many countries has produced a self-sacrificial leadership culture. Leaders are worked relentlessly by the system and its manipulators and are often physically, emotionally and intellectually exhausted as a result. To be effective in the real world of school complexity requires leaders to place the oxygen mask over their own faces before applying them to others on the education flight. This is a tough mind-set change for leaders and even if minds change then action often does not follow. But unless leaders ensure they are fit for purpose and ready for action then they are doomed to disappointment and disaster. Senge (2004) argues that "... if you want to be a leader, you have to be a real human being. You must recognize the true meaning of life before you can become a great leader. You must understand yourself first. "(p186)"...In this sense, the cultivated self is a leader's greatest tool...It's the journey of a lifetime." (p186). Effective leaders are effective people and as Bennis and Goldsmith (1997) express it: "...the process of becoming a leader is much the same as the process of becoming an integrated human being...leadership is a metaphor for centeredness, congruity and balance in one's life". (p8). So leadership development is a process of 'Self-Invention' (Bennis 1989, p50) that is directly linked to the creation of personal authenticity. Guignon (2004) describes this as: "...centering in on your own inner self, getting in touch with your feelings, desires and beliefs, and expressing those feelings, desires and beliefs in all you do...defining and realizing your own identity as a person". (p162)

In other words, it is important that leaders 'get a life' and balance personal development and happiness with professional growth and enjoyment. An important aspect of this is intrapersonal intelligence or 'meta-learning' – the ability to become profoundly reflective and change and grow as a result of that reflection.

Well-being and achieving a balance between the professional and personal entail a deliberate personal strategy to ensure that all aspects of a fulfilling life are met. School leadership is socially, emotionally and physically demanding work so it is essential that leaders invest time in their own personal development and growth.

"... high levels of wellbeing mean that we are more able to respond to difficult circumstances, to innovate and constructively engage with other people and the world around us. As well as representing a highly effective way of bringing about good outcomes in many different areas of our lives, there is also a strong case for regarding wellbeing as an ultimate goal of human endeavour." (www.nationalaccountsofwellbeing.org p1). Wellbeing is not just about the leader. It is important that the leaders with integrity model appropriate strategies, for example "Do as I do" rather than "Do as I say". This may require major life style changes from existing leaders.

7. Conclusion

It has been argued that the current approach to education that is spreading across the world is managerial in its approach and leadership within schools is being stifled. Those in charge of schools often feel suffocated and unsure about whether to just do as they are told or to display real leadership and do what they feel is morally right. The Standards Agenda is based on a simplistic notion of organisations and the real world is much more about complexity. Effective leaders in an increasingly complex world need to understand the principles that we know about complexity. It is a way of thinking and of understanding the reality of our world and if school leaders take this on board then they will change the way they lead their schools. This is tough as often those in charge of schools today have been trained and told to work in a managerial manner.

There are some important qualities that school leaders in the rest of the twentieth century require. These can be learnt and so there are many implications for leadership development. It is time to stem the GERM and this requires smart, skilful leaders across the world to work on all levels and most particularly the political ones to create schools that are person-centred and promote human happiness and fulfilment for all involved in the education process. Without this our children and teachers face a future that is educationally impoverished and bleak.

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Educational leadership - the necessity for development

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Abstract

In this paper, I will briefly describe the concept of educational leadership and its context and approaches to the development of educational leadership but my main purpose will be discussing the potential directions and aspects of educational leadership and its development in Poland.

Keywords: educational challenges, educational leadership, leadership development

Introduction - contemporary context

It should not be a surprise that school principals are seen today as the most important actors in the world of education. Putting school principals in the center of every change and reform aiming at improving school quality is one of the most promising ideas for supporting governments in answering to the needs of modern societies and educational systems (Schleicher, 2012). In the situation of gradually increased decentralization of decision making processes concerned with curricula, teaching methods and resources, school principals play a complex role and their tasks exceed simple administration¹ of school. They need to become leaders ensuring learning and development of students, teachers and all school employees.

It is important to be aware that the change in educational leadership should happen in accord with the contemporary world of constant change and massive political, economical and social crises, in the world that lacks stability, in which not stable institutions but rather flexible networks gain power and are able to create knowledge. It is difficult to achieve what we plan in that shaky environment.

¹Understood as maintenance and supervision of the institution leading to implementation of government policy, or the management of different programs.

Moreover, contemporary democracy struggles to maintain safety and prosperity but also has to face new challenges such as decreasing trust and increasing corruption. It is a reason for the need of "inventing" democracy again, reinvigorating dialogue and community, rebuilding autonomy, responsibility, and cooperation instead of obedience or hierarchy. It is an ambitious task for education, which needs leaders who would be able to help our societies build new knowledge, maintain supportive values and could lead processes of learning and development.

In order to achieve the expected state of leadership we need to change the way school principals are prepared and trained. An effective system of school principals development requires: - clearly defined range of responsibilities,

- adequate opportunities for career-long development, - awareness of the principal's key role in supporting students' learning and in improving the quality of schools' work (Council..., 2013).

In the face of the significant trend of decentralization present in the European Union, it is important to be aware that school autonomy is able to bring higher quality only when certain conditions are fulfilled. Principals' and teachers' professionalism is the most important among those conditions because school autonomy will bring positive results only with the appearance of effective educational leaders and a proper support system.

Challenges of educational leadership

Since the political transformation in Poland in 1989 the model of school management has been changed and accompanied by a discussion about the principal's role that might be shortened to one question: teacher or manager. In practice, nowadays, a principal is usually both: the first teacher and the manager (Więsław, 2011). Unfortunately, there is a significant lack of coherent policy, understood as systemic and regular actions resulting from strategic thinking and professional discourse, in the area of educational leadership. Moreover, only incidental attempts of discussions or research initiatives on leadership can be noticed. It might be stated that there are two key needs in the Polish system: first, creating space for deliberation on education and educational leadership that

should lead to the common awareness of its necessity, second, constructing a system of preparing and training for school leaders. Putting educational leadership in the global context, we need to be aware that there are three serious obstacles in its development:
- systematically growing list of school principals' duties

- aging of the personnel (51% of principals in OECD countries will retire during the next 10 years),
- unattractive work conditions (Schleicher, 2012).

The Polish system of the selection of school principals lacks clear criteria of that selection. The description of the selection process mentions the quality of the school work conception prepared by the candidate. It is difficult to find formal or informal criteria used by local governments during the selection process. So, in reality, there is no one, general model of the selection of school principals in Poland and their career paths are also strongly diverse. It is symptomatic that in Mazurkiewicz's research more that 50% of the one hundred interviewed school principals admitted that they had became principals "by accident" or under peer pressure (Mazurkiewicz, 2012). It might mean two things (at the same time): low esteem for that position and lack of middle leadership structures and preparation which results in people being surprised that they are asked to be principals.

To be able to react according to school context, educational leaders should increase their impact on the way of teaching (understood also as influencing teachers teamwork, promoting interdisciplinary approach, monitoring and supporting teachers work). Leaders in schools need autonomy in decision-making but, more importantly, they also need skills to make those decisions and supportive governmental educational policy allowing for useful professional development and involvement in deep dialogue about educational and social issues.

Educational leaders already serving their communities and candidates for leaders need a slightly different development – with different aims and in different forms. In the first place, they need support in thinking about their roles, about teaching and learning and about their schools in a much more broader sense than today. They need constant reflection on their practice in the context of beliefs they hold about their work, education and learning, as well as in the context of

beliefs owned by their co-workers and members of the society. Being involved in permanent reflection is a key aspect of leaders development. It allows for constant evolution of practice adequately to the situation in the world, responsible actions and building trust both inside and towards the organization.

Educational leadership will be effective when leaders are focused on improving the quality of teaching and learning and on securing equality thanks to precisely defined roles, cooperation, distributed leadership, autonomy and also responsibility and account-ability. Because of that, we need to support educational leaders professionalization offering clear career paths and professional development they need. We need a more innovative approach to leadership including bigger involvement of teachers, flexibility, autonomy, responsibility and actual and useful competencies.

Recommendation and initiatives

Educational leadership is an object of scrutiny, research and reflection in the European Union countries and also globally. Results of these considerations are often presented in the European Council documents and publications. In 2009, the European Commission stated that effective leading of schools was one of the most important factors which shaped the conditions of teaching and learning, inspired students, parents and teachers and supported them in the improvement of learning outcomes. It was also underlined that a critical task of policy makers is to secure a situation in which educational leaders present and develop appropriate abilities in order to successfully meet the challenge of the increasing number of duties.

The conclusions from the European Council meetings in December 2012 and in February 2013 included, as it was stated earlier, the appeal to all member states to verify and improve the professional status of management staff in schools and to fully use the potential of cooperation and partnership. The European Council pays attention to the fact that educational leadership needs high professional competencies based on key values. Educational leadership demands strong involvement, motivational skills, sound management, pedagogical and communication skills. An efficient leader inspires constructing a strategic vision of the institution, serves as a role model and

plays a critical role in preparing attractive conditions for learning. Moreover, it is the leader's responsibility to care about relations with other educational institutions, families, labor market and local environment in order to support learning process. So, selection, recruitment, preparation and keeping appropriate people in the positions of educational leaders as well as creating positive conditions for development have a key meaning and need special attention of policy makers and governments. In general, the European Council expects from the member states a few things in the area of educational leadership which are: assuring, in new ways, the responsible autonomy of educational leaders, increasing the attractiveness of educational leadership and promoting an innovative approach towards effective educational leadership (Council..., 2013).

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development is another organization closely focused in its research and actions on educational leadership and points at four potential directions for improvement: 1/ redefining leaders' responsibilities, 2/ supporting distributive leadership, 3/ supporting the development of leadership skills, 4/ increasing the attractiveness of work conditions (Schleicher, 2012).

Taking under consideration the global, European and Polish context, the latest research, the policy documents and the needs of the contemporary school, we should create environment supporting educational leaders in Poland through few basic actions:

- 1) Defining educational leaders' key tasks and competencies,
- 2) Agreeing which values are especially important in leading, teaching and learning,
- 3) Building a mental model of educational leadership focused on chosen values, learning and development of students, professional and organizational development of school and teachers,
- 4) Creating a conception for restructuring the system of training and development for educational leaders which will offer methods and content supporting educational leadership,
- 5) And also reconstructing the selection process and work condition of school principals.

Additionally, thinking about a systemic solution for leaders' training and development, it is worth to mention that the beginning of the principal term during the first or second year is one of the most fragile stages in

educational leaders' career. Unfortunately, professional development for school principal is rarely designed to answer beginners' needs. In consequence, there is a lack of understanding of novice principals' problems and also lack of support in solving those problems that are so different that they demand specific forms and methods for their development (Elsner, 2011).

Defining educational leadership

It is difficult and also irrational to start building a new training system for leaders before defining the desired outcome of that system. It is crucial to start with a discussion about the mental model of educational leadership closely tied to the needed competencies and values. It would also be beneficial to make a step back and agree on how we understand the education process (while we are trying to create an image of ideal and effective leadership model). Polish education needs constant, public discourse about the key concepts connected to the strategies and development plans of the educational system. Reflection on educational leadership and school principals' role should be the key element of this discourse.

Educational leadership is especially important for developed and matured educational systems because it allows to reach a higher level of development. Well established educational systems need more than standardized approaches to solving problem, they need autonomy, contextual actions, intelligent design, cooperation and flexibility and these are the conditions that might be secured by good leaders (Mourshed, Chijioke, Barber, 2010). In the democratic societies the aim of education is not imposed but is a subject of discussion and deliberation.

Unfortunately, we lack the language and vocabulary needed for that discourse. We have never established standards for dialogue; our values, emotions and logic are detached from the reality. We have never created a platform for discussion about the contemporary challenges and expectations towards school. Bits and pieces of that discussion might be observed in the media but, usually, it is led by non-professionals in a hysterical tone of searching for errors or misconduct. We need to start the discussion about the vision of democratic education in Poland. Education open for everybody, securing high quality learning

and development adequate to individual and common needs and also to the changing reality, organized with diverse values, aims, content and methods.

After creating a broadly common understanding of education, we may start to discuss and to define educational leadership, to identify educational leaders, their competencies and values, to construct structures, institutions and systems supporting training and development. During this process, we should be aware of the contemporary climate around educational leadership characterized by narrow managerial and economical approach and also of the threats coming from the rational model of reality – we often forget about accidents, intuitions or emotions when we are convinced that everything might be measured and analyzed.

It is significant how leadership in education is "filtered" through historical and cultural norms. It might be that we need to be more concerned with the anthropology of leadership rather than seek to replicate the prevailing culture in successful corporations working according to quite distinct norms (West-Burnham, 2013). Today, we are strongly convinced that the quality of educational processes is determined by the efficiency of organizational structures, by the financial costs of the educational initiatives and also by the possibility of rational planning, conducting and evaluating every possible project, which is not necessarily true. Additional problem that we face while defining educational leadership is the strong paradigm of leadership we are using today elitist, individual, based on the conviction that real leaders are charismatic individuals who are able to force, manipulate or fascinate their followers. In attempt to understand what drives leadership, we have overemphasized bureaucratic, psychological and technical rational authority, seriously neglecting professional and moral authority (West-Burnham, 2013).

Leadership, despite many different interpretations (Northouse, 2007), is usually defined as a process of influencing others to reach together commonly negotiated goals of the organization (Alston, 2002). It might be understood as a specific group process in the interaction between people; sometimes leadership is treated as behavior (Northouse, 2007), sometimes as a particular personal feature, a set of characteristics – behavioral patterns and personal features that make some people reach their goals more effectively than

Figure 1. Features of educational leadership



Source: own elaboration

the others (Kets de Vries, 2008). On other occasions, leadership is analyzed from the perspective of specific skills such as reaching and processing information, problem solving, social skills, motivating others or knowledge. This approach emphasizes the meaning of competences and shows the perspective of growing to the role of a leader. It gives each person an opportunity to learn leadership, stressing its complexity, while, at the same time, presenting the elements it consists of (Mazurkiewicz, 2011). I suggest understanding leadership as a process occurring in groups of people characterized by several specific features.

Research on leadership shows a complex picture, significantly detached from the simplistic approach that is so visible in practice. In order to achieve leadership able to break through the frustrating status quo, I would suggest that we should see educational leadership as a process appearing within groups that can be characterized by few specific features: a) All actions are always focused on learning and development,

- b) All actions lead towards constructing learning community through intellectual and emotional involvement of individuals and awareness of key values,
- c) All actions attempt to increase the ability of group members participation in decision-making process and learning,
- d) Always focused on strengthening the potential of others through creating opportunities for learning.

In learning communities, all members learn thanks

to dialogue and climate of sharing where everybody is entitled to co-create a common vision. Leaders care about everybody's ability to learn and adapt to current conditions because this is more important that things learnt in the past. Educational leadership is similar to learning process because it also helps others to show their abilities to fulfill tasks in the best way possible.

All employees need to be actively involved in reflection process over the key questions, important for the functioning of organization such as questions about aims, structures, powers and accepted paradigms (not only about procedures). The basic condition of professionalism is the awareness of complex contexts: political, cultural, social, economical and/or ecological.

[Figure 1]

Educational leadership should be context-based and responsive towards the needs of individuals and community and, at the same moment, should help everyone understand their own situation and the consequences of their own actions. Focusing on values serves the learning process and develops culture of constant work on the improvement of cooperation and participation.

To summarize, educational leadership is a process concerning the processes of teaching and learning. Its specific goals depend on the context of education but the main goal is teaching people – which should result in enabling their learning. While talking about educational leadership, it is important to remember that education is a process in which a community of learning people is created due to involvement of mind, emotions, past experiences, sensitivity to conditions

or other people, with reference to the values accepted by a given community at the same time. It is a similar situation with leadership. It is not a characteristic of an individual or even a group but a quality of an organization – a result of cooperation of many people. Leadership potential has nothing to do with charisma, authority or visionary individuals but with the ability of increasing the participation of organization's members in decision-making process. An education leader improves the possibility of revealing the potentials of others so that they can transgress from an unfavorable situation (one leader in a group) to a desired situation – participation of many people in decision-making process and increasing the leadership potential of the group. A conscious leader, together with a group, should create situations enabling everybody to learn and solve problems (Mazurkiewicz, 2011.

There is no one model of educational leadership but there is a certain number of features and elements that might be used during developing particular leadership practice. Among those critically important for school functioning is the expectation that educational leaders share their powers and encourage others to actively use their potential. The more and more complex situation inside and outside schools indicates the future, not easier but rather more difficult, work of school principals, so close cooperation and support from co-leaders will be needed.

Educational leadership is characterized by a specific sensitivity of people engaged in the process. This sensitivity manifests in constant searching for ways of building a community, a vision of an organization and an approach to its tasks specific for every organization. These "ways of building an organization" refer to and manifest in various areas: 1. ACCURACY: reflection on conditions of functioning, community's needs, social trends, philosophy, and approaches to teaching process, which results in activities adequate to the context. In an organization with high leadership potential, there is a conviction about the rationale of action, the desire of searching new solutions and the acceptance of mistakes that might happen due to activity, not disregard.

2. LEARNING: concentration on the process of learning and development. In an organization with high leadership potential, a goal is clear and accepted. In every aspect of organization's activity, the priority

of members' learning is visible.

- 3. PARTICIPATION: constant support and demand for participation of all the employees in decision-making and dialogue that define the directions of activities. In an organization with high leadership potential, employee's talents are revealed, the desire of taking more responsibility than the necessary minimum can be observed, readiness to take part in all the events connected with institution's activity is visible.
- 4. SERVICE: ability to act as a service reflexive towards people and institutions. In an organization with high leadership potential, there is climate of trust and support. The desire to help solve problems is a visible priority. Official hierarchy is very flattened, respect and prestige is gained in relations with others, not due to position.
- 5. DIVERSITY: respecting autonomy and diversity, even if difficult and different from mainstream. In an organization with high leadership potential, the ability to use all the resources, also divergence and diversity, is clear. The rules of autonomy let treat this divergence as an asset, not a burden (Mazurkiewicz, 2011).

It is important to understand that the model of leadership, the developed practices and the values of leadership are closely connected to the key educational leaders' responsibilities, quite different from those that are perceived as the most important today (for example financial efficiency). In general, I would underline that learning and development is more important than the logistics of the organization functioning. I would point to a few important educational leaders' duties deciding about school character such as: securing the conditions in school for learning process, strengthening the conviction that learning is the main aim of all members of the organization, building trust, supporting moral goals, reflecting on practice and theory, encouraging participation and responsibility taking, building networks, sharing power, and critical thinking about work and its context.

Training and development system

Building a training system for educational leaders, we should take under consideration a few factors. First: the environment in which the graduates will work, their future tasks and needs. Second: the knowl-

edge about learning process, especially about adults' learning and the necessity of connecting their learning to everyday practice, experience, interactions with others and deep reflection. Third: the specific tasks the leaders have (or will have) which are supporting others in teaching and learning and which make their work different from other leaders and managers. Fourth: the fact that educational leaders are operating in the world of values which influence other people's lives. Values, which influence learning process, such as freedom, care, respect, cooperation, relations, awareness, transparency, reflectivity and more. All that takes us to the simple conclusion – the training system for educational leaders should be designed, created and operated in a specific way and only for them. It is impossible to prepare managers or leaders generally to lead all kinds of organizations, leaders (or the training) cannot be transferred from other areas, they need skills and competencies adequate to education. As Michael Fullan writes (following Henry Mintzberg), "having theoretical analysts trained generically to manage everything or to advise others how to manage seems risky" (Fullan, 2011, p. 8).

While thinking about the training and development model for educational leaders, we should remember about two vast issues. First is connected to the question how the process of learning and development will be organized, and second is connected to the question what the focus of learning and development will be. Both might be asked and answered only, as I underlined above, when the question why and what we need educational leaders for have been answered (about the aims, processes and structures of education).

The training and development system for educational leaders should be coherent, should take under consideration the needs of the future, novice and experienced leaders, should allow the use of the best practices and the use of different forms of interactions for learning such as coaching, peer coaching, mentoring and also action research or case studies. It is important to support connecting workshops, lectures, readings, individual learning and theoretical reflections to cooperation, conversations, group work, everyday school practice, feedback about that practice and implementation of change.

Answering the first question we cannot forget about the values, the key competencies and the skills that should be developed, the awareness of the context and needs, the constant learning, the participation and the cooperation that influence leaders professionalism. Answering the second question, it is important to include leadership for learning, leadership for staff development, leadership for efficient organizational operation, leadership for social development and also leaders' self-development. School leadership has always been challenging but educational leaders nowadays face many additional challenges that should be mirrored in the preparation and professional development. They face among others: budget cuts, community involvement, ethnic and cultural diversity, technological change, frequent changes in educational systems, increasing expectations towards test results and accountability. However, we should be aware that creating lists of issues and competencies needed to be included in any course or training is not a successful strategy for leaders preparation. Certainly, it is valuable to take under consideration current flows, trends or necessities but what is more important is to prepare them ethically to the cooperation with people in changing the reality, to help them treat others with respect, state and solve problems, to increase readiness for self-development. Educational leadership is about the ability of understanding the reality, reflection and controversial decision-making in a group of cooperating people.

Conclusions

The awareness of leaders' role and their influence on teaching and learning processes, on the quality of school work and, what is tied to that, on the social development might be a promise and hope or a burden at the same moment. Both school leaders and decision makers might feel overwhelmed with responsibility but there is no choice – we need to change the current approach to educational leadership on different levels: mental, theoretical, political, and organizational. It is not an easy task but possible.

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Engaging disengagement: a political view of school disengagement

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Abstract

Engagement and participation are placed in the core of democratic citizenship. Lower levels of civic and political engagement among younger people pervade many countries and have given rise to a major concern. Student disengagement from schooling is another major, pervading concern. Whereas school is deemed a crucial means to incorporate students into society, a consequence of such disengagement is exclusion from school. In addition, measures taken to develop involvement among the young are insufficient. Linkages between these two forms of disengagement will be explored. School engagement is considered to be multi-dimensional. This contribution will argue for a broadened understanding of student engagement and its counterpart, disengagement, that considers their political character. Firstly, democratic citizenship will be briefly delineated whilst emphasising the relevance of engagement to it. An analysis and problematisation of mainstream discourse on relevant forms of engagement and disengagement will follow. Using a framework drawing on French philosopher Jacques Ranciere, school disengagement is then proposed as a form of political agency in education, schools and its broader environment. To conclude, implications for school leadership (and student involvement in it) will be raised.

Keywords: citizenship, democracy; engagement/ disengagement in education, Jacques Rancière

Introduction

Particularly because of their significant influence on a knowledge-based economy, education, and the institutions that provide it, are expected to take on a more central positive role in many societies around the world. As a consequence, the search for efficiency has been brought to the foreground and there is a growing demand for accountability. However, the fulfilment of such expectations is being challenged and, hence, considerable attention has been turned to failures. In general, the incorporation of younger people in education (but also in other vital spheres such as labour market, welfare or society) is proving to be problematic and measures taken to deal with this situation have been recognised as needing significant improvements (e.g., European Commission, 2012).

One major challenge is concerned with student disengagement. For instance, dropping out and early school leaving have been equated with a lack of student engagement (e.g., McMahon & Zyngier, 2009) and, moreover, considered to be "the final stage in a dynamic and cumulative process of disengagement from school" (National Research Council & National Academy of Education, 2011, p. 61). Rates of stu-

dents leaving school are considered to be too high and, in whatever way, high enough to hinder economic growth and social cohesion. Therefore, early school leaving has become a major concern in policy making across the world in these years. Specifically, it is a major issue in the European Union policy agenda to the point that one of the five headline targets (and the only one referred to education) set in the Europe 2020 Strategy "tackles the problem of early school leavers by reducing the dropout rate to 10% in 2020 from the initial 15% (European Commission, 2010, p. 11). This problem is particularly acute in the case of Spain where the rates of early school leaving have been much more significant: 31.2% in 2009, 28.4 in 2010, 26.5% in 2011, 24.9% in 2012 and 23,5 in 2013 (source: EUROSTAT and Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports, Spain²). Initiatives and measures have been developed in order to prevent and ameliorate disengagement, although satisfaction with them has been limited. For instance, the latest European Commission's Annual Growth Survey, which takes stock of the situation and sets out broad policy priorities for the coming year, recognises that "the EU is still lagging behind its 2020 targets on tertiary educational levels and reducing early school drop-outs" and, hence, action is needed to improve education and skills performance (European Commission, 2013, p. 13).

Yet the so-called 'student disengagement' might be a deeper and more widespread problem. Reschly and Christenson (2012) assert that the successful completion of secondary education is much more than the dropout problem as it involves meeting the defined academic, social, and behavioural standards to succeed in school (p. 4). However, student engagement is not necessarily implied by success in school. Although the phenomenon of student disengagement among able and high-achieving students has drawn significantly less attention, there is evidence that success is pursued and achieved by alienated, savvy students (Demerath, 2009; Demerath, Lynch, Milner, Peters & Davidson, 2010) or that success is resisted by able or high-achieving students (Olafson, 2006). Moreover, disaffection with education might be concealed by students themselves (Fisher, 2011). In addition, there is evidence that teachers are likely to stress engagement in schooling (by emphasising engagement in behavioural and psychological aspects which privilege involvement in the classroom order and social and affective outcomes) rather than engagement in learning (Harris, 2011).

Student engagement and disengagement, thus, seem to be a serious issue in the double sense that is worrying enough and requires careful consideration, and will be the focus of attention in this article. However, they will be considered to be connected with other forms of engagement: particularly, civic and political engagement. This article intends to argue for a broadened understanding of student engagement and its alleged counterpart, disengagement, which considers their political character. First, the concept of citizenship and, in particular, its civic-republican version will be briefly outlined in order to contextualise the focus of the paper (section 2). The notion of active citizenship will then serve to analyse and illustrate the relevance of engagement to citizenship (section 3). An analysis of student engagement and its connections with civic engagement will follow (section 4). Using a framework drawing of a French philosopher, Jacques Ranciere, student engagement is analysed (section 5) and disengagement is finally proposed as an alternative form of 'political engagement' in education, schools and its environment (section 6). To conclude, the major points will be highlighted and implications for school leadership (and student involvement in it) will be raised (section 7). This contribution extends the analysis applied by Gershon (2012) to students at risk to student engagement and disengagement and aims to deepen our understanding of substantive conflictual phenomena currently affecting school education.

1. What is citizenship?: an ad hoc summarisation

Citizenship is a complex notion embodying multiple, diverse and sometimes subtle aspects which are intertwined and even overlap one another. Nevertheless, they are neither tightly coupled nor balanced:

² Available at http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tsdsc410; also at http://www.mecd.gob.es/servicios-al-ciudadano-mecd/estadisticas/educacion/mercado-laboral/explotacion-de-las-variables.html (in Spanish).

sometimes some aspects gain autonomy and prominence whilst other aspects lose them. In addition, it is not a settled and uncontested notion, but a dynamic one which is subject to contestation and criticism. A complete and exhaustive analysis of the notion of citizenship exceeds the scope of this contribution. In what follows, a brief, ad hoc introduction will be offered to situate the focus of the paper by providing an overview of what is ordinarily regarded as its major dimensions.

Although agreement is not unanimous, a set of basic components have been identified at the core of citizenship. First and foremost, citizenship still is, and will probably remain, what it has long been: a political status (Smith, 2002, p. 114). It means that citizenship constitutes and defines, in a formal and even legal way, the position of persons in relation to a polity (namely, a political community or organization). Specifically, it positions them as members of such a polity. The site of such membership still continues to be ordinarily the nation-state, but other sites are becoming increasingly prominent at other levels as well (both beyond and within nation-states). Interestingly, schools have also been conceived as polities (Slater and Boyd, 1999). More recently, Scheerens (2011) has proposed to consider school "as a context to exercise 'school citizenship' - a context which constitutes a "micro-cosmos of society" and, thus, can singularly serve "as a bridge to societal citizenship and state citizenship" (pp. 201-202).

Secondly, this status "brings with it a reciprocal set of **rights and duties**" (Kivisto & Faist, 2007, p.1). Citizenship entails entitlement to, and possession of, rights: rights to non-interference, originally, and more recently to other goods as well (Bosniak, 2006, p. 19). Following the classical framework proposed by Marshall (1950), these rights include not just civil and political rights but also the so-called social rights, including the right to education – according to him, a "genuine social right of citizenship", "regarded, not as the right of the child to go to school, but as the right of the adult citizen to have been educated" (p. 25). As implied, access to these rights depends on possessing the status of citizenship. However, it is worth to note that the status of citizenship and its associated rights

"are not always convergent" (Bosniak, 2006, p. 15). In addition to rights, citizenship status brings with it obligations and responsibilities as well. Although connections between rights and duties are not either as straightforward as at first they may appear (e.g., Lister, 2003, pp. 21-23), the link between them is often attributed to the aforementioned reciprocal relationship between rights and duties: in a few words, rights attributed to each citizen are to be exercised and this exercising requires the fulfilment of correlative duties by the other citizens. This shared set of rights and responsibilities equalizes them – even in spite of other inequalities (for instance inequalities of wealth).

Nevertheless, the prominence of duties is not always striking. In the liberal tradition of citizenship, individual rights associated with status are the cornerstone, and remarkable obligations should not be established for citizens, especially if they lead to interference with the enjoyment of rights³. In contrast, duties become particularly prominent in the civic republican tradition of citizenship (without eschewing rights). Heater (1999) asserts that "the whole republican tradition is based upon the premise that citizens recognize and understand what their duties are and have a sense of moral obligation instilled into them to discharge these responsibilities" (p. 64). Being crucial not only to this particular approach to citizenship but also to citizenship overall, this aspect merits further explanation (however brief), which will be relevant to the focus of this paper. Among the hallmarks associated with this approach to citizenship are these others: common good, active participation, and civic virtue (e.g., Peterson, 2011). In short, members of the polity are to contribute to its common good by actively participating in its life by practising their civic virtues. In other words, the common good requires a good common enterprise (beyond a set of merely formal rights and its corresponding duties) which, in turn, requires good citizens. Given its crucial role in relation to the common good, active participation becomes a duty to be fulfilled, and, given its crucial role to active participation, civic virtues become duties as well. The notion of civic virtue is slippery but evokes an articulated set of intellectu-

³ Note that even non-interference itself however requires fulfilment of minimal duties.

al, moral and behavioural qualities, including (good) knowledge and experience, judgement, dispositions, commitment, sentiments, attachments and conduct (wisdom, loyalty, patriotism are some examples) (for a recent comprehensive, however brief, treatment, see Ben-Porath, 2013 and corresponding commentaries in Costa, 2013). These qualities need to be developed and cultivated and education (in particular, education through active involvement) is expected to have a crucial role here. This characterisation of duties according to the civic republican tradition leads us to another basic component of citizenship: as citizens are not merely (equal) subjects but (equal) free, virtuous and active agents, citizenship has also been conceived of as the practice of active, engaged (and engaging) participation in the life of the polity (e.g., Bosniak, 2006). In the following section, this dimension of citizenship will be explored analytically with a focus on the notion of 'active citizenship'.

There is a remaining dimension, which has been primarily highlighted by communitarian approaches to citizenship and will not be treated here (although it would not be out of place): **identity.**Citizenship has also to do with "the way in which people experience themselves in collective terms"; in other words, it has to do with experiences of belonging, identity, commitment and solidarity (Bosniak, 2006, pp. 20 and 26). To be clear, experiencing citizenship also means having a feeling of belonging to the larger community (probably communities) of citizens, showing commitment and solidarity and, in the end, identifying with it (or them).

2. Active citizenship: exploring the practical and experiential dimension of citizenship

Like 'citizenship', the so-called 'active citizenship' is a variegated, overarching notion which lacks a univocal meaning (e.g., Kennedy, 2007). It is particularly akin to the view of citizenship endorsed by the civic republican tradition (e.g., Burchell, 2002 or, more recently, Birdwell, Scott, & Horley, 2013), although it cannot be considered to be its exclusive province and, in fact, can be linked to other approaches to citizenship (Johansson & Hvinden, 2007). More than twenty years ago, Turner (1990) differentiated between passive and active forms of citizenship.

Rather than dichotomous categories, both forms represent the end points of a continuum, particularly if attention is directed to real life (Schugurensky, 2010). In the first case, the position of citizens in relation to the polity (i.e. the state) and its implications (for instance, rights attributed to them) are primarily an effect of the action of the polity, conceived of as an external powerful entity. Thus, citizens are passive in relation to the polity. But, in the second case, that position and its corresponding implications are (allegedly) brought about by citizens themselves. Citizens would shape citizenship, which would need to be understood as a fluid process that stand in a dialectical relationship to outcomes (Lister, 2003). Citizens would be then active in relation to their polity, which might even be considered as an evolving achievement of them. In a few words, citizens are conceptualised as subjects in the first case and as agents in the second case (Turner, 1990, p. 209). Active citizens are thus characterised by agency.

Several other terms are ordinarily used to refer to active citizenship: among the most common are 'participation', 'involvement' and ,engagement'. Setting aside that they are not always clearly defined, the available definitions are varied, their boundaries are not well demarcated and their use is not consistent. Firstly, it has been emphasised that the first one is virtually an all-embracing term: "As a concept, participation is an empty vessel that can be filled with almost anything" (Theis, 2010, p. 344). Nevertheless, a minimal delineation is suggested. Agency is not attributed merely on an individual basis. Neither an individual nor even any gathering of them accrue the capacity to act and produce changes. Ultimately, agency is rather attributed to citizens (not necessarily all the citizens) taken as a whole or unity (e.g., a broader whole made up of narrower wholes including individuals). Hence, each individual or group (or narrower whole) has *a part*, and takes part. Accordingly, participation becomes "the key idea" of active citizenship (Biesta, 2009, p. 148) and, moreover, has often been equated with it. For instance, the report titled Final study summary and policy recommendations resulting from the study Participatory Citizenship in the European Union, which is commissioned by the European Commission to inform the Europe 2020 strategy regarding policies and actions related to citizenship, recommends the use of the terminology "participatory citizenship" (in place of active citizenship) to emphasise that "citizenship should not only be understood as a legal concept but one with a core participatory element" (Hoskins & Kerr, 2012, p. 18).

Secondly, ,involvement' is often used virtually as synonymous with ,participation'. Nevertheless, there is something else in that word: it refers to the fact or condition of participating in something (Oxford dictionary of English, 2010). It is a derivative of the verb 'to involve', which means [to] "have or include something as a necessary or integral part or result" [italics added] and derives from the Latin term 'involvere' ('in-', into and 'volvere', to roll), which, in turn, means to roll up, to cover, to surround, to entangle,... (Oxford dictionary of English, 2010). This indicates that participation does not happen in a vacuum. There is something into which a part is to be incorporated. If the part is not incorporated into it, the sense of this participation dilutes. The sense of the whole entity (or entities) into which the part is incorporated is likely to dilute as well. Therefore, it is common to state that citizens are to participate in public life and the affairs of the polity. For instance, in the summary country report corresponding to England included in the published report of an international comparative study on informal learning for active citizenship at school, Thomas, Peng, & Yee (2009) have characterised active citizenship as "a person's involvement in public life and affairs, all that society expect of a citizen - voting in elections and general forms of social and moral behaviours" (p. 106). They add that "research indicates an increasing agreement to conceptualize citizenship as the three Cs within [italics added] the school context, that is citizenship in the curriculum, active citizenship in the school culture, and active citizenship through links with the wider community" (p. 106, citing Cleaver, Ireland, Kerr, & Lopes, 2005). Involvement would then consist of active participation in life and affairs of a polity.

Note that if citizens act and they do *not* take part *in* what is considered to be the polity, their action (that is, their part) might be considered irrelevant, if not deleterious. Such 'parts' are then likely to be dismissed as parts of it. To illustrate this, it is worth noting that

youth participation according to the EU framework has accordingly become more related to the existing, established institutions and structures, whereas initially it was to some extent accepted that participation is likely to lead to uncertain change and new forms of societies (Muniglia, Cuconato, Loncle, & Walther, 2012). Moreover, such *res publica*, or 'public thing', will not make sense if it is not integrative enough. An important additional implication of this understanding of involvement is that incorporation into the affairs and life of the polity will require from its parts that they fit together. Crick (2002) has written that "citizenship has meant, since the time of the Greeks and the Romans, people acting together⁴" (p. 5).

Would mechanic or coerced involvement be accepted as instances of desirable, authentic 'active citizenship'? The term 'engagement' might assist in identifying a possible answer to this question. According to the Oxford dictionary of English (2010), 'to engage in' and 'to be engaged in' also denote participation or involvement. However, it is worth adding that the term 'to engage' derives from the French 'engager', which originally meant to pawn or pledge something. An engagement, thus, evokes a promise or an agreement, usually for a particular purpose. Kytle (2004) states that, in accordance with this origin, most definitions imply "some form or degree of deep, personal commitment" (p. xii) (words not included in the second edition of this book). What are these standard meanings suggesting with regard to engagement in a polity's life? Engagement would imply not only action or even action relevant to a polity but also purposeful action; moreover, it would imply dedication to that action, underpinned by sustained, impelling motives, which lead to such a situation that action turns out to be experienced as required. Combined with conjoint involvement of citizens in the life of the polity, engagement further implies that they consent and agree to act in accordance with the polity (see Arneil, 2002).

In particular, civic engagement has become a topic worthy of attention in the realm of education, although there is a significant variability in its conceptualisations (e.g., Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010). It has become increasingly accepted that its scope includes the so-called civic behaviour

⁴ And, interestingly, he adds: "...effectively to achieve a reasonably important common purpose". This is an aspect which will be linked with ,engagement'

(namely, the acts associated with participation, such as voting or obeying rules) but also that it is not limited to them. It has been conceived of as "a deeper, more substantive engagement" (Zaff, Boyd, Li, Lerner, & Lerner, 2010, p. 736) that also includes (a) dedication to those acts (that is, resources such as skills and knowledge are confidently devoted to such acts), (b) motivation (that is, motivation and even obligation is experienced to act in this committed way), and (c) connection with and attachment to the polity and its institutions. The influential conceptualisations proposed by Flanagan (e.g., Flanagan & Faison, 2001), Sherrod (e.g., Sherrod, 2007 and Sherrod & Lauckhardt, 2008) or Zaff and associates (Zaff et al., 2010) are convergent with this characterisation just outlined briefly (see also Sherrod et al., 2010). In addition, the conceptualisation of civic engagement adopted in the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) is likewise in line with it (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010).

3. ,Student engagement': Another form of incorporation?

The notion of engagement has indeed been extensively used in the realm of education. Special attention is drawn to one of its uses: the so-called 'student engagement', which is a comprehensive notion embracing multiple, sometimes overlapping aspects. In a newly published review, Lawson and Lawson (2013) state their adherence to a broadconceptualisation of student engagement that "widens the dominant social-psychological lens of engagement research to include salient socio-cultural and sociological features and processes" (p. 433) and endorse including not only engagement in non-classroom settings but also engagement in nonschool settings influencing one another. In what follows, the notion of student engagement will be outlined in order to highlight parallels and connections with political and civic engagement⁵, which may, in turn, be associated with conceptions of citizenship.

Not only civic engagement but also student engagement have been characterised as multidimen-

sional and multifaceted (e.g., Sherrod et al., 2010; Fredricks, Blumenfeld & Paris, 2004; Reschly and Christenson, 2012). Such complexity has been reduced by identifying a number of basic components that evoke those foregrounded for civic engagement. Experts are not unanimous in this regard, but the following not sharply demarcated dimensions have been ordinarily identified, including the first and third ones at the minimum (also Finn & Zimmer, 2012):

- Behavioural engagement "draws on the idea of participation" (Fredricks et al., 2004, p. 60) and specifically refers to positive behaviour related directly to the learning process, including that implying "involvement in learning and academic tasks" (e.g., attention, asking and answering questions in the classroom, completing assignments in the classroom and at home or participating in school governance) (Fredricks et al., 2004, p. 62).
- Cognitive engagement refers, in general, to students 'psychological' qualities and investments in academic tasks. According to Lawson & Lawson (2013), it comprises two (related but different) aspects: cognitive engagement in a strict sense (including, for instance, making meaning of the material presented to them or their thoughts about teaching or schools) but also the willingness (or eagerness) to and dispositions toward school work (including, for instance, the effort required to understand or persistence to cope with challenges and difficulties), which overlaps the former category⁶ and even the following one.
- Affective engagement refers to social and emotional responses or feelings of 'attachment' and 'connection'. It is also differentiated in two aspects: on the one hand, the affective engagement in relation to academic pursuits (e.g., interest, enjoyment or anxiety during academic activity) and, on the other hand, feelings of belonging, identification, and relatedness to their school peers, teachers, and the school overall. According to Finn & Zimmer (2012), this component is that which provides motivation for the investments the others require. By the way,

⁵ Interestingly, evidence has been raised to suggest that early school leavers are "less active citizens" (European Commission, 2011, p. 3; see also National Research Council & National Academy of Education, 2011, p. 13).

⁶ Regarding this overlapping see Lawson & Lawson (2013, p. 465, note 2).

Fredricks et al. (2004) hold that "the idea of commitment, or investment," is "central to the common understanding of the term engagement" (p. 61).

Although there is lack of agreement on whether student engagement and disengagement constitute just a single continuum or they are two separate continua (Reschly & Christenson, 2012), disengaged students would be those who do not participate actively in class and school activities leading to learning or even exhibit behaviour considered to be inappropriate, exhibit *disruptive* behaviour, do not become cognitively involved in such activities, are not willing to participate, and do not develop or maintain a sense of school belonging (e.g., Fredricks et al., 2004 and Finn & Zimmer, 2012).

Lawson and Lawson (2013) outline an alternative conception of engagement that, nevertheless, builds on previous developments (for a similar approach, see also Deakin Crick, 2012). As it was mentioned, their framework emphasises that there are different environments relevant to engagement (classroom, school, community) which influence one another. In any of these environments, engagement is particularly affected by the interplay of interacting elements, which reflect a complex set of interactions and transactions between people and their environment. These authors propose to distribute such elements into a set of four sophisticated categories referred as "the ,ABCs' of the engagement process" (Lawson & Lawson, 2013, p. 442):

- Acts. Each of them is conceived of as 'states of experience' of individuals as they participate in discrete activities at particular moments in time, being implied that conventional indicators in every conventional dimension of engagement (behavioural, cognitive and emotional) are included within this category.
- Benefits and competencies. Quality experiences when participating in activities at particular moments in time are expected to have an influence on proximal beneficial outcomes received from engagement in every conventional dimension (including 'social and social-cultural benefits' such as a sense of belonging and relatedness to peers, teachers and school). Moreover, these benefits are, in turn, likely to be translated into enhancements (that is, compe-

tence development), which, furthermore, may help to sustain engagement itself. These benefits leading to enhancements would spread across the conventional dimensions of engagement (e.g., enhancements in performance, enhanced interest or enhanced sense of belonging to peers, teachers or school). - Dispositions. These are considered to be dynamic drivers for future engagement experiences. They include students' motivations and attachments, but also past-present identities, and aspirations for the future (interestingly, who students are and what they want to become - and not become - are also considered to be such drivers). - Conditions and contexts. The development of engagement dispositions is thought to be highly influenced by surrounding conditions and contexts, which especially include characteristics of students themselves and other key actors, internal and external contexts, and specific places and discursive practices associated with them. Regardless of significant differences between them, both frameworks do not therefore deviate significantly from the basic pattern identifiable in civic engagement and, further, in active citizenship: participative action, dedication to it, motivation to act and to commit resources, and connection to what is taken for granted and, thus, expected in a surrounding environment (whose influence shifts to the foreground in the second framework). The following section begins with a recap including further details on these connections, in order to demonstrate that the pattern may match what French philosopher Jacques Rancière has referred to as 'police'. From there, his view of (democratic) 'politics', as opposed to 'police', will be outlined and presented as the basis for an alternative understanding of student 'engaged disengagement'.

4. The ordering of engagement

As presented above, citizenship has been equated with membership bringing with it a formal legal status together with rights and duties, which, in their practice, members are expected to conform to. These rights and duties are likely to be universalistic and to pursue a standard of equality (Janoski & Gran, 2002). Nevertheless, there is also likely to be instances which will reveal not only that there are

non-citizens but also that there are citizens which are not full citizens (e.g., children). In addition, citizenship has also been understood as a broader good civic practice; that is, practice that, in order for it to be good, needs to contribute to the common good and, hence, cannot to be at odds with it - rather, it needs to be in accordance and even infused with it. This practice needs to be committed to, engaged with the common good. It involves citizens and, accordingly, they need to be good (active, committed, engaged) as well – in accordance with such common good, which is to pervade their character as well. And, in order to be good and, thus, incorporated into the polity, they will unendingly need to be educated as required. But, in spite of such education, there are still likely to be those who deviate from all that 'goodness'.

In a similar way, students (like teachers and school leaders) are members of schools and classrooms nested in them. Students (but also teachers and school leaders) are expected to enact prescribed roles, which often include compliance (e.g., conforming to rules and procedures) (see Deakin Crick, 2012 and Lawson & Lawson, 2013, p. 445). Interestingly, roles required from students have been conceptualised, in the words of Florio and Schultz (1979, p. 237), as a set of "shifting rights and duties distributed among members of a group". When conceptualising student engagement, Reeve (2012) however stresses the importance of what he has referred to as 'agentic engagement' on the basis of the incorporation of 'agency' "as a fourth aspect of engagement" (together with the behavioural, emotional and cognitive dimensions) (p. 162; also Reeve & Tseng, 2011). Lawson & Lawson (2013) also draw attention to it as associated with "more authentic and action-oriented (e.g., behavioural) forms of engagement" (p. 445). Reeve defines it as "students' intentional, proactive, and constructive contribution into the flow of the instruction they receive", by creating, enhancing, and personalising the conditions and circumstances under which they learn. (Reeve, 2012, p. 161). According to him, this form of engagement enriches the learning experience "rather than just passively receive it as a given" [italics added] (Reeve, 2012, p. 150). However, the possibility of constructing it actively as a given is not excluded but quite the contrary. In fact, Reeve suggests the following example:

For instance, upon hearing the learning objective for the day (e.g., "Today, class, we are going to learn about Mendel's experiments on heredity."), an agentically engaged student might offer input, make a suggestion, express a preference, contribute something helpful, seek clarification, request an example, ask for a say in how problems will be solved, or a 100 other constructive and personalizing acts that functionally enhance the conditions under which the student learns (p. 161).

Note that the learning objective, the contents and the students-*qua*-achievers are *givens*. If this happens, the students would be actively participating, on the condition that they do so according to how it is assumed they are to participate. If they do not participate as taken-for-granted, students' (and even teachers') responses may be ignored, discounted or, directly, 'not sensed' (heard, seen). As recently expressed by the authors of a study on student participation in everyday school life (Thornberg & Elvstrand, 2012):

According to observations and interviews, children's voices in terms of having a say, and in terms of democratic participation in decision-making, are suppressed in classroom management and the making of school and classroom rules, as well as in classroom instruction and school work. When the pupils start going to school, there is already a set of explicit school and classroom rules, which they are expected to comply with (p. 48).

Underlying those distinctions, a 'hierarchy of capacity' (Rancière, 1991, p. 27) defining and separating teachers from students may be identified. Moreover, actions aiming "to reduce the gulf separating" them effect such reduction "on condition that it is constantly re-created" (Rancière, 2009, p. 8). Alternatively, students' decisions and actions are considered to be disruptive.

These views of membership fit into what Rancière calls 'police' that refers not to a repressive force but to an order (including a distribution of roles) (Clarke, 2013, p. 14). In his words, it is a configurational ordering of the 'tangible reality' (Rancière, 1999, p. 28) or, in more specific terms, an order of bodies that defines the allocation of ways of doing, ways of being, and ways of saying and sees that those bodies are assigned by name to a particular place and task; it is an order of the visible and say-

able that sees that a particular activity is visible and another is not, that this speech is understood as discourse and another as noise (Rancière, 1999, p. 29).

This police order is likely to be primarily associated with formal orders like the state and its institutions. However, he asserts that it is beyond this realm: "The distribution of places and roles that defines a police regime stems as much from the assumed spontaneity of social relations as from the rigidity of state functions" (Rancière, 1999, p. 29). In whatever way, perceptible elements (what is seen, what is heard, what is said, what is done, what there is, and so on) are arranged and combined in a particular way.

Such a configuration of the perceptible 'inscribes' certain elements whilst it does not inscribe other elements. Thus, the 'police' can be conceived of as a particular "configuration of inclusion and exclusion" (Gunneflo & Selberg, 2010, p. 175). As stated by Bingham and Biesta (2010), such configurational order is "all-inclusive", because "everyone has a particular place, role or position in it" (p. 34). "In this matching of functions, places, and ways of being, there is no place for any void", writes Rancière (2010, p. 36). But, on the other hand, this 'all-inclusiveness' however coalesces with "exclusion of what ,there is not" (Rancière, 2010, p. 36) and, therefore, does not have a part (this including to have a part other than the part allocated) (May, 2010, p. 71). A ,partition' happens, and it "should be understood in the double sense of the word: on the one hand, that which separates and excludes; on the other, that which allows participation" (Rancière, 2010, p. 36). Two other related features of a police order deserve attention. First, this separation is often operated on the basis of a (fluid) distinction between those with (higher) capacities and those with no or less capacities. A police order presupposes inequality. Sometimes it is recognised that they "all are by nature equal" but it is also assumed that this contravene the "natural order of things", requiring that the most capable rule over the less capable: recognised equality then needs to be "subordinated" to such order (May, 2008, p. 44). If there is an equality here, and in many cases there is one, it remains what May calls a "passive equality"; that is, an equality "distributed to rather than created by those who are its object" (May, 2008, p. 44). At the end, the police order still presupposes inequality. Second, this configuration is consensual and, thus, the 'police' can be conceptualised as "...the set of procedures whereby the aggregation and consent of collectivities is achieved, the organization of powers, the distribution of places and roles, and the systems for legitimizing this distribution" (Rancière 1999, p. 28).

7. Disengagement as democratic, political engagement?

In Ranciere's view, most of what is normally understood as politics can be thought of as ,the police' (see Davis, 2010, p. 76). But 'politics', in his view, is not a police order. Moreover, in his work there is a radical "opposition" between 'police' and 'politics' (Davis, 2010, p. 74). To put it in Rancière's words, politics is "an extremely determined activity antagonistic to policing" (Rancière, 1999, p. 29). It is just "the mode of acting that perturbs" the police order (Ranciére, 2004b, p. 226) "by supplementing it with a part of those without part" (Rancière, 2010, p. 36). First and foremost, politics is acting. But any act is not necessarily 'political'. According to the republican, political (more than legal) understanding of citizenship, citizenship is active, engaged participation in the public affairs in order to realise the common good. This is not political according to Rancière. Political action consists in disruption. According to Rancière, "the essence of the political is dissensus" [italics added] (2000, p. 124; also Tanke, 2011, p. 61). Hence, politics is at odds with consensus. Moreover, "consensus is the reduction of politics to the police" and, thus, it means the "cancellation" of politics (Rancière, 2010, p. 42). This crucial notion is further delineated as follows:

1. What is the matter of such dissensus? It is not an opposition or conflict of interests, opinions or values either (for instance, Rancière, 2004c, p. 304). According to Rancière himself, it is "a dispute about what is given" [italics added] (Rancière, 2004c, p. 304); thus, it affects "the givens of a particular situation, of what is seen and what might be said, on the question of who is qualified to see or say what is given" [italics added] (Rancière, 2000, p. 124). In other words, "it is not a quarrel over which solutions to apply to a situation but a dispute over the situation itself" (Rancière 2004a, p. 6).

2. What are specifically the elements of this dispute? Rancière speaks of politics as "made up of relationships between worlds" (Rancière, 1999, p. 42). Dissensus and, thus, politics oppose the world as given (the police order) with postulates of another world (Tanke 2011). In general terms, these two worlds are the world taken under the assumption of inequality and the world arisen from the assumption of equality, respectively. Dissensus and, thus, politics emerge from confronting the former one and the latter one. However equality is "not an end to attain, but a point of departure, a supposition to maintain in every circumstance" (Ranciére, 1991, p. 138). Of course, this presupposition cannot be proven beyond contention. Equality presupposed from the onset can and is to be verified and expressed: that is, it is confirmed by producing proofs once again, and manifestations are given for them (Citton, 2010). Through these demonstrations that process inequality and enact equality, dissensus opens an interpretation of sense which contests exclusion (Tanke, 2011; Schaap, 2011).

3. Finally, what does it turn to happen? Rancière (2004c) has written: "This is what I call a dissensus: putting two worlds in one and the same world" (p.304). The police order is supplemented with parts which are no parts within it; that is, people whose existence is refused to be identified in the police order and, therefore, who have no share in the decision-making process ordering their lives - although they are coming to arise as having no part. These people assert their existence by presupposing and asserting the equality of anyone with anyone and, when doing this, they come into being as political subjects. "Politics is a matter of subjects", states Rancière (1999, p. 35). For him, the terms 'man' and 'citizen' are not "definite collectivities" and "do not designate collections of individuals"; rather, they are "political subjects" (Rancière, 2004c, p. 303). And this process of emancipation which consists of coming to be politically is what he has called 'subjectivation' or 'subjectification'. Rancière (1999) himself defines it as "the production through a series of actions of a body and a capacity for enunciation not previously identifiable within a given field of experience, whose identification is thus part of the

reconfiguration of the field of experience" (p. 35).

Tanke (2011, pp. 67-68) distinguishes two closely related moves in this important process of subjectification: disidentification and creation of a new subjectivity. On the one hand, those referred to as the part with no part are not taking up an existing identity (i.e. a way of being identifiable that is established within the existing police order) (also Bingham & Biesta, 2010, p. 33). On the contrary, subjectivation involves disidentification or "removal from the naturalness of a place" (Rancière, 1999, p. 36; see also Rancière, 1992, p. 61); that is, the eventual subjects of politics separate themselves from the identities defined by the existing natural order. For instance, children and younger people are no longer the compliant students or, alternatively, even the active, engaged students that are expected to be in schools and its classrooms⁷. But, whilst this very process happens, there is no replacement of an identity for another one. There is a 'transformation of identities' defined in the police order into "instances of experience of a dispute" (Rancière, 1999, p. 36). In consequence, there is in no way "a form of ,culture', of some collective ethos capable of finding a voice" but "a multiplicity" (Rancière, 1999, p. 36) or, stated in another way, "a crossing of identities", this entailing "an impossible identification" (Rancière, 1992, p. 61). This very process opens up "a subject space" (Rancière, 1999, p. 36) and, then, "inscribes a subject name as being different from any identified part" [italics added] (Rancière, 1999, p. 37). Hence, subjectification can be considered to 'supplement' "the existing order of things" "because it adds something to this order"; and precisely for this reason, the supplement also "recomposes" or "reconfigures" such order (Bingham & Biesta, 2010, p. 33). For Rancière, the 'demos' (or people) is a name for that ,part of those who have no part' [une part des sans-part], which comes into being as political subject (e.g., Rancière 1999, pp. 8-9, 11 and 35; also Rancière, 2010) and, hence, that "through which the specificity of politics occurs" (Rancière, 1999, p. 72).

Bingham & Biesta (2010, p. 74) remind us that democracy points to the inclusion of the *demos* ("which ultimately means the whole demos"), or people, into the ruling (*kratein*) of the society. After highlighting

⁷ In their typology of student engagement dispositions, Lawson and Lawson (2013) include ,disidentification, which is the most negatively-laden category because it describes "students' avoidance or disengagement tendencies", or "why students may choose to not engage in particular activities and/or activity settings" (p. 451).

that 'democracy' "was a term invented by its opponents", Rancière equates demos not with the whole but with a part: not a disadvantaged part recognised as such a part in the police order but simply such a 'part-having-no-part', i.e. "the people who do not count" but "who partakes in what he has no part in" (Rancière, 2010, p. 32). The insertion of this demos from the former position into a new configuration under the assumption of equality is conceived of as democracy by Rancière. Two consequences can be highlighted. On the one hand, he notes that 'equality of anyone with anyone' comes to be "absence of arkhe" (Rancière 1999, p. 15). Democracy is marked by the fact that it rests on the absence of a foundation (birth, wealth, virtue or even citizenship according to orthodox views) as the basis for the right to rule; democracy is just "founded in opposition to the activity of determining membership on the basis of principles" (Tanke, 2011, p. 53). On the other hand, in absence of arkhe or foundation, the disruption of the police order emerges. For him, this is a central characteristic of democracy: "Democracy is the name of a singular interruption" of the police order (Hewlett, 2007, p. 109). A demos "contests the assumptions about who belongs, what capacities they possess, and what roles they can occupy" and "the means by which the demos achieves this is equality" (Tanke, 2011, p. 44). Democracy comes to be a "contingent force" that "resides in the egalitarian and creative power of the demos" (Means, 2011, pp. 29 and 32).

6. Concluding remarks

Two major conclusions are highlighted. Firstly, the institutional character of school matters. The phenomena of engagement and disengagement may be anchored to it. Schools have been considered to be 'institutionalized organisations'; namely, organisations particularly dependent on their institutional environments (e.g., Rowan & Miskel, 1999; Meyer & Rowan, 2006). This means that these organisations significantly depend on incorporating surrounding legitimately instituted elements such as assumptions, beliefs, ideologies, norms themselves, rules or expectations of behaviour, because such incorporation is indeed the basis of their legitimation, which, in turn, leaves the prospect of survival and even suc-

cess - whilst, in this way, supporting and sustaining the underpinning institutions. Notwithstanding significant changes affecting (formally) democratic citizenship and schooling, the former is still a core institution, and the latter is still among its key carriers (e.g., Boli, Ramirez & Meyer, 1985 and, more recently, Fischman & Haas, 2012; Kamens, 2012). Moreover, not only both have not yet been able to overcome inequality but both have been considered to be contributing to it. Adopting the lens provided by Rancière, (received) citizenship and schools may then be viewed as components of a broader 'police order' (e.g., Simons & Masschelein, 2010).

Secondly, institutions may be disrupted by students (among others) 'disengaging' from them whilst trying to make a difference to their lives, being implied that it may be a form of 'political engagement' contributing to democracy - a sounder yet more complex one. A number of scholars have endorsed a critical stance on student engagement (e.g., Vibert & Shields, 2003, McMahon & Portelli, 2004; Fielding, 2006; Zyngier, 2007; McMahon & Portelli, 2012). According to this perspective, student engagement is understood as everyday joint active participation of students (together with other agents) in learning and school to challenge ingrained inequalities and injustices and to make transformations in education and beyond. Some of them have provided more or less detailed descriptions of these forms of engagement (for instance, Fielding, 2006 and Fielding and Moss, 2011, pp. 75-80; Smyth, Angus, Down & McInerney, 2008 and Smyth, 2012; Zyngier, 2007, 2012). This contribution aims to add to this literature by foregrounding disengagement as leading to deep transformations; that is, new forms of insertion of new ways of being, doing, and speaking premised on the supposition of equality: this is 'subjectification' (see Shaw, 2012). Accordingly, disengagement does need to be viewed necessarily as a detrimental and negative (mere) epiphenomenon to be ameliorated. It is worth reminding that that 'disengagement' means 'the action or process of withdrawing from involvement in an activity, situation, or group' but also refers to 'the process of becoming released' (Oxford Dictionary of English).

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Leading schools successfully against the odds

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Abstract

This paper presents the findings obtained from the Polish part of the Leading Schools Successfully in Challenging Urban Context: Strategies for Improvement project, which involves a nine country partnership between higher education institutions and thirty six schools in disadvantaged urban contexts. The paper consists of two main parts. The first part gives the overview of the project and presents the methodological approach used in the research. In the second part, the underpinning areas of inquiry are: What do the researched successful leaders have in common? What do most of the researched successful school leaders do? What kind of people become the researched successful school leaders? The answers to these questions are given on the basis of the preliminary findings.

Keywords: successful leadership, school improvement, good practice, challenging schools

Introduction

This paper is about the heads of the urban schools that served children in poor communities and achieved impressive academic results. These schools have attained higher levels of achievement than most schools in their school districts or most schools in the nation. Instead of focusing on schools that merely did better than other high-poverty schools, this study examined the heads of high-poverty schools that performed better than the average for all schools in their school district.

The paper consists of two main parts. The first part gives the overview of the project and presents the methodological approach used in the research. In the second part, the underpinning areas of inquiry are: What do the researched successful leaders have in common? What do most of the researched successful school leaders do? What kind of people become the researched successful school leaders? The answers to these questions are given on the basis of the preliminary findings obtained from the Polish part of the research project, entitled Leading Schools Successfully in Challenging Urban Context: Strategies for Improvement, supported by the European Commission. The project involves a nine-country partnership between higher education institutions and thirty six schools in disadvantaged urban contexts. The aim of the project is to increase the understanding of the

characteristics and strategies of successful headship within and across each school and each country in order to produce and disseminate a European document on 'Leadership Strategies for Improving Schools in Challenging Urban Contexts', which will assist other heads in similar schools in their efforts to improve the integration of pupils from different social and cultural environments and to raise the levels of their achievements. The project focuses on issues connected with the transformation process, especially concerning the school leadership and leadership strategies, so that others might gain deeper understanding of how a school begins, maintains and sustains the journey toward excellence for all students. Special attention is paid not only to what leadership strategies were used by the principal but also to why they were used. Its purpose is to contribute to the knowledge of successful school leadership, to increase the understanding of successful leadership and leadership strategies in high-performing schools situated in challenging urban environments. This knowledge can be used to guide leadership practice, policy, and research. The paper provides a good starting point for a dialogue with diverse audiences about the successful school leadership in disadvantaged urban communities.

- 1. Overview of the Leading Schools Successfully in Challenging Urban Context. Strategies for Improvement project
- 1.1. The rationale and background of the project

The participating countries have met formally in a preparatory meeting in England. This was a result of previous work in individual countries which identified two key developments: i) school reform policies which resulted in decentralisation and consequent increased responsibilities for heads; and ii) increased alienation of students from their schooling, particularly in high-poverty, inner city schools. Each country identified also the lack of training for heads who work in these environments.

For each of the participating countries the project is a timely initiative. In all participating countries, there is an urgent need for examples of good practice which identify and examine the characteristics and strategies of successful leadership and management in urban schools that served children in poor communities and achieved impressive academic results. For example, in Greece, the administrative structure and functions of schools are being decentralized and school-level evaluation strategies established; in Ireland, considerable resources have been spent in disadvantaged school contexts over the last decade, but little attention is paid to the effects of school leadership; in Portugal, the project will provide the basis for a broader understanding and analysis of school leaders' roles in the new reform contexts of increased autonomy in school administration and management; and in Poland, there has as yet been no work directed towards understanding the role of heads in supporting high-performing, high-poverty schools.

Over the years, in Poland, we have failed to fully understand the true meaning of educational leadership. In educating and training leaders of schools and departments, we focus too much on technical proficiency and neglect the area of character. We tend to pay attention to areas like financial management, strategic planning, data analysis, etc., and probably we are good at teaching these. We are inclined to view leadership as an isolated component, as something to be added on to other skills. In my opinion, we are still in the Dark Ages when it comes to teaching people how to behave like great leaders - to somehow instilling in them capacities such as courage and integrity. These, as Teal (1996, p.36) points out, cannot be taught and, as a result, many tend to downplay the human element in managing. 'Managing an organisation is not merely a series of mechanical tasks but a set of human interactions' (Bell & Harrison, 1998). It is worth noting that the period of political transformation, started in Poland in 1989, has brought about new legislation, which has become the basis for changes in education. From the former communist regime, a more open educational system is being built and its core curriculum has been developed. Now, the Polish school system is distinctly decentralised. The state is constrained to providing guidelines and creating a basic framework for schooling. Each school is administered locally and possesses a high degree of autonomy. Each school has a high degree of control over its own decisions and destiny. The basis for this is the conviction that a market approach will lead to greater efficiency and higher standards. Therefore, school

leaders are sometimes torn between their educational tasks and economic pressures, between the local school council, the staff and different groups of interest within the community. Market orientation also characterised the training and development opportunities for school leaders. The provision of school leader training and development is driven by market, which is characterised by diversity and choice. There is a wide range of providers (universities, advisory boards, professional associations, independent training organisations) and programmes, which differ in content and methods as well as quality; however, as it has already been mentioned above, they are focused mainly on administration and management, not on leadership. As to the development of school leaders, the state does not interfere at all. The school leader, particularly the 'Principal', is seen as the manager of a public institution. In his or her work, emphasis has traditionally been put on administrative tasks. However, in the last few years, the scope of site-based educational responsibility has been enlarged, bringing with it new tasks for school leaders.

1.2. The overall aim of the project and its specific objectives

The aims of this joint European-wide three-year project are to identify, analyse, evaluate and disseminate strategies to improve school leadership in primary and secondary schools in disadvantaged urban communities in nine countries: United Kingdom, Ireland, The Netherlands, Greece, Spain, Poland, Portugal, Sweden and Finland. It consists of two sets of complementary, interactive working partnerships, i) between universities and schools at the in-country level and ii) between the partnerships from each country at the European level. The main objectives of the project are to: - conduct case studies in two primary and two secondary schools in each country (the total number of 36 schools, schools which are sustaining success in communities of social and economic disadvantages) in order to identify and examine the characteristics and strategies of successful leadership and management in those schools:

- compare and contrast the findings (components and strategies of successful leadership) with those in other countries;

- identify and examine the (beneficial) effects upon school culture, pupil behaviour and community
- gather data in order to develop supportive curriculum materials for urban principals used to integrate pupils from different social and cultural environments, to build the individual and organizational commitment of all staff, and to raise the level of achievements;
- increase the understanding of successful leadership and leadership strategies in high-performing schools in challenging urban contexts in different countries;
- produce the European-wide results in the language of each country as a means of improving school leadership and, through this, teaching, learning and achievements, pilot these with other heads in each country.

1.3. Project's beneficiaries

Heads, teachers and school pupils of all involved countries shall be the main beneficiaries. In-country participation by heads and others in the data collection will allow all participants to gain a wider perspective on their own work. Heads participation in key partnership meetings will enable them to understand better not only the factors and strategies which promote improvement in schools in their own countries but also to look for similarities and dissimilarities with others; and to understand the on-going processes of contemporary urban challenges in other European countries. The production of a CD containing a set of contextual models and examples of good practice, supported by well-grounded theoretical perspectives, in English and in the language of each participating country will be one important outcome of the project. The European-wide dissemination of strategies for improving schools through the conference will also constitute an exciting occasion for understanding and bringing closer together researchers, and heads from across Europe.

1.4. Research design and methodology

1.4.1. Selecting the case study schools

Schools were selected by using the existing criteria for judging successful Principals in high-performing schools in each country. As a result of a preparatory meeting between the parties, we agreed to define a successful leader at school level as the one:
- who has worked at school for at least five years (or one year beyond the normal cycle in particular countries);

- who is widely acknowledged by his or her professional peers as being a 'successful' leader;
- who achieves a rising level of: 'value-added' results regarding pupils' achievements, teacher retention, pupil attendance and social climate in the school and community.

Schools selected for the project are schools with the majority of their students coming from economically and socially deprived backgrounds where attendance and behaviour problems have existed. The selection of schools in which the principals met the criterion of providing 'successful' leadership was an important element of the research.

Success was defined by a combination of factors, including the reputation of the school within the senior ranks of the State Department of Education and with other school Principals, the reputation of the current Principal, and the State recognition of success in terms of outcomes for students, including outcomes for students at risk.

1.4.2. Characteristics of the schools

This paper describes findings from four case studies of Polish schools involved in the Leading Schools Successfully in Challenging Urban Context. Strategies for Improvement project. The schools are:

School A, Primary School. This is a medium-size public primary (elementary) school of 430 students (17 units), 33 teachers and 13 non-teaching staff. The total number of teachers employed in the school: 34. The teaching in the school follows the framework curriculum containing the obligatory core elements of the integrated teaching in 1-3 forms and teaching in 4-6 forms. Education in this school lasts six years. The graduation from this schools entitles to obtaining the certificate and to continuing education in a gymnasium (lower secondary school in Poland). The school is situated in the southern part of the city, on its outskirts. The location of the school means that the community in which it operates is very varied. Apart

from the areas which are occupied by the families in dire straits, there are areas where middle-class families live: it means that there are students from different social and cultural environments in the school. The economic status of the children's families is very differentiated. On the one hand, there exists the problem of financially challenged families, while on the other, there are quite many pupils coming from families living at the average standard. There is also a group of children coming from well-to-do families.

The school is run by the principal: the principal of the school is a woman, who has occupied this position since 1991. The principal manages the school activities and represents it outside. The principal manages the current didactic and educational work. The principal, in order to carry out her duties, cooperates with the teaching staff, parents and student council. In running the school, the principal is supported by the deputy principal and the chief accountant. Thanks to the principal A's leadership, the school gained a reputation for excellent literacy programmes, with results comparable to most other schools despite the challenging circumstances experienced by many of the students. The school won awards for the excellence of its programmes and staff. The school accomplished a lot of projects. It has lots of achievements in country-wide competitions. Despite the majority of students living in challenging circumstances, school performance is comparable to statewide averages. The school has belonged to the Polish Leading School Club since 1997 and to the Schools Promoting Health since 2000.

School B, Primary School. It is a six-year public school, the graduation from this schools entitles to obtaining the certificate and to continuing education in a gymnasium (lower secondary school in Poland). The teaching in the school follows the framework curriculum containing the obligatory core elements of the integrated teaching in 1-3 forms and teaching in 4-6 forms. The school has 31 teachers and 387 students (15 units) in the school year 2005/06 and 31 teachers and 362 students (14 units) in the school year 2006/07. There are 16 non-teaching staff. It is an inner city school, the majority of its students live in the surrounding neighborhoods, challenged with poverty. The school assists these pupils financially in the form of free schoolbooks, clothing, stationery and free meals.

The principal, Principal B, is female, she began her principalship at the school six years ago and it is not her first principalship. She was a principal for 5 years (1996-2001) in another urban school and a vice-headteacher for a year (school year 2000/01). Principal B has managed, together with the teachers, to change the negative school reputation from the past, the school has changed its cultural climate, has established positive links with the community on a whole range of levels. In the past, staff's morale had been low and individual self-esteem had been eroded by successive criticism from the school. Consequently, the principal B consistently and vigorously promoted staff development, whether through in-service training, visits to other schools, or peer support schemes. All the teachers share the commitment to provide the best learning experience possible for every child by adapting sound educational practice to the individual student's learning style, strengths, and areas of needed growth. Many extracurricular classes and activities have been introduced, a day-care room has started to operate. The students have started to take part in various competitions on the local and national levels and they are successful. The school belongs to the network of Schools Promoting Health.

School C, Secondary School. It is a 3-year compulsory public school (lower secondary school) for pupils at the age of 13-16. Education in this school is completed with an exam and graduation from it makes it possible to learn further in a specialized higher secondary school (the so-called profiled lyceum) or in a vocational school. The school was established and is run by the City of Łódź. It is supervised pedagogically by the local school superintendent. The school has 485 students (18 units) and 41 teachers. It is situated in the city centre, on the outskirts of the Central Łódź District (this district lies in the centre of the city) and neighbours with the poorest and most neglected Łódź-Bałuty District. This central position means that the community in which the school functions is diverse, next to the places that are described as "Łódź's poverty enclaves", there are areas which are occupied by middle-class families. That is why the economic status of the children is so differentiated. The school's pupils come both from neglected communities (60% of pupils come from the families affected

by unemployment, poverty, alcoholism, family violence etc.) and from well-functioning communities. The school assists financially these pupils who live in the financially challenged families in the form of free schoolbooks, clothing, stationery and free meals.

The principal, Principal C, is male and has held the position of the principal for 6 years. The school is noted for the development of a very positive, friendly climate, the development of good facilities, improving student literacy results, a high level of parent involvement and highly qualified, motivated and committed staff. From humble physical circumstances, when he became the principal, the school has changed to be one of the best equipped lower secondary schools in the city. It is a school that has a comprehensive library, two good computer labs, and well equipped classrooms. Feedback from parents and the good reputation of the school suggest that this is a quality learning environment. Since the school enjoys a fine reputation, every year the number of students from outside this school's district increases (they often come from remote areas outside the city), these are students with high attainments and from well-to-do families. The principal was recently awarded the Order of the President of Lodz for his services to education.

School D, Secondary School. It is a 3-year compulsory public school for pupils at the age of 13-16. Education in this school is completed with an exam and graduation from it makes it possible to learn further in a specialized higher secondary school (the socalled profiled lyceum) or in a vocational school. The school was established and is run by the City of Łódź. It is supervised pedagogically by the local school superintendent. This is a small-size public secondary school of 270 students (11 units), 23 teachers and 10 non-teaching staff. It is situated in the centre of the city, in the Central Łódź District, in the region of the old Łódź, which is dominated by old, nineteenth century buildings – especially tenement houses from this period. The old housing infrastructure, lack of green areas and generally of areas promoting sports or other forms of physically active pastime contribute to gradual degradation of the facilities in the area, as well as to the worsening of the citizens' health in this part of the city. The location of the school means that the community in which it operates is quite difficult because most of the families dwelling there belong to the group of the so-called high social risk families. Many of these pupils are brought up in single-parent families or in common-law families. This situation often results in financial and parental care problems. Many pupils come from families with three or more children and these families also have serious financial problems, as well as difficulty in obtaining a decent flat. They are often affected by serious alcohol problems and are under the supervision of a probation officer.

The principal, Principal D, has been at the school for over 20 years, the last five years of which as the principal. She had to struggle to shake off the inherited negative local reputation from the past. Through her leadership, the school has changed its cultural climate, has established positive links with the community on a whole range of levels, its students have started to achieve very good academic results. The school is known from the successes in various competitions on the local and national levels. It belongs to the network of Schools Promoting Health.

1.4.3. Method

The data collected from the selected schools consists of: i) documents illustrating school achievements and student attainments, documents about school aims, management, teaching and learning structures, staff development, monitoring and assessment procedures, school development planning; pupils' social characteristics, attendance, behaviour, achievements; ii) individual interviews with the principal (three interviews), the assistant principal, the curriculum coordinator (or equivalent), up to six other teachers, the school council/board chairperson and a school council/board parent member, up to eight other parents; and iii) group interviews with students (two groups of 5-8 students).

The results will form the central core of the materials to be developed. This core will be augmented with contextual information and the final documents will be in a form which can be used as a means of in-service training and development for school leaders in all schools in challenging urban contexts.

Procedures

A variety of quantitative data was used to identify schools. Once schools were identified, the research team used qualitative data to generate case studies for each school. A team of two or three researchers visited each school. During the visits, the researchers interviewed principals, teachers, parents, pupils, and other school personnel. The researchers used focus groups to gain the perspectives of several pupils. Before the site visits, phone conversations with the principals were helpful in identifying important informants and arranging interviews. After the site visits, phone conversations with the principals helped provide clarifying information.

It is worth stressing that the reliance on principals as the primary source of data about principal leadership limits our understanding. Findings from studies of student (Rudduck & Flutter, 2000), teacher (Berends, 2000; Silins & Mulford, 2002) and teacher, student, ancillary staff, governor and parent (Day, et al., 2000) perspectives provide particularly rich sources of evidence about principal leadership. Whilst there is evidence that principal and teacher views on principal leadership are often congruent (Gurr, 1996), there is also evidence of difference (McCall, et al., 2001; Mulford, et al., 2000, 2001). Reliance on principal evidence may not only be limiting, but it may lead to ill-founded conclusions. Therefore, within the case study research design, the Leading Schools Successfully in Challenging Urban Context: Strategies for Improvement project includes the voices of students, parents and teachers.

In addition to interviews, the researchers observed a variety of settings, including classrooms at different grade levels, cafeterias, playgrounds, and hallways. Where possible, researchers observed staff meetings or other professional development activities. A variety of documents were reviewed as well, including campus planning documents, programme descriptions, meeting agendas, school budgets, achievement reports, and other documents.

Each case study report was intended to describe the school, what it had accomplished and the major changes that had led to success. Each case study begins with background information concerning the school and the community. There is a description of the population served and the academic improvement achieved in recent years. Then, the majority of each case study report is devoted to: i) the description of the topography of the school – school organization, management structure, curriculum, extra-curricular and support programmes, and success; ii) school principal's perceptions - biography and narrative profile; iii) characteristics, qualities and strategies of successful leadership and management aimed at integrating pupils from different social and cultural environments, at building the individual and organizational commitment of all the staff, and at raising the level of achievements; iv) and beneficial effects upon school culture, pupil behaviour and community. In most cases, the reports demonstrated the contrast between the achievements of the school in years prior to the recently introduced reform efforts by the heads and the current state of the school.

2. Findings

2.1. How critical is leadership to school success? What do the researched successful leaders have in common?

Case studies of exceptional schools that served children who are from low-income families, especially those that succeed beyond expectations, provided detailed portraits of leadership and significant evidence of the critical role played by the principal. What the researched leaders have in common is the fact that each principal was described as making a significant difference to the quality of education in his or her school, each of them had a direct impact on the school and were seen as the engine rooms that powered their schools' success. The positive impact of leadership can be demonstrated through the various achievements. School communities acknowledged the principals' contribution. These contributions are significant and have made 'a difference' to the quality of education for the whole school community.

2.2. What do most of the researched successful school leaders do?

There were a number of similarities identified: the principals focus their efforts on four sets of tasks:

- i) building powerful forms of teaching and learning the principals provided direction through their vision and enthusiasm; created an air of expectation and excitement of what the school could achieve, especially, they held high expectations of student learning and student behaviour; they were focused on recruitment and retention of good teachers, use of differentiated or contingent student promotion policy.
- ii) creating strong communities in the school the inclusive community of students, staff, parents and others.
- iii) expanding the proportion of pupils' social capital valued by the school principals were focused on students and families; they put efforts to increase the proportion of children's social capital valued by the school and create meaningful partnerships with parents;
- iv) nurturing the development of families' educational cultures the principals with the teachers provided not only financial and material support for the families but, first of all, are focused on providing culturally sensitive parent education programmes.

Apart from these similarities, I identified other important ones in the strategies used to promote school quality by the researched principals:

- They painted and articulated their vision of a successful school that was augmented by infinite possibilities, creating an air of expectation and excitement of what the school could achieve.
- They identified and pursued an important, visible, yet attainable first goal, they focused on the attainment of this first goal, achieved success, and then used their success to move towards another ambitious goals.
- They created a collective sense of responsibility for school improvement. The shared sense of responsibility was nurtured by joint planning processes and reinforced by efforts to involve everyone in key components of the school's work.
- They pay attentions to the share responsibility for learning at school teachers they wanted their teachers to foster students' sense of responsibility for appropriate behaviour and to create an environment in which students were likely to behave well. Discipline problems became rather rare as the schools implemented multi-faceted approaches for helping students learn responsibility for their own behaviour

- They redirected time and energy that had been spent on conflicts between adults in the school toward service to children.
- They created opportunities for teachers to work, plan and learn together around instructional issues. Time was structured to ensure that collaboration around instructional issues became an important part of the school day and the school week.
- They made efforts to win the confidence and respect of parents, primarily by improving the achievement of students. Then they built strong partnerships with parents with a view to supporting student achievements.
- They created additional time for instruction. In some cases, the efforts focused on creating additional time for attention to critical instructional issues during the school day. In other cases, the efforts focused on creating additional time beyond the regular school day.
- They persisted through difficulties, setbacks, and failures. In spite of various challenges and frustrations, they did not stop trying to improve their schools they see barriers as challenges not impediments.
- They take care of their staff retention each school managed to make dramatic improvements without great turnover in teaching personnel.

To sum up, the case studies indicate that the researched successful leaders of schools in challenging urban contexts faced challenging circumstances that required them to sort through a complex set of competing factors in order to establish shared vision, priorities and strategies. The principals acted as role models and were hands-on, they aligned people with the school goals which they set and reset. Once goals had been achieved they were reset and adjusted upwards which helped establish a culture of continuous improvement. They were not satisfied with the status quo, they have an agenda that they keep pushing. They created a sense of confidence, empowered the staff and aligned community and school, staff and school goals.

The four Polish schools participating in the project were different from the other ones in important ways. These differences suggest that a broad range of urban elementary schools serving poor communities can achieve high levels of student achievements. Also, the differences suggest that schools may be able to achieve academic successes through different means. Some

of the differences observed included the following:

- Among the four schools, there were schools with small and large enrollments.
- Even though none of the schools would have been considered high-performing basing on the achievements data from eight years ago, some of the schools made remarkable improvement over a three or four-year periods, whereas others took five years or longer before experiencing impressive gains in student achievements.
- In a few cases, the district office played a major role in the school's improvement efforts. In contrast, there were other cases where the district played a modest role in the improvement process.

2.3. What kind of people become the researched successful school leaders?

The four case studies have demonstrated that there are some similarities in the principals' personal qualities, characteristics, behaviours and approaches. These features are consistently associated with successful leadership.

Four key preliminary findings are particularly important:

- 1. Successful principals have personal intentions concerning their job and embody them.
- 2. Successful principals place a high premium on their and their staff's personal-professional development.
- 3. Each of the successful principals possesses some distinct, individual, personal characteristics, typical only of him/her. There are also a lot of similarities between the examined principals.
- 4. Successful principals create circumstances that are favourable to their work.

All the principals in the study fundamentally experienced it as a very important and meaningful job to be a principal and a leader. Being a principal was an active choice for these successful professionals. Their most popular reason for entering school was 'always having wanted to work with people and for people' and they frequently spoke of the role of their commitment to the job, the motivation to work with enthusiasm. They said that their commitment to being a principal had increased over the course of their career and that their motivation remained the same, al-

beit their work seem to be much more intensified today than it was in the past (more bureaucratic work).

These principals often stressed that their personal values guided their decision-making, and used phrases like, "it's a calling" or "I have a responsibility to the children, the teachers, the school". The important quality was that the intentions concerning their work were not just the educational inspectors' intentions or the aims of the official curriculum – they were the principals' own. As one interviewee said: "I felt that my work at school requires that I intend something and what I do ... I constantly take up that challenge". Thus, not only is it important for these principals to have a personal desire or intention to work but experience is another key factor which facilitates the teachers' effectiveness and their professional successes. The researched heads said that experience should not be limited to doing the same thing year after year, it is essential to seek new challenges.

During the observations of the principals' work at the schools I noted that every principal was energetic, enthusiastic and created a positive and work-oriented atmosphere among the staff and students. They embodied the fundamental message to the teachers and students: teaching and learning are worthwhile activities.

Generally, we can state that among the researched heads there exists a strong drive to self-improvement and usefulness. Self-improvement is an important motive and at the same time an aim for teachers. Each of the successful principals stated that the high level of his/her and his/her teachers' professional competences is a result of professional development. They pointed out that the ability to take care of one's own personal and professional development and their teachers' professional development is an important aspect of their job. The emphasis that principals placed on the continuing development of themselves and of their staff was an endorsement that principals and teachers were the most important asset of the school. The principals believe that it is important to invest in teachers and their capabilities, to raise morale and to foster 'can do' culture.

It is a very interesting feature that what the examined principals do is so full of their personality. Each of the principals has some distinct characteristics of his/her personality which make him/her stand out among others; frequently, it is a particular talent in a particu-

lar field or a particular ability or hobby. These principals use these characteristics at work, and through that they "make use of" themselves, thus they are authentic, interesting and engaged. Successful principals turned to people with varied professional backgrounds who worked in collaboration with teacher leaders and showed respect for the teaching culture. During the observations I noted that each of the principals viewed teachers as partners. They respect the teachers' autonomy, their attitudes and intentions and they do not try to manipulate them. They do not distance themselves from the teachers by hiding themselves behind a detached and impersonal principal role. They protect teachers from extraneous demands (they try to minimize their bureaucratic work), and look ahead, anticipate change and prepare teachers for it so that it does not surprise or disempower them.

The excessive burden of work as a result of increasing external demands, longer working hours, increasing numbers of duties at school, making use of technical criteria and tests for the assessment of pupils' work, reduction of time planned for relaxation during work are all factors that influence principals' work. However, the examined principals stated that they work out various ways of coping with the worsening working conditions. They do not passively accept the conditions of their work, they do not tolerate school conditions. They believe that school should add value to pupil learning and address the inequalities accounting for large gaps in the learning of different groups of students. They try to behave in a creative and pro-active way. They treat difficulties as some kind of a challenge and despite the fact that from time to time they have to face disappointment, they believe that successes are dependent on how active they are, which, in turn, depends on their perseverance and consequence in achieving the planned goals. They see barriers as challenges not impediments. Playing the role of principal is, in case of our principals, accompanied by the need of successes, which is closely linked with the assessment of their own potential and with their goals.

They do not make the successes they achieve dependent only on such work conditions as earnings or school equipment. These factors are very important; however, the principals ascribe a much greater role in achieving successes to:

- child-centered orientation in their school, their universal philosophies are that every child is important, every child can achieve success (every child has potential), they are focused on what is in children's best interest. They also believe that not only children need to be supported but all members of the school community as well;
- good relationships between teachers and their commitment to provide the best possible learning experience for every child by adapting sound educational practice to the individual student's learning style, strengths and areas of needed growth.

Conclusions

The four case studies have demonstrated that principals have a key role in the success of schools broadly and, in particular, on student outcomes. Even though each of our principals had a different personality and interpersonal style, they all were expert at working with and through others to improve their schools. There was evidence that they had a significant impact on student learning through a number of key interventions that focused on teaching and learning and building professional commitment and capacity for school improvement. In the confines of this paper, it has only been possible to address the overview of the project, present the methodological approach used in the research and on the basis of the research results, make the attempt to answer the following questions: What do the researched successful leaders have in common? What do most of the researched successful school leaders do? What kind of people become the researched successful school leaders? Nevertheless, a wider study would also be appropriate.

There are numerous research studies on successful school leadership. They have revealed that school leadership is most successful when it is focused on teaching and learning and that it is necessary, but not sufficient, for school improvement that leadership can take different forms in different contexts. They have also pointed at some of the mechanisms through which school leadership has its effects. However, there are still many gaps in our knowledge about successful educational leadership. For example, what leadership strategies are used by the principals of urban schools that served children in poor commu-

nities and why they are used? Stories of high-performing urban schools from economically deprived environments and simultaneous attempts to explain how these schools managed to transform themselves into high-achievement schools seem to be vital, so that others might gain deeper understanding of how a school begins, maintains and sustains the journey toward excellence for all students. Special attention can be paid not only to what leadership strategies were used by the principals but also to why they were used. The purpose of further consideration might contribute to the knowledge of successful school leadership, might increase the understanding of successful leadership and leadership strategies in high-performing schools situated in challenging urban environments. This knowledge, on the one hand, can be used to guide leadership practice, policy and research and, on the other hand, it might call for vigorous debate among the practitioners, policymakers and academics who are part of the educational leadership profession.

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Measuring the internationalization of higher education institutions - the intellectual capital perspective

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to provide a framework for the measurement and evaluation of internationalization processes in higher education institutions. In this study the author conducted a literature review on internationalization and identified some gaps which need to be filled with more research in this area. The intellectual capital measurement framework was applied as a scorecard for evaluation of key areas of internationalization in HEIs. This paper aims to provide a set of indicators to help universities on the path to integrating the measurement of IC with internationalization strategies.

Keywords: intellectual capital, higher education institutions, tertiary education

Introduction

This paper aims to review the current literature on internationalization of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) and on intellectual capital management in order to combine the two lines of research into one conceptual model. The processes of internationalization were initially analysed from purely statistical perspective of international trade in goods. Later microeconomic perspectives were introduced to the research which took under consideration the internal conditions within an enterprise which were conducive for internationalization processes. One of the most prominent examples is the so-called Upsala Model of internationalization (see for example: Johanson&Vahlne, 1977; Gorynia&Jankowska, 2008). It was only recently that the concept of internationalization of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) gained in popularity. Many research papers on internationalization of HEIs focus on the issues related to attracting international students. In fact, the issue of internationalization is multifaceted. G. Hawawini titled: "The Internationalization of Higher Education Institutions: A Critical Review and a Radical Proposal" deserves special attention as the author proposes a thorough review of current literature on the internationalization of HEIs (Hawawini, 2011). This paper aims to contribute to the body of knowledge on internationalization of higher education institutions by means of introducing the perspective of intellectual capital measurement.

Internationalization of HEIs

Numerous reports, articles and books (Stearns, 2008; Spring, 2009; Wildavsky, 2010; AACSB, 2011) have been published on the subject of internationalization of HEIs. Internationalization of HEIs has become the strategic priority in the agendas of governments around the world. With the introduction of rankings such as the The Times, Shanghai or U-Rank rankings the issue of international competition in the field of tertiary education became a popular subject of media releases and political debates. Before the internationalization of higher education institutions became a topic of interest, the concept of internationalization was mainly focused on internationalization processes in business organizations. The most popular definition of the internationalization of higher education is that it is 'the process of integrating an international/intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution. (Knight, 1994; Knight & de Wit, 1997). According to G. Hawawini this definition describes the process too narrowly by emphasizing the ability of an institution to introduce an international dimension into an existing structure and mode of operation, be it the student body, the curriculum, or faculty teaching and research activities (Hawawini, 2011) and proposes the following, broader definition: The internationalization of higher education institutions is the process of integrating the institution and its key stakeholders - its students, faculty, and staff - into a globalizing world. This definition goes beyond the particular dimensions of teaching, research and service. It calls for a change in existing structures, operating modes, and mindsets. Intellectual capital relates to all intangible and valuable aspects of running an HEI which are important for the success of internationalization process. Therefore, the measurement of IC offers a perfect match with the concept of internationalization of HEIs. It can be used as a measurement scorecard which describes the intangible resources, results and outcomes of the internationalization process in a HEI.

Definition of Intellectual capital

Intellectual capital is usually referred to all intangible resources of an organization. It includes the knowledge of employees, including the knowledge and leadership skills of its leaders. It should not, however, be limited to human capital (or individual competences) or employees. There are also other elements of IC, namely the structural capital (including new business development processes, organizational structure and processes, organizational culture, quality assurance systems etc.) and customer capital (also referred to as 'external structure') (see for example: Sveiby, 1997; Sveiby, 2001). Intellectual capital can be looked upon as a collection of 'stocks of knowledge', and 'flows of knowledge'. 'Stocks' refer to static resources such as databases, skills of employees, signed contracts etc. 'Flows' refer to processes where the stocks are utilized and put into action, e.g. training activities for employees, investments into brand awareness, advertising campaigns, research projects etc. Intellectual capital is also described as Invisible assets (Itami, 1991), immaterial values (Sveiby, 1997) or intangibles (Lev, 2001). In the last 15 years, a large number of IC measurement initiatives were undertaken. In the early 2000s, the most frequently quoted IC reports originated from the Nordic countries, namely Sweden (Skandia report; developed by Leif Edvinsson, the former vice president for Intellectual Capital at Skandia, a Swedish global financial services company. The model measures the tangible and the intangible assets of the organization/country/ region) and Denmark (see: Intellectual Capital Statements - The New Guideline, the Danish Ministry of Science, Copenhagen 2003). A prominent contribution to the development of IC measurement theory was the Meritum Project. In 1998, Israel was the second country in the world, after Sweden, to produce a national Intellectual Capital Balance Sheet. Since then, many countries have measured their core competencies and competitiveness in the global economy using the measurement approaches originating from Scandinavia. Nick Bontis and his associates prepared a report on IC in Arab Nations in 2002. According to Bontis, the intellectual capital of a nation (or a region of nations as is the case for this paper) requires the articulation of a system of variables that helps to uncover and manage the invisible wealth of a country. Most importantly, an emphasis on human capital allows for a better understanding of the hidden values, individuals, enterprises, institutions, and communities that are both current and potential future sources of intellectual wealth" (Bontis, 2002). Austria is one of the countries leading the world in terms of IC measurement, especially in the public sector. It was the first country in the world to introduce an obligatory IC reporting procedures to its universities. A report on Austria's IC was issued in 2007 (Schneider 2007). The Polish government sponsored the creation of the report "Intellectual Capital of Poland" which was published in 2008. Today, the number of IC reports is systematically growing in terms of number of countries where the concept is practiced and the number of sectors of economy. To illustrate this, one can quote the following report published in Portugal by the Training Evaluation Center for Public Policy and Administration Studies on the IC in Portuguese Hotel Industry (see: Proceedings of the 3rd European Conference on Intellectual Capital: Ecic 011, ed.: Geoff Turner). The report combines the value of tangible and intangible assets and Training Valuation in the Portuguese Hotel Sector. Probably, the only research similar to the one described herein is the initiative undertaken in Germany by the Ortenau County in the Baden-Württemberg region. It is a pilot project conducted within a framework of a larger initiative for creating an intellectual capital report for Germany ("Wissensbilanz – Made in Germany"). Currently, new approaches occur that try to adapt these methodologies to regional or national levels. For regional use, generally accepted methodologies are not yet developed, even though they are crucial for determining a region's position and decisions on future initiatives. The project will offer new insights into the measurement methodologies, especially in the public sector.

The role of Intellectual capital in today's economy

Most organizations have realized that relying purely on financial measurement can encourage short-term thinking (Johnson and Kaplan, 1987; Kaplan and Norton, 1992). Financial measures have been criticized for being too historical and backward-look-

ing, for encouraging dysfunctional behaviors, and for giving inadequate consideration to the development of intangible assets such as employee capabilities and customer satisfaction (Ittner and Larcker, 1998). The inadequacy of financial information for the purpose of strategic management in business organizations was first discussed in the early 1990s. Many companies worldwide started to publish their IC reports or carry out knowledge management programs. The interest in IC measurement among decision makers in the public sector has been moderate compared to that in the business sector. Taiwan initiated a Research Center on Intellectual Capital (TICRC) in 2003. Its most important task is promoting industrial intellectual capital research and development, and assisting to progress intellectual capital in this country. The main mission of TICRC is to implement the projects to enhance industrial intellectual capital and accelerate the upgrading of industry. In the early 2000s, there was a consensus among academics that knowledge-based economy is the stage of development after post-industrial/service economy. Many competing terms were coined to express the specificity of the new reality for example 'weightless economy' (Cairneross, 1997), 'creative economy (Florida, 2004)) or 'experience economy' (Pine and Gilmore, 1999) to name just a few. Now, the leading world economies such as the USA or Germany are recognizing and appreciating the importance of the industrial sector. Global corporations are bringing their industrial operations back to their home countries. This trend, to some extent, may be a proof that the concept of 'knowledge economy' or knowledge-driven economic growth may have been a misconception. Nevertheless, the importance of knowledge for economic success cannot be underestimated. For example, it is impossible to maintain competitive advantage in the high-tech industries without the proper intellectual property management. Therefore, the measurement of intellectual capital and intangible assets today seems just as important as it seemed 10 years ago.

Why and how do HEIs go global?

According to Hawawini (2011) the following academic motives for internationalization are the driving forces motivating HEIs to inter-

nationalize their operations (Hawawini, 2011):

- Internationalizing to fulfill the institution's educational mission.
- Internationalizing to remain academically relevant in an interconnected world that is becoming increasingly global.
- Internationalizing to attract the best students and faculty worldwide.
- Internationalizing to grow revenues.
- Internationalizing to reduce operating risk via geographical diversification.
- Internationalizing to fund activities in the home campus.
- Internationalizing to learn from the world.

Hawawini (2011) also identified the following models of internationalization:

- Importers Importers aim at bringing the world to their campus. Exporters send their students abroad via student-exchange agreements with foreign HEIs, deliver programs abroad, and encourage their faculty to visit foreign universities to teach and do research
- Academic joint ventures a path to internationalization that has been chosen by many HEIs is the international joint venture (JV) model. These international JVs often start as student-exchange programs, offering students in undergraduate or graduate programs the possibility of spending some time in the foreign institution,
- Academic partnerships, alliances and consortia-Two or more HEIs can also form broader international partnerships, committing to collaborate on several initiatives (student and faculty exchanges, joint programs, faculty research, etc.). They would agree to open their respective courses and programs to students enrolled in the partner's institution.
- Campuses abroad some HEIs have gone one step beyond being importers, exporters, or joint venture and alliance partners to extend their international reach through a physical presence abroad, not unlike the direct foreign investment of firms (Kim & Zhu, 2009), by establishing full-fledged campuses abroad in which temporary or permanent faculty and staff are posted and where local or international students attend a variety of courses throughout the year.

Each of the above-mentioned motives and models of internationalization may require different resources or, at least, different combinations in the bundle of intangible resources employed to achieve the strategic goals of internationalization by a HEI. One of the potential pitfalls in the internationalization strategy the decision-makers may fall into is the inappropriate match of resources and strategic goals. For example, the physical presence abroad ('campuses abroad' model) requires the knowledge on the local legal framework for running a HEI, including the potential barriers for free labor flow between countries.

G. Hawawini (Hawawini, 2011) warns HEIs against the premature internationalization, or rather 'globalization' of their activities. Instead, he suggests that those HEIs which do not have sufficient resources or motivation for going global should choose a more moderate model of internationalization which he calls 'an import-export model of internationalization'. This model implies the internationalization of the curriculum, the creation of student-exchange programs and the participation in international JVs and partnerships. According to Hawawini, any attempt to transform themselves into truly global institutions is unlikely to succeed and may just divert them from their fundamental mission to educate their home-based students and help them become effective global citizens.

The measurement of Intellectual capital in HEIs

The measurement of intellectual capital should, in principle, support the internationalization process. The design of the measurement framework should be subordinate to the strategic goals of an HEI. It is important to note that Intellectual Capital is more than simply the sum of the human, structural and relational resources of an HEI. It is about how to let the knowledge, intellect and creativity of its professors, administrative staff, students, alumni and other stakeholders create the learning environment which supports creativity, intellectual and emotional development, relationship building and innovation. This can be achieved by creating the right connectivity between those resources through the appropriate intangible activities. It is important to note, however, that the output of educational institutions such as universities is 'education', not 'educated students'. Intellectual capital measurement should not take a reductionist view and perceive an HEI as a factory. In the same vein, P. Hill describes the concept of services by stating that "the output of garages consists of repairs, not repaired vehicles" (Hill, 1999). According to Peter Hill (Hill, 1999), "the distinction between goods and services has been traditionally interpreted by economists as if it were equivalent to a distinction between physical commodities, or tangible material products, on the one hand and immaterial or intangible products on the other. Economics literature, some of which is quoted below, is full of statements to the effect that goods are material, or tangible, whereas services are immaterial, or intangible. Such statements are casual and conventional rather than scientific, as

the nature of an immaterial product is not explained and is by no means intuitively obvious. In practice, intangible products deserve more serious attention because they play a major role in the 'information economy'. They are quite different from services.

According to G. Marzo, there are different ways of categorization and different lists of intangibles are offered, with various schemes of presentation, some of them having more commercial or consulting flavor. A three-categorization model is often presented where IC is identified at the level of individuals, the organizational level, and finally the level of the relationships the firm has especially with suppliers and customers and other stakeholders in general (Marzo, 2014). Here is presented a conceptual framework for the measurement of internationalization of HEI

Table 1. The Intellectual capital perspective in the measurement of internationalization of Higher Education Institutions.

	Human capital	Organizational	Customer capital
Knowledge resources	 % of Academic staff publishing in international journals % of academic staff able to lecture in English & of Academic staff with experience in international projects % of Academic staff with international experience (to be defined) % of foreign professors on staff % of publication co-written with foreign authors 	 % of administrative staff speaking English % of administrative staff devoted to supporting international operations % of revenues from international operations 	 university's brand recognition abroad (to be defined) international students' satisfaction survey % of student applications from abroad
Processes	 expenditure on international activities of academic staff share of salaries of international professors in total salary budget 	% of international conferences in which academic staff participated (compared with total no. of conferences) no. of campuses abroad	Number of countries from which foreign students are originating
Results	 % of international students on campus % of international 	 % of administrative staff with good command of English Number of international certificates and positive evaluations of quality 	no. of strategic alliances

Note: some of the concepts used in the definitions of indicators must be first defined e.g. "international experience" can be defined as "the academic teacher has taught at least 3 courses to international students abroad in the last 5 years" etc.

Source: author's own elaboration.

[Table 1]. It should be noted that for the purpose of this paper only those activities, processes, stocks of knowledge and results which relate to internationalizations were considered. Therefore, the framework should not be viewed as a model for the measurement of intellectual capital in an HEI per se. Its purpose is simply to offer the 'intellectual capital perspective' to the academic disputes related to internationalization of tertiary education. The framework presented in [Table 1] is inspired by the conceptual model presented in the MERITUM project (2001).

The indicators described in Table 1 are expressed mainly in the form of percentage points [%]. This allows for benchmarking and international comparisons. Using natural numbers [no.] may be deceiving, for example no. of international students on campus varies depending on the local situation: 1,000 international students in a Chinese HEI should be interpreted differently than the same number in a European Country or Australia.

Conclusions

The Internationalization of HEIs is making progress around the globe. In the past, only a handful of UK and US HEIs could be defined as fully internationalized. Today, internationalization is becoming the hot topic of many political debates on tertiary education. IC approaches have become of prime importance in institutions of higher education, because knowledge is their main output and input. Universities produce knowledge, either through scientific and technical research (the results of investigation, publications, etc.) or through teaching (students trained and productive relationships with their stakeholders) (Ramírez, 2014). This paper's aim was to help universities on the path to presenting the management information on IC which can be useful to increase the strategic capabilities needed for the process of internationalization. The main contribution of this paper is the introduction of the intellectual capital measurement perspectives into the internationalization process of HEIs.

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