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The International Handbook of Cultures of Education Policy (Volume Two): Comparative International Issues in Policy-Outcome Relationships – Economic influences with Standards and Governance

Béatrice Boufoy-Bastick
Editor

Analytrics
Strasbourg, France
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Structure and accessibility of Handbook

Structure - Placing this book within the handbook trilogy and explaining its 2-volume structure:

This is the third handbook in the series ‘International Cultures of Education’. It is in two volumes. This is the second volume. The first volume expounds issues of Education Policy relevant to ‘Achievement and the Involvement of Families and Communities’, whereas the second volume addresses Education Policy concerns related to ‘Economic influences, Standards and Governance’. This handbook offers an integrative approach and alternative resolutions to the international issues and concerns reported in its forty-two chapters by using a Culturometric analysis of related global and local (glocal) influences of neoliberal policy on education from the unifying fundamental perspective of individual and institutional Cultural Identity – its expression, promotion and survival.

The two volumes are designed to be used independently, relating commonalities of policy concerns focused within and across the three categories of policy corresponding to the sections of each volume whilst maintaining the relation of each individual chapter to the integrative Culturometric analysis and recommendations of the handbook as a whole. This has been achieved by incorporating the cumulative contents, cumulative index and fundamental integrative Culturometric exposition into each volume using simple consecutive pagination for internal referencing, whilst separating only Sections one to three comprising Chapters 1 to 21 in Volume one, from Sections four to six which comprise Chapters 22 to 42 in Volume two.

Readability – Supporting our visually impaired educationalists with hardcopy format and eVolumes for preferred reading enlargement:

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internationally, the series has been made freely available under Creative Commons licence to the education community from the Publisher\(^1\) and from the Culturometric\(^2\) websites as search-n-print open-access eVolumes in pdf full-colour format allowing personally preferred reading enlargement for our visually impaired educationalists.

\(^1\)www.analytrics.org/Pages/EESENOtherEventsandResources.aspx
\(^2\)www.Culturometrics.org
Glossary of Culturometric terms used\(^1\)

- **Achievement in**: A Normreferenced standard, e.g. reaching some percentile in a comparative test or measure of mathematics ability in relation to a given content area – described as he/she came top in the national school-leaving exam for mathematics. Key point is that this gives relative position (1\(^{st}\), below average, etc.) without reference to what the person can do.

- **Achievement of**: A Criterion-referenced standard, e.g. acquiring the abilities to be mathematician in relation to a given content area – described as he/she can do this and that content. Gives evidence of what the person can do without comparing them to what others can do.

- **Authentic Cultural Identity**: Consistency of values in a context (see Validity).

- **Communication**: A display of behaviour that implies Cultural Identity - values in context.

- **Compliance standards**: These are considered as behaviours operationalizing policy that affirm cultural identity.

- **Cultural Identity**: Values in context. Note the recursion in that values also define context.

- **Elite education**: Emphasis on processes with applications to a wide and varied choice of ideal cultural identities, e.g. process curriculum might contain: critical evaluation of classical music, mathematical philosophical theological or other aesthetic fields, and of literary sources in Sanskrit Hebrew Latin and Greek - as opposed to training in market-determined employment skills.

- **Employee-ment**: The Cultural Identity of an employee. The word was coined to distinguish it from the less specific ‘employment’ that can reference employees, employers or a generalised state (e.g. demographics of employment figures/sector).

---

\(^1\) Our glossary is placed here to help readers create useful mindsets for approaching the following preface.
Equality in Education: Each person’s access to education results in the meritocratic achievement of their potential ideal cultural identity – see 'Merit and Meritocracy’

Ideal-type Cultural Identity: Ideal values in context.

Merit and Meritocracy: In contrast to the neoliberal unitary use e.g. merit = intelligence + effort, Culturometric promotes a diversity of merit; where each person’s choice to find or develop their chosen area of potential, and bring it to a level of merit that can contribute to society, receives equally support and recognition – not necessarily equally from each individual but equally from society as a whole.

Neoliberal education policy: Promoting only the identity of Employee-ment – the student as an ideal employee. Policy uses only fiscal indicators, e.g. Cost-benefit analysis. The two main policy processes are jointly maximising competition and minimising cost.

Neoliberal subterfuge: A method of discourse that promotes monetarist processes as though they are serving all community values. Technically, a spin technique promoting policy acceptance by aggregating statistics to hide contradictory contexts and by using Milton model language structures encouraging non-neoliberal stakeholders to imply reference to contexts of their own which align with the policy values - Caveat emptor.

Policy: The promotion of an ideal-type cultural identity.

Standards: see Compliance standards - behaviours that affirm cultural identity.

Traditional education policy: Promoting process and content offering wide choice of Cultural Identities. The immediate precursor of current neoliberal education policy.

Validity: Validity is a truth (not assessed with a 0/1 truth value but with a probabilistic fuzzy logic). Truth is operationally measured by the consistency of values in a context – an Authentic Cultural Identity. When a person experiences an Authentic Cultural Identity, all their
values and their representative behaviours are consistent, there is no dissonance so they feel good about themselves.
Preface

The International handbook of cultures of Education Policy: Comparative international issues of policy-outcome relationships

Introduction

This is the third and last handbook in the series of "Cultures of Education". Each handbook of the trilogy focuses on a Culturometric framing of common international issues in cultures of education. Each handbook is self-contained. However, the three tomes read in conjunction develop Culturometric appreciation to give a wider more complete understanding of successful Culturometric applications across world cultures of education (Boufoy-Bastick, 2011, 2012).

This third handbook is in part an international response to the devastating effects of Neoliberal policies on government-controlled mass education around the world. Education builds Cultural Identities - the rich possibilities of who we can be. The problem in education, put simply, is Neoliberal policies on government-controlled mass education around the world are diminishing the diversity of cultural Identities both of educationists and of students. The performativity of neoliberal enculturation makes immoral neoliberal academics from traditional educators. The pedagogy of neoliberal enculturation reduces the infinite potential of students to only that of ‘Employee-ment’ - the Cultural Identity of an ideal
employee. Further, the neoliberal education policies, which privilege only monetary indicators for maximising competition whilst minimising cost, have overall effects of reducing educational resources, reducing employment and greatly increasing the burdens of poverty.

The six sections of this handbook show local national detailed problems against the backdrop of globalisation policy processes such as mobility under 'Bologna Declaration (1999), corporatisation of education and international competition for cheapest employees. From its Culturometric perspective of promoting personal and institutional choice of cultural identity, and security of that cultural identity (Boufoy-Bastick, 2013a, p. 5), the chapters of the book show how the reported themes of (i) exclusive monetary indicators of Neoliberal processes, such as globally maximising competition whilst minimising cost and cost/benefit decision analysis and (ii) Neoliberal controls of education through policy spin, recursive compliance standards and new governance structures distancing policy-makers from democratic resource-accountability, all intentionally disenfranchise policy-users and effectively silence other community values and cultural identities.

1. Neoliberal education policy
As we shall observe in the chapters of this book, the outcomes of neoliberal policy on education are fundamental, complex, wide reaching and disastrous. A typical disgruntled perception from the chalkboard is given by UK Professor of Education Policy Dave Hill: “The current neoliberal project, the latest stage of the capitalist project, is to reshape the public’s understanding of the purposes of public institutions and apparatuses, such as schools, universities, libraries. In schools, intensive testing of pre-designed curricula (high stakes testing) and accountability
schemes (such as the ‘failing schools’ and regular inspection regime that somehow only penalizes working class schools) are aimed at restoring schools (and further education and universities) to what dominant elites – the capitalist class – perceive to be their "traditional role" of producing passive worker/citizens with just enough skills to render themselves useful to the demands of capital.” (Hill, 2006, p.11).

For now, the following brief descriptions will give an adequate introduction. Neo-liberalism is a “set of practices that are organized around a certain imagination of the ‘market’ as a basis for ‘the universalisation of market-based social relations, with the corresponding penetration in almost every single aspect of our lives of the discourse and/or practice of commodification, capital-accumulation and profit-making” (Carvalho & Rodrigues, 2006). The role of a neoliberal government is to create or enhance the social conditions for a market including the employees to maintain the market– “neo-liberalism has come to represent a positive conception of the state’s role in creating the appropriate market by providing the conditions, laws and institutions necessary for its operation…. In neo-liberalism the state seeks to create an individual who is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur.” (Olssen, 1996, p. 340).

“Neoliberal and neoconservative movements are aggressively altering our jobs and our schools. Their effects are increasingly dangerous.” (Apple, 2006, p. 26).

“The ascendancy of neoliberalism and the associated discourses of ‘new public management’, during the 1980s and 1990s has produced a fundamental shift in the way universities and other institutions of higher education have defined and justified their institutional
existence. The traditional professional culture of open intellectual enquiry and debate has been replaced with a (sic) institutional stress on performativity, as evidenced by the emergence of an emphasis on measured outputs: on strategic planning, performance indicators, quality assurance measures and academic audits.” (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p.313).

1.1 Global influence of neoliberalism on education

The global influence of neoliberalism on education is so vast that it is difficult to comprehend our place in it and our possible influences on it. We have to come to terms with much more than our interaction with students, ideas and our particular local and national institutions. We need to be aware of Governments spread of policy through outsourcing to the private sector “private providers in education policy ... through advice, consultation, evaluation, philanthropy, partnerships, representation, programme delivery and other outsourcing ... Here the private sector is the instrument of a form of re-colonialisation.” (Ball, 2009. p. 95). We need to be aware that international corporatisation of universities through investments and takeovers by other large business – News companies and Industrial Parks own universities. (Ball, 2012. pp. 22-23). As a set of policy values, neoliberalism has tendrilous international influencing network. Examples are neoliberal Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs). These are ‘communicative structures’ organised around the ‘shared values’ of their members (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Another example is the Atlas Economic Research Foundation (www.atlasnetwork.org ) with a $9 million budget (2011) http://www.charitynavigator.org/index.cfm?bay=search.summary&orgid=10435#.Up31vuIcbwg
“This site complies information on nearly 500 think tanks worldwide who are sympathetic to the values of a free society’ (Atlas website). These think tanks are committed to the dissemination of neo-liberal ideas.” (Ball, S.J. p.490) The Atlas Network promotes monetarism under the neoliberal obfuscations of ‘Freedom’ and ‘Liberty’ “The Atlas Economic Research Foundation is a non-profit organization connecting a global network of free market organizations and individuals to the ideas and resources needed to advance the cause of liberty.” (Dyble, 2011, p. ii). Global neoliberalism has made education into a worldwide business with an estimated value of $400 billion (Ball, 2012, p. 20). Neoliberalism serves the values of Elite oligarchy. Elite values are described in Section 4.6 by Elite Theory (Dye, 2000; Gonzalez, 2012; Putnam, 1977; Spencer, 2006) and differ markedly from the values of Traditional education (Banks, 2001, 2008; Fagermoen,1997; Kogan, 2000); Nixon,1996). The ‘inevitability’ of oligarchy is described by Michels’ (1915) ‘iron rule of oligarchy’. “Michels described as the ‘iron rule of oligarchy’ – the inevitable takeover of a democratic republic by a small oligarchy, a plutocracy committed to advancing the interests of the ruling class and to preserve their power in service of this class and themselves.” (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2012, p. 229). Neoliberal policies are creating globally large impoverished masses. Writing in 1959 Seymour Lipset argued in his classic paper “A society divided between a large impoverished mass and a small favored elite would result either in oligarchy (dictatorial rule of the small upper stratum) or in tyranny (popularly based dictatorship).” (Lipset, 1959, p. 75)

However, just as the complex variety and multifarious outcome patterns from games of chance often belie the simplicity of the processes which generate them – the drawing of lottery numbers, the roll of dice or the
2. Culturometric perspective: Understanding and applying the psycho-social foundations

2.1 Need for Culturometric perspective on neoliberal education policy

Culturometrics brings a new and needed perspective that enables educationists to relate at a personal level to the different global exigencies of neoliberalism: “The discourses and practices of neoliberalism, including government policies for education and training, public debates regarding standards and changed funding regimes, have been at work on and in schools in capitalist societies since at least the 1980s. Yet we have been hard pressed to say what neoliberalism is, where it comes from and how it works on us and through us to establish the new moral order of schools and schooling, and to produce the new student/subject who is appropriate to (and appropriated by) the neoliberal economy.” (Davies & Bansel, 2007, p. 247).

In this book, we see current global problems and solutions to Education Policy from a Culturometric perspective. That perspective is different, very different from the positivist research paradigm that has grown from the Anglophone statistical tradition of the last 90 or so years. That tradition, with its problematic assumptions for the human sciences, has come to dominate and objectify our thinking, our morality and our humanity. It has led to and encouraged acceptance and ‘scientific’ approval of policies and practices that the collective contributions to this book show are undermining the bulwark of traditional educational systems on a global scale.
2.2 Culturometrics: A humanistic research paradigm ensuring humanistic policy outcomes

Culturometrics uses a humanistic research paradigm that follows in the steps of Weber and Maslow (Boufoy-Bastick, 2013b). It gives recognition to the most natural, fundamental and encompassing human ability we have of generating possible views of the world. When we put ourselves in the place of another person, animal or even object and intuitively know ‘how we would feel, what we would do, in their situation’ we generate testable hypothesis founded on our humanity. From that point on in the development of our grand plans or the mundane minutiae of our lives we cannot retract back into barbarism. The fundamental anthropomorphism of empathising with the object and projecting our empathic feelings into the object remains the ultimate visceral validity check for ethical action and meaning – we relate the other to ourselves. We imbue the object with values, the values we would have if we were the object in that situation and we expect the behaviour of the object to promote those values – because ‘that’s what we would do if we were them’. Thus we give objects cultural identities and can give them meanings from affinity to rejection in relation to aligning or opposing our own cultural identities. The objects can be animate or inanimate, people, animals, effects, institutions and even constructs and abstract ideas (Boufoy-Bastick, 2007). In this book we will come across policy problems of universities trying to adopt corporate identities. We shall see governments who create schools that try to ‘create children in their own image’ rather than to the diverse identities of their parent communities (Akerlof, & Kranton, 2002). If you are ever in doubt about how to proceed in Culturometrics then return to these basic tenets and be guided by them. This is the rich subjectivity and intersubjectivity of our lives. A relevance to the neoliberal forced restructuring of our diverse cultural identities is .. “To
put it simply, to the extent that neoliberal governmentalities have become increasingly focused upon the production of subjectivity, it is logical that we think about subjectivity as a site of struggle and resistance.” (Ball & Olmedo, 2013, p. 85). However, we need measures and methods that mediate these inter-subjectivities and follow laws of logic to replace inappropriate assumptions in current research methods so that we can use our otherwise well-developed ‘scientific’ methods towards more humane outcomes. To this end, Culturometrics operational defines Cultural Identity recursively as ‘values in context’, where the values in the context also define the context. Culturometrics develops and collects its methods using the criterion of self-norming to represent self-reference. It uses its growing family of methods to analyse data specifically structured to retain ‘values in context’ which then represent subjects’ communications of their identities. Thus Culturometrics objectively measures and compares the strengths of cultural identities.

3. Culturometric administration of education management and policy

In tome two of this series ‘The International Handbook of Cultures of Professional Development for Teachers’ we introduced the embedded ability structure of Teachers’ professional Development which formalised and expanded on the Reflections in volume one.

This tome extends and embeds that professional development model within the additional layer of management and policy concepts for administrative professionals in the international management of education policy. This is simply illustrated in figure 2.
Preface

Figure 1: From Professional Development to Administration of Management and Policy

The administrative ability-set of this last shell is primarily comprised of Cultural Identity issues in the six areas of Achievement, Family Involvement, Community Involvement, Economic influences, Standards and Governance. The contributions to this book have been selected as prime examples of international Cultural Identity issues in each of these constituent areas for understanding the Administration of Policy and Management for education.

The reader will thus benefit from knowing these extended Culturometric concepts – tools of thought – to more fully understand and appreciate the international policy examples in the following sections of this book. These concepts build on the glossary of terms on pages xxi to xxiii

4. From Individual Cultural Identity to an Institution’s Ideal-type of Cultural Identity: From the ‘I Am’ to the ‘We Are’

Individual cultural identity – yours and mine, and that of others, is thought of as their ‘values in context’ (Hitlin, 2003). We have an identity for each context – for example, we have values for interacting with children, which is one context and values for
interacting with adults, which is another context (Boufoy-Bastick, 2010). The difference in these two sets of values is what defines the two different contexts, and defines our two different identities, as being different. In any given context all the values are consistent. Where we have inconsistent values we will have more than one context (Boufoy-Bastick, 2010). This is because a context is defined by its consistency of values. Foucault used the following two contexts ‘speaking at a political meeting’ and ‘speaking within a sexual relationship’ to illustrate two possible component cultural identities within the same person. Foucault uses the term ‘subject’ where Culturometrics uses the more definitive term ‘cultural identity’.

“You do not have the same type of relationship to yourself when you constitute yourself as a political subject who goes to vote or speaks at a meeting and when you are seeking to fulfil your desires in a sexual relationship. Undoubtedly there are relationships and interferences between these different forms of the subject; but we are not dealing with the same type of subject. In each case, one plays, one establishes a different type of relationship to oneself. And it is precisely the historical constitution of these various forms of the subject in relation to the games of truth which interests me.” (Foucault, 1997a, pp. 290–291)

4.1 Hierarchical structure of cultural identity: Remembering to put context before values

Our identities are hierarchically structured on different levels like an organisational chart (Boufoy-Bastick, 2013a, p. 65). All the values in the contexts on any level are part of a higher order identity corresponding to a more inclusive context. Values are only consistent within a context and not necessarily consistent between contexts on the same level or between levels. Hence, our values can be inconsistent between contexts. This is just a formalisation of
‘compartmentalisation’ (Bertone, & Leahy, 2001; Nyström, 2009; Pratt, & Foreman, 2000; Roccas, & Brewer, 2002). Our values do not influence others directly. What is overtly important in our social world is our behaviour. It is through our behaviour that our values influence others.

In Culturometrics, all behaviour is an affirmation of our cultural identity - our values in context. Further, and fundamentally deep, the purpose of all behaviour is to affirm cultural identity. However, when we interact with others there is a ‘slippage’ in the interpretation of our behaviour. The specific behaviour we exhibit is ‘chosen’ because, to us, it symbolises our ‘values in context’. As our values can be inconsistent between contexts, so then will be the behaviours we choose to represent our values. This shows the importance to communication of first confirming that we are in the same context – all on the same page. However, we have a tendency to just assume we are in the same context and give priority to the ascertaining values through interpretation of behaviour. Prioritising values above context in communication is a primary cause of misunderstanding and is well illustrated by the structure of many jokes. 1st Businessman ‘Last year I lost everything in a fire. Fortunately I was fully insured’. 2nd Businessman ‘Last year I lost everything in a flood. Fortunately I was fully insured’. 1st Businessman “A flood! How do you start a flood?”

Many chapters in this book report the cognitive dissonance and demotivation traditional educators feel when forced to comply with neoliberal policy demands - the ‘performativity’ of neoliberalism. The hierarchical structure of cultural identity shows you can resolve the inconsistencies of identity, which are felt as dissonance, by compartmentalising – that is by taking one side or the other. Research on actions that follows
dissonance shows that outcome identity can be decided by forced behaviours consistent with the values of the required identity outcome (Bouie Jr, 2013; Harmon-Jones., Amodio, & Harmon-Jones, 2009; Harmon-Jones, & Harmon-Jones, 2002 & Henkel, 2005). Or we can resolve this dissonance by generalising to a higher level identity – where ‘in the grand scheme of things’, ‘the end justifies the means’ and ‘everything will come out in the wash’. This is most relevant to how neoliberal performativity forces traditional educationists to reconstruct themselves as neoliberal academics.

Culturometrics defines validity as a truth which it operationalizes as the consistency of values in a context (Boufoy-Bastick, 2003) – an Authentic Cultural Identity. When you have an Authentic Cultural Identity, all your values and their representative behaviours are consistent, there is no dissonance so you feel good about yourself. With relevance to the’ value ethics’ of neoliberal education policy, this is why Culturometrics contends that policy-makers cannot revert to barbarism – feeling good about doing bad things - if just one humanistic value is part of each of their authentic component identities.

4.2 Communicating policy is promoting identity
Policy is a statement of behaviours we intend to promote our identity – values in context. The policy for public acceptance is open to different interpretations of context. However, the operational policy that follows public acceptance defines the contexts of the values more precisely with indicators of the behaviours and standards and standards of achievement on those indicators. Initially, when communicating our values in context with behaviours we assume represent our values we are likely to find that our interpretation of our behaviour that we assume represents our specific values will not be shared exactly by another person –
not all readers will have realised the different contexts of ‘insurance’ for the Businessmen above. Our interpretation of our behaviour will be shared more closely by those who have shared our enculturation. Shared interpretation, approval of the values represented by behaviour, is perceived as affirmation of cultural identity by both parties – rapport. However, even if the two parties do share the same invisible ‘values in context’ a different interpretation of the behaviour as signifying inappropriate values will not align ‘values in context’ and could be so differently interpreted as to seem to refute the other person’s identity altogether. Values represented by our interpretations of manners and customs, even the interpretations of dialects, are used to judge the affinity of ‘values in context’ and thus the joint affirmation of cultural identity. These identity principles of communication are used for policy acceptance in that the policy must be interpreted to affirm our values in context.

4.3 Ideal-types of Cultural Identity

We mentioned above that the purpose of all behaviour is to affirm cultural identity, or more precisely to affirm ideal-type cultural identity, communicating to oneself – as in solitary behaviour – or communicating to others as with social behaviour. We are motivated to be social according to the enhancement in the affirmation of our ideal-type cultural identity we expect and experience from others. Some of us are more ‘self-sufficient’ and less socially dependent on valuing the affirmations of others. For those of us who value more the affirmation of others there is much ‘self-respect’ and ‘identity security’ to be gained in seeking out and joining with others for mutual affirmation of common ideal-type cultural identity. We prize our private cultural identity less than our ideal self. The difference can motivate self-development or be hidden as a supposed source of stigma. This
inhibition in acknowledging our private identities in favour of the group ideal-type - for which we are rewarded with enhanced ‘self-respect’, ‘identity security’ and the rewards of multiple social affirmation - goes some way to explaining the developed questions of Solomon Asch, Stanley Milgram and Phillip Zimbardo as the personal worth of ‘security of identity’ in return for ‘obedience to authority’ and perhaps why academics change behaviour when ‘promoted’ to administration. It does explain the self-interest members of a cultural group – a government, a school, a family - have in promoting their public ideal-type of cultural identity. As we shall see in Sections 2 and 3, it also explains lack of family and community involvement in the neoliberal schools of neoliberal governments.

4.4 Influence of language and trust on policy acceptance

Precision of communication and need to trust the communicator greatly influence the interpretation of the behaviour. When we don’t understand the values in context symbolised by a communication, we ‘reflect’ upon our own contexts to choose one that either affirms our identity or refutes it. In Neuro-linguistic Programming this meaning-making process is called ‘trans-derivational search’. This is of relevance where the communicator is a policy-maker and the other party is the policy-user. In particular, if we trust or need to trust the communicator/policy-maker then we find a context for which our interpretation aligns with our values and so we interpret the policy as affirming our identity and accept it. For example, a policy statement might be ‘We need to streamline the curriculum so that our children spend their class-time in effective learning’. At some level of identity all stakeholders can find a context that agrees with the values symbolised by this intentionally imprecise statement. However, if the policy-maker is not
trusted, then the stakeholders will find contexts where the interpretation refutes their values e.g. what if the policy-makers decide to cut areas of the curriculum that I value and what do they mean by the ominous term ‘effective learning’. This is the realm of the ‘Spin doctor’, using precisely vague ‘Milton Model’ language (Tompkins, & Lawley, 1997) to build trust and acceptance and to ensure that contrary contexts of Policy-users are censored.

4.5 Compliancy standards are policy truth, the behaviours affirming Cultural Identity: International realisation and protest

There comes a rude awakening for policy-users when the compliance standards are put in place. These define precise behaviours that users cannot align with the contexts they inferred from the ambiguous policy. The behaviours are Attainment indicators for compliance standards. They are enforced by rewarding or withholding allocation of resources under the policy provision. John Sargis gives examples from neoliberal education policy in the USA, including … “Another trap in NCLB is a military recruitment policy. Section 9528 requires high schools to give Type I student information which is: name, address and telephone number of each student to the Pentagon. The Pentagon then sends this information to local military recruiters. If a high school refuses to hand over this information the school will lose its federal funding.” (Sargis, 2005, p. 5)

Policy-makers get to define the attainment indicators, both the aggregated statistics defining the label, the measures allowed for the ‘evidence base’ of those statistics and the cut-point levels for success. It is at this ‘eye-opening’ stage there might be user dissent; Google ‘protest against education’ to see the latest international protests and dissents, millions of them.
- Hundreds of Teachers Protest against Portugal's Gov't-imposed Qualifying Exam (2013-12-06, Portugal)
- Teachers protest against district education authorities (November 29, 2013, Punjab)
- Protests widen against Obama-backed Common Core education reforms (November 17, 2013, Washington)
- 248 LI principals join protest against over-testing (November 16, 2013, New York)
- Violence Against Brazil Protesters Puts Spotlight on Education as a Constitutional Right (Nov 14, 2013, Rio De Janeiro)
- OLME Unionists Protest Outside Ministry of Education (December 5, 2013, Greece)
- Teachers across NM plan protests against reforms (New Mexico, 11/19/2013)
- Concern over cutbacks to education has sparked a strike by students across Italy (15 November 2013, Italy)
- Turkish teachers protest against the government's education and economic policies (November 24, 2013, Ankara)
- 1000s teachers protest education reform in Paris (Dec 06, 2013, France)
- Kindergarten teachers to protest around NZ today (Dec 6, 2013, New Zealand)
- Teachers rally against education cuts (27 November, 2013,Darwin)

Protesters take to the streets because educational governance systems are changed to exclude the voice of their values.
Figure 2: “Hundreds of Spanish people have staged a protest in the capital of Madrid against the government’s recent controversial educational changes and cuts to education spending.”

Source: http://www.davidicke.com/headlines/spaniards-protest-against-education-cuts/

The discontent of policy users is controlled by inserting additional levels of committees in the ‘negotiating’ structure and by narrowing the resource accountability of the policy-makers to the occasional election vote. The tall hierarchies of negotiating committees are there to protect policy-makers from the humanistic values of policy-users so that only the fiscal language of neoliberal decision making can enter negotiations; “this language of neo-liberalism is unable to convey any human emotion, including the most basic ones such as happiness, greed, envy, love or lust” (Soudien, Apple, & Slaughter, 2013, p. 455).

Two policy lessons from Culturometrics are therefore to never accept policy without standards and to maintain a flat negotiating hierarchy.
5. Unmaking the language of thought the language of neoliberal policy

We have seen the power of policy language in the acceptance of them as one of us, as like me. But language also anchors our thoughts and their feelings – it makes them real. So our language shapes our reality and thus whoever shapes our language shapes us (Boufoy-Bastick, 2009).

The usage of neoliberal language and its related terms has increased a-thousand fold since the 1980’s (Boas, & Gans-Morse, 2009). Neoliberal policy methods of monetisation are now so acceptable that they pervade common language. E.g. people are sold on an idea rather than being persuaded; what was a summary is now ‘the bottom line’, students are ‘customers’ and teaching is no longer a vocation but teachers are ‘in the business of’ education. Kathleen Lynch observers “Student and staff idealism to work in the service of humanity is seriously diminished as universities operate as entrepreneurial, purely competitive business-oriented corporations” (Lynch, 2006 p. 10); and as Panayota Gounari (2006) argues in ‘Contesting the Cynicism of Neoliberal Discourse: Moving Towards a Language of Possibility’

“By using words such as “interested parties” or “consumers,” instead of “people” or maybe “citizens,” neoliberalism conveniently positions subjectivities in an absolute apathy and inertia regarding any political project. Being a “consumer” already presupposes that you have a range of options and that you have the means to consume. It does not presuppose that you can question your very identity as a consumer, nor that this very identity really strips you of any form of agency that would call into question this reductionist notion of citizenship.” (p.81)
Within the mindset of ‘cost benefit analysis’ people are now prepared to make and accept decisions on the quality of people’s lives, even on saving lives based on the cost of equipment and prepared to accept the sickening idea of the dollar value of their lives. From 1980-2000 Feminists realised the influence of masculine language, identified it and successfully fought against it. e.g. “[M]ale-based generics are another indicator-and, more importantly, a reinforcer-of a system in which “man” in the abstract and men in the flesh are privileged over women” (Kleinman, 2000, p. 6). Over the same period monetarist language has infected of minds. This series of handbooks makes some efforts for humanists to restrain and contain the influence of monetarist language on our thinking about education.

5.1 Meanings of ‘merit’ and expressions of ‘equity’

Neoliberal education policy creates greater social division by rewarding ‘Merit’. In this neoliberal usage ‘Merit’ is given the eugenic meaning of inherited intelligence plus effort as in Michael Young’s satirical book ‘The rise of the meritocracy: An essay on Education and Equality’ “Intelligence and effort together make up merit (I+ E =M).” (Young, 1994, p. 94). Culturometrics uses the term ‘merit’ in its definition of ‘equality’. However, it is not used in the unitary sense of everyone valuing one human attribute such as ‘Intelligence’. Jo Littler (2013) gives an interesting account of the neoliberal takeover of this word in her ‘Meritocracy as Plutocracy: The Marketising of 'Equality' Under Neoliberalism’ and she uses the term in this unitary sense; “..whilst ‘meritocracy’ is valued for its ability to dismantle inherited privilege, it is also damned for its power to create new, unfair social divisions. The fictional ‘Chelsea Manifesto’ is the clearest expression of an alternative to both, with its often powerful arguments
for equality, for valuing ‘kindliness and courage, sympathy and generosity’ over narrow conceptions of intelligence.’(Littler, 2013, p. 58). Like the ‘Chelsea Manifesto’ Culturometrics promotes valuing ‘kindliness and courage, sympathy and generosity’ and the infinite diversity of other human attributes that brought to merit can enrich society. Jo Littler (2013) concludes her development of the neoliberal use of the ‘merit’ with a more social meaning of the word:

“Through neoliberalism meritocracy has become an alibi for plutocracy, or government by a wealthy elite. It has become a key ideological term in the reproduction of neoliberal culture in Britain. It has done so by seizing the idea, practice and discourse of greater social equality which emerged in the first half of the twentieth century and marketising it. Meritocracy, as a potent blend of an essentialised notion of ‘talent’, competitive individualism and belief in social mobility, is mobilised to both disguise and gain consent for the economic inequalities wrought through neoliberalism. However, at the same time, such discourse is neither inevitable nor consistent. It requires actively reinforcing and reproducing and can be augmented and shaped in a number of different places and spaces. The alternative to plutocracy-as-meritocracy is a more plural understanding of ‘merit’ - which considers ‘merit’ on a collective and not a purely individual basis - alongside mutual and co-operative forms of social reproduction which create greater parity in wealth, opportunity, care and provision” (Littler, 2013, p. 69).

In contrast to this unitary use, Culturometrics actively promotes a diversity of merit; where each person’s choice to find or develop their chosen area of potential receives equally support and recognition – not necessarily equally from each individual but equally from society as a whole. As such Culturometric’s use of ‘merit is more aligned with Daniel Bell’s (1972)
vision, not in opposition to social democracy, but of multiple individual and group merits contributing to society in a sea of social sufficiency.

5.2 Gap-talk vs. Equity: Aggregated statistics, Nominalisation and the flattening out of diversity

Gap-talk is a tool of recuperative education policy. Gap-talk compares two or more nominalised groups on an achievement indicator under the equity assumption that they should have equal achievements and then proposes resource dispersions to ‘close the gap’. Examples are the attainment gaps between aggregated demographic groups and some assumed educationally dependent advantages such as male and female student results in STEM subjects, the gaps between ethnic groups in IQ tests and their assumed education dependent attainments such as employment remuneration and quality of life indicators (crime statistics, devoices, specific illnesses, age of first pregnancy, etc., etc.). In this process there are many definitions conveniently constructed and labelled under policy-maker control that can be optimised for minimax based policies to minimise resource allocation. In this value-laundering cost-cutting process the needs of specific cultural groups are hidden under aggregate labels and the actual causes of the gaps are obfuscated.

Gap-talk of attainment differences between schools – under-performing schools - particularly affords “opportunities for replacement and/or remediation of ‘failing’ or ‘weak’ public sector institutions. The education businesses can sell school improvement – offering schools ways of accommodating themselves to the demands of state performativity and the production of new organisational identities.” (Ball, 2009, p. 85). Indeed, the role of the neoliberal government is to prepare the public education sector for financial rape. “The state acts as a ‘commodifying
agent’ rendering education into commodity and contractable forms, and ‘recalibrating institutions’ in an attempt to make them homological with the firm and amenable to the processes of the ‘market form’ thus creating the necessary economic and extra-economic conditions within the public sector within which business can operate.”(Ball, 2009, p. 97).

5.3 Contesting neoliberal policy definitions of gap-talk

Neoliberal policy definitions of gap-talk can be contested by different cultural groups. There are many points in the policy-making and policy implementation where the policy makers can privilege their values in context over those of the policy users. Are the indicators of achievement valid and are the measures of those indicators valid. That is, do the behaviours chosen for indicators and the behaviours chosen as measures of those indicators represent the values in relevant context of the policy-users to which they are being applied or are they promoting the values in a different context of the policy-makers. A major example is the narrow curriculum content for enculturation of employment, whose measurement by ranked national tests results – composed mostly of cheap machine-scanned and statistically manipulated shaded multiple response-options - is used as an achievement gap outcome of what the public expect of students’ education, of teachers’ ability, of effectiveness of school policy and even of national competitiveness!

The simple visceral validity-test of these multifarious machinations of policy is simply how they affirm our different ideal-types of cultural identity – our ideal values in all the important contexts of our lives.
Aggregate ‘chunking’ is acceptable when differences are shown not to matter. We use profiles when they do matter – a mundane example is when we choose to use students’ Grade point averages or their transcript profiles. Question the ‘values in context’ promoted by the policy definitions of ‘Equity’: What groups are being compared – do any of the groups comprise relevantly dissimilar cultural identities whose values need to be considered separately; What is the achievement indicator that is being equalised - does it represent relevant values of the individuals in the groups compared; Is Equity an equality of opportunity/access to an equally valued resources or an equality of outcomes that are equally sort. We note that ‘outcome’ is a product’ but ‘access’ is process so they have no commonality for such a comparison. It is a Humanistic Culturometric intention that education gives equal access to the most personally valued outcomes.

The most valued Culturometric outcome of education is ‘achievement of one’s potential ideal cultural identity’. Hence, the Culturometric pursuit of Equity for individuals – which resolves the issue of group representation and labelling – is that each person’s access to education results in the meritocratic achievement of their potential ideal cultural identity. However, neoliberal policy acts to reduce the options of what we can be. It acts by reducing public education resources to deliver a narrow value curriculum of employment skills – narrowing the diverse potential identities of students to ‘employee-ment’. Through neoliberal policy requirements of ‘performativity’ it reconstructs the diverse cultural identities of educators to that of neoliberal academics. Later we uncover the identity reconstructions of academics. First we look at ‘employee-ment’ – the policy produced student.
6. Neoliberal enculturation of ‘Employee-ment’

6.1 The policy produced student worker

‘Employment’ is a very general term that can reference employees, employers or general states and conditions such as demographics of employment and employment figures by different sectors. We use the term ‘Employee-ment’ to mean the cultural identity of an employee – values in the context of an employment. Local and global employers can define the ideal-type of an employee-ment cultural identity that would fit their requirements. Neoliberal education - including curriculum content - is narrowed to the ‘best practice’ curricular concepts for preparing students for hoped-for employment (Ambigapathy, & Aniswal, 2005; De Weert, 1994; Journell, 2011) by constructing their cultural identities to match market determined employment contexts. Often the possibilities of who they can be is highly restricted by this enculturation – as with Vreyens’ and Shaker’s example of preparing market-ready graduates by adapting curriculum to meet the agriculture employment market in Egypt’ (Vreyens, & Shaker, 2005). The immediate short-term market predictions are not useful for objectives of ‘life-long learning’ and do not offer wider values that potentiate diversity. Yet even where there is low or no future hope for employment young children are still constructed for employment which is justified by relabeling the lack of employment as ‘self-employment’ (Makau, 1985).

PISA is one of the diversity-flattening standard assessments of national compliance to the employee-ment curriculum. On a global scale, Heinz-Dieter Meyer and Aaron Benavot (2013) remark in their policy book on the emergence of global educational governance, that the standardising curriculum assessment tool PISA is simply ‘hitching schools more tightly to the bandwagon of economic efficiency, while
sacrificing their role to prepare students for independent thinking and civic participation’.

6.2 Market driven curriculum for human obsolescence vs. traditional education for life-long learning

The most predictive evidence-based determinates of employee-ment are relatively short-term reactions to markets - such as the detailed ‘skills schoolset’ determining a curriculum. For example, when computer programmers were in demand, computer programming courses were set-up for students to achieve employee-ment by becoming computer programmers. As this employment niche became saturated, students sought other market defined identities and curricula were changed to match. In contrast, Traditional education is more about process with applications to a wide and varied choice of ideal cultural identities. Traditional education, which was the immediate precursor of current neoliberal education, offered Traditional education at pre-school and primary levels, gradually tapering to more defined options for employee-ment through later schooling and perhaps university as the student reached their mainly socially determined education exit to their work interface. Neoliberal education policy takeover of Traditional education institutions has moved the market determination of identity to the early levels of mass education and thus removed the identity choices that process education conferred. However, as Marnie Holborow argues “neoliberal assumptions about the role of education in the economy not only offer no plausible solutions, either social or educational, to the present crisis but also involve a deeply demeaning view of the role of education in society.” (Holborow, p. 94)

The mass educational expectations of students have changed. Students see themselves as customers of
education services - but they are customers looking for training for jobs that rarely exist at their level of global competitive competence. To earn a living students now need to leverage their diverse cultural identities and have a wider identity than ‘employee-ment’; perhaps to create that niche area - like an entrepreneur but in ‘Elite’ services for the rich – or to create cultural innovations that offer cheap ‘equivalence’ of elite services but for the new poor – for the new ‘huddled masses’.

6.3 A policy question ‘What is the purpose of education in a democracy’?

There is not one answer – the neoliberal answer. There are as many answers as there are of ideal-types of cultural identities in the democracy. The story goes that in 2012 the President of America and the Prime Minister of Israel were comparing the difficulty of their jobs. The American President said “I am the President of 313.9 million people, whereas you my friend are the Prime Minister of only 7.9 million” To which the Israeli Prime Minister replied “Yes Mr. President, but if only you knew – I am the Prime Minister of 7.9 million prime ministers.”

We complete part 6.3 with some insightful quotes on education only for employment from Mike Rose, Research Professor in Education at UCLA – the home of Milton Friedman, foremost proponent of Neoliberalism

1. “What is the purpose of education in a democracy”
2. American business has been a major player in contemporary school reform efforts. The motivation is straightforward: to urge the preparation of a skilled workforce.
3. As extensive as some of the lists of 21st century skills are, there are topics you won’t find: aesthetics, intellectual play, imagination, the pleasure of a
subject, wonder. The focus of the lists—even when creativity is mentioned—is overwhelmingly on utility and workplace productivity.

4. The 21st-century-skills philosophy of education is an economic one. The primary goal is to create efficient and effective workers.

5. The economic motive has always figured in the spread of mass education in the United States, but recently it has predominated, edging out all the other reasons we send kids to school: civic, social, ethical, developmental. Even those 21st century skills that do deal with the civic, such as cross-cultural understanding, are expressed in terms of workplace effectiveness.

6. Education prepares the young for the world of work and enables the nation to maintain global economic pre-eminence.

7. To be sure, economic prosperity has long provided a potent incentive to fund and improve schools in the United States, but it is only one of multiple goals of education in a democracy.

8. Economic preparation is a primary goal of every nation in the world today, repressive societies included. Shouldn’t education in a democracy have a richer set of goals? Even if our policymakers seem to lose track of this broader purpose, students and their parents on the whole do not.

9. School is one of the primary institutions where we define who we are.

10. We need to reclaim that broader vision, for we have terribly narrowed our thinking about school. Our tunnel vision is dangerous because the reasons we give for education affect what we teach and how we teach it. Vocational education provides a cautionary tale of what a strictly economic focus can yield.

11. The way we express the purpose of schooling shapes our collective definition of the educated person. If we want our youth to thrive and stay in school, the goal of all current school reforms, then we need an
education policy that embodies the full range of reasons people go to school in a free society.

Mike Rose is on the faculty of the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies at UCLA and is the author of “Why School?: Reclaiming Education for All of Us.”

http://www.truthdig.com/dig/item/questions_education_refomers_arent_asking_20100318?ln

7. Policy dissent and order of ‘negotiations’ into the public sphere

In this book, authors as traditional Policy-users in education have written to challenge the narrow and short-term market determination of the employment curriculum, the self-promoting governance use of resources tied to compliance standards and to flatten the tall hierarchies of negotiating committees that block user-values from resource decisions. Their policy dissensions will inevitably cycle to success or failure in the public sphere. We now consider that dynamics of generation, negotiation and negation or support of education policy in the public sphere in terms of the dynamic interactions of covert influences of private identity and the garnering of support for public identity from Culturometric perspectives both of policy-makers and policy-users.

The dissensions in our six Sections derive from perceived differences between the outcomes of private and public policies of policy-makers and policy-users. The dynamics of policy generation and the subsequent cycles of amendments leading to final support or rejection are categorised into four qualitative areas of dissention as shown in figure 3. The policy dissensions of policy-makers and policy-users reported in our chapters can be located within these areas. Other example are given by Inna Deviatko (2002) who discusses policy influences over two decades of higher education reforms in Russia; Sarah Yabroff (2009)
who highlights the disconnect between the reality of how second language instruction and acquisition actually functions and second language policy and legislation within the United States education system; Doug Stokes (2006) reports the covert influences of US-sponsored counter-insurgency documentation on the Colombian system: ‘Is the public education system vulnerable to infiltration by insurgent agents? What is the influence of politics on teachers, textbooks, and students, conversely, what influence does the education system exercise on politics?’ (Stokes, 2006, p. 373), etc.

There are of course many examples of covert gender, racist and anti-Semitic values influencing public education policy to over-ride values of equity but one example must suffice here. Michael Greenberg and Seymour Zenchelsky (1993) explain that how one such case of policy dissent and order of ‘negotiations’ into the public sphere brought about a change in the institutional identities of American universities...

“During the 1920s and 1930s Rutgers University restricted the number of Jewish students it admitted, a practice common at that time. This covert policy was resisted by the Jewish community, which pointed to the university's support by public funds. Despite having evolved from a small college to a university by means of public funds, Rutgers was still governed by private trustees. In the 1920s and 1930s these trustees continued to exercise virtually autonomous control, even though Rutgers was accepting increasing amounts of public money. But the state of New Jersey was beginning to challenge this exclusive control. This challenge and the related issue of funding forced Rutgers authorities to participate in an internal struggle over the nature, identity, and role of the institution.” (Greenberg, & Zenchelsky, 1993, p. 295)
### Figure 3: Culturometric areas of policy dissent and order of ‘negotiations’ into the public sphere

**Order of ‘negotiations’ into the public sphere**

1. Policy is prepared influenced by recriminations from users motivated by lack of alignment with their Private Ideal-type cultural identity. Specifically, underground covert influences from the private policy of policy-makers produce a 1st public policy description. This policy description hides the difference between promoting the policy-makers private and public ideal-types. The policy is couched in ‘Milton Model’ language structures to gain user acceptance by promoting trust or the need for trust of policy-users and by encouraging users to imply alignment of context indeterminate policy values with their own value contexts. A draft that does not yet have finished protective Milton Language is sometimes captured and ‘leaked’ by private ideal-type identity interests of intended users.

2. The 1st policy is made public by policy-makers. Public reaction from the public ideal-type cultural identities of users is that of Accusation. Dissentions of policy-users motivate accusations that the 1st public policy serves the private ideal-type values of the policy-makers. Additional evidence from users highlights the specific

<table>
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<th>POLICY-MAKERS</th>
<th>POLICY-USERS</th>
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<td><strong>Private policy</strong></td>
<td><strong>Public policy</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Recrimination (Spy, covert ‘behind the scenes’ underground information collection and influence)</td>
<td>3. Accusation by makers (Lobbying by policy makers for policy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Accusation by users 1st Public policy (lobbying by policy users against policy)</td>
<td>4. Public influence 2nd Public policy (Politically correct discourse)</td>
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contexts of users that conflict with the values proposed in the policy.

3. Dissentions of policy-makers that policy-users have private covert motivations for undermining the policy. Policy-makers take steps to censor/hide/discredit information about contradictory user contexts i.e. those that are not aligned with the policy values. This results in a 2nd public policy formulation implying alignment valued user contexts for which contradictory information has been censored/hidden.

4. Policy-makers influence public support ‘for’ and policy-users influence public support ‘against’.

The public policy can then cycle through 2>3>4 driven by 1 until duration of process drains motivation of makers (Filibustered) and policy dies or makers gain the public influence and it passes. System resources are biased towards the policy-makers because policy-users can only martial resources against major policy changes. Hence, it is in the interest of policy makers to pursue a bottom-up pyramid strategy of making many small policy changes that users do not have the resources (including motivational resources) to challenge. This is like the thin end of the wedge applied in many places to make continual small lifts in public compliance across all values and contexts. The ubiquitous use of neoliberal language is some evidence for the success of this neoliberal strategy over the last 30 years.

8. Constructing neoliberal academics: The Performative identity

In this section we see ways in which other education policy researchers also consider how the performance of neoliberalism in education institutions enculturates academic identity, changing traditional educationists into neoliberal academics. Stephen Ball writes from self-reflection - using Foucault’s term ‘subjects’ meaning persons ‘being under dominion, rule, or
authority, as of a sovereign, state, or some governing power; owing allegiance or obedience’ as in ‘subjects of the Queen and country’. As there are more than twenty meanings of the word ‘subjects’ we use the more specific term ‘cultural identities’.

“I was produced and formed as a welfare state academic subject in these contexts. Over the past 20 years, I have been re-formed as a neoliberal academic subject. ... those aspects of reform ... have required me to make myself calculable rather than memorable” (Ball, 2012, p. 17). He calls this changing of cultural identities “the neo-liberal curriculum of public sector reform” (p. 485). He uses the term ‘subjects’ were we would use the term ‘cultural identities’.

“the neo-liberal curriculum of public sector reform. That is a content of change through which public sector workers (teachers, doctors, social workers, bureaucrats etc.) must ‘re-learn’ their practice and values, and find themselves ‘made up’ as different kinds of subjects....is the making up of students (and teachers) as entrepreneurial subjects” (Ball, 2010, p. 485).

Ball identifies the neoliberal process effecting reconstruction of identity as ‘Performativity’ which he describes thus:

“performativity – a powerful and insidious policy technology that is now at work at all levels and in all kinds of education and public service, a technology that links effort, values, purposes and self-understanding to measures and comparisons of output.” (Ball, 2012, p. 19).

“.. the work that performance management systems do on the subjectivities of individuals. Performativity invites and incites us to make ourselves more effective, to work on ourselves to improve ourselves and to feel guilty or inadequate if we do not. It operates within a
framework of judgment within which what ‘improvement’ and effectiveness are, is determined for us, and ‘indicated’ by measures of quality and productivity. Performativity is enacted through measures and targets against which we are expected to position ourselves but often in ways that also produce uncertainties about how we should organise ourselves within our work. ... Performativity ‘works’ most powerfully when it is inside our heads and our souls. That is, when we do it to ourselves, when we take responsibility for working hard, faster and better, thus ‘improving’ our ‘output’ as part of our sense of personal worth and the worth of others. ... Indeed performativity works best when we come to want for ourselves what is wanted from us, when our moral sense of our desires and ourselves are aligned with its pleasures. In a sense it is about making the individual into an enterprise, a self-maximising productive unit operating in a market of performances – committed to the headlong pursuit of relevance as defined by the market”(Ball, 2010, p. 487).

One policy-maker input for accountability cascades through the lower echelons of authority like an avalanche covering all diversity below, simply because accountability holds each level of authority responsibility for the accountability of those below. For example, the Head of Department (HOD) is tasked with summarising some minutia of teachers daily work so the HOD must make the teacher accountable for reporting the data to be summarised and even responsible – in the name of efficiency - for summarising it in the formats required. As the HODs becomes a more accountable people, valuing accountability over teacher functions they instigate further accountability responsibilities for their teachers. “Increasingly, as we adapt ourselves to the challenges of reporting and recording our practice, social structures and social relations are replaced by informational structures. We are burdened with the
responsibility to perform, and if we do not we are in danger of being seen as irresponsible. Performativity is a moral system that subverts and re-orientates us to its ends. It makes us responsible for our performance and for the performance of others. ‘There are two technologies at play here turning us into governable subjects – a technology of agency and a technology of performance’ (Davies and Petersen 2005, p. 93)” (Ball, 2012, p. 19).

“We are empowered to make ourselves into different or ‘new’ academics and we do much of this making to ourselves and to each other as well as in relation to the new performative professionals – who are in Weber’s terms ‘specialists without spirit’ (Ball, 2012, p. 19)

Keddie, Mills and Pendergast (2011) note the same process of identity formation for a school, Lyminfion, Australia. The school in turn forces this cultural identity on its teachers:

“.. their construction of a school identity around academic excellence, learning innovation and educational leadership. This identity is constructed through an emphasis on pride in their high achievement and their continual striving for improvement. It is also constructed through specific entrepreneurial language or symbolism that suggests a corporate consensus in terms of the school’s ‘agreed’ set of priorities. .. Here the school’s fabrication of identity is seen as a carefully crafted and managed version of reality around performance and accountability where only certain possibilities of being have value and currency. This fabrication for Lemontyne is powerful in terms of disciplining teachers. It is also powerful in shaping understandings around what constitutes quality education.” (Keddie, Mills & Pendergast, 2011, pp. 81-82).
8.1 Dealing with the distress and dissonance of neoliberal performativity

Of course, being forced to change one’s identity under threat of losing one’s livelihood causes some trauma to many teachers, principals and university academics. Stephen Ball and Antonio Olmedo, (2013) report on performativity that “It is, for a number of teachers, demoralising, depressing, frustrating and very stressful. …The effects of such impositions are experienced at symbolic and physical levels by many teachers. ‘Demoralisation, depression, frustration, and stress’ are tropes of experience that recur” (Ball & Olmedo, 2013, pp. 89-90)

“One way of dealing with this is to affect an ‘irresponsible’ Gandhian type of passive resistance in which, as we said earlier, we question the ‘slippage points’ from policy-making to policy-use as this highlights, in Foucault’s sense, the distinction between...
acceptable power and unacceptable domination (Foucault, 1997a, p. 298).

The following summarises how teachers successfully think and act to protect their humanistic cultural identities.

“By acting ‘irresponsibly’, these teachers take ‘responsibility’ for the care of their selves and in doing so make clear that social reality is not as inevitable as it may seem. This is not strategic action in the normal political sense. Rather it is a process of struggle against mundane, quotidian neoliberalisations, that creates the possibility of thinking about education and ourselves differently.” (Ball & Olmedo, 2013, p. 85)

8.2 The immorality and identity dangers of ‘doing without being’: Surrendering to neoliberal policy

Sue Clegg implies in her article ‘Academic identities under threat’ that claims that we can deal with the situation of doing unacceptable neoliberal tasks without having to become a neoliberal, that we can ‘do without being’ and states that “despite all the pressure of performativity, individuals created spaces for the exercise of principled personal autonomy and agency” (Clegg, 2008, p. 329). However, this is widely rejected by psychological and ethical research. What Sue Clegg might have observed is the effect of forced performativity on dissonance to reconstruct the educationist as a neoliberal academic. This is referred to below through the work of Bouie Jr (2013), Harmon-Jones, E., Amodio, & Harmon-Jones, C. (2009), Harmon-Jones, E. & Harmon-Jones, C. (2002) and Henkel (2005). Dissonance makes action necessary. However, compliance with the Neoliberal performative that created this dissonance should be avoided in preference to group actions that maintain the traditional educational culture of the university.
Commenting on Clegg (2005), Suzy Harris in her rethinking academic identities in neo-liberal times concludes “we need to recognize ourselves as agents ‘with the potential for collective agency’ (p. 14) and that it is important that we do not reduce the problems/issues to the individual but to see it as a collective struggle” (Harris, p. 421).

Doing without being was rejected as moral philosophy in the 1960s when ‘Value ethics’ philosophically succeeded the earlier empiricism of consequence and neoliberal type rule-following of deontology (Anscombe, 1958; Blau, 2000).

“However, we also need to appreciate the inconsistencies and ambiguities within the social field and discourses which enact this identity in practice. While we need to understand how these elements and their relations enter into us and encourage us to work on ourselves in a variety of ways we also need to hold firmly onto a sense that we are none of the things we now do, think or desire. This is a necessary precursor to the possibility of free and critical thought in the neoliberal university” (Ball, 2012, p. 26).

For this we would have to perform behaviours that we know do not represent our values. The serving of conflicting values by ‘doing without being’ can contribute to rather than reduce the values trauma of cognitive dissonance (Henkel, 2005). Though, unfortunately, forced dissonant neoliberal actions of ‘doing without being’ can promote change from humanistic to neoliberal beliefs (Bouie Jr, 2013; Harmon-Jones,, Amodio, & Harmon-Jones, 2009; Harmon-Jones, & Harmon-Jones, 2002). What Ball (2012) refers to as neoliberalism’s construction of ‘ethically malleable’ people (p. 145) “the neo-liberal subject is malleable rather than committed, flexible rather than principled” (p. 31) “which involve the subordination of moral obligations to economic ones
(Walzer, 1984) so that ‘everything is simply a sum of value realised or hoped for (Slater & Tonkiss, 2001)” (Ball, 2012, p. 20). Culturometrics totally disagrees with this in that its fundamental anthropomorphic identification with ‘the other’ as the foundation of viable policy possibilities ensures the subsequent humanity of education policy.

A possible systemic way forward is to require the corporations that own the worldwide $400 billion business of education to legally acquire the civic identities of corporate citizenship and the concomitant legal, economic, ethical, social and civic responsibilities of persons (Matten, Crane, & Chapple, 2003). Soudabeh Jalili’s Chapter 35 on ‘Organizational Civilization’ recommends that organisations should be so judged on civilising values. As these are the traditional values of Universities as citizens it would mean that current psychiatrically disordered personalities of corporations could recuperate to the social normality of traditional universities (Nagy, & Robb, 2008). However, there are also dangers down this road if corporations have the power to redefine the meaning of citizenship (Crane, & Matten, 2008).

A recent study by Louise Archer (2008) of academics’ professional identity constructions as neoliberals specifically explored this issue of ‘doing without being’ and her conclusions agree with the humanistic guidance of Culturometrics “whether it is possible to do without being a neoliberal subject—the conclusions from this study would appear to be contradictory. In general terms, the answer is ‘no’—subjects cannot exist outside of the conditions and locations within which they are located and by which they are constituted. Furthermore, we might argue that any performances of neoliberalism (irrespective of the inscription, or not, of the subjective) are, in themselves, an issue for concern, not least when such
performances potentially compromise the idealised (‘traditional’) values of higher education” (p. 283).

9. Similarities of neoliberal and nazi policy: Survivial of the fittest- Work will set you free.

If we know our values are humane and yet we choose behaviours that do not represent our humane values we are not only choosing inhumane behaviours we would be knowingly culpable of inhumane behaviour. This is an anathema to Culturometrics, a reneging of moral responsibility and the road back to Auschwitz.

It is not only the Political Elite Oligarchical values of the fascist Robert Michels (1915) now resurrected by global Neoliberal education policy that takes us there. Rodolfo Leyva makes a more direct link between Neoliberal policy and Nazi policy through their common dependence on Social Darwinism:

“The infamous Social Darwinism of key intellectual Herbert Spencer, and its explicit eugenics, racist, and free-market ideology of “Survival of the Fittest,” was rendered unfashionable as Western democracies were quick to disassociate themselves with explicitly Nazi-related ideologies (Degler, 1992). ...the historical continuities between Spencer’s Social Darwinism, and the essentialist ideals of meritocracy, selfishness, and competition that are advanced by neoliberalism. ... Social Darwinism has also resurfaced in neoliberal economics and free-market policies where the similarities between Spencer and Friedman Hayek’s (1994) brand of unrestricted markets are almost identical” (Leyva, 2009, p. 364). We know to the ‘perfections’ to which these social ideals of Work and Human Resource Management will lead us because we have been done that road.
Figures 4a to 4d: Social ideals of Work and Human Resource Management

Figure 4a: Entrance to Auschwitz ‘Work makes you free’

Figure 4b: Bales of the hair of female prisoners found in the warehouses of Auschwitz at the liberation. Photo credit: Polish National Archives
Figure 4c: A warehouse full of shoes and clothing confiscated from the prisoners and deportees gassed upon their arrival. Photo credit: USHMM Photo Archives

Figure 4d: Spectacles, Auschwitz
10. Other policy roads to new horizons of pluralist education

Now we must take other policy roads to new horizons of pluralist education, as signposted by Hursh (2009) in challenging neoliberal policies the growing divide between the rich world and the impoverishment of education; by Hyslop-Margison, and Sears (2006) in Reclaiming education for democratic citizenship; by Henry Giroux’s reports on recent attempts by faculty and students to resist the corporatization of higher education (Giroux, 2002, 2005); by practical social responses to inequality and crisis (Cox, 2010); by Burgmann (1993) and the authors of our chapters.

“An ‘iron law of protest’ operates as surely as and ‘iron law of oligarchy’; just as elite theorists insist that large organisations will be inevitably controlled by a tiny minority, so it can be claimed that people will inevitably challenge this conservative power” (Burgmann, 1993, p. 1)
Preface

We start at the level of the individual educationists and the cultural group by strengthening cultural identities and generating humanistic hypotheses for resistance to neoliberal destruction of a caring identity. Educationists report that it works to reflect through one’s values and on the options for actions that represent one’s values:

“... when the teacher begins to look for answers to questions about the how(s) of power inside and around him or her, the how(s) of his or her beliefs and practices. In these moments, the power relations in which the teacher is imbricated come to the fore. It is then that he or she can begin to take an active role in their own self-definition as a ‘teaching subject’, to think in terms of what they do not want to be, and do not want to become, or, in another words, begin to care for themselves. Such care also rests upon and is realised through practices, practices of critique, vigilance, reflexivity, and of writing.” (Ball & Olmedo, 2013, p. 86)

Others, including Niclas Rönnström (2013) and Cris Shore and Susan Wright (1999) also conclude that we can “respond to the more damaging aspects of this neo-liberal agenda through ‘political reflexivity’” (p. 557).

... and so through the clarity of our hermeneutic cycle, ‘reflection’ returns us strengthened to book one.

More can be learnt about Culturometrics by visiting www.Culturometrics.org from which this series of books on Cultures of Education can be freely downloaded.
11. Cultural perspectives - Selected chapters

11.1 Editorial comments on Policy Meanings and Uses of Achievement

‘Achievement’ is the Media-scape policy tool that fires and spins ‘gap-talk vs. equality’ debates determining resource allocation in recuperative education. The Cultural Identities defining objects of the debate presented by the chapters in this first section include – gaps between - genders, curriculum subjects, institutions and pedagogic roles. The main policy-values divide reported here is between the neoliberal values of policy-makers and the wider humanistic values of policy users. The chapters give examples where aggregation of achievement statistics is seen as serving spin, stereotyping the objects of debate to hide composite identities that contradict evidence for neoliberal policy directions. The contested tool of ‘achievement’ in this and following sections is most commonly the competitive accountability tables of National exam results on an increasingly narrow employee-ment curriculum. These competitive publicised achievement tables promote neoliberal policies by firing a fantasy of fears of a ‘frighteningly large’ 50% below average (sic) being at risk of exclusion from some assumed security of ‘virtual’ future employment. In several chapters anger at this assault on the Cultural Identities of the authors and of the communities they report becomes tangibly palpable through their own words.

Professors of Education Wayne Martino and Goli Rezai-Rashti from The University of Western Ontario, Canada, open this section, our book and our eyes with the nominalisation of ‘failing boys’ as an example of achievement gap-talk motivating contested neoliberal recuperative policies. They have aptly titled their chapter ‘Gender Polemics, Achievement and The Policy-Research Gap: The Mis-alignment and
Preface

Alignment of Stakeholder Positionalities within a Global Education Policy Field and a Context of Neoliberal Governance’. In this chapter, they use the perspective of ‘discourse analysis’ to note that the nominalisation of ‘failing boys’, and the aggregated statistics it labels, flattens out diversity and thus hides from policy debate, and hence blocks from resource access, the multitude of important composite cultural identities that impact on achievement. Professors Wayne and Goli conclude their insightful example “It is in this sense that the failing boys discourse functions within a regime of truth in which boys are constituted as particular sorts of subjects and as targeted objects of a specific policy technology (Ball, 2008), with the effect of flattening out diversity and with implications for what is to count as both evidence and equity (Luke et al., 2010).” p.12

In Chapter 2 Kristine Antonyan, Director of Research at Yerevan State University in Armenia contributes to our examples of the varied international policy uses of ‘achievement’ in her chapter ‘Armenian Higher Education Developments: Issues, Challenges and Opportunities’. Dr. Antonyan reports an example of Armenian country-wide policy to increase achievement of social indicators by using the Bologna process. In Chapter 3, our authors Joana Marques, Luisa Veloso and João Sebastião in ‘How to Rebuild a Secondary School: Space, Knowledge and Education’ present a different example of using achievement to drive policy in a different country - to support school building in Portugal. Ideally, values that define the current education processes should also inform the architectural functionality of schools – so we might ask ‘are monetarist values that define current education, such as doing more with less, visible in the educational functionality of current designs’? Their chapter reports on policy supporting the building of a secondary school which was to promote children’s achievement by
giving them an environment conducive to learning. The building specifications promote behaviours that must be symbolic of the values of the learning processes. However, these behaviours were symbolically different for different stakeholders. For example, for the architect the computer technology facilities were seen as a priority for producing learning by giving access to information and independence of choice in the direction of learning. Whereas, the teachers saw this as their role, i.e. in the eyes of the teachers, teaching included behaviours for supplying information and directing choice of content for learning. Hence from the Culturometric perspective there was a mis-alignment in prioritising the behaviours as symbolic of the ‘meaning values’ - the VABI - defining learning for the architect and the teacher stakeholders. The contexts were different. The teachers’ context was one of directed learning but the architect’s context was one of facilitating information-gathering and choice. We can see that a Culturometric policy resolution of aligning the values in context of the architect and the teachers would have been achieved by putting the architect’s context within the teaching context; that is putting the computer facilities under the direction of the teachers as a tool for children to do what the teachers directed.

In Chapter 4, we go to New Zealand and Camilla Highfield, Director of Professional Learning and Development at the University of Auckland to look at across-school and within-school variation of student achievement in New Zealand secondary schools. Camilla’s gap-talk compares English, mathematics and science departments across and within-schools in New Zealand based on their students’ national exam grade achievements. She notes “there is considerable variation in student achievement between academic departments across and within schools” and calls for equity – presumably though, not a solution of equal
achievement in the subjects (norm-referenced) at the lowest common denominator of equal achievement of the subjects (criterion-referenced). From the gap-talk of aggregated data in Chapter 1 we see that others might question the measuring rod itself, not only in the comparative complexities of the subjects but also in the ways it applies to the values and contexts of English students, mathematics students and science students, both male and female, etc. across the different demographic identities of the study.

In Chapter 5, ‘Lara Fridani and Joseph Agbenyega from Monash University, Australia, write about school readiness and transition to primary schools in Indonesia. Their chapter shows us the need to align values in Committed Communication. In their ‘Whole Schooling Framework’ for rethinking school readiness and transition policy and practice in Early Childhood Education we see from the policy perspective that has been passed to the schools a need to align values between the 'ideal type' for a given developmental stage of child cultural identity that schools are initially catering for and that which families of young children envisage. Do the identities enculturated by the schools match those required by their communities. One wonders what proportion of the Indonesia’s 86% Muslim families might include Article 153 Bumiputra brethren intended to enter Primary school at age 7 with Islamic values rather than entering pre-school at age 3 with academic ambitions. These cultural policy issues on achievement lead to the policy example of Chapter 6 which clearly shows that the narrow neoliberal values of the policy-makers who allocate resources to monetarist policies are not the same as the wider humanistic values of the policy-users, the teachers and parents who need the resources. Our authors from Portugal, Professor Helena Araújo and her colleagues, meta-comment on the resulting financial problems that are the background to their
Chapter 6, ‘Building Local Networking in Education? Decision-Makers’ Discourses on School Achievement and Dropout in Portugal’. This is a global problem infecting cultures of education policy that reverberates internationally throughout the sections and chapters of this handbook... namely:

It is worth mentioning that 2012 is being a year of severe social, economical and financial crisis. The Education Ministry does not appear to be too much concerned on these policies issues. Therefore, the paper is focusing on policies that although still in place, start to face difficulties in keeping momentum. *(Footnote 1 p. 157)*

The central government traditionally funded traditional humanistic values of pedagogy. However, the central government has passed now changed values of policy-making to committees of local politician councillors. The monetary discourses of local politicians’ naturally centre on what can be done with existing resources so, for example, the chapter reports their policies favour socio-educative projects. The end-users are parents, teachers and the local community who hold the wider traditional pedagogic values they expect their local education policies to continue serving. These two demographics have different values. The community would like the government, who hold the purse, to authorise committees of teachers-parent partnerships within the community, including the business community, to determine policy on the 'pedagogical ends of schooling'. However, whilst the government continues with neoliberal policies it is unlikely to direct resources under its control to the traditional policies that are still in place for the enculturation of cultural identities that are more than competitive employees. This neoliberal policy change from traditional government as representative steward of resources to directive governance of resources will surface explicitly later in our section on Governance.
Chapter 7 looks at the other side of the ‘gap-talk’ policy coin, the ‘equality’ of achievement that the recuperative policies motivated by the gap-talk are intended to accomplish. The Culturometric resolution of the misleading process vs. product meanings of equality as equal opportunity vs. equal outcomes is, as mentioned earlier in this preface (p.xlvii), to choose between processes, to choose an equality of the most empowering process, that is an equality of education that enculturates ones ideal cultural identity. Culturometrics offers the Cultural Index as an objective measure for verifying the equality of outcomes. In their chapter ‘Is the Quality of Education Equal for all?’, Professor Burusic and his research colleagues at the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, Zagreb, Croatia, claim for their study the possibility that “Since the proclaimed education policy is that all the students should have equal opportunities for a quality education (emphasis added), the results of this study can be observed as an indicator of the outcomes and as an empirical verification of the degree to which the proclaimed policy is accomplished.”(p.211). Within the frame of this chapter the reader can then enquire ‘Whose definition of ‘quality education’?

11.2 Editorial comments on Policy for Family Involvement for Formal Education

Our seven chapters in this section report influences of education policy on the involvement of families with the formal education of their children. These chapters from different nations show, in their different ways, that formal education needs family support and that success in obtaining family’s support is dependent on the system’s affirmation of the family’s education values – that is, the degree to which the ideal-type of student cultural identity promoted by education policy aligns with that of the family’s. Raquel-Amaya Martínez-González, Lucía Álvarez-Blanco and Mª Henar Pérez-Herrero from Spain open this section with their
Chapter 8 on parents’ and teachers’ views on family involvement concerning the problem of teenagers at-risk of dropping out of High School. The main predictor of children dropping out of school is ‘grade retention’. It is clear that being held back in a lower grade signals the antithesis of the ideal-type of cultural identity that families would want for their children. “... grade retention affects, among other factors, the student’s self-esteem, socio-emotional adjustment, peer relations and school engagement ...” (p.224)

In Chapter 9 ‘Teachers’ Reflections on Parental Involvement in Emergent Literacy Development in Rwanda’, Pierre Ruterana raises several key issues on how to improve “emergent literacy” in Rwanda. The government obviously wants families to do more in educating preschool children. The view presented by teachers are in line with Rwanda’s Ministry of Education policies on sensitising local authorities, opinion leaders, parents, communities and the civil society on their role in implementing early literacy development. Although parents views are yet to be canvassed, his chapter signals a mis-alignment of values that seems to exists among many Rwandan families who still consider teachers as sole stakeholders in dispensing emergent literacy practices. From the schools’ perspective this is one of the causes of poor performance in literacy at national level, e.g. “Schools are privileged places where the sown family seed of literacy will grow.” (p.265). In addition, although many Rwandan rural children are, in comparison to children in more developed countries relatively ill-equipped with literacy learning resources (paper, pencils, crayons, story books, etc.), they join nursery school with comparatively strong oral literacy skills that could be exploited, perhaps through play, to enhance self-esteem and literacy confidence among these young children.
Our next two chapters, Chapters 10 and 11, consider policy processes that try to formalise family’s responsibilities for the education of their children. These policy processes tend to fail because they attempt to impose through government control of schools the government values of the ideal child and do not sufficiently allow for families to negotiate their values and have them affirmed by the formal system. In Chapter 10 ‘Home-school agreements in England: Symbolic value and contractual relationships between school managers, parents and pupils’, Howard Gibson from Bath Spa University, England, shows some problems of replacing negotiated values of committed communication with top-down legal compliance to the ill-fated ‘Home-School Agreement’. Of course the ‘responsibilities’ wishfully placed on families are those areas publicly recognised as failings of the schools. These correspond to the cultural identity of a government ideal-type of parent, a role which families expect to be subsumed by the school but one they expect to be aligned to their own often different family cultural values “The rhetoric of choice and partnership is used as a smoke screen for control and discipline and the imposition of a model of ‘good parent’ is being superimposed over the ordinary obligations that all parents share” (p.286). Although intended to place responsibility on families for their child’s attendance and behaviour, this ‘agreement’ “differs from ‘parenting contracts’ that are imposed by a court to secure ‘an improvement in the child’s attendance and behaviour’” (p.284). Dr. Gibson shows the attempted force of legal compliance and the lack of negotiated values as follows:

“There is no such thing as a neutral contract. The law was not written in the form or for the purposes that the Government would have wished it to be” (p.285). The ‘responsibility agenda’ became progressively more strident towards the end of the decade so that by June
2009 the Secretary of State for Children, Schools and Families warned: ‘Once their child is in school, the parents will be expected to sign the agreement each year and will face real consequences if they fail to live up to the responsibilities set out within it, including the possibility of a court-imposed parenting order’ (DCSF, 2009, p. 3. See also Gibson & Simon, 2010).” (p.285)

In his conclusion, Dr. Gibson brilliantly identifies the problematic lack of negotiation and calls on Habermas to remind us of the necessary principles of Culturosemantic committed communication “There is, therefore, a tension between legislating for voice and reaching agreement while attempting to neuter it as a site of potential struggle. ... The point is to protect areas of life that are functionally dependent on social integration through values, norms, and consensus formation, to preserve them from falling prey to the systemic imperatives of economic and administrative subsystems growing with dynamics of their own, and to defend them from becoming converted over, through the steering medium of the law, to a principle of sociation that is, for them, dysfunctional. (Habermas, 2006, p. 371, 372-373)” (p.317)

In our Chapter 11, Karen Freeman from Chicago State University, USA, writes on the rising parent entitlement of home-schooling. Home-schooling is not a recent phenomenon, but has been around for a long time - some would tautologically argue even before formal schooling - and its prevalence is rising with the rising population of children. Parents are the most invested stakeholders. Home-schooling is driven by the personal and moral values of parents who invest their own time and energy for what they consider is the betterment of their children. In this chapter, as in chapter 10, we see some of the different values that
home-schooling parents feel are lacking in their options for formal schooling.

The last three chapters in this section report ways of utilising family involvement that help redress the current global narrowing of education policy to monetarist values, namely by (i) the inculcation of traditional social values, (ii) a policy model for empowerment of parent values and by (iii) involving grandparents in children’s values education. In Chapter 12, Dace Medne reports her research on the quality of upbringing given by families in Latvia – a society with rapidly changing values. As Head of the social care division at the Social Care Centre for Children in Pļavnieki, Rīga, she is well positioned to highlight the rapid social changes of values in public and in individual contexts that Latvian families must now negotiate and incorporate into the ideal-type of cultural identity they want for their children. Dr. Medne’s research presented here surveys the levels of parents’ competence for enculturating these new values of their rapidly transforming society. In Chapter 13, Julian Brown from the University of Northampton, England uses an action research methodology to look at Parent Empowerment whilst examining parental attitudes of school systems. His research points to the policy success of Culturometric committed communication in aligning the values of schools and families. He observes that “In some respects, these different attitudes can depend upon the parents’ circumstances, e.g. “Often, in the case of working parents, there is a lack of time to support students with their learning or engage with the school in the desired partnership” (p.378). After considering the family’s perspectives, his research suggests schools could begin to move from a partnership model to one that empowers parents and embraces advocacy and so more closely align themselves with the attitudes and values of the parents. He concludes that “This model
could prove beneficial for practitioners and researchers wishing to create advocacy for parents and align the values and attitudes of all stakeholders in a school context.” (p.374) Giulia Cavrini and Liliana Dozza from Bolzano northern Italy close this section on family involvement with their Chapter 14 on ‘The social role of grandparents: Values, attitudes, purposes and behaviours’. The variety of values expected from education and richly embedded in their research contrasts markedly with narrow monetarist values currently driving global education policy and student outcomes. “A total of 865 grandparents completed a questionnaire on the time spent with their grandchildren, the relationship with their own children, the approach used in raising grandchildren and the level of emotion and love involved. Results show that grandparents influence values, attitudes, purposes and behaviour in addition to being crucial to children’s learning later in life; they are responsible for nourishing active participation in their social lives, fostering feelings of respect for traditions and increasing the level of consciousness in their own historical and cultural roots.” (p.404) Priceless: For everything else there’s neoliberalism (with acknowledgement to ‘MasterCard’ tm)

**11.3 Editorial comments on Community Involvement and Education Policy**

Communities emerge and change for the primary purpose of promoting their ideal type of Cultural Identity. Their formal policy describes their public processes for doing this. The chapters in this section on community involvement and education policy highlight the processes involved in negotiating formal policy determining ‘values in context’ within communities and between communities. In our opening chapter, Chapter 15, Martin Retzl from the University of Vienna criticises the top-down failings of current value determination for successful educational
change and school reform. Based on "John Dewey’s democratic ideal" as a precursor of committed communication to align school and community values, he introduces us to a series of successful steps for schools and community stakeholders to negotiate values in contexts. These included common efforts to change the basic manners and attitudes of the children, agreements between parents and teachers, and between pupils and teachers, on appropriate behaviour and consequences for misconduct, as well as cooperation between the school and community representatives for providing social and psychological support. Questionnaires were used as a vehicle for pupils and parents of a school, as well as community representatives, to continually be made aware of each other’s thoughts and suggestions on schooling and instruction, thus enabling the development of concrete on-site action strategies to promote negotiated values.

In Chapter 16 “The ‘Free’ Child”, our authors Ann Pihlgren and Malin Rohlin from Sweden frame ‘organized after school activities’ as the ‘upbringing of the community’. Their historical analysis, in line with the Culturometric perspective, shows that “the way the pedagogical identity of the institutions was conceptualized was highly dependent on the governmental idea of what social problem they were intended to solve.” (p.437) As an example, afterschool activities were introduced in Sweden as means of promoting the government’s ideal-type of child cultural identity – in particular Pihlgren and Rohlin note they were “to control begging and criminality among lower class children when leaving school in the afternoon” (p.438).

The desired outcome of Culturometric committed communication is joint affirmation of stakeholder’s cultural identities – affirmation of ‘values in context’. A powerful method by which a cultural group, or an individual, can affirm the cultural identity of another
group or individual is to supply a valued service, particularly a leadership service. Chapters 17, 18 and 19 detail types of valued service given to the community by different educational institutions. In Chapter 17, Judith Gouwens and Donna Lander from the US report to us on how school superintendents along the Mississippi coast became community ‘symbolic leaders’ giving priority to strengthening school communities in their efforts to restore, rebuild and recover from the devastations of Hurricane Katrina.

Universities offer service to the community at the student and faculty interaction levels. Chapter 18 illustrates how universities can at the level of student interaction use the strategy of ‘service learning’ to affirm community identities. Service learning is a teaching strategy in which students do community service that is assessed as a curriculum subject. Students can be given assessed work-experience course-work assignments ‘for course credits’ utilising, for example, practicum placements in teacher education, psychology and tourism; practical community service projects in sociology; etc. In Chapter 18, researchers Nives Preradovic, Sanja Kisicek and Damir Boras from Croatia report on over 40 such service learning projects in the field of Information Technology. In this example of service learning, the projects link the goals of Information Science studies with IT problems to service specific community needs – for example, IT students might create websites that promote the cultural identities of their local communities. In our Chapter 19, Spanish professors Val Cajide and Antelo García show how universities can also give community service at the faculty level of interaction through a strategy of ‘knowledge transfer’ involving collaboration between universities and business communities. Our authors note that such collaboration requires mutual
confidence and conviction and that legislation by pertinent authorities acknowledging the effort required helps to make this cooperation possible.

In the cost-benefit decision balance of neoliberal education policy the choice is only to weigh ‘money spent’ against ‘money recouped’. In each of the last two chapters of this section our research team from Portugal - Joana Fernandes, Jorge Cunha and Pedro Oliveira - demonstrate a case study that attempts to quantify and monetise future soft benefits recouped from education to be weighed against its hard objective current costs. Chapter 20 demonstrates how to measure the economic impact that arises from the presence of a Higher Education Institute (HEI) in a given region. It estimates the additional impact that occurs above the economic activity level that would exist if the HEI were not there. The Polytechnic Institute of Bragança is the HEI in this demonstrative case study. This case study firms up the soft benefits of an HEI to communities in its region. It pits these against hard costs in local neoliberal cost-benefit policy decisions to fund the institution. The region under study includes two towns, Bragança and Mirandela, located in the far northeast of Portugal, in a deprived and isolated area, near the border with Spain. The last chapter of this section, Chapter 21, our Portuguese team presents a more long-term monetary case analysis to justify funding students’ education by comparing the amount of money government spends on students’ education with the amount of extra money the government receives when that community of students is working. One unsurprising conclusion was that “...the direct stakeholders, namely the government and the students, have different values and attitudes towards the higher education premium”
11.4 Editorial comments on Economic influences and Education Policy

Our seven chapters on economic influences of education policy consider local, country and international effects of promoting common global neo-liberal values in education and through education by exclusively privileging monetarist methods of ‘competing for the cheapest’ that maximise competition whilst minimising cost. This section opens with Chapter 22 in which Luisa Cerdeira and Tomás Patrocínio give a research perspective from Portugal on ‘Student mobility in European Higher Education’ – equity aspects of the 'Bologna Declaration (1999)'. These exchanges are financially difficult for poorer students from countries where education is paid from taxes, particularly where these students wish to move to countries where education is paid for twice – by taxes and by the students. Students are represented primarily as paying ‘customers’ in those countries where monetarist values and their currency targets have usurped the policy processes and decisions in the economics of state education.

The potential diversity of Cultural Identities that result from traditional education is seen in its varied contexts as well as from the varied values it imparts. However, the assault of monetarist methods and their intended outcomes on these wider educational values can be hidden in the statistical aggregation of this valued diversity. This issue is revisited again in chapters 24 and 27 where authors call for economic education policies that are more responsive to a disaggregation of statistics identifying different contexts and identity components of preferred non-neoliberal Cultural identities. International mobility of students and of qualified employees – including students who stay in their host countries as newly qualified employees – financially benefit both the select few who move and the employers in the host countries at the expense of
indigenous employees in both countries. In chapter 23 professor of Education Kingsley Banya gives a non-neoliberal ‘talent poaching’ perspective on these EU ‘Blue card’ mobility schemes; particularly on their adverse impact as a ‘brain drain’ on development in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The presence or absence of tuition fees, or the level of such fees, dominates the current political and ideological discourse regarding affordability and accessibility to higher education in Portugal. In Chapter 24 Luisa Cerdeira and Belmiro Cabrito firm-up some of the soft costs and benefits associated with being a higher education student in Portugal. In doing so they widen the contexts of cultural identity to other forms of social support as doing so would better position European countries on indices of higher education accessibility. However, as monetarist arguments cannot so readily be applied in these wider contexts this questions the veracity of narrow neoliberal values in Portuguese higher education policy. In chapter 25, Valdis Rocens, from the eastern side of the Baltic Sea, shows that marketing models are not predictive of education as a product – perhaps, to swim against the global tide, it is because education is intrinsically not a neoliberal market system. Using a consistent set of monetarist variables and some non-traditional market modelling assumptions, e.g. "The market share can be calculated proportional to the number of students and not proportional to revenue as it is traditionally done in the economic analysis of markets" (p. 676) Rocens proposes a more consistent market model that contradicts international neoliberal policy processes in education by showing that across 17 and 18 countries respectively national development (GDP) goes up the more that is spent on each student (r=0.88) but goes down with increased competition between educational institutions (r=-0.88).
England has a pay-twice higher education system. Taxes are collected to pay for the education system but, in addition, students themselves must also pay. However, across the border in Scotland higher education is paid mainly from population taxes. As England and Scotland use English as the language of instruction, this contributes to many students from England going across the border to be educated in Scotland. In response to this influx, Scotland is debating the prospects of charging around £9000 to foreign students. The pros and cons of this ‘Graduate Contribution’ are aired for us in Chapter 26 by Dr James Moir from the University of Abertay at Dundee. In his chapter, Dr Moir emphasizes the development of graduate attributes from the perspective of those engaged in learning in higher education. He stresses the continuing need to enculturate a much wider cultural identity than that matching the neoliberal policy agenda; the need for the development of knowledge and skills not only for the ‘knowledge economy’, but for living and working across world cultures. He, like our expert authors from other countries across the world, supports the development of skills and abilities that enable the individual to work not only across knowledge boundaries, but to become fully active and engaged citizens. He argues for a more holistic and inter-connected approach and provides new challenges for stakeholders in developing a blueprint for higher education which is relevant to living in the new Europe and global village.

Educationalists across the globe are reporting in this book a loss of professional autonomy and a frustrating decrease in their ability to maintain full educational values in the face of the neoliberal policy onslaught on education. We, therefore, welcome the positive, personal and practical leadership guidance on how to lead in a cost-cutting resource-reducing environment that Professor Shaw, Head of the School of Education...
at the University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point (UWSP) USA brings to Chapter 27. She affirms “There was no question that stakeholders wanted to insure the security of their positions while, simultaneously maintaining program quality.” She describes one particularly heinous state-wide monetary education policy that was potentially devastating for faculty, both emotionally and professionally, as “For two years, the State of Wisconsin mandated unpaid furlough days for all state employees (which included all employees at the state-funded schools). During state-mandated furlough days, employees were not to perform any work-related duties, including reading and responding to email, answering telephone calls, and so forth. These unpaid days for faculty members resulted in a 3.065 per cent pay reduction in salary (in addition to the rescinded 2 per cent pay raise). Many faculty members felt unappreciated and, not surprisingly, a decline in morale ensued.” (p. 715) In this chapter professor Shaw shares with us how she dealt with this, and with other cuts that were made, without losing staff or reducing program quality and while maintaining a spirit of morale among her faculty.

Whereas Chapter 27 shows us a positive individual-level leadership response to the neoliberal reduction of education values, Chapter 28 closes our economic policy section with successful country-level responses to promoting the values of national cultures and languages. In her chapter, ‘Celtic languages in Europe and revitalisation programmes: Language policies, language planning and linguistic communities’, Dr. Sylvie Gagnon, who lectures in French linguistics, language and culture at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand, illustrates how and why Welsh, Irish and Breton Celtic language revitalisation programmes have been varyingly successful in safeguarding the cultural identity heritages of their communities. The Welsh, like the Catalans in Spain, have been particularly
successful in promoting their traditional language and cultural values by enacting minimum protectionist employment requirements that limit competition for employment to Welsh speakers and by putting in place a slew of civic facilities that support the value enhancing ripple-out effects of this economic policy.

11.5 Editorial comments on Meanings and Uses of Standards in Education Policy

Of all policy tools, ‘standards’ most objectively denote, at all levels of governance and usage, the values, attitudes, beliefs and intentions (VABI) promoted by policy. They have become recursive in promoting those values both in processes of compliance and in building the ideal cultural identities of supplicant institutions and individuals down through the hierarchy of policy application. The chapters in this section highlight different ways in which educationalists working in government controlled schools and in government-controlled higher education from different countries battle coercive monetarist processes of standards compliance with attempts to negotiate traditional educational identities through committed communication.

The cost effective ‘confessional’ of standards compliance pervades education policy from student to institutional levels through Students’ Evaluation of Teaching to Institutional Evaluations for ‘Quality Assurance’. At low or no cost to the policy-makers and policy pushers education stakeholders are required to self-evaluate the quality of their compliance to required standards. In our first chapter on standards, Chapter 29, Pieter-Jan Van de Velde and Floris Lammens describe a system of external Quality Assurance (QA) that has grown, developed and adjusted to the specific context of Teacher Training programmes within Flemish Higher Education. Whilst part of the overall framework is perceived as being
highly accountability oriented and embedded in several legal decrees and top-down policies, there is also a high level of stakeholders representation and participation which might be instrumental in changing the defensive attitude towards outside interference and control often witnessed towards external QA. This was achieved through a resource intensive many-to-many democratic ‘village hall’ approach to achieving values consensus - with insufficient financial support from government. With regard to the international usability of such a process, the education system in Flanders is less monetised in comparison to England, the USA and many other countries where educationalists would now be less willing to take on extra work without extra payment. For example, this quality assurance programme is part of the proactive study in Flanders’ initiative for promoting student mobility. That difference is illustrated by their Asian exchange program (ASEM-DUO Fellowship Programme) where one of the five eligibility criteria is “2). The Flemish higher education institution, as well as the Asian partner cannot ask tuition fees to the students for the exchanges” (http://www.asemduo.org/sub_2/content.asp?table=bbs_03_program&multi=prog_belgium&idx=13&amp_form_data_yn=Y).

In comparison the monetisation of English higher education is hindering European exchanges and forcing Scotland to follow suit (See chapter 26, ‘The Graduate Contribution’). In contrast, Chapter 30, presented by Ted Zigler, Robert Beebe and Lisa Shoaf from a more monetarist Ohio, USA, also reports a negotiation for compliance standards using representatives that went smoothly with minimum local government support. So we might want to know who pays for smooth negotiation of compliance standards under monetarist policies and why. In keeping with monetarist processes much of the
education budget in the USA is distributed to commercial companies. For example, in Ohio as in other states accountability to compliance standards for children is contracted to commercial test companies. American States are reported to spend $1.7 Billion/year on K-12 test contracts. (http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/research/files/reports/2012/11/29%20cost%20of%20assessment%20chingos/11_assessment_chingos_final.pdf). Ohio has also extended values of student testing to teacher testing using PRAXIS from the ETS test publisher (Education Testing Services). This is appealingly marketed as measuring the ‘Value added’ by each individual teacher. However, the behaviours chosen by government to represent ‘Value added’ are operationally defined by EVAAS Value-Added methodology, provided by SAS, Inc. and are much contested by grass roots policy-users (http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/1096). EVAAS contributes to standards compliance through ‘payment by results’ for teachers; the results being students’ standardised exam marks on the main ‘employee-ment’ curriculum skills. Chapter 30 ‘Principal Accountability Policy and Stakeholder Values’, reports the smooth extension from this measurement of standards compliance for students and teachers to measuring standards compliance for School Principals – “language drafted by the writing team was closely critiqued by the Ohio Department of Education, McREL, and the Educator Standards board facilitators” (p. ?) “and the Educational Testing Service, which produces the PRAXIS licensure exam, offered feedback on the alignment.” As commercial background “President Obama’s Race to the Top competition (2009) encouraged similarly oriented initiatives, contributing over $350 million in federal support (Robelen, 2012) to be allocated to those states that adopt methods to better measure the “value” a teacher “adds” to student learning from year to year.” (Amrein-
We see that here how compliance standards are a tool of monetarist processes used to promote Government neoliberal values. The government introduces compliance standards which are used to divert education tax money to test companies for policing compliance to government neoliberal values. Jackson and Bassett (2005) report that $517 million is paid to private companies for the 45 million tests used annually as part of the USA’s ‘No Child Left Behind’ programme. Guiding the acceptance of compliance standards, with government oversight of legal language alignment, is a smooth business investment for the test companies - but excludes the voices and values of the policy-users.

In Sweden the diversion of education taxes to private companies is much less advanced than in the US. The role of enforcing compliance standards taken by test companies in the US is now taken in Sweden by the Inspectorate and with similar issues of dissent from the policy-users. Chapter 31, by Christina Segerholm from MidSweden University, reports how the Inspectorate is now used to enforce ‘good education’ standards compliance of schools. The ability of schools to comply with standards depends, not only on what schools do but crucially on the social-demographic and the resource contexts of the schools – the un-voiced cultural identities of their demographics. However, in her study of “values in evaluation” professor Segerholm notes “resources or other local conditions are not of interest in the inspections and are not examined or taken into account in the decisions...” (p.814). She notes the different neo-liberal and local grass roots interpretations of ‘good education’ “The new inspection processes emphasize ‘good education,’ meaning following the rules, regulations, and instructions in the national policy documents
independent of local conditions. Furthermore, ‘good education’ is interpreted in line with what is put forward in research on successful schools. Indicators in the inspection are drawn from there and made into national requirements, as indicators for all schools.” (p. 823).

In Chapter 32, Anna Siri from Genoa, Italy, relates some results of compliance standards that reduce education to monetarist values of employee-ment in her Chapter ‘Health Professions Student Admission Policy in Italy: Linking Selection and Performance’. In particular, selection standards aim to predict course success. If standards of ethics and professionalism are not assessed for course success - and not compulsory for courses as described in Chapter 34 - then they have no need to be included in selecting students for course success. One result is "Moreover many students are not deeply motivated and tend to lose their interest in their future jobs very early. This is one of the main reasons why their drop-out rate is quite high." (p. 834). Similarly, in Chapter 33 ‘Essential Aspects in Technical Teacher Education’, in an effort to cut down on students who become bored and inattentive, do tests poorly, get discouraged, and in some cases change to other curricula or drop out of school Tiia Rüütmann and Hants Kipper from Estonia report the planning of an engineering curriculum to include ethical attitudes where teachers can be prepared to take responsibility for a sustainable, humane, socially and environmentally compatible contribution to shaping society – values excluded from employee-ment. However, in Chapter 34, Charles Mitchell from Troy University, Alabama, USA – who advertise themselves as the ‘Best Buy in Education’ – not surprisingly reports "the difficulty of teaching ethics in public administration" even though "clear ‘mandates’ for doing so that are found in NASPAA [National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and
Administration] and ASPA [American Society for Public Administration] guidelines” Interestingly, ethics courses are not a required element of all public administration curricula and Dr. Mitchel points as a result to “declining ethical standards” and to the “Scandals, examples of immorality and corruption in government abound throughout the nation.” (p. 876).

We finish this section on Standards with a suggested solution for reversing the monetarist trend of ‘turning the identity of universities into that of business corporations’ by moving the identity of corporations towards that of traditional civic responsibility and of sharing the traditional values of universities, so that organisations are judged not only by monetary standards but by civilised standards of traditional universities. In Chapter 35, Soudabeh Jalili and Golamreza Memarzadeh from Tehran, Iran, present, in their chapter on ‘Organizational Civilization’ alternative values that they say should define the cultural identity of an organisation – values such as 'civilised' features of "philanthropist, knowledge and specialty, order and law, social courtesy, organizational improvement, and organizational civilization behaviour” (p.892). Modelling corporate identities on universities, instead of turning universities into corporations, would go some way towards creating the modern business models of social responsible Civic Corporations and of Sharing Corporations for which the traditional university is the archetype cultural identity.

11.6 Editorial comments on Governance for and through Neoliberal Policy

Your education builds your identity. Education governance has become control over the building of a select ideal type of identity. Most of the chapters in this section stem from 'grass roots' dissatisfactions with the narrowing of government controlled mass education to that of mainly building cultural identities
of 'employee-ment', whereby the ideal cultural identity of the student is narrowed to that of being an employee. Each chapter relates critically to aspects of governance promoting monetarist processes and outcomes whilst disempowering wider grass root education values. This disempowerment stems from a lack of grass roots influence on policy which drives its enforcing resource-accountability cycle. In particular, the narrow criterion that legitimises authority of policy-makers, of resourcers and of accountability controllers - such as popularity at election time - is not directly supported by the processes of committed communication. The disconnect is so marked that layers of bureaucracy are intentionally created by policy makers to distance the influence of grass root values (Sultana, 2012, p. 363; Valsan, & Sproule, 2008, p. 949).

This has become a major issue because it has accompanied a major political change. The ideal of representative democracy perhaps lead to grass roots expectation of a Lockean ‘state of nature’ where traditionally the government oversaw a service of resource distribution which had been agreed through the voting system to represent all values of the electorate. This has now changed. Now, neoliberal Governments oversee a service of resource distribution which is modified by governance reforms to promote the values of government – simply ensuring that ‘He who plays the piper calls the tune’. A detailed US$1.7 Billion example of this process using compliance standards is mentioned in the introduction to Chapter 30 above. In addition, political cultural identity has become increasingly 'Elite' – in the sense of 'Elite and Counter-elite Theory’ - with competitive self-interested values – in the sense of Mitchels’ (1915) ‘the iron rule of oligarchy’ - which are quite different from the more altruistic values of grassroots’ communities that they govern. The subterfuge of neo-
liberal governance, like Chomski’s ‘manufacture of consent/content’, is to promote monetarist policies as though they are serving all community values.

Our section on education Governance is opened by Ana Elisa Spaolonzi Queiroz Assis and José Roberto Rus Perez, who in chapter 36, report on the judicial control of public policy education in the State of São Paulo, Brazil. Their report illustrates that committed communication is assumed by the grass roots users of education and ensured by a system of 'checks and balances' to which stakeholders should conform. However, Ana and José detail modifications to the system of governance through actions of the judiciary that seem to override these checks and balances to disempower the influence of grass root values. Chapter 37 reports on a similar ‘take-over battle’ to return to local control, after 15 years of state takeover of school governance in nine north-eastern cities of the USA. The local values are signified by indicators of increased public commitment to education; increased funding; lowered class size; increased stability; and against the diminished role for parents and community involvement groups. However, these policy-users, perhaps inconsistently, continue to accept the narrow employee-ment definitions of attainment as one indicator of local values.

Chapter 38 illustrates that governance in Singapore is embedded in a very different culture. All policy and behaviours to serve education policy are decided by government. The policy is to produce a population with the ideal cultural identity being ‘productive workers for the economic good of the country’. Perhaps it is their non-European cultural history that frees them to be so publicly forthright. From the committed communication perspective the only degree of freedom is to seek population compliance by manipulating interpretations of mandatory policy
behaviours to align with the relatively homogeneous population values that have historically been cultivated. This is done through control of the media and direct fiscal and social rewards and punishments. Official policy discourse and media discourse work in combination to promote alignments of values, attitudes and purposes across all grassroots’ stakeholders. The different problem in Singapore is that past government success in building commitment of the population to past policy reduces the speed of aligning established population values to new policy behaviours. This diffidence to change within fundamental acceptance is illustrated in Chua’s chapter on ‘(Mis)Aligning of Values, Attitudes and Purposes of Education Reforms across Various Stakeholders in Singapore’.

Chapter 39 by Urška Štremfel and Damjan Lajh from Slovenia is reported more from the management perspective, nicely illustrating the neoliberal subterfuge. The chapter reports that the Slovenian governance systems in place, e.g. education financing, are similar to those of the EU so the grass root education communities already agree to follow essentially what are the systems of EU governance. However, although the bottom level policy-users already follow EU type governance systems they are not always aware of this similarity and believe that their systems are traditional. The chapter suggests that an awareness of this alignment would motivate lower end 'grass roots' policy-users to integrate more overtly and completely with the EU systems. The chapter does not emphasise notions of knowledge which are not instrumental to the EU neo-liberal conception of economic efficiency. In line with its management perspective the research for the chapter was financed by The Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS) which was established by the Government of the Republic of Slovenia (based on its decision taken.

In Chapter 40, authors Antonio Luzón, Miguel Pereyra and Mónica Torres use a critical analysis of the discourses that have presided the ‘Bologna Process’ resulting in a perception of this process as a large scale device promoting neo-liberal governance of a Spanish University. In contrast, Philip Garner and Fiona Forbes pool their UK and Australian perspectives to report an example of specialist interest group resource and process disadvantage and dissatisfaction - namely Principals from all sectors of the Australian school system as school leaders for students with special educational needs and disabilities (SEND). This chapter explores the potential impact of the understanding of school administrators/principals on the educational experiences of young people who identify with special educational needs and disabilities. The importance of leadership in school settings is well researched and widely accepted internationally. What is less understood is the part that school leaders play in framing the life chances of this group of young people and the pivotal part played by the principal’s familiarity with the way that young people engage with the curriculum. Philip Garner and Fiona Forbes address these issues from an empirical perspective of Australian professionals. In our last chapter, Joanna Madalińska-Michalak presents an English/Polish comparative study of school leadership for poor disadvantaged schools - communities characterised by poverty and deprivation. The indicator of success is ‘educational achievement of all children’ and the process is leadership through shaping and utilising organizational culture. This study, like the study from the USA in chapter 37, does not question the definition
of educational achievement of all children as the enculturation of employee-ment. Nor does it question the local or global competition for employment that will always ensure these communities, characterised by poverty and deprivation, will remain the most needy and exploited in society.

5. Acknowledgements

We are indeed fortunate to have safe and vicarious access through these chapters to the extremely varied rich professional cultural experiences and insightful commentaries of these multilingual educationalists. For many authors English is not their first, or second or even third language; yet they have made considerable efforts to share the different cultural qualities of their educational experiences with our English readers. In mono-lingual environments one social function of language is to judge the educational level of the communicator and to - perhaps rashly - infer the same level to the content of their communication. For example, spoken French can be learnt without formal education, but written French is so different that it is a social marker of formal education. To generalise this inference to judge the quality of content communicated in a multilingual context - such as this book - is a gross limitation of culturally cosseted monolingual speakers. The editors considered ninety-nine nascent research reports from central and peripheral world cultures which were ideally fitting expositions of comparative cultural perspectives on Education Policy. However, this publication process does not offer what our Aussie colleagues call 'a level playing field'; particularly with regard to equal access to resources - internet access, time and support for research, access to the cultural capital of Standard English, etc. Hence, the forty-two chapters in this handbook - each submitted to at least three peer-reviews for the different qualities of experiences presented - also stand for the authors of
the fifty-seven chapters who did not have the resources to meet the numerous rigours and deadlines of this publication - we must thank them. It is to our advantage that we find ways of giving them a voice.

5.1 Who are the seventy-six authors who have contributed to this book?

Authors who successfully negotiated the selection and review processes are listed, with their affiliations, at the front of the book. Figure 1 shows the twenty-three countries of the institutions with which our contributing authors are affiliated. The national representation of our contributing authors is much wider as universities often pride themselves on the diverse national origins of their faculty. Dr. Antonyan from Yerevan State University, Armenia who contributed chapter 2 is one of many examples of our authors’ international work mobility. Kristine Antonyan was an Erasmus Mundus fellow in Greece in 2009 and was also a visiting professor at California State University, Fresno in 2010. Interestingly, in Chapter 23 professor of Education Kingsley Banya is somewhat critical of these mobility schemes.
Readers who would like this type of more intimate introduction to our authors will find brief BioPics listing such interesting background information from page 1297 near the end of the book.

5.2 Who are the International Board of Associated Editors?

Who are the fifty-seven international subject experts whose local and international knowledge and experience have guided the publication of this book? The members of the International Board of Associated Editors, including their affiliations are listed at the beginning of this book. The twenty-five countries of their affiliated institutions are illustrated in Figure 2.
Figure 2: International affiliations of our Board of Associate Editors

Again, as with our contributing authors, and as befitting this International Handbook, the international representation of our Associate Editors is much wider than the countries of their institutional affiliations.

For those readers who are interested in the amazing range of academic expertise that has been graciously and freely given by these stewards of the Academy, we direct you to their interesting, and often surprising, credentials from page 1345, at the end of this book.

I would like to personally thank the in-house copy editors, my post-grad students who helped with the extensive editing chores, my colleagues worldwide for their local knowledge and cogent advice, and particularly my doctoral student Uta Rampersand who so accurately organised the initial internet communications on which the success of this extensive project has subsequently been built.
We must especially also thank our academic publisher, Analytrics, and our Series Editor Professor Guy Tchibozo, whose organisations have made this publication possible. Subsidised hardcopies of this book have also been made available at cost price for all researchers, education students, teachers, academics and specialist educationalists in our global academic community. These non-profit hardcopies are available from on-line bookstores and university bookshops worldwide. Electronic copies of the book, in colour, have also been made freely available for multiple download by courtesy of Analytrics. These copies can be conveniently electronically searched, quoted, cited and freely used under the 'non-commercial share alike Creative Commons world-wide usage'. This e-book can be downloaded freely from the resource pages of the publisher's website at:

http://www.analytrics.org/Pages/EESENOtherEventsandResources.aspx

Last, and perhaps foremost, we must thank you, our reader, whose interest has led you to this especially tailored book and new starting point for Education policy-outcome relationships. We trust as you now read this, that you can also move forward and use the Culturometric lens we give you to engender new visions of how you will enrich our world Cultures of Education.

Béatrice Boufoy-Bastick

Editor
Abbreviations and acronyms

- AfL - Assessment for Learning
- CoP - Community of Practice
- CSAUS - Cross-National Studies of Adult Understanding of Science
- EFL - English as a Foreign Language
- ESL - English as a Second Language
- ESOL – English for Speakers of Other Languages
- IAEP-II - International Assessment of Educational Progress
- IALS - International Adult Literacy Survey
- ICCS - International Civic and Citizenship Education Study
- ICT - Information and Communication Technology
- INES - International Indicators of Education Systems
- PIRLS - Progress In International Reading Literacy Study (e.g. PIRLS 2001, PIRLS 2006)
- PISA - Programme for International Student Assessment
- SPSE - Study on Performance Standards In Education
- TIMSS - Third International Mathematics and Science Study

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Preface


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CHAPTER 22

STUDENT MOBILITY IN EUROPEAN HIGHER EDUCATION AREA: AN EXAMPLE OF EQUITY?

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Abstract

One of the main goals of the Bologna Declaration (1999) was the mobility aiming at European cooperation and quality assurance in the framework of the building of a European HE Area.

It is necessary for all involved parties to recognize that Europe is not homogeneous when it comes to HE (Higher Education) admission policies. A survey on the social conditions in Europe (Eurostudent, 2005) concluded there was a large difference among several European countries. Such diversity ought to be accounted for when aiming at a larger homogeneity.

This paper aims at analysing the process of internationalization and mobility in Europe taking in consideration the different social supports to the students and aims at comparing the level of the
students abroad, trying to identify some of the obstacles for the mobility in Europe. The paper also analyzes and discusses the actual trends of Erasmus Program as the most successful mobility program, but with serious problems concerning accessibility and affordability.

**Keywords**

internalization – mobility - social support – accessibility and affordability – funding

**Introduction**

The main research questions studied in this paper are:

*Which are the most successful European Countries related with students’ mobility?*

*Which funding policies are more appropriated to promote equity in the framework of the internationalization and the mobility inside Europe?*

In a certain way, we can measure the success of the Bologna agenda looking at the mobility achievements. This focus was recently again underlined by the Communiqué of the Conference of European Ministers Responsible for HE (2009), that took place in Leuven, in 28-29 April:

Therefore, mobility shall be the hallmark of the European HE Area. We call upon each country to increase mobility, to ensure its high quality and to diversify its types and scope. In 2020, at least 20% of those graduating in the European HE Area should have had a study or training period abroad.

This chapter is built in two parts:
Student Mobility in European Higher Education Area: an Example of Equity?

- the first part encloses a presentation of HE accessibility in Europe (participation rates) and a brief description of social support policies in European HE and the results concerning the accessibility;
- the second part presents a comparison between the European HE enrolments and the number of students involved in the ERASMUS Program.

In the conclusion there is an identification of some policy problems to which internalization and mobility are concerned.

1. The European HE policies concerning accessibility, social support, internationalization and mobility

In HE accessibility equity is a central issue when defining funding policies, as the need to promote equity in HE access and to overcome financial barriers is generally acknowledged. The most immediate way to define accessibility is to know the number of people whom to give the opportunity to access HE, as broadened systems tend to be more accessible than the smaller ones. HE accessibility will then be the ability of most people, regardless of their social and economical background, to have equal access to HE.

Equity (or inequity) in HE access depends on opportunities (the offer side), on aspirations (the demand side) and on the eligibility process or social stratification. The opportunities youngsters may have depend mostly on financial resources from governments to HE. On the other hand, students’ aspirations will depend on education costs, the benefits of getting a degree (or at least the perception that students and their families have regarding such benefits) and the risks students may be willing to take in case they fail or do not graduate.

Eligibility, that is, educational stratification mechanisms, is set upon a complex process of class
structure (ability, aspirations, and financial status) and upon the HE admission process. Some studies and analysis undergone on the issue show that inequity persists; regardless of the growth of aspirations and opportunities there is still social economical stratification among HE students, where wealthier strata predominate, despite diverse factors in international terms.

The accessibility concept is ambiguous, as acknowledged by Rounce (2004, pp.1-2):

The term access, narrowly defined, is used to refer to participation in any type of post-secondary education. … More recent research has begun to acknowledge and explore gradation in access, including differentiating between college and university attendance, university undergraduate, professional, and graduate degrees, institutional choices, and affordability.

Although these definitions may seem simple, obtaining an accessibility measure is quite difficult to achieve. According to Usher and Cervenan (2005) one can think of four indicators of HE accessibility measure: participation rate, education level rate, equity educational rate and gender parity index. Nevertheless, the comparability of the different indicators is hard to accomplish because there are few available data in international levels.

According to Cerdeira (2008) country’s participation rate is usually expressed as the fraction of students of a certain age enrolled in HE within the set of the total population of the same age.

Participation rates are unsatisfactory measures for two different reasons. The participation rate in HE alone is not a synonym of graduation and, in addition, there can be some confusion between the number of
students who are admitted in HE and the dimension and duration of the courses. In fact, a country with many students and short-term courses can have the same participation rate of a country where there are few students, but in longer term courses (Cerdeira, 2008).

Nevertheless, we use the last available data on the “Population and Social Conditions” by Mejer and Gere (Eurostat, 2008) to analyze the level of the majority of the European and other countries concerning the participation rate in the “Tertiary Education”.

Figure 1 – Participation rate in “Tertiary Education” in 2006 (cohort 20-24 years old and all students enrolled in HE)

![Graph showing participation rate in Tertiary Education](image)


Considering the participation rate related to the cohort 20-24 years old, we found a group of eighteen countries with high level of participation (up the European average, EU27 = 28.2%). The group with the highest rate of participation (up 35%) is composed by Slovenia (44.5%), Finland (39.9%), Poland...
(39,3%) and Lithuania (39,0%) and Greece (38,4%). A second group still up to European average includes Latvia (32,9%), Norway (32,3%), Belgium (31,2%), Estonia and The Netherlands (30,8%), Sweden (30,5%), Hungary (30,35), Italy (30,0%), France (29,0%), Spain (28,8%) and Czech Republic (28,5%) and Denmark (28,4%). Below the European average there is a group of countries not far from it with a rate of participation up to 25%: Iceland (27,2%), Bulgaria (27,0%); Romania (26%), Portugal (25,4%) and Slovakia Republic (25,1%). In the group with the lowest rates (below 25%) it’s surprising to see the rates of participation of Germany (22, 7%) and United Kingdom (20, 5%). Figure 1 show this reality and shows also the rate of all the students enrolled in HE.

We can underline that the countries with the highest rates of participation are both countries from a strong traditional education culture (old soviet influence countries) or countries with a funding system without tuition fees or with a strong social support (grants and loans). Nevertheless, it is important to underline the European HE Area is not homogeneous and in what concerns accessibility, there is a significant diversity of situations.

A report from the Directorate-General for Education and Culture of the European Commission (Mora et al., 2007, p.40) acknowledged this accessibility limitation of students from poorer sectors and encouraged public policies to support youngsters and their households to attend and be supported at upper-secondary education level:

"Parental and school influences are extremely important determinants of participation at post-compulsory level. In most countries tertiary education requires prior qualification – generally at upper-secondary level – so that attainment in the compulsory phase of education, as much as
anything which occurs subsequently, is a key to tertiary participation.

The accessibility and affordability (ability to pay) depends not only on the funding policy, but also on the social supports and incentives. On the other hand, the social supports policy depends highly on country’s social and cultural perspectives regarding parental obligations.

Although the figures have to be analysed in light of each country’s cultural and social traditions, there is a significant difference in Europe in terms of student support. In Scandinavian countries, most students are independent from their parents and regarded as young adults with a high level of independence. On the contrary, in southern European countries, tradition keeps students dependent on parental income and living with their family. Such diversity ought to be accounted for when aiming at a larger homogeneity within HE systems in Europe.

On the matter of financing support systems to HE students, Finnie, Usher e Vossensteyn (2004) group them into four major models, which result from the diverse combination of policies of support and tuition fee application in the different countries: a) the student- centred model; b) the parent- centred model; c) the independent student model and d) the compromise model. From the description of these authors, a summary table has been created (see table 1), which displays the main characteristics of each model.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Student-centred Model</strong></td>
<td>Students are regarded as having primary responsibility for the costs of their studies. As such, they often face relatively high tuition fees. This implies that public funds to HE institutions should not fully cover education costs and that financial support is focused on students, not their families (although family contributions are taken into account). Grants, subsidies and loans are awarded to students on a means-tested basis, thus targeting support at students from low-income families and those who are otherwise needy.</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Parent-centred Model</strong></td>
<td>Parents are morally, and in some cases legally, responsible for maintaining their children during their post-secondary studies. As a result, student grants and loans are available to relatively few students (generally from 15 to 35%) and the amounts awarded tend to be small. In contrast, parents are substantially subsidized in meeting their maintenance obligations to their children, generally receiving family allowances and/or tax benefits to help them do so. Tax benefits typically in the form of tax deductions generally provide more benefits for parents with higher incomes and savings ability than to parents with lower incomes. Support is mainly based on family income.</td>
<td>Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Portugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Independent Students Model</strong></td>
<td>Systems in which students are regarded as fully independent from their families are typically found in countries with a social and political welfare system. Students do not have to make tuition payments, meaning that governments pay all instruction costs. At the same time, these countries have relatively flat wage systems in which HE graduates do not earn much more than secondary-education graduates. In addition, public support for students fully covers their living expenses, regardless of whether they live with their parents or away from home. From 40 to 60 percent of the total support received by the students is provided through student loans; the rest comes in the form of grants.</td>
<td>Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Compromise Model

A final approach is where tuition and student support policies reflect a compromise between making students financially independent and having parents share costs.

All full-time students are eligible for basic study grants, which vary in generosity according to whether they live with their parents or away from home. In addition, about 30 percent of all students are eligible for supplementary grants based on a parental income test. The parents of students who do not get a (full) supplementary grant of this type are expected to make up the difference. Nevertheless, amounts are often not enough, and as a result students are eventually involved in part-time work.

Source: Cerdeira (2008), based on Finnie, Usher and Vossensteyn (2004)

The social dimension of the Bologna process is not left unattended by the Europeans decision makers during these last years, at least in rhetorical terms. The Communiqué of the Conference of European Ministers Responsible for HE (Bergen, 2005, p.4) stated:

We therefore renew our commitment to making quality HE equally accessible to all, and stress the need for appropriate conditions for students so that they can complete their studies without obstacles related to their social and economic background.

In addition, the type and level of support given to students, such as grants or subsidies, is rather diverse in the European context (% of students getting financial support from the State: UK 85%, Finland 71%, Netherlands 62%, France 53%, Austria, Germany, Spain and Portugal 25% and Italy 10%).

The Survey of the socio-economic background of ERASMUS students (2006, p.15), highlights that:
many students can not participate in the program due to financial reasons. Over half of the ERASMUS students that participate in the program in 2004/2005 knew other students who had been deterred from participating in the program mainly due to financial reasons. A significant proportion of them knew many other students who had not participated in the program for those reasons.

In Figure 2 are represented the answers from the students who have responded to it. It becomes clear there is an important group of countries where 60% or more of the students declared they knew other students that quit of participating in ERAMUS for financial reasons (Hungary, Greece, Bulgaria, Slovenia, Poland, Turkey, Romania, Spain and Portugal). On the other hand, countries like Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and surprisingly Latvia presented percentages lower than 30%.

Figure 2 – Proportion of students with none, some or many friends who have not participated in ERASMUS Program for financial reasons by home country (2004/2005)
2. Internationalization and the Erasmus Program

The goal defined in the Communiqué of the Conference of European Ministers Responsible for HE (2009), in Leuven, of achieving “in 2020, at least 20% of those graduating in the European HE Area should have had a study or training period abroad” is a difficult objective requiring strong proactive measures in terms of mobility promotion. That must concern the financial and organizing areas of the ERASMUS Programme, as the most important project of mobility in Europe.

In fact, The ERASMUS students received, in 2004/2005, a grant of 140€ per month (Otero e McCoshin, 2006, p. iii, Survey of the socio-economic background of ERASMUS students), but the additional expense of ERASMUS students during their ERASMUS period varies strongly depending on whether the students lived with his/her parents/family or not in their home country. The additional expense per month for an ERASMUS student who had lived at home the previous year of study would be 282 € (or around 2538 € for an academic year of 9 months). If we discount the average value of an ERASMUS grant (140 € per month) for an academic year of the same duration (1260 €) the net expense of the student 1278 €, which would need to be covered by alternative means (mainly family, work, loans or additional financial support for the ERASMUS period from institutions other than the Commission).
Under this information we can conclude that the grant covers only about 50% of the expenses of a student during his/her ERASMUS period.

As it can be seen in Figure 3, according to the Eurydice Key Data on HE in Europe (2007), in 2003/2004 less than 3% of the students from the great majority of the countries were studying abroad and this percentage changed little between 1998 and 2004. But, more important are the significant differences between the countries.

Figure 3 – Percentage of students in “Tertiary Education” studying in another Member State, Candidate Country or EFTA/EEA Member Country in 2003/2004


Considering the international students the Key Data on HE in Europe (2007, p.132) concluded:
Certain countries host proportionally more European students than others. In 2004, Belgium (7.1%), Germany (5.7%), Austria (12.5%) and the United Kingdom (5.1%) were the countries that hosted the biggest proportion of foreign students in tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6). On the other hand, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Turkey took in less than 0.5% of European students (ISCED 5 and 6).

According a more recent document of Eurydice (2009), in eighteen countries less then 3% of the students is enrolled abroad, with Russia, Ukraine and the United Kingdom with lowest rates, less than 1% enrolment abroad. In the opposite extreme were ten countries (Albania, Andorra, Cyprus, Macedonia, Iceland, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Malta and Slovakia) where near 10% of the students is enrolled abroad.

Besides the ERASMUS Program is one of the most successful achievements of Bologna Process, the number of students’ enrolled compare with the number of students of HE per country is still very modest. For a group of 30 countries with around 21 430 834 students enrolled in HE only 159 276 were outgoing students in 2006/2007. This represents only a rate of 0.7% of the total students enrolled. Table 2 describes this situation and shows the situation of each country.
Table 2 – Relation between the number of students enrolled in HE by country and the number of students enrolled in **ERASMUS** Program in 2006/2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Students</th>
<th>Count of Country</th>
<th>Count of Host Country</th>
<th>Count of home institution/Host Country</th>
<th>Outgoing Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luxembo</td>
<td>2692</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta *</td>
<td>10000</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1789</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>15721</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>2201</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>2289</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>178</td>
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<tr>
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<td>209</td>
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<td>808</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>2029</td>
<td>171</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>117</td>
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<td>792</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlan</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>69</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>78000</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovak</td>
<td>197</td>
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<td>655</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus *</td>
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<td>129</td>
<td>211</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>73</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latvia *</td>
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<td>807</td>
<td>373</td>
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<td>25</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>2145</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>879</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria *</td>
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<td>938</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United</td>
<td>2336</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>2342</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21430</td>
<td>1592</td>
<td>1593</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: OECD Education at Glance 2008 (column 1 - students enrolled in 2006); * EUROSTAT, Education statistics, UOE data collection.

In the opinion of European Students’ Union, the results are quite modest (ESU, 2009, p.8):
Mobility is another aspect of Bologna with something of a gulf between perception and reality, and where the pace of real change is considerably less than ministers, politicians and HEI leaders would have us believe. Despite the regular appearance of commitments to the contrary, the goal of making mobility the rule rather than the exception seems almost as elusive as ever.

Concerning the level of students who went abroad in the ERASMUS Program, the great majority of the countries had a modest rate and only a group of 12 presented a rate above 1% or plus of the enrolments of HE. In the extreme we found a group of 6 countries who didn’t achieve 0.5% of the HE enrolments. See Figure 4.

**Figure 4 – Ratione between the number of outgoing students and the number of the students enrolled in HE per country, 2006/2007**

Source: OECD Education at Glance 2008 (students enrolled in 2006); * EUROSTAT, Education statistics, UOE data collection.
In what respects the relation between the number of students incoming and the number of students enrolled in HE we can identify a group of thirteen countries with a ratio up 1% and a group of seventeen countries with a ratio smaller than 1% (the countries with a lower rate are Turkey, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Latvia, Greece and Slovakia Republic) as it can be seen in Figure 5.

**Figure 5 – Ratio between the number of incoming students and the number of the students enrolled in HE per country, 2006/2007**

Source: OECD Education at Glance 2008 (students enrolled in 2006); * EUROSTAT, Education statistics, UOE data collection.

It is also interesting to compare, in each country, the difference between the number of the outgoing students and the number of the incoming students (see column 6 of Table 2). This balance shows a group of seventeen countries that send abroad more students than they received (positive in Figure 6) and
another group receiving more students than “exporting” (negative in Figure 6). In this last group of countries we found United Kingdom, Ireland, Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries and the Iberia countries. There must be several reasons to explain this fact. Nevertheless, an important explanation could be the attractiveness of the HE Systems, as well as the English language and culture.

Figure 6 – Balance between the outgoing and incoming students within the ERASMUS Program

Source: OECD Education at Glance 2008 (students enrolled in 2006); * EUROSTAT, Education statistics, UOE data collection.

Conclusion

The Erasmus Program is a well known and successful program having a high degree of satisfaction among teachers and students in every European country. Considering the conclusions of the survey of the Socio-economic Background of Erasmus students, DG EAC 01/05, 2006, a big majority of the participants (71%)

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gave a positive or a very positive assessment to the program. Only 2% have considered their ERASMUS experiences as poor or very poor.

Nevertheless, the program is still a restricted. In order to implement more the ERASMUS Program it seems important that the offers within the Program can be even more diversified (courses, academic or enterprises training placements, focused learning visits, etc.). But the program is also restricted and elitist, taking in consideration that most of the students participating in the program belong to families with high socio-economic and cultural background. Near 58% of the Erasmus students had at least one parent who had experienced HE. The big majority of the students belong to families in which the parents are executives or have technical occupations. This trend as not changed since the last survey.

Reality is different from rhetoric. The differences in the heart of Europe are currently quite significant. The exclusion and inclusion issues form a dichotomy between Western and Eastern Europe and also between Northern and Southern European countries, and there is a great distance between both. This will have a consequence in the implementation of this important goal of the Bologna Process – to increase student mobility among the several education systems in Europe.

In conclusion, equity is a central issue for the HE accessibility, even in the mobility programs. It is essential to adopt and define funding policies to promote equity in HE access to overcome financial barriers. So, apart from the rhetoric, in view to provide the same opportunity to all students, it will be needed pragmatic and proactive social policies to support those who present a low socio-economic
condition and want to get involved in these mobility programs. Those policies have to be delivered both by the national governments and education institutions and especially by the EU central institutions.

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Chapter 23

The Impact of the Brain Drain on Sub-Saharan Africa Development

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Abstract

Education is a key venue supporting globalization in which “advanced skills and sophisticated knowledge are deemed essential to the construction of the ‘knowledge Society’” (Stromquist, 2002). The rise of the knowledge economy has reinforced the link between economic prosperity and higher education (Burbules and Torres, 2000). With a declining and ageing population, western countries are increasingly seeking new avenues to attract new talents and skills in the developing world. Several new schemes are in the works to attract the skilled labor force that is needed in the west. Some of these are the “Blue Card” Visa in the EUs 27 member states. The blue card will ease migration procedures for academics, researchers, and scientists from developing countries. Currently, the EU attracts only 5% of highly qualified economic migrants compared to 55% for the US or Canada. (OECD, 2008) Similarly, other developed economics such as South Korea has started schemes where by their universities are used to attract talented foreign students, with the idea of eventually staying in the host country. Using survey and interview data this paper critically analyzes the various schemes to poach talents
from developing areas, especially Africa and their adverse impact on human resource development in sub-Saharan Africa.

**Keywords**

Brain Drain – Knowledge Economy – Sub-Saharan Africa

**Introduction**

*Introduction 1. Globalization and the Knowledge Economy*

“Globalization” is a contested concept that holds different meanings for different people. There are contrasting perspectives about the nature of globalization’s impact. As Stromquist and Monkman assert, “most observers see a tendency toward homogeneity of values and norms; others see an opportunity to rescue local identities” (Stromquist & Monkman, 2000, p. 7).

As a result of globalization, countries and regional blocks are positioning themselves as competitive entities that will enter the global market with (it is hoped) “superior strengths and abilities” (Stromquist, 2002, p. xiii). According to Stromquist, the globalization process in education paradoxically involves the simultaneous mechanisms of centralization and decentralization (Stromquist, 2002).

Part of globalization has been the shift towards capitalist political economy. The values, institutions and modes of organization of a capitalist economy seem to be everywhere. Dunn (2000) claims for example, if the belief in the efficacy of centralized forms of control continues to erode, then governments, in one country after another, will have little choice but to put in place, the institutions which give expression to the belief; that is, the institutions of
a market economy. This trend is seen even in what used to be Soviet dominated countries of Eastern Europe and China. In several regions of the world, this process is already well advanced (southeast Asia). The result is a gradual but nonetheless systematic shift in the political thinking. It is becoming less and less likely that the familiar centralized institutional forms will resume the control over economic development that they once enjoyed. These changes set the context in which not only trade but also the universities will have to operate and, within which higher education institutions will have to work out their strategies for survival, which will directly affect the brain drain.

In this paper, globalization is taken to be the result of the processes of imitation, adaptation and diffusion of “solutions” to problems of many different kinds—whether they be new technologies or organizational forms or modes of working, migration, etc. The pervasiveness of globalization is not only in education but every aspect of human endeavors. Jones (1998) refers to the various agendas of globalization, which by nature are mutually reinforcing and increasingly leave those who refuse to participate isolated, and at a comparative disadvantage.

Jones posits that the multiplier effect of globalization on the processes which promote it—communication, information technology (IT), and mobility, will intensify and become more dominant aspects of societies for the foreseeable future (Jones, 1998).

Globalization has at least five far-reaching implications for higher education. First is the constriction of monies available for discretionary activities, such as postsecondary education. Second is the growing importance of technoscience and fields closely involved with markets, particularly international
markets. Third is the tightening relationship between multinational corporations and state agencies concerned with product development and innovation. Fourth is the increased focus of multinationals on global intellectual property rights and the quest for skilled talents from developing countries (Rose, 1996). To compete successfully in the new global market, nations have to cut back, reducing social welfare and entitlement programs, freeing capital and corporations from taxation and regulation, allowing them to operate unfettered (Friedman, 1981, 1991; Friedman & Leube, 1987). In the neoliberal model the only acceptable role of the state is as a global policeman and judge, patrolling the edges of the playing field to make sure it remains level, adjudicating trading infractions and transgressions. In this model the private sector is privileged as the engine of competition, and the state is no more than a drag on economic growth.

Higher Education’s role has shifted more to supporting an economy that is knowledge intensive at a global level. It is paradoxical that while the neoliberal state is supposed to be self-limiting state, under neoliberal market policies the state has become more “powerful.” This paradox is seen through Foucault’s nation of “governmentality,” which makes it possible to view the minimal state as promoting a new form of individualization where humans being turn themselves into market subjects under the sign of “homo economicus” (Peters, 1996).

**Introduction 2. Knowledge as the new form of capitalism**

The most significant change that underpins neoliberalism in the twenty-first century is the rise in the importance of knowledge as capital. The term ‘knowledge capitalism’ emerged only recently to describe the transition to the so-called ‘knowledge economy’, which is characterized in terms of the
economics of abundance, the annihilation of distance, the de-territorialization of the state, and, investment in human capital (Stiglitz, 2000; Bell, 2001; Mandle, 2002). As Burton-Jones (1999, p. vi) puts it, knowledge is fast becoming the most important form of global capital—hence “knowledge capitalism.” He views it as a new generic form of capitalism. For Burton-Jones and analysts of world policy agencies such as the World Bank and OECD, the shift to a knowledge economy involves a fundamental rethinking of the traditional relationships between education, learning and work, focusing on the need for a new coalition between education and industry. ‘Knowledge capitalism’ and ‘knowledge economy’ are twin terms that can be traced at the level of public policy to a series of reports that emerged in the late 1990s by the OECD (1996a) and the World Bank (1998), before they were taken up as a policy template by world governments in the late 1990s (Peters, 2001).

In the globalization economy higher education has featured on the WTO agenda not for its contribution to development but more as a service to trade in or a commodity for boosting income for countries that have the ability to trade in this area and export their higher education programs and skilled talents. Higher education has become a multi-billion dollar market as the quantity of education is increasing rapidly. It is reported that the export of higher education service has contributed significantly to the economy of the U.S. In 1999, it is estimated that the U.S., being the largest provider of educational services, earned $8.5 billion of the $30 billion market from this trade alone (Kavanagh, 2000).

Globalization and internationalization have hastened the spread of new values and approaches into every aspect of life including education and the “brain drain”. The nomenclature first coined by the Royal Society to

Introduction 3. Conceptual Framework: Migration

Because of globalization and the knowledge economy, there is an increase in global interaction and persistent global inequality across nations. The globalization process continues to sustain and even enlarge national disparities in development. The strengthened international ties and the persistent cross-national inequalities together explain cross-national variations in professional migration to advanced countries (Cheng & Yangft, 1998; Kapur & McHale, 2005; Ozden & Schiff, 2005; Regets, 2007). International ties further promote Western value system, as the relationship is often asymmetrical with developing countries. Both money and other technological know-how tend to come from the West and thus, have a controlling influence in any agreement between developed and developing countries.

Migration is the result of individuals and households weighing the utility that is attainable under different migration regimes with the utility from not migrating. A migration regime is defined as a combination of place (the village of origin in the case of nonmigration, internal migrant destinations, or foreign destinations) and sector of employment. Migration entails a discrete, dichotomous, or polychotomous choice. A reduced-form approach, in which income or expected-income is replaced by a vector of exogenous (that is human and household capital) variables (Taylor 1986, Emerson 1989).

There are several trends that lead to brain drain. In this article, we examine broadly four that cut across
family and countries viz education, economics, push and pull factors, and NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations).

1. Internationalization of Higher Education

The growing articulation in higher education between developed and developing countries (Liu & Cheng, 1994) has helped propel the brain train. Theoretically, the articulation of higher education is bidirectional, involving mutual exchange and influence between sending and receiving countries. In practice, however, the impact of advanced countries' higher education systems on developed countries has been predominant due to advantages of accumulated scientific knowledge, an advanced technological base, and requisite economic and social infrastructures. This serves the political, economic, and social interest of the West. The most direct form of articulation of higher education is the presence of foreign students. Before World War II, foreign students were concentrated in renowned European universities such as Oxford, Cambridge, and the University of London. Well-known American universities such as Harvard, Yale, and MIT also received some foreign students. After World War II, the United States emerged as the largest recipient country of international students. (UNESCO, 1999). For example, in the past three decades, the number of international students enrolled in U.S. institutions has increased substantially, from 48,486 in 1960, to 134,959 in 1970, 286,343 in 1980, 386,851 in 1990, and 419,585 in 1992 and it estimated today at over half a million yearly... (there was a significant dip because of 9/11 but the situations has stabilized). China alone contributed about 128,609 students. (Institute of International Education, 2002; The Chronicle of Higher Education, November 11, 2011). The presence of large foreign students enhance the prospect of the brain drain. For example, in the medical and education fields, a fairly
large number of trainees do not return to their country of origin. The developed countries benefit directly from such talent through various schemes, like temporary work permits.

1.2 Cultural Exchange

The training in advanced countries facilitates students and scholars from developed countries in mastering the English language, technical terminology, a shared body of scientific knowledge, common research methods, and a style of thinking. These separations make the "students" employable in advanced countries (Agarwal & Winkler, 1984). The training also weakens their traditional and nationalist values. By contrast, Western values associated with "progress" and "modernity" are facilitated. Although family and social ties with the home country may remain for these professional migrants, political and national commitment tend to attenuate. Once other conditions come into play, these professionals will seek permanent employment in advanced countries (Agarwal & Winkler, 1984). Because of their Western education and values, their interests are often consonant with the needs of the advanced countries, which tend to devise immigration policies to actively recruit them. In the case of the United States, foreign-born professionals could become immigrants via adjustment to permanent resident status after procurement of employment. (J-1 and J-2 Visas) Many professionals of sending countries have become immigrants through this channel (Ong & Liu, 1994). Here there is a conflict between the interest of the countries sending the students and the host institutions. Once western values have been inculcated, it become difficult for students to go back home. Once individuals migrate, there are sometimes serious cultural difficulties in fully integrating into the system. It is a well-known factor that several highly qualified and skillful immigrants end up doing jobs for
below their qualifications, especially in large urban centers. It is not unknown for advanced degree holders to be employed driving taxis in cities such as New York, Washington, D.C., etc. Thus, integration to the host country is often difficult and painful (Taylor, 1986; Wong & Yip, 1999; Todaro, 1969; Stark & Prskawetz, 1998; Freeman, 1993).

1.2 Linkage

Even in cases where students and scholars do return to their home countries after training in advanced countries, their influential positions in education and research institutions as well as government enable them to contribute to the brain drain sometimes indirectly. These returnees have a tendency to use textbooks, teaching methods, and evaluation standards of advanced countries, with which they are familiar. They also tend to favor the curriculum and management systems of the countries where they were trained. All of these have an impact on the systems of higher education in their home countries. Many institutions of higher education in developing countries have been heavily influenced by Western curricula. In the case of Sub-Saharan Africa, former colonial powers such as Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, etc. have had major influence on their curricula. This is not surprising because many who played a major role in planning and modernizing these institutions as well as earlier political leaders were trained in Western universities. In addition, because of returnees' experiences and connections in advanced countries, they continue to recommend or arrange to send their outstanding students to study in countries of their former training (Sherman, 1990; Seligson, 1984; Ong & Liu, 1994; Agerwal & Winkler, 1984; Moja & Cloete, 2001; Ajayi et al., 1996; Saint, 1992; Portes, 1979). This process reproduces a large number of students abroad, their subsequent emigration, and their continuing influences on home country
development if and when they choose to return. This again enhances the value system of the host country.

1.3 Fellowships/Scholarships

These are other forms of educational exchange in addition to studying abroad. For instance, western countries establish schools or programs overseas modeling their own educational systems, especially in the former colonies (perpetuating the hegemony of the West). Indeed, partnership between North-South institutions has become a major means of brain drain (Banya, 2010). They send teachers to the South to teach English and other courses. The West influences higher education in developing countries through its foreign aid grants, inter-university programs sponsored by Western universities or funded by private foundations such as Fulbright Foundation, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller, etc. While it is true that the articulation of higher education primarily reflects the dependency of the South on Western countries for training high level manpower, nevertheless Western countries also send their students to study language, culture, history, art, and folk medicine or to conduct academic research in the south. These exchanges increase ties between researchers, teachers, and students of the North and those of the South. Through frequent interactions with Western teachers (such as the American Peace Corps, The British VSO, and the Canadian USO) students, and researchers, professionals or potential professionals in the South acquire working English and other skills, that may be in demand in the west. Extensive interaction with western culture, establish personal and institutional networks, increase the probability of emigration to the West.
2. Economic Interdependency

Economic interdependency has created basic conditions for the flow of professionals from developing countries of the South to the developed West. Since World War II, economic restructuring has occurred several times. Restructuring is characterized by two interconnected, complementary developments in both developed and developing countries (Bentler, 1989). Modern technological advancement has generated rapid economic development and transition from an industrial (secondary) economy to a service economy (e.g., administration of capitalist, information knowledge management, and services), which has together induced a large demand for the highly trained. This demand has exceeded the supply of professionals that advanced continues can effectively produce. The availability of a sizable group of highly trained professionals becomes a necessary condition for the countries development of capitalism. Economic growth and investment in infrastructures have generated a favorable research environment. These conditions have, in turn, produced better working conditions and relatively higher earnings. As a result, the high demand for professionals has led to the adoption of an immigration policy favorable to the admission of immigrant, for example, the American J visa, HIB visa program and the Canadian point system. Excellent research, working and living conditions have attracted a large number of foreign professionals to seek employment in advanced countries (Vas-Zolfan, 1976).

Technological advances and economic growth in advanced countries have resulted in the outflows of capital (in the form of investment, loans, etc.) and technologies (e.g., machinery, equipment and technological patents) into the south in search of greater profits. Since the 1980s, a genuine world economy has been emerging. Direct investment in the
south from western countries has been on the rise because labor costs in developing countries are cheaper. Improvements in industrial techniques have drastically shortened the turnover time of fixed capital. In short the business environment has improved in the past couple of years. A large part of industrial manufacturing and processing has moved to relatively less developed countries. With a more sophisticated labor force, high level technologies have moved to the south; for example, South Africa (Portes, 1976).

The flow of capital and resources to developing countries has contributed to the formation of a pool of potential professional emigrants and to the emergence of emigrations as an actual option (Sassen, 1988). Foreign direct investment in LDCs creates opportunities for local professionals to be employed by transnational corporations as middle-level or higher-level staff in order to maintain the smooth functioning of business. These professionals often receive short-term training in advanced countries, which facilitates their understanding of the differences between the advanced host country and their home country. Frequent contracts with foreign colleagues expose them to life/work styles, norms, and values of advances Western countries and gradually nurture their ideological and objective associations with those countries (“Westernization”). In addition, these professionals receive salaries much higher than their peers employer outside foreign firms. Experiences in foreign firms have also made these professionals employable in advanced countries (Saggen, 1988; Ong & Liu, 1994; Krits, 1987). Thus, installing a different value system that may be at odds with traditional ones.

Thus, economic interdependency between developing and developed countries heightens local professionals' awareness of international disparities, and promotes
their material and cultural aspirations. The opportunities of networking, grants them easy access to information, and prepares them for the international labor market.

1.3 Push and Pull Factors
The differences in development reflect both push and pull factors. From the receiving countries point of view they represent pull factors, while from the sending countries’ prospective they can be considered push factors (Kapur & McHale, 2005). Push and pull factors intertwine and mingle through the process of globalization. Global interactions in higher education and economic arenas create the necessary conditions for professional migration, but they alone are not sufficient to generate the brain drain. It is unequal development across countries that motivates professionals of sending countries to emigrate. Global inequality in development is by no means a new phenomenon. However, in the past several decades, the gap between poor and rich countries has widened (Seligson, 1984). According to The World Bank, in 1950 the average per capita GNP of low-income countries was $164, while that of industrialized countries averaged $3,841, or 23 times higher. By 1990, per capita GNP of low-income countries rose to an average of only $350, as compared to $19,590 of industrialized countries -approximately 60 times higher (World Bank [WB], 1992). Although the poor did not become poorer, the rich did get substantially richer. The globalization process has benefited developed countries more than developing countries because developed countries are in an advantageous position to utilize and maximize worldwide resources including labor, raw materials, and unequal exchanges. Several dimensions of global inequality bear most directly on professionals' decisions to emigrate and the size of a country's brain drain (Massey & Taylor, 2003). Some of the dimensions are:
A. *Differences in living conditions.* Living conditions include standards of living and quality of life. Differences in living conditions provide incentives for emigration. The larger the difference between a sending country and the West, the more likely the professionals of that country are to migrate to the West. For example, According to the Human Development Index, average life expectancy in Sub-Sahara Africa is 45 years, compare to the U.S. 79 (UN, 2006).

B. *Differences in work and research conditions.* In terms of education work and research conditions encompass funds for research and development, research equipment and related facilities, libraries, books and periodicals, competent technicians and other supporting personnel, etc. Excellent research conditions in the West attract talented human resources, while poorer conditions in the home country encourage professionals to leave and discourage those studying in the West from returning. Hence, differences in work and research conditions between a sending country and the West should be positively associated with the level of professional migration.

C. *Educational opportunities for children.* One of the important motivations for professional migration is the perceived educational opportunities for the next generation. Professionals consider not only their own lives and careers, but also their children's social mobility. Less favorable educational opportunities in the home country stimulate emigration to countries where better opportunities abound.

D. *Political conditions.* Political conditions influence professionals' decisions to emigrate as evidenced by the large-scale emigration of the highly trained in times of political instability and persecution. For example, Nigeria in the early 1970s lost a large number of highly qualified professionals because of the civil war. Thousands from the break away East never returned on a permanent-bases to live in the country. Zimbabwe provides a classical example. Recently, UNESCO-sponsored initiative to stern the academic brain drain collapsed, as lectures left the country. At the University of Technology at Chinhoy; academic staff trained in grid computing left
the institution for safer pastures. A report by a parliamentary portfolio committee indicated that because of brain drain, Zimbabwe has a vacancy rate of 63% for medical school lecturers, 62% for nursing tutors, over 50% for pharmacy, radiology and laboratory personnel, and 80% for midwives. A lecturer shortage crisis at the University of Zimbabwe was revealed by the parliamentary education committee in February. It reported that the university’s departments of animal science, commonly medicine, metallurgy and clinical pharmacology required 20, 18, 13 and 11 lecturers respectively- but had nobody in post. Computer science and veterinary sciences both needed 13 lecturers. Psychiatry, geo-informatics and mining engineering also had one lecturer each but needed 16, 10 and eight respectively. The department of medicine had eight lectures but needs 26 while anesthetic, statistics, anatomy and hematology each had two lecturers instead of 16, 11, 10 and eight (Mashininga, 2010). An atmosphere of intellectual freedom lures the highly skilled, while severe restrictions of expression considered vital for scholarship and scientific research preclude staying in the home country (Manyukwe, 2009).

Professional employment opportunities. The problem of structural imbalance often vexes some countries, especially developing ones. On the one hand, there are very few professionals, and yet some of professionals cannot find suitable employment (Henderson, 1970:90). The so-called graduate under unemployment. This may be caused by "educational surplus," poor planning, monopolization of senior positions, ineffective demand for foreign trained professionals, or a combination of the foregoing factors (Henderson, 1970; Anderson, 1988). A lack of employment opportunities in the home country therefore compels professionals to leave for countries with brighter employment prospects.
3.1 Some of the advantages and disadvantages of Brain Drain Advantages

The brain drain directly impacts income and poverty levels in the countries of origins. By moving to areas where workers are more productive and valued, migration leads to direct increase in global output and income (WB, 2009). Remittances generally reduce poverty and alter income distribution, but the evidence and direction of these effects depend on who receives them. The existing evidence on this front in a variety of countries is somewhat mixed. Among the more reliable and convincing studies are those based on household surveys. For example, the 2003 Mexico National Rural Household Survey suggests that (a) both internal and international remittances have an equalizing effect on incomes in high-migration areas but not in low-migration ones, (b) international remittances reduce rural poverty by more than internal remittances, and (c) the larger the share of households with migrants in a region, the more favorable the effect of increases in remittances on rural poverty (Mora & Taylor 2004). Although such a study has not been done in a Sub-Saharan African country, yet anecdotal evidence point to similar results. Remittances lead to enhanced human capital accumulation and entrepreneurship in origin households. This results in less child labor; greater schooling, start up businesses; self-employment and a higher rate of entry into capital-intensive enterprise (Rozelle, Taylor, & de Brauw, 1999). Individual family, and human capital characteristics may affect remittance behavior, migrants’ wages, and migrants’ willingness to share their earnings with the household through remittances. Finally, individual, family, and community variables may influence migration costs, as well as the ability to finance these costs. Wealth and migration networks may place a particularly important role in this regard (Taylor, 1987; Lopez & Schiff 1998).
3.2 Disadvantages

Brain drain is an economic cost, since emigrants usually take with them the fraction of value of their training sponsored by the government or other organizations. It is a parallel of capital flight, which refers to the same movement of financial capital. Brain drain is often associated with de-skilling of emigrants in their country of destination, while their country of emigration experiences the draining of skilled individuals (Krilz, 1989). Endogenous growth theory indicates that human capital (especially education and health) generates positive externalities (Lucas, 1988). Things that are lost with the emigration of educated workers are (a) the positive effects on the productivity of colleagues, employees, and other workers; (b) the provision of key public services with positive externalities, such as education and health, particularly for transmissible diseases; (c) the fiscal externalities associated with the fact that the taxes they pay are larger than the value of the public services they consume and the public funds invested in their education; and (d) their contribution to the debate on important social issues and their impact on policy and institutions (WB, 2001).

The impact of the brain drain on Sub-Saharan Africa will next examine using the examples of two countries in the regions- South Africa and Ghana.

3.3 Sub-Saharan Africa

It is estimated that the brain drain costs the continent as a whole over $5 billion in the employment of 150,000 plus expatriate professionals annually (Pollution Research Essay, 2001). The highest migration rates, in terms of the proportion of the total educated force, are from Africa, followed by the Caribbean and Central America. Being the least developed continent, Africa suffers far greater from
brain drain than any other continent. It has been estimated that although the share of skilled workers in the total labor force in the region is only 4 percent which comprise more than 40 percent of all migrants. Thus, as much as 20 percent of all skilled workers have emigrated out of Sub-Saharan Africa continues, especially from Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya and Ethiopia (http://www.theafricamonitor.com/news/ethiopian/april2007). According to the report, Africa lost an estimated 60,000 middle- and high-level managers between 1985 and 1990, and about 23,000 qualified academic professionals emigrate each year in search of better working conditions. The problem of brain drain and its effect on the economics, social, political aspects of the region has warranted the active involvement of leading African politicians; for example, former South African President Thabo Mbeki in his 1998 “African Renaissance” speech stated that, “In our world in which the generation of new knowledge and its application to change the human condition is the engine which moves human society further away from barbarism, do we not have need to recall Africa’s hundreds of thousands of intellectuals back from their places of emigration in Western Europe and North America, to rejoin those who remain still within our shores! I dream of the day when these, the African mathematicians and computer specialists in Washington and New York, the African physicists, engineers, doctors, business managers and economists, will return from London and Manchester and Paris and Brussels to add to the African pool of brain power, to enquire into and find solutions to Africa’s problems and challenges, to open the African door to the world of knowledge, to elevate Africa’s place within the universe of research the information of new knowledge, education and information.” (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/ni/African/1605242stm).
3.3.1 South Africa

As the leading “developed nation on the continent,” South Africa is closely integrated into all aspects of globalization, from culture, economics, political and social. It is therefore easier for skilled South Africans to emigrate to the western world, that seems to have insatiable desire for trained professionals, especially in the health sciences than in any other country in the region. The past 20 years has witnessed a steady departure of professionals in the health care area, resulting in detrimental effect on the fight to deal with HIV/AIDS pandemic:


Health Personnel in South Africa: Confronting Maldistribution and brain drain). Because of the legacy of apartheid, most of the medical professors leaving the county follow radical contours i.e. white South Africans move to western countries. For example, in the Canadian province of Saskatchewan, one out of five of the provinces’ 1,530 doctors- 17% earned their first medical degree in South Africa (C.M.A.J. 2001). The 260 physicians represent the equivalent of five years’ output from the University of Saskatchewan’s Medical School. About 54 percent of the provinces’ doctors were trained outside Canada. According to South Africa’s high commissioner to Canada, close to 1,510 South African physicians live in Canada, in addition to nurses, oncologists, radiologists, pharmacists and other specialists (http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC807401)- CMAJ Article, 2001. The poaching of South Africa talented is not limited to the health field only but includes teachers as well.
3.3.2 Ghana

As in South Africa, the area of greatest brain drain is the medical field. Ghana has one of the better medical facilities on the west coast of Africa and a very strong economy. After a period of instability in the early 1970s, the country is stable, peaceful and democratic. With a fairly well educated population, and several universities, the country is a primary target of brain drain. As a result, the trend for young doctors and nurses to seek higher salaries and better working conditions, mainly in the West, is “killing” the healthcare sector in Ghana. Ghana currently has about 2000 doctors- one for every 11,000 inhabitants. This compares with one doctor per 2000 people in the United States. Many of the country’s trained doctors and nurses leave to work in countries such as Britain, the United States, Jamaica and Canada. It is estimated that up to 68 percent of the country’s trained medical staff left between 1993 and 2000 and according to Ghana’s official statistics institute, in the period 1999 to 2004, 448 doctors, or 54% of those trained in the period, left to work abroad


Conclusion

It is becoming increasingly apparent that the brain drain is not a purely academic problem in Sub-Saharan Africa. The advent of the market economy and globalization have brought nations even closer resulting in relatively easy migration to where standards of living are higher. Apart from the financial losses, the region’s economic growth is at stake, as highly skilled individuals depart for the West. As the example of South Africa and Ghana have shown, the skilled people who the regions can least afford- Medical personals and teachers are the ones moving
out and being replaced by expatriates from the west at a far higher cost. The irony of the situation is that in certain fields—Medicine in particular, there are far more doctors from developing countries living in the West than in their home countries in Africa. Efforts to reverse this trend, such as African recruit (NEPAD and the Commonwealth Business Council) and a UNESCO-sponsored initiatives to stem the academic brain drain in five African countries have met only with limited success. As referred to earlier in the case of Zimbabwe, the effort has collapsed. It seems that as long as great inequalities exist in living standards, and the west instable appetite for skilled human resources continues, the problem of brain drain is here to stay.

Recent policy changes on immigration have made it clear that the developed world is using every available resource to poach the brains of individuals from the less developed world. This has become a worldwide trend that now involves countries in Asia, including South Korea. The major disadvantage is that the sending countries can ill affect their medical and other professionals to migrate. Because of poverty and lack of capacity, developing counties spend far more to train a professional than developed ones. Institutions of higher education are extremely limited and opportunities to do graduate work severely limited. When developing countries have to resort to large scale importation of expatriates at exorbitant prices to perform the task, their own citizens could have done at a cheaper rate than them, globalization becomes skewed in favor of the West. There should be a mechanism whereby compensation is paid for the brain drain from developing countries.

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CHAPTER 24

PORTUGUESE HIGHER EDUCATION
STUDENT’ COSTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

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Abstract

This article analyzes the costs of Higher Education (HE) of the Portuguese students – educational costs and living costs – concerning the several parameters relevant to the characterization of the typology of the student costs: type of education and institution, student situation regarding usual residence and regional location of the HE institution.

In order to be analyzed in the international context, the educational and living costs of the Portuguese students will be compared to the Portuguese GDP per capita and the results obtained included in the Global HE Rankings study.

The article also gives attention to stakeholders polices, in order to understand if government policy pursues the objective of increasing affordability for Portuguese HE students.

Finally, we notice that we have to present 2005 data because there are no more recent data, even no data at all,
about costs of Higher Education in Portugal but the ones presented, coming up from Cabrito (1995) and Cerdeira (2005) PhD researches.

**Keywords**

funding - cost-sharing - HE costs - financing support - HE accessibility and affordability

**Introduction**

The research questions we aim to answer to in this paper are: How are the educational and living costs supported by the Portuguese HE students? and “What is the situation of the Portuguese HE students as the affordability is concerned in the international context?

While developing this study, we started from two basic assumptions. The first assumption of this study is that HE costs are shared by four groups of intervenient (cost-sharing) – parents, students, taxpayers or governments and philanthropic institutions and patrons – and that it is possible to find a balance in the sharing of costs among the parties involved. It should be noted that in Portugal the costs of education are basically supported by the students/families and taxpayers/governments, although some attempts made to involve the business (through, for example, grants and awards) and philanthropists.

The second assumption is that HE accessibility and affordability (student ability to pay) in Portugal strongly depend on the social support policy defined and granted by the government and the privileged instruments to make that support real (grants, housing and meal subsidies and loan programs).

The study is organized in three parts: the first part encloses a brief description of Portuguese HE evolution; the second part presents an empirical study concerning the costs of Portuguese HE students (we it
use some of the results of the survey applied to Portuguese HE students in the academic year 2004/2005\textsuperscript{1}). Finally, we compare these Portuguese results in the international context, using the methodology and data from the *Global HE Rankings, Affordability in Comparative Perspective* Survey\textsuperscript{2}.

1. Recent Portuguese Higher Education evolution

Portugal experienced a massive expansion in the last decades of the twentieth century regarding HE admission and participation, as it passed from a little more than 24000 students in 1960/1961 to round 377000 students in 2007/2008. This significant growth of HE accompanied the country’s economical growth and development.

HE network is a binary system, with universities and polytechnics institutes both public and private. It is interesting to state that until 1986 there were only public institutions of HE (with few exceptions, as Portuguese Catholic University). The situation changed when in 1986 the government decided to open the higher education to private capital, as a way to respond to the explosive demand for higher education coming out since the Democratic Revolution of 1974, April 25. As a consequence and during the last decades the private education had a strong development. The increasing importance of private education when compared to public education

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\textsuperscript{1} A questionnaire applied to a representative sample of 1040 HE students by Cerdeira L. (2008), during the research for the PhD dissertation.

regarding the number of students enrolled was striking. See Figure 1.

Figure 1 – Evolution of the number of students enrolled by type of institution


On the other hand, the meaningful growth of the public education network involved great pressure on the budgetary means made available to this sub sector, with growing demands and with a striking increase of the budget of universities and polytechnics. Mainly due to the vigorous plan of construction and equipment of new facilities in every region of the country and which resulted in an investment effort from 1980 to 2006 at current prices round 1,8 billion Euro’s (or of 2,8 billion Euros at constant prices 2007).

Given this pressure and in the scope of cost-sharing, the several governments reflected upon the implementation of a policy of tuition fee application. In fact, Portugal followed the “cost-sharing” policy, usually associated to a policy of tuition application, as
it is acknowledged by Johnstone (2004), p.38), when he states that: "Cost-Sharing is especially thought of as the introduction of, or especially sharp increase in, tuition fees to cover part of the costs of instruction."

The first step of this tuition fee policy was in 1992 (Law 20/92, of August 14th) and later on in 1994 (Law 5/94, of May 14th), 1997 (Law 113/97, of September 16th) and finally in 2003 (Law 37/2003, of August 22nd). In this 2003 context, the amount paid by the students varied from an interval of a minimum and maximum tuition fee (from a minimum value of 1,3 of the minimum national salary and a maximum value which cannot be higher than the value established in 1941, updated by the application of the consumer price index). This policy has been strongly opposed by students, families and political parties of the left wing, making clear the differences between stakeholders regarding higher education financing and the role of the State on it.

To alleviate the financial burden that HE students know as a result of the application fee policy, government tried increase the financial and social support to students. The social support system to Portuguese HE students is comprised with a set of direct support forms (grants, lodging subsidy, transportation subsidy, emergency aid) as well as indirect support forms (lodging at social prices in halls of residence and meals at social prices, sports, medical assistance and reprography). It has portrayed a relevant role in the expansion and accessibility of the HE system as it has aimed at decreasing the financial constraints of students from poorer backgrounds. In order to increase social justice, in 1997 government had applied social supports also to HE students from private institutions.
In global terms and comparing to the eligible academic population for this effect, the coverage rate of the grant holders has always been rising; it was only 15% in 1998/1999 and 21% after eight years. The same tendency was registered in the ratio between grant holders and grant candidates, who changed from an approval rate of 67% to 76%; that is, in 2006/2007 grants were awarded to 76% students who applied for them, as it is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2 – Number of HE grant holders versus number of eligible students and candidates to study grants from 1998/1999 to 2006/2007 – A comparison

Source: DGESup – Student Support Fund/ Student Support Fund Service Office

In public education, the average value of the grant rose from 1083€ in 1998/1999 to 1531€ in 2006/2007. The growth from 2005/2006 to 2006/2007 is worth enhancing as it appears to have risen 20% in a year only (1280€ in 2005/2006).

In private education, the average value of the annual grant awarded decreased from 2 704€ in 1998/1999 to 1 858€ in 2006/2007, as the tuition fee rose from 1
958€ to 3 023€, which represents a decrease in the coverage of educational costs. Even though there has been a growth of 10% in the average grant value over the last two years. The average value of the grant in private education only covers round 62% of the average tuition value charged by this sector.

Figure 3 shows the comparison in public and private HE, as concerned with the average grant value and the average value of the tuition fee.

Figure 3 – Average grant value and average tuition in public and private HE compared from 1998/1999 to 2006/2007

Source: DGESup – Student Support Fund/ Student Support Fund Service Office

2. The education and living costs of the Portuguese HE

The HE Financing, as defended by cost-sharing theory, is share between government and taxpayers, on the one hand, and students and their families on the other hand, and the costs varied according to whether students were enrolled in public or private institutions, universities or polytechnics and still according to the localization of the HE institutions attended.
In order to know the costs of Portuguese HE students, a survey\(^3\) was applied from May 5\(^{th}\) to June 23\(^{rd}\) 2005 to a significant sample of 1040 students, in which the population strata enclosed represented the structure of Portuguese students per type of education and institution: public university students; public polytechnic students; private university students; and private polytechnic students.

Thus, and focusing the survey on the costs endured by the Portuguese students and their families, they were asked to identify the expenses they had run into during their final academic year (2004/2005). Expenses were grouped, according to Johnstone’s classification (1986), into two main sets:

- Student living or current expenses, which included lodging, telephone and cellular phone, food and medical expenses (including heath insurance, medical appointments and dentist appointments), transportation costs and personal expenses (clothing, hair stylist, hygiene products, cigarettes, spirits, entertainment, etc.);

- Educational expenses, which included tuition fees, enrolment, other expenses (including insurance and examination application), books and other material, equipment (computers, microscopes, etc.) and field trips, and other expenses not included in any other item.

Portuguese HE students spend an annual average of 6 127 Euros – 5 310 in public education and 8 128 Euros in private education. In other words, a student

attending private education spends round 53% more than a public education student, which represents a quite different financial effort both for the students as his/her family. See Table 1.

Table 1 – Total annual expenses of HE students, by type of education (average)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Currency: Euros €</th>
<th>Total Costs (Educational and Living Costs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>5310,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>8127,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6127,2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Cerdeira (2008)

In the scope of public HE, university students spend an annual 5 505 Euros and polytechnic students spend 5 051 Euros. Within private education, the university average is 8 708 Euros and the polytechnic one is 7 770 Euros. As mentioned above, this difference diminished because of the extension of government social support to private higher education.

The distribution of the overall educational expenses and of the annual current expenses is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2 – Educational expenses, annual current expenses and total annual expenses in Portuguese HE (average)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Currency: Euros</th>
<th>Education Costs</th>
<th>Living Costs</th>
<th>Total Costs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public Universities</td>
<td>1207,8</td>
<td>4297,3</td>
<td>5505,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Polytechnics Institutes</td>
<td>1040,2</td>
<td>4011,7</td>
<td>5051,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Universities</td>
<td>3660,2</td>
<td>5048,1</td>
<td>8770,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Polytechnics Institutes</td>
<td>3512,0</td>
<td>4258,2</td>
<td>7770,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1841,2</td>
<td>4286,0</td>
<td>6127,2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Cerdeira (2008)

From the comparison undergone between the data of this study (2005) and the one in the 1994/1995 Survey (Cabrito, 1995) on the HE costs in Portugal, we can conclude that between both surveys (in other words, from 1994/1995 to 2004/2005) there was a
nominal raise of 37% of the costs of public university students and 31% of the costs of private university students, with a significant increase of the tuition fee value in public universities (a 452% increase). See the Figure 5 with the structure of the costs in 1995 and 2005.

Figure 5 – Comparison of the structure between educational costs and living costs in 1995 and 2005

Source: Cabrito (2000); Cerdeira (2008)

Both studies (Cabrito and Cerdeira researches) shows that cost value students must endure in order to attend HE undoubtedly depends on their situation according to three fundamental variables: the type of education attended, the regional location of the HE institution and the student situation regarding lodging (that is, if he is living at their family home or in a house of his/ her own, or if he is staying at a hall of residence or rented room/ apartment).

The data related to the overall student groups are also presented, by indicating the disaggregation among educational costs, living costs and total costs in Table 3 (concerning Cerdeira research).
Table 3 – Student group costs, by type of education, region and lodging

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Currency in Euros €</th>
<th>Freq %</th>
<th>Education Student Costs</th>
<th>Living Student Costs</th>
<th>Total Student Costs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group I</td>
<td>Public / Coastal Area / Parental or Family Home</td>
<td>31,6</td>
<td>1.113,48</td>
<td>3647,81</td>
<td>4.761,29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 2</td>
<td>Public / Coastal Area / Halls of Residences</td>
<td>5,0</td>
<td>1.218,22</td>
<td>4.119,22</td>
<td>5.337,44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td>Public / Coastal Area / Rented House or Room</td>
<td>15,8</td>
<td>1.127,19</td>
<td>5.193,27</td>
<td>6.320,46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 4</td>
<td>Public / Coastal Area / Own Home</td>
<td>3,3</td>
<td>1.394,87</td>
<td>4.567,24</td>
<td>5.962,11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 5</td>
<td>Public / Inland Area / Parental or Family Home</td>
<td>3,3</td>
<td>1.073,69</td>
<td>3844,37</td>
<td>4.918,06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 6</td>
<td>Public / Inland Area / Halls of Residences</td>
<td>2,0</td>
<td>948,66</td>
<td>5.110,02</td>
<td>6.058,68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 7</td>
<td>Public / Inland Area / Rented House or Room</td>
<td>7,8</td>
<td>1.168,93</td>
<td>5615,02</td>
<td>6.783,95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 8</td>
<td>Public / Autonomous Regions * / Parental or Family Home</td>
<td>1,0</td>
<td>1.189,85</td>
<td>3274,24</td>
<td>4.464,09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 9</td>
<td>Public / Autonomous Regions * / Halls of Residences</td>
<td>0,5</td>
<td>959,50</td>
<td>8602,50</td>
<td>9.562,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 10</td>
<td>Private / Coastal Area / Parental or Family Home</td>
<td>20,8</td>
<td>3.561,46</td>
<td>3.794,86</td>
<td>7.356,32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 11</td>
<td>Private / Coastal Area / Halls of Residences</td>
<td>0,3</td>
<td>2.581,67</td>
<td>2.778,00</td>
<td>5.359,67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 12</td>
<td>Private / Coastal Area / Rented House or Room</td>
<td>3,8</td>
<td>3.517,03</td>
<td>2222,40</td>
<td>5.739,43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 13</td>
<td>Private / Coastal Area / Own Home</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>3.412,67</td>
<td>4.800,00</td>
<td>8.212,67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 14</td>
<td>Private / Inland Area / Parental or Family Home</td>
<td>1,0</td>
<td>4.685,50</td>
<td>5.180,00</td>
<td>9.865,50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 15</td>
<td>Private / Inland Area / Rented House or Room</td>
<td>0,2</td>
<td>3.535,00</td>
<td>2.040,00</td>
<td>5.575,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.835,82</td>
<td>4.290,85</td>
<td>6.126,67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Cerdeira (2008)

The data in Table 3 are quite illustrative of the difference in the amounts that students are required to spend to attend higher education. This leads us to put the need for social support policies take into account those factors.
3. Comparison of the Portuguese HE student costs with the results of the global HE rankings; affordability in comparative perspective survey

The accessibility and affordability concepts are central for the definition of the HE funding policies.

Equity (or inequity) in HE access depends on opportunities (the offer side), on aspirations (the demand side) and on the eligibility process or social stratification. The opportunities youngsters may have depend mostly on financial resources from governments to HE. On the other hand, students’ aspirations will depend on education costs, the benefits of getting a degree (or at least the perception that students and their families have regarding such benefits) and the risks students may be willing to take in case they fail or do not graduate. A recent report of the Directorate-General for Education and Culture of the European Commission (Mora et al., 2007, p.40) acknowledged this opportunity limitation of students from poorer sectors and encouraged public policies to support youngsters and their households to attend and be supported at upper-secondary education level:

“Parental and school influences are extremely important determinants of participation at post-compulsory level. In most countries tertiary education requires prior qualification – generally at upper-secondary level – so that attainment in the compulsory phase of education, as much as anything which occurs subsequently, is a key to tertiary participation.”

In Portugal, as noted above, there are several policy measures to support students and their families, in order to increase participation of students from the poorest social strata in higher education. However, and as will be seen below, these measures fall far
short of similar initiatives existing in most European countries.

Even though both concepts are linked (accessibility and affordability), it is important not to confuse them because they are different, as stated by Usher and Steele (2006, p.3):

“Though the affordability of education is an important issue, it is important not to confuse affordability with accessibility. The former refers to the ability to pay for education; the latter refers specifically to the ability of people from all backgrounds to obtain the education they desire.”

Many of the studies on affordability or ability to pay for HE eventually need to use the measure of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita as an income proxy as well as a measure of financing accessibility, or measure of ATP (Ability to Pay) because it is difficult to obtain international income comparisons concerning individual or family incomes. This is what happened with the study HE Rankings, Affordability and Accessibility in Comparative Perspective, undergone in the scope of the Educational Policy Institute (2005), by Usher and Cervenan (2005). These authors gathered information about 15 countries and compared the results obtained according to those indicators.

Moreover, we will compare the current and educational costs of the Portuguese students in 2004/2005 to the Portuguese GDP per capita, and compare that result to the values found for the fifteen countries that have been studied in the research project previously mentioned and using the same methodology.

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4 The survey was based upon the data at Education at a Glance 2004 OECD.
Cultures of Education Policy: Economic Influences and Education Policy

Thus, considering the value of educational costs (1 841 Euros) and the specific current or living costs of Portuguese students in 2005 (2 880 Euros) (only lodging, food and transportation costs were included, because those were the ones considered in Usher and Cervenan’s study), we will meet a total cost value of 4 721 Euros.

Taking into account the value inscribed in the Portuguese State Budget in 2005 to socially support students (grants and other supports) of 101 341 636 Euros, considering the total number of students 380 937 in the system in 2004/2005 (not only grant awarded students, but every HE student, whatever the degree or type of institution, regardless of being or not being a grant awarded student) there is a support of 266 Euros per student.

The net cost will then be the total cost value that the student averagely endures, deducted from the value of the support per student that the Government provides that is 4 445 Euros (4 721 Euros – 266 Euros). On the other hand, this value should be even decreased by the tax deductions that the Government allocated to families with children studying (in this case regardless of the education level). Concerning the year under analysis (2005), the limit value for education deductions was 599, 52 Euros, therefore the net costs after tax deduction for a Portuguese HE student went up to 3 856 Euros. So, this is the total cost of education for HE students, in average, after all the deductions government allows.

As it is known, a substantial part of the financing support for HE students in many countries come from the loan system, which is why the average loan value per student is also deducted Usher and Cervenan’s

5 This cost concept is different from Johnstone’ definition, which was used by Cerdeira (2008).
study. However, in 2005 the Portuguese loan system was very insignificant and only recently with the new loan initiative with governmental guarantee (2007) can we say that first steps are being taken towards the introduction of a loan system.

Estimating the overall costs and supports awarded to Portuguese students, we come to an “out-of – pocket “ cost of 3,856 Euros per student, after tax expenditure and considering the overall support forms provided (grants, loans when they exist), as it is demonstrate in Table 4.

Table 4 – Accessibility of Portuguese students: comparison of the student total costs deducted from supports versus GDP per capita in 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GDP per capita 2005</th>
<th>Value €</th>
<th>% of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>16,891</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Costs 2005</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>1,841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living Costs 2005</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>2,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Costs 2005</td>
<td>(4)=(2)+(3)</td>
<td>4,721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants per Student 2004/2005</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid Cost</td>
<td>(6)=(4)-(5)</td>
<td>4,455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax Deductions</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid Cost after Tax Deductions</td>
<td>(8)=(6)-(7)</td>
<td>3,856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan per Student 2005</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>0 €</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Out-of-Pocket&quot; Costs 2005</td>
<td>(10)=(4)-(5)-(9)</td>
<td>4,455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Out-of-Pocket&quot; Costs after Tax</td>
<td>(11)=(10)-(7)</td>
<td>3,856</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Cerdeira (2008)

As we analyze the educational costs of the Portuguese students regarding the Portuguese GDP per capita, we will see that the student effort to pay the costs of higher education attendance in Portugal (tuition fees, other taxes, books, equipment, field trips, etc.) represents round 11%. This value positions Portugal in an intermediate group of countries – UK 12%, Australia 13%, Canada 14% – near the Anglo-Saxon
model and farther from the group of other European countries, such as Austria (5%), Belgium (3%), France (6%), Ireland (4%), Sweden (3%) (See figure 6), where there are no fees application and a more substantial and varied social support policy.

Figure 6 – Comparison between the education costs of HE students and GDP per capita


Concerning living costs, Portuguese students face similar values to every country, as these costs represent round 17% of the GDP per capita. Moreover, only the United Kingdom (32%) and New Zealand (36%) display far heavier values. The comparison can be seen in Figure 7. In global terms, the annual total costs of the Portuguese students represented 28%, of the Portuguese GDP per capita in 2005. If we look at Figure 8, we will see that Portugal is the European country that presents the highest value, except for the United Kingdom. This situation demonstrates the worst position of Portuguese HE students in relation to their European colleagues, that is, in Portugal the principal stakeholder, the State, gives less attention to HE and to HE students then most European governments.
When we take into account the supports provided through grants, loans and tax deductions, as we eventually reach the "out-of-pocket" cost, which will
represent the student effort deducted from the supports received, we will see that the Portuguese students needs round 23% of the GDP per capita in order to attend HE. This value demonstrates that the affordability of the Portuguese students is not very favourable in the international scope and mainly in the European scope. Figure 9 portrays this reality.

Figure 9 – Comparison between out-of-pocket costs after HE student deductions and GDP per capita


As we can see, there are countries, such as the United States and the United Kingdom which, despite their total costs represent 43% and 44% of the GDP per capita, respectively, eventually decrease to 17% and 24%, in terms of net cost after deductions. Similarly, Sweden, whose total costs supported by the students go up to round 24% of the GDP per capita, eventually has a minimum net cost of 2%. The reason for that inversion lies upon the fact that the supports through grants and loans in these countries are very significant. The numbers highlighted the real situation
of Portuguese HE students and how the State did not value education need to development as other States did. Thus, if we compare the sum of the supports granted versus the total costs of the students, we can have a clear idea of the real effort that a HE student on average has to endure. In the Portuguese case and in 2005, the supports granted per students averagely supported 18% of the total costs of the students.

In the context of the countries analyzed by Usher and Cervenan, Portugal evidenced a low student support value, which leads us to the fact that the affordability issue is not ensured to Portuguese students. In most European countries, the ratio between the supports and costs is always above the Portuguese value, and the extreme situation is Sweden, where the supports represent round 93% of the costs, as evidenced in Figure 10, situation that clarify how government attitude is far away from students needs and desires.

Figure 10 – Comparison between the supports provided and HE student costs

To summarize, the comparison between the costs and supports obtained by the Portuguese students to enable them HE attendance, leads us to conclude that in the international context, at least in the set of the countries analyzed, the Portuguese situation is not very advantageous regarding student affordability, as the supports received are little, when compared to the effort undergone by the students and/or their families. This limited support to Portuguese HE students has been evidenced in a recent OECD (2008, p.206), which referred:

“However, it is interesting to observe that low tuition fees do not necessarily imply facilitated access to tertiary education from a financing point of view. Financial constraints seem to be lower in some countries with high level of tuition fees – but good student support systems – such as Australia, New Zealand, The United Kingdom and the United States than in countries with low levels of tuition fees – but incipient student support systems – such as Hungary, Mexico, Portugal and Spain.”

Conclusion

From the analysis undergone we have concluded that the educational costs (1 841 Euros) and the living costs (2 880 Euros)\(^6\) of the Portuguese students totalized 4 721 Euros of total costs in 2004/2005. On the other hand, the total amount of social support granted versus the total students enrolled in 2004/2005 point at a student support of 266 Euros

\[^6\] This value only includes lodging costs, food and transportation (and not the total current or living costs used in our study), so as to be compared to the aggregation used in Usher and Cervenan’s study (2005). The concept of living costs used in the Cerdeira L (2008) dissertation used in part 2 is different from the one used in Usher and Cervenan’s study.
and consequently a net cost (total cost except for student total support) 4 445 Euros. If we subtract tax deductions (599, 52 Euros a year) from that value, it will result in an *out-of-pocket* cost of 3856 Euros (the loan value had no expression in 2005).

When the previous costs were compared to the 2005 Portuguese GDP *per capita* (16 892 Euros), we could see that educational costs portrayed 11%, living costs 17%, total costs 28%, and the net cost after tax deductions was 23% of the GDP *per capita*; which evidenced an unfavourable situation in the international context, at least in the scope of the countries analyzed in the *Global HE Ranking* survey (2005).

Therefore, if the living costs of the students in our country are not very different from the one of the countries analyzed, regarding educational costs, Portugal is the European country with the highest value (11%), except for the United Kingdom, which goes up to 12% of the GDP *per capita*.

In addition, we have also demonstrated that the country has suffered from a striking frailty regarding the social support provided to students, as the set of supports provided by the Government only represented 18% of the total costs.

So, paying attention to the figures presented, we really might conclude that the affordability condition of the Portuguese HE students is worst comparing with their condition some years ago and in addition that their affordability condition is a lot worst than the situation of most of European HE students. These facts show the urgent need of a change in Portuguese HE policies in a way that give those students true possibility for being involved on higher education. This only will come up if and when stakeholder
State/taxpayers implement another social support policy which responds to students/families need.

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CHAPTER 25

THE COMPETITION IN HIGHER EDUCATION AS A COMMON VALUE TO INCREASE EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

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Abstract

The structures of higher education market are different but institutions of higher education rival among themselves in all countries. According to the neoclassical economic theory competition among producers ensures more rapid development of the industry and requires more efficient functioning of producers. According to the endogenous growth theories (Romer, 1986) the development of intellectual capital is a crucial factor for economic growth. However, the higher education sector as the main producer of intellectual capital is not a classical market. The aim of the research is to verify whether the intensity of competition in higher education sector has any effect on the sector's efficiency and economic growth. The level of competition in higher education has been measured by Concentration ratio and Herfindahl-Hirschman index using data on the number of students of 1215 higher education institutions in 15 European countries. The data show significant correlation between themselves however there are no relations with indicators of efficiency and economic growth. The alternative measuring tool - Higher Education
Competition Index, has been created adapting the Model of Five forces (Porter, 1980). 126 experts’ assessments from 18 countries were used. The competition index values show significant correlation with selected indicators of higher education efficiency and economic growth. Various stakeholders are involved in higher education and their values and expectations, generally speaking, are different – individuals and households (students and their families) with their individual needs and purposes, universities with concerns regarding their organisation values, employers as the main consumers of the education product in the aspect of national economy, as well as the government, which administers the education process on behalf of the collective interests of the society. The different values and understanding of these stakeholders on the priorities and efficiency criteria of higher education often hiders the necessary emphasis placed in the education system, so that it would serve the interests of all stakeholders equally well. The objective to improve the competition among higher education institutions could be one of the unifying elements for the progress towards more efficient higher education in accordance with the understanding of all stakeholders involved, as well as for promoting the national economic growth and the welfare of the society.

Keywords
Competition measurement – Higher education – Efficiency – Economic growth

Introduction
The institutions of higher education in each country, regardless of their financing - public or private, aspire to acquire a better position and higher evaluation, thereby rivalling among themselves to attract not only more finance, but also more students, teaching staff and financed research. Some of the largest universities hold a well-established leading position in their respective countries, while the structure of the market is more balanced in other countries. Which is better? Which of these approaches is more
prospective? Does the intensity of competition among higher education institutions have any effect on the advancement of the higher education system? To provide answers to these questions the intensity of competition in higher education sector has to be measured and relationships between competition level and indicators characterizing the efficiency of higher education system and economic growth have to be examined.

The neoclassical economic theory states that competition among producers promotes the enhancement of quality of the goods and price reduction, ensures more rapid development of industry and demands more efficient functioning of producers. The development of higher education according to the endogenous growth theories is one of deciding factors for the state’s economic growth (Wößmann & Schütz, 2006). Consequently from the aspect of promotion of state’s economic development, it is important to research the factors that promote the development of higher education.

However higher education is not conventionally considered as a market and therefore the causation above is not an acknowledged truth in this particular sector. Endogenous theories of economic growth mention human capital as an essential factor ensuring economic growth (Romer, 1986), not in terms of the quantity of workforce but first of all its quality or professional competence. The principles of endogenous theories dominate in the management of economic systems nowadays. There are many factors that determine the quality of human capital and its growth potential – geographical situation of the country, its historical and cultural environment, national traditions. But one of the essential factors is education. This factor is especially highlighted practically in all endogenous economic growth theories
as well as by economists, who deal with issues of economic growth and factors promoting it in the course of their job.

Reviewing education as an economic growth factor, the influence of higher education on the quality of human capital and consequently on the economic development is highlighted in particular and is clearly greater in comparison to the influence of primary and secondary education (Baumanis, 2002). Consequently from the aspect of promotion of state’s economic development, it is important to research the factors that promote the development of higher education.

Neoclassical theories mention competition as an essential factor for development of an industry. Higher level of competition among producers promotes more variety of goods and services, more enhancement of quality and more price reduction. Therefore higher level of competition demands more efficient functioning of producers and ensures more rapid development of the industry.

However, the positive influence of competition on the market is not an unequivocal issue while speaking about the higher education sector. The right to education is deemed to be one of the fundamental human rights and the provision of higher education is traditionally considered to be a state function. This could lead to the wrongful conclusion that education should therefore be accessible to everyone for free and that it is not a market environment and classical economic causalities and methods are not applicable in its analysis.

The higher education is more or less state financed in all developed countries. However, there are many countries where private funding of higher education
considerably exceeds 50% of the total\(^1\). Private finance is always subject to market principles as consumers choose the goods they are paying for. With regard to state finance, it also works on the basis of market principles as the resources for implementation of fundamental human rights are limited. Educational expenditures reduce the capability of the state to realize its other functions and provide other benefits. Therefore society – the state as well as individuals have to make the choice and choose how much resources to spend on education while sacrificing the possibility to spend resources on the achievement of other benefits (Johnes, 1993). Therefore the classical economic regularities are applicable to education.

The assumption that education is a state function and should not be reviewed with economic instrument of business analysis is a wrong one. It is irrelevant whether a higher education institution is a state or private one, a profit or non-profit organization; all education institutions and the education system on the whole should aspire to increase their work efficiency under circumstances of limited resources. They compete among themselves attracting students and finance while attempting to achieve higher quality assessment and higher academic and scientific results. Higher education institutions work in the market and its activity is subjected to economic principles.

The conventionally used notions in economics that describe commercial activity „goods”, „market”, „producer”, and „consumer” can also be applied with respect to higher education, i.e. an economic sector where there is no unified conception of the nature of

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economic (or commercial) activities of its participants. Within an education market where there is sale and purchase of education services, these classical notions can be applied, i.e. “goods” can be applied to education programmes, “producer” to education institutions, “supplier” to academic staff (Go, 2004) and “consumer” to students. Competition as well is reviewed in the competition regulating legislation of European Union and other developed countries as not just among commercial enterprises, but also in a wider sense – among market participants, who are performing an economic activity in the particular market and participating in the flow of goods. Analogically in the education industry it is possible to talk about raw materials, suppliers, means of production, productive forces and other economic categories that are widely used in economic theories, however with regard to the higher education sector these terms may seem extraordinary.

Consequently based on classical economic theories it could be assumed that competition among higher education institutions would further the development of the higher education sector – extends the variety of education programmes offered, increases its quality, reduces prices and furthers the efficiency of higher education institutions. It could be tested by comparing the competition level in different higher education markets and the relevant efficiency indicators in these markets.

In order to determine the competition level in a particular market, respective instruments for measuring the competition intensity are necessary.

1. Measuring the competition: Traditional methods
In order to carry out measurement of competition intensity in a particular higher education market, it is
necessary to precisely define the measurement object, respectively, identify the market that allows us to determine the market participants who are active in the market and compete among themselves. Then, applying appropriate tools, the competition intensity in these markets should be measured.

### 1.1. Market delineation

Two characteristic indices can be determined by identifying the market – range of goods (services) that are in circulation in the market and the distribution area of the market or its geographical limits.

Conventionally it is deemed in economics that market participants are in one and the same market if the production and price determination policies of one participant influence the demand for goods of other market participants. Cross elasticity of demand method can be used to identify goods in one and the same market (Luft, Phibbs, Garnick & Robinson, 1990). With regard to the delineation of the higher education market, all levels of tertiary education programmes except doctoral study programmes (i.e. tertiary education, ISCED level 5) have been included (Rocens, 2008).

Various approaches can be applied to define the area of distribution where the identified goods will circulate - fixed radius approach, variable radius approach, client flow approach and geopolitical approach (Wong, Zhan & Mutter, 2004), or goods flow approach (Elzinga & Hogarty, 1973). The Elzinga-Hogarty test determines the proportion of goods produced in a definite area with respect to total consumption, as well as the proportion of goods consumed in that particular territory with respect to all the goods produced in that area. If both the indicators are high then the geographic territory can be considered as a separate geographic market. Critical value for these indicators
is determined at 90%, i.e. a geographic territory, where import and export does not exceed 10% can be considered as a distinct market. Though economists are not of single opinion, whether there is theoretical or practical grounds for the determination of such critical value (Massey, 2000), still the goods flow approach and geopolitical approach are to be considered the most appropriate for the delineation of the higher education market and market delineation is identified by the country’s geographic borders (Rocens, 2008).

The markets analyzed are higher education study programmes with the exemption of doctoral study programmes (i.e. ISCED level 5) that are being implemented within the geographic borders of a particular country. The market participants among whom competition is being measured are state recognized higher education institutions in the respective countries that realize higher education programmes mentioned above.

1.2. Classical competition measuring tools

The classical competition measuring tools – Concentration ratio (CR₄) and Herfindahl-Hirschman index (HHI) were used to measure the competition intensity in the higher education markets. Those measuring tools are applicable in the higher education markets, adapting them especially with regard to methods of calculation of market share of higher education institutions. The market share can be calculated proportional to the number of students and not proportional to revenue as it is traditionally done in the economic analysis of markets. In accordance to critical value of Herfindahl-Hirschman index for low market concentration (HHI<1000) used in United
States competition law\(^2\), concentration of higher education market is low and competition is strong in 10 out of 15 countries included. In accordance to Concentration ratio critical values (CR_4 < 20\%) (Samuelson & Nordhaus, 1989), competition in higher education market is strong only in 2 out of 15 countries (Tab.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>CR_4</th>
<th>HHI</th>
<th>Number of students</th>
<th>Number of HEI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>1 979 043</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>1 541 885</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>237 909</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>30.1%</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>408 564</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>34.6%</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>182 983</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>186 477</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>37.0%</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>198 519</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>37.8%</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>202 584</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>163 343</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>769</td>
<td>127 706</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>49.9%</td>
<td>1 010</td>
<td>268 555</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>59.9%</td>
<td>1 192</td>
<td>68 767</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>82.7%</td>
<td>3 407</td>
<td>114 694</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>90.5%</td>
<td>3 432</td>
<td>17 728</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>10000</td>
<td>9 500</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Competition indicators in higher education sector, selected countries\(^3\).

However Concentration ratio and Herfindahl-Hirschman index indicate a high mutual relationship. The type of regression curve is exponential; with an increase in the Concentration ratio values, the Herfindahl-Hirschman index values increase exponentially. Value of coefficient of determination is \(R^2 = 0.96\) (Rocens, 2008).

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\(^3\) Calculations are based on data provided by education ministries on breakdown of students in higher education institutions. The number of students was ascertained for the winter semester of the academic year 2006/2007.
Consequently it could be concluded that critical values for these two indicators of competition intensity are not fully adequate in the higher education sector. Compatibility can be reached if the lower critical value of Concentration ratio CR4 is increased from 20% to at least 45%, or lower critical value of Herfindahl-Hirschman index HHI is reduced from 1000 to 300 points.

The application of the classical tools for measuring the competition intensity has not succeeded in confirming the fact that the same causalities that are in force in other industries – higher level of competition demands more efficient functioning of the producers – are in force in the higher education sector. Analyzing the relationships between different costs indicators characterizing efficiency of higher education system and indicators of competition level in the higher education market, the correlation coefficients calculated were statistically insignificant or even indicate inverse causal relationships (Rocens, 2008).

2. The alternative tool for measuring the competition

The deficiency of the classic measurement tools for the higher education markets requires the development of an alternative tool for the measurement of competition. The Higher Education Competition index (HECI) was created based on methodology for industry analysis (Porter, 1980) and different practice samples for measuring the level of competition. The HECI has 27 sub-indices. Each of sub-indices corresponds to a fixed factor characterizing the market competition in Porter’s model. Factors are adapted to Higher education sector and divided in 5 groups corresponding to Porter’s five strengths:

- Entry barriers,
- Rivalry Determinants,
Higher Education Competition to Increase Efficiency and Economic Growth

- Determinants of Substitution Threat,
- Determinants of Buyer Power,
- Determinants of Supplier Power.

This approach fully complies with the methodology applied in the annual reports by the World Economic Forum\(^4\) for the comparison of the competitiveness of the countries while calculating the Global Competitiveness Index (Lopez-Claros, Altinger, Blanke, Drzeniek & Mia, 2006; Sala-i-Martin, Blanke, Drzeniek, Geiger & Mia, 2009) as well as for the competitiveness comparison of the countries at the business level (Porter, Ketels & Delgado, 2006). Similar methodology is used in other applied research, e.g. for the approximation of the competitiveness of the States of Australia\(^5\), in the evaluation of the competition between USA newspapers (Lacy & Vermeer, 1995), and in the competition analysis within the USA health care system. (Wong, Zhan & Mutter, 2004). It can be concluded that this approach of multi-component index allows to evaluate the competition intensity, which can successfully be further applied in practise.

Values of sub-indices have been obtained and Higher Education Competition index has been calculated by experts’ assessment. 126 experts from 18 European countries have assessed the separate values of HECI sub-indices to evaluate the level of competition in higher education. The experts were the academic and administrative staff of higher education institutions. Expert selection criteria – PhD or Doctor degree and 10 years experience at least. The experts’ assessment for each of the 27 sub-indices is given on a 10-point scale. According to the adherence of each sub-index to one of Porter’s 5 forces’ characteristic groups, they are


transformed in corresponding values to calculate HECI as the average value. The higher value of HECI means higher level of competition in higher education.

3. Results

The valuation of the factors characterising the higher education competition gained through the experts’ assessment allow calculating the Higher Education Competition index HECI (Tab.2). The inner coherence of the questions of the expert’s questionnaire is approximated by Cronbach’s alpha.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of experts</th>
<th>HECI</th>
<th>Cronbach’s alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>0.738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>0.800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0.839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>0.747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>0.618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>0.891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>0.741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>0.816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0.736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>0.656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>0.802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0.849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>0.795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>0.872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0.612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0.766</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Higher Education Competition Index (HECI), 18 countries, experts’ assessment.

To evaluate the influence of competition intensity on efficiency of higher education and economic growth, correlation between values of HECI and indicators of efficiency of higher education and economic growth has been examined.
Higher Education Competition to Increase Efficiency and Economic Growth

The original Eurostat and OECD indicators were used to derive the following indicators characterising economic efficiency of higher education:

- **EF1.** Annual expenditure on education per student – lower expenditure characterises higher efficiency.
- **EF2.** Public expenditure per graduate – lower expenditure characterises higher efficiency.
- **EF3.** Expenditure per failed new entrant – lower expenditure characterise higher efficiency.
- **EF4.** Ratio of graduate unemployment rate to overall unemployment – lower value means higher efficiency.
- **EF5.** Ratio of annual income of graduates to GDP per inhabitant – higher value means higher efficiency.
- **EF6.** Private net present value per graduate – higher value means higher efficiency.
- **EF7.** Private return to higher education – higher value means higher efficiency.
- **EF8.** Social return to higher education – higher value means higher efficiency.

To overcome misinterpretation of results related to the possible instability of the indicators used, rapid changes and short term tendencies as well as to reduce the impact of economic cyclicality, the absolute and relative indicators have been expressed as average indicators over a longer period of time (from 2001 till the last year when statistical data were accessible) and the growth dynamics indicators has been expressed as indices based on the year 2000 and the reporting year is the last year when statistical data was available.

Values of these indicators for the selected countries are shown in the Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>EF1</th>
<th>EF2</th>
<th>EF3</th>
<th>EF4</th>
<th>EF5</th>
<th>EF6</th>
<th>EF7</th>
<th>EF8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>11 776</td>
<td>100 369</td>
<td>1 333</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>158 074</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>10 499</td>
<td>45 499</td>
<td>1 561</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>114 944</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>3 713</td>
<td>9 822</td>
<td>1 084</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>:</td>
<td>:</td>
<td>:</td>
<td>:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>12 856</td>
<td>78 414</td>
<td>1 893</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>20 867</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The original Eurostat indicators were used to characterise national economic growth:

EG1. GDP per inhabitant. Average annual indicator for the period 2001-2010. Higher value means higher economic development level.

Values of these indicators for the selected countries are shown in the Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>EG1</th>
<th>EG2</th>
<th>EG3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>30 370</td>
<td>117.7</td>
<td>112.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>29 230</td>
<td>122.0</td>
<td>103.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>3 211</td>
<td>172.5</td>
<td>136.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>38 470</td>
<td>126.4</td>
<td>106.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>8 760</td>
<td>158.6</td>
<td>160.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>27 980</td>
<td>110.3</td>
<td>109.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>8 580</td>
<td>159.0</td>
<td>132.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>36 611</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>36 980</td>
<td>116.4</td>
<td>126.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>24 430</td>
<td>126.8</td>
<td>99.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>6 570</td>
<td>148.6</td>
<td>165.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>6 580</td>
<td>144.5</td>
<td>156.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>53 140</td>
<td>124.8</td>
<td>107.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>6 744</td>
<td>130.3</td>
<td>135.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 3. Indicators of higher education efficiency, 18 countries.

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A statistically significant correlation between HECI and selected indicators of efficiency and development has been ascertained (Table 5).

Table 4: Indicators of economic growth, 18 countries™.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Pearson’s linear correlation</th>
<th>Spearman’s rank correlation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EF1. Annual expenditure per student</td>
<td>-0.80 &lt; 0.001</td>
<td>-0.89 &lt; 0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EF2. Public expenditure per graduate</td>
<td>-0.57 0.01</td>
<td>-0.81 &lt; 0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EF3. Expenditure per failed new entrant</td>
<td>-0.66 0.01</td>
<td>-0.68 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EF4. Ratio of graduate unemployment rate to overall unemployment</td>
<td>-0.54 0.01</td>
<td>-0.68 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EF5. Ratio of annual income of graduates to GDP per inhabitant</td>
<td>0.69 0.01</td>
<td>0.70 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EF6. Private net present value per graduate</td>
<td>0.58 0.04</td>
<td>0.59 0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EF7. Private return to higher education</td>
<td>0.58 0.04</td>
<td>0.53 0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EF8. Social return to higher education</td>
<td>0.47 0.09</td>
<td>0.57 0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG1. GDP per inhabitant</td>
<td>-0.88 &lt; 0.001</td>
<td>-0.90 &lt; 0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG2. Real growth in GDP</td>
<td>0.51 0.02</td>
<td>0.54 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG3. Labour productivity growth</td>
<td>0.67 0.01</td>
<td>0.61 0.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 5. Correlation between HECI and indicators of higher education efficiency and economic growth, 18 countries™.

The Spearman’s correlation coefficient is higher than the Pearson’s correlation coefficient in 9 out of 11 cases at same or higher statistical significance level therefore it is more cautious to use the Pearson’s correlation coefficient values for analysis. A close correlation for HECI with indicators EF1 and EG1 (|R|>0.75) and on average close correlation with all other indicators (0.50<|R|<0.75) except EF8 with

™ Data source: Eurostat.
coefficient value $R_P=0.47$ can be ascertained. However the Spearman’s coefficient value for this indicator is $R_S=0.57$, and therefore the author deems that there is on average close correlation in this case.

The correlation coefficient values for indicators EF1, EF2, EF3, EF4 and EG1 are negative, thereby indicating an inverse relationship – higher HECI values correspond to on average lower values of respective indicators. In other cases the correlation coefficient is positive indicating a direct relationship – higher HECI values correspond to on average higher values of respective indicators.

As the higher economic efficiency of higher education indicate lower EF1, EF2, EF3 and EF4 indicator values and higher EF5, EF6, EF7 and EF8 values, all the eight correlations indicate that higher competition level in higher education correspond to higher economic efficiency of higher education. The absolute value of correlation coefficient $0.47<|R|<0.80$ indicates that the relationship between competition level and economic efficiency is at least on average close.

As the relationship between HECI and the indicator EG1 „GDP per inhabitant” is inverse, it could be concluded that countries with higher level of competition in higher education have lower level of economic development. The absolute value of correlation coefficient $|R|=0.88$ indicates that there is close relationship between these indicators. The relationship between HECI and indicators EG2 „Real growth in GDP” and EG3 „Labour productivity growth” is close and therefore it could be concluded that in countries with high level of competition in higher education the economic growth is more rapid. The value of correlation coefficient $0.51<R<0.67$ indicates that there is on average close relationship between these indicators.
The relationship of competition in higher education with the indicator EF1 “Annual expenditure on education per student” is illustrated in the fig.1 below.

Fig.1. Relationship of competition in higher education with expenditure on education per student; 17 countries.

The indicators for developed Western European countries can be seen in the higher left part of the graph and the less developed Eastern and Central European countries are in the lower left part. This indicates that both these indicators are related to the national economic development level.

The relationship between the national economic development level and annual expenditure on education per student is illustrated graphically in the fig.2 below.

The correlation coefficient value $R=0.88$ and statistical significance level $p<0.001$ indicate a close significant correlation – the expenditure on education per student

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9 Data source: AIK index (HECI) – research data; expenditure per student – Eurostat.
is higher in countries with higher level of national economic development. Countries whose indicators are above the regression line spend proportionally more on the education of one student compared to GDP per inhabitant especially those that are further away from the line (Sweden, Austria) whereas countries whose indicators are below the regression line especially further away (Iceland, Ireland, Norway and Latvia) – spend proportionally less.

Fig.2. Relationship between national economic development level and expenditure on education per student; 17 countries\textsuperscript{10}.

The relationship between national economic development level and competition in higher education can be seen in fig.3 below.

\textsuperscript{10} Data source: Euostat.
Fig. 3. Relationship between national economic development level and competition in higher education; 18 countries.\(^\text{11}\)

The correlation coefficient value \(R=-0.88\) and statistical significance level \(p<0.001\) indicate a close significant correlation – there is on average lower competition in higher education in countries with higher national economic development level.

The higher education index has on average close statistically significant relationship with other indicators of economic efficiency of higher education and national economic growth.

Therefore three correlations have been ascertained:

1. Countries with higher economic development level have a lower level of competition in higher education,

2. Higher level of competition in higher education correspond to higher economic efficiency of higher education and higher national economic growth,

\(^{11}\) Data source: economic development level – Eurostat, AIK index (HECI) – research data.
3. Countries with higher economic development level have lower economic efficiency of higher education and slower national economic growth.

4. The common value

Generally speaking, the values of the stakeholders involved are diverse. Each of the involved parties has its own scale of values, own expectations regarding higher education, and consecutively own understanding of the criteria determining the efficiency of higher education (Paņina, 2011).

It is in the interests of the individuals and households to increase their income (Card, 1999), to improve own employability (OECD, 2000), general living standard and personal social status (Putnam, 1993) by spending as little resources as possible. Here the principle of personal convenience is in action, and personal benefit determines other conditions, including generally accepted values (education quality, faculty expertise, necessity for the specialists for the development of national and/or regional economy etc.).

Universities are interested in the attraction of more students and research commissions, the production of more publications and patents, as well as the rise in ratings (Юданова, 2007), by receiving for this purpose as much funding as possible from the state and other financial sources. Universities as organisations are primary concerned with their prestige and the place in the education market, their market share. The quality of education and the careers or graduates, as well as regional development objectives and the corresponding values are subordinated to this objective.

Employers are mainly interested in the availability of qualified labour force, its professional flexibility (Neal
higher education competition to increase efficiency and economic growth

& johnson, 1996), creative potential (aghion, boustan, hoxby & vandenbussche, 2005) and promotion of productivity (fuente & ciccone, 2003), by paying as little as possible for the in-house training of the employees, promotion of the qualification and re-qualification.

Meanwhile, the state and regional administration is mainly interested in the creation of new jobs (mcintosh & vignoles, 2001), taxation (aghion, boustan, hoxby & vandenbussche, 2005), increase in consumption (bernhim, garrett & maki, 2001), production (aghion, boustan, hoxby & vandenbussche, 2005), and GDP growth (romer, 1990), as well as in the long-term social and political effects (mchahon, 2004).

The consolidation of the needs, interests and expectations of all stakeholders is possible in such factors promoting higher education efficiency, which benefits all involved parties. One of such factors is the competition among higher education institutions.

Individuals and households (students and their families) benefit from the competition among universities in exactly the same way as in the classic markets of goods and services by receiving a wider range of education offers and lower expense of obtaining education. Indirectly individuals benefit also from the increase in education quality due to the reciprocal competition.

Universities by free competition gain clear and equal rules of the game, objective ratings and fair rivalry for the finance in the higher education market.

The private sector benefits directly from the competition among higher education institutions by receiving purposefully educated labour force trained by the universities according to the needs of companies...
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to increase the qualitative indicators and employability of their graduates.

The national and regional administration receives the economic growth in general and benefits indirectly from the gains of the other stakeholders.

In this context, the positive influence of the competition among higher education institutions established in the research is to be regarded as a win-win situation which is not so common in other sectors of national economy.

Conclusions

Mutual correlation of results obtained could be ascertained by measuring the level of competition in higher education markets of 15 countries with different classical competition measurement tools – Concentration ratio CR$_4$ and Herfindahl-Hirschman index HHI; however inconsistencies in determining critical values of high competition level in higher education markets could be observed. The relationship with economic efficiency of higher education and national economic growth could not be determined by measuring competition in such a manner.

The values obtained from expert assessments reveal sufficiently high mutual consistency by measuring the level of competition in higher education markets of 18 countries using the author designed Higher Education Competition Index (HECI). The competition index distribution is close to normal distribution with a weakly expressed positive asymmetry. A correlation between competition and economic efficiency of higher education and national economic growth was ascertained as indicated by the HECI by measuring competition in higher education in such a manner:
Higher Education Competition to Increase Efficiency and Economic Growth

- Close and on average close relationship with higher education costs – higher levels of competition on average correspond to lower annual expenditure on education per student, public expenditure per graduate and expenditure per failed new entrant;

- On average close relationship with growth in future benefits as a result of higher education gained – higher levels of competition correspond to on average lower graduate unemployment indicators compared to overall unemployment rate, higher annual income of graduates compared to GDP per inhabitant, higher private net present value as well as higher private and social returns to education;

- Close relationship with state economic development level – higher levels of competition correspond to on average lower level of economic development;

- On average close relationship with rate of national economic growth – higher levels of competition correspond to a higher average national economic growth rate.

Therefore higher level of competition in higher education corresponds to higher economic efficiency, lower national economic development level and higher national economic growth rate.

The economic efficiency of higher education and national economic growth rate are not only related to the level of competition in higher education but also to level of national economic development – higher economic development levels correspond to lower economic efficiency of higher education and lower national economic growth rates.

The promotion of the competition among higher education institutions is the common denominator of the higher education stakeholders overlapping the values and attitudes of the parties involved, letting each of the parties to benefit according to their primary needs, expectations and purposes. The
improvement of competition is a break-even activity and all higher education stakeholders can benefit from it.

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CHAPTER 26

THE GRADUATE CONTRIBUTION

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Abstract
The changed funding landscape of higher education in the English sector of the UK has led to the argument that students will select courses of study in terms of a cost-benefit analysis of their employability opportunities and earning potential. However, in Scotland the position is different, and although free at present for Scottish and European Union (EU) students, English students will nonetheless have to pay around £9000 per annum to study in Scotland. This anomalous situation has led some to argue that this position is unsustainable and that some form of graduate contribution from Scottish and/or EU students will be required. It is therefore timely to consider not only what financial contribution students ought to make but also what their contribution is in terms of the graduate attributes they develop and their worth to society. These issues are discussed with respect to the investment made in modernising the curriculum in Scottish higher education. It is argued that Scotland’s tradition of a generalist higher education provision provides benefits not only for Scottish students but also for EU students looking to develop a broad
range of skills that enable them to understand and tackle global issues.

**Keywords**

graduate – attributes – contribution

**Introduction**

The publication of the U.K. Conservative/Liberal Democrat Coalition Government’s 2011 White Paper on higher education funding in England has led to much debate and political activism. Its main focus is on shifting the burden of funding higher education from the state to the student from the autumn of 2012. This funding reform, coupled with a period of substantial spending cuts in terms of block teaching grants, has effectively ended state support for higher education. However, the new graduate contribution system will mean that students make no up-front payment for tuition and the amount they repay will be dependent on their income with the threshold for payment starting at £21,000.

The Government has legislated to allow higher education institutions (HEIs) in England to raise their tuition fees from the current maximum level of £3290 to a potential £9000 in order to offset the reduction in teaching grants. The majority have accordingly set their fees for next session at, or close to, this maximum level. In this context there is a concern that some less overtly vocational subjects may be more vulnerable to a market-like situation where employability and earning potential are the drivers of subject choice.

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In Scotland, by contrast, higher education is currently free and there is a cross-party consensus amongst politicians that direct fees are off the agenda. However, it is widely accepted that whilst higher education is for the moment funded relatively well, it will have to economize and face rationalising provision in the face of the national priority to reduce public spending overall in the United Kingdom. The Scottish National Party Government’s 2012 plans for post-16 educational reform\(^2\) lays out their thinking on how to generate a more efficient and cost effective system through an emphasis on inter-institutional collaboration and a policy of ‘regionalisation’ with respect to further education provision.

Throughout all of this discussion about the future of higher education there is one question that has dominated the agenda: What contribution do graduates make to national competitiveness and more broadly to a globalised knowledge-based economy? This has become acute in the face of current economic instability and the resulting need for competitive advantage. Graduates are required to be adaptable, multi-skilled and entrepreneurial, and able to meet the needs of a rapidly changing world. However, there has been a tension between the focus on the economic costs and benefits of higher education versus the notion of social capital investment in relation to the knowledge society.

A critical evaluation of this issue is advanced in the following sections of the paper through considering the nature of Scottish higher education in the current global context. Section 1 considers that context in terms of a brief overview of notions the knowledge society and knowledge economy which are treated as complementary rather than identical or mutually exclusive. Section 2 addresses the focus on graduate

\(^2\) [http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Education/post16reform](http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Education/post16reform)
attributes in terms of the need to enable graduates to operate within a rapidly developing knowledge society and economy. Section 3 situates the process of developing these attributes within the ever-changing nature of late capitalism and the project of self-realisation. Section 4 offers an alternative way of conceptualizing this focus through reconnecting with the tradition of the democratic intellect in Scottish higher education. Finally, the paper concludes by calling for a vision of higher education that builds upon that tradition rather following the current one-dimensional focus on competitiveness with respect to employability.

1. Graduates for the Knowledge Economy and Society

There is an increasing demand for higher education on a global scale. Virtually all of this expansion has been predicated on the notion that in a post-industrial knowledge-based economy, a drive towards expanding higher education will lead to a better educated the population that is more likely be successful in the face of global competition.

Although this expansion in higher education is related to economic goals, it has also thrown into sharp relief issues of access and citizen diversity. This is not simply a feature of developed countries but is occurring on a worldwide scale. For example, in Mexico, 90 per cent of enrolled students are the first in their families to enter higher education; in Ghana, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, admissions policies have been adapted to encourage women to enroll; in India it policy that universities to reserve spaces for certain classes; and in Brazil it is mandatory to reserve places for disabled and Afro-Brazilian students (Altbach, Resiberg & Rumbley, 2009). It is therefore arguable that there needs to be a greater focus on cooperation and understanding of different groups, cultures, and
forms of knowledge as a feature of the development of graduates. This may seem a somewhat idealistic given the current economic climate but it is clearly the case that we do not just live in a knowledge-based economy but also a globalised knowledge-based society.

There has been something of a debate around the differentiation of the terms ‘knowledge society’ and ‘knowledge economy’ and the relevance of this for higher education (Sörlin and Vessuri, 2007). The two terms tend to be used interchangeably but it is evident that although they are inter-related, there are differences between them. The term knowledge society arose from the earlier term of ‘information society’ in order to move beyond the notion of technological change and to cover social, cultural, economic, political and institutional transformation. Some authors, notably Castells (2000) refer to the information society, making the comparison between industry and industrial. In this regard Castells draws attention to the ways in which his use of the term information is indicative of a form of social organisation in which information is fundamentally linked to productivity and power in late capitalism.

The knowledge society may also be viewed as distinct from the knowledge economy in the sense that it is more than a commodity or something to be managed. It can also be regarded as something that is a participative and interactive process that is for the public good. Higher education can develop graduates who are able to develop both as citizens within the knowledge society and also in relation to their potential employment as part of the knowledge economy.
2. Higher Education Reforms: Graduate Attributes

This twin focus on the knowledge society and the knowledge economy is a feature of reforms within Scottish higher education. A major focus of this work is the development of graduate attributes (GAs) in terms of the qualities that students acquire during the course of their learning. These qualities are therefore concerned with the ability to adapt to changing circumstances, to work across knowledge boundaries and to become active and engaged citizens.

Scotland has looked to the Australian system of higher education for inspiration and, in particular, Simon Barrie’s work has had a significant impact on thinking about the nature of GAs (Barrie, 2004, 2006, 2007). This has gained expression through curricular reforms that encourage active learning and a focus on learning rather than teaching\(^3\). Therefore, the challenge is to ensure that these activities manifestly demonstrate the development of GAs.

However, there are other global factors that are also making an impact on thinking about the nature of higher education, principally with respect to the networked society and the rise of information technology. It is interesting to note that in the context of the ‘industrialisation’ of higher education, Schejbal (2012) argues:

“Higher education has not undergone the kind of disruptive transformation that we have seen across the world in manufacturing, communications, and other sectors. In this regard, faculty members live a dual existence. They live in a 21st century society, one that is highly dependent on mechanization and

\(^3\) See ‘Developing and Supporting the Curriculum’ Enhancement Theme: [http://www.enhancementthemes.ac.uk/enhancement-themes/developing-and-supporting-the-curriculum](http://www.enhancementthemes.ac.uk/enhancement-themes/developing-and-supporting-the-curriculum)
automation. Yet faculty members continue to conduct their work as artisans. Each faculty member is an independent creator. Intellectual property is sacrosanct, nonreplicable, and highly ethereal. Once spent in a classroom, it has to be re-created by the artisan him or herself.” (pp. 5-6)

However, Schejbal goes on to set out the kinds of challenges to ‘academic-as-artisan’ model through changes in technology and online provision coupled with cost-reduction measures that are affecting the nature of the curriculum and how higher education is having to adapt and change. Speed and flexibility are now the drivers of change, spurred on by the pursuit of cost reductions and the promise of increasing market share through online learning products.

This is mirrored in the way in which learning in higher education is now considered; as means to become adaptable to a speeded up world where the only constant is change. As Brabazon (2007) argues in her book, The University of Google, being a student in today’s world of higher education is like living in someone else’s iPod in terms of a need for permanent reskilling. This is deemed necessary in order to adapt to a world of market flexibility and produce graduates whose programmes of study demonstrably engineer such attributes. Brabazon argues this has led to a problem in maintaining educational standards:

“The transference from a manufacturing to an information-driven economy necessitates permanent reskilling. The cost of labour market flexibility is educational standards and scholarly excellence.” (p.163)

In Europe and other developed countries outside North America, higher education has traditionally been regarded as a 'public good' in terms of its contribution to civil society. Increasingly, however, higher
education is considered as a 'private good' since the majority of benefits from such an education accrue to the individual in terms of employability. The introduction of fees and loans is a manifestation of this view and it has gained momentum through the acknowledgement that we are now in an era of slow growth coupled with an aging population.

There is little doubt that we now live in difficult economic times and that information technology and globalisation has led to such a speeded up world that requires graduates to be increasingly more creative and adaptable. However, I do not share the view that this necessarily represents a diminution of academic ability or scholarly excellence. The challenge is to focus on GAs as both a vehicle for an educated citizenship as well as an index of employability.

3. Graduate Attributes, Human Capital and Self-Realisation

If higher education is now considered as in the service of employability and as a means of developing human capital, then this raises the question of how it is related to self-development. It is at this point that I wish to draw upon the writing of Petersen (2011) who draws attention to the way in which authentic self-realisation has become the guiding normative demand in modern society. His focus is very different from mine in that he is concerned with how this is related to the sense of failure for some to maintain their self-development. Although I do not share his focus I am nonetheless interested in the manifestation of authentic self-realisation through the vehicle of graduate identities.

Petersen begins by aligning himself with Boltanski and Chiapello’s (2005) insight in *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, with regard to the emergence of a new ideological commitment to capitalism based on self-
realisation. They argue that this commitment is premised on a different normative foundation than previously adhered to; one based on people’s engagement with the capitalist system in terms of the project of self-realisation. Boltanski and Chiapello argue that capitalism has thrived on critique in order to mutate and adapt to changing socio-historical circumstances. That critique of capitalism has taken two broad forms: social and artistic. The social critique has involved exposing the exploitative nature of capitalism in terms of such as aspects as poverty, social injustice and rampant individualism. The artistic critique has focused on the ways in which capitalism reduces people to being cogs in an economic machine and thereby delivering a technocratic and dehumanized society. In other words, they point out that the artistic critique is concerned with the oppression of individual creativity, autonomy, spontaneity and authenticity through the relentless pursuit of standardisation (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2005: 37).

However, this latter form of critique has taken hold to such an extent that capitalism has had to move with the times and has in large measure absorbed it into its own ideological basis. This new form of ideology requires that the individual considers him or herself as an on-going ‘project’ of authentic self-realisation. This is attained through activities that allow this aspect of self to be developed in the workplace, private life, and leisure. Given this logic, and the rapidly changing world of the knowledge economy and society, individuals must learn to develop and deploy a range of attributes that allow them to be flexible, mobile, enterprising, creative, adaptable, and malleable. As Petersen notes in direct reference to the work of Chiapello and Fairclough:
“What is relevant is to be always pursuing some sort of activity, never to be without a project, without ideas, to be always looking forward to, and preparing for, something along with other persons, who are brought together by the same drive for activity.” (Chiapello and Fairclough, 2002: 192)

It is but a short step from this characterisation of modern subjectivity to consider the focus on producing flexible and adaptable graduates as nothing less than an attempt to specify the normative content of self-realisation. And yet, there is a clear tension here for some between what they regard as the academic nature of personal development leading to personal growth and the concomitant contribution to an educated citizenry, and the underlying imperative that requires knowledge to be visibly linked to economic wealth creation. However, in an era of mass higher education it is often the latter that is a priority for governments, and no more so than in the current economic climate. In other words, the project of authentic self-realisation has also been assimilated into the policy objective of equating higher education with employability.

This new rhetoric represents a fundamental change in how higher education is legitimated; one that extols the possession of attributes that equip graduates to respond to the changing nature of the labour market rather than a focus on understanding the world. In this sense the personal is made public and in effect codifies desired individual behaviour resulting from the educational process. Given that this is now a world of rapid change and uncertainly then these attributes are related to self-competencies that enable strategic ‘coping mechanisms’ for gaining employment, keeping it, constant re-skilling, and the use of entrepreneurial skills to create new employment. The graduate of 21st century is therefore one who is autonomous, self-
organizing, self-motivated, self-controlled and able to generate his or her own opportunities.

This discourse taps into zeitgeist of the times; an age of insecurity and risk (Beck, 1992), of individualism set in relation to appeals to market-like structures and globalisation where these are considered as a normative ethic for guiding action (Sennett, 1998), of constant self-reinvention capable of producing greater freedom but also anxiety (Elliot & Lemert, 2006). The requirement for graduates to be adaptable and entrepreneurial has therefore never been greater set within a world of instability and uncertainty.

4. Graduate Attributes and the Democratic Intellect

There has also been a realization that the process of globalisation requires undergraduates to be exposed to an education that will develop self-realisation that is aligned to citizenship. The 2009 synthesis report from the Global University Network for Innovation (GUNI) entitled *Higher Education at a time of Transformation: New Dynamics for Social Responsibility* draws attention to the many challenges confronting the sector that stem from those of wider society: beyond the 'ivory tower' or 'market-oriented university' towards one that innovatively adds value to the process of social transformation. The report argues that the creation and distribution of socially relevant knowledge is something that needs to be at the core of university activity, thereby strengthening their social responsibility. As the GUNI report puts it so well, this calls for us to rethink the purpose of higher education; a purpose that is one of transformation rather than transmission:

“...The central educative purpose of HEIs ought to be the explicit facilitation of progressive, reflexive, critical, transformative learning that leads to much improved
understanding of the need for, and expression of, responsible paradigms for living and for 'being' and 'becoming', both as individuals alone and collectively as communities.” (GUNI, 2009: 7)

This notion of higher education as educating citizens with a sense of civic awareness chimes with another Scottish higher education tradition: that of the democratic intellect (Davie, 1961). However, a note of caution needs to be sounded in that it is set within the context of ever increasing costs for those entering higher education and a legitimating rhetoric of 'employability'. There is little room here for notion of citizenship and the democratisation of knowledge that involves, not simply the development of expertise, but also the importance of bringing in 'knowledge from below' in terms of forging a real connection with lived experience. To do otherwise might risk opening up new spaces for critical debate and alternative ideas and practices. As Lyotard (1984: 4) put it in The Postmodern Condition, we are left with an “exteriorization of knowledge with respect to the ‘knower,’ at whatever point he or she may occupy in the knowledge process.”

However, given the points made above about the rapidly changing nature of knowledge society and economy, then the ability to adapt to change and to be able to evaluate different kinds of knowledge is of utmost importance. In addressing this aspect, it is worth considering the words of Barnett (2011) who writes:

In a world of liquid knowledge, where knowledge has become knowledges jostling and even competing with each another, there are knowledge spaces: universities can approach knowledge – and are doing so – in radically different ways. Barnett, 2011: 32)
It is therefore arguable that HEIs need to consider GAs related to the notion of self-realisation as something that needs to be developed for and beyond the knowledge society in an effort to preserve the standing of higher education as an institutional public good within what is otherwise a focus on the corporate ends of the knowledge economy and the, at times, excessive mantra of preparing the ‘knowledge workers’ of the future. HEIs have contributed more than their share in preparing graduates for the economy, but they have perhaps been less successful in developing the attributes of citizens who are able to advance the general democratic quality of their society and workplace. It is evident that higher education is having to adapt rapidly in the face the challenges of a global knowledge economy and society. However there is something of a tension in that it is continually referenced to the notion of consuming education in order to ‘future proof’ oneself through the process of self-realisation.

**Conclusion**

The development of graduate attributes, and the contribution they make to the individual and to society, positions the experience of higher education within the context of a rapidly developing knowledge economy and society. Whether that knowledge economy and society is regarded as a projection for future development, a here-and-now reality, or even as some would have it, an ideological distortion on our lives, it nonetheless requires higher education to address the socio-political issues that it raises. Whatever attributes are developed, and whatever economic or social investment is made in higher education, it would be desirable to obtain some balance between a concern with knowledge not only as a form of work, but as, something that is connected with a desire understand and learn from others; not principally as a means of individual competitiveness in
the knowledge economy, but as something that is considered as relevant to the widening participation agenda and to the development of educational opportunities; and not simply as a way of operating in the knowledge society, but as a responsibility to develop a broader, more cosmopolitan understanding of different forms of knowledge and how these can lead to a more democratic sense of community. This is all the more pressing given the impact of globalization and its effects on people’s lives, and in particular across the EU. This does indeed pose a challenge for higher education but one that moves it in a direction that takes forward the framework of GAs in a more holistic and inter-connected manner. Such a higher education would be beneficial not only for Scotland but, current funding permitting, also for EU students seeking a high quality and (for the moment) free higher education experience.

References


Abstract

In the current economic climate of our state, the funding for programs, faculty, and services in higher education has become problematic, to say the least. Morale among some faculty and staff is low as a result, making leading an educational unit difficult on several fronts. How can one provide effective leadership and motivate others promoting positive change in the face of these challenges? The stakeholders I reference in this article included faculty and staff members in an institution of higher education as well as counterparts in the technical college system. This paper will highlight the author’s strategies for change, over the course of 18 months, within the contexts of current economic conditions, academic policies, and varying, sometime conflicting, socio-cultural perspectives.
1. Introduction

Prior to assuming the reins as department head in late May of 2008, I planned to heed the advice of a former school administrator with whom I had worked closely in the past: do not make any major changes right away, listen and observe, get a feel for the culture of the department, and ask questions and take note of responses from colleagues and other department heads. This advice, at the time, seemed wise and appropriate.

I soon discovered, however, that in the face of the current economy and the impact of budget cuts on our department, college, and the university system as a whole, waiting to make changes did not seem to be an option. I felt an obligation to act and become a catalytic agent of change to preserve positions, and to protect the quality and integrity of our program. To paraphrase the great basketball player, Michael Jordan: “Some people make change, some people watch change happen, and some people wondered what happened.” I had to make change happen!

1.1. The Open Door: Literally and Virtually

In order to move in the direction of positive change while being mindful of our economic situation, I realized I needed to listen to my colleagues’ concerns, criticisms, and ideas. I needed and wanted to hear about their professional goals as well as their personal lives (at least as much as they felt comfortable sharing. My colleagues, like those in Weiler’s (1988) research, “are controlled and shaped by material as well as ideological forces” (p. 12). I needed to be sensitive to those forces if my leadership was to be effective.
One of the most effective strategies I could think of to show evidence of my desire to be a good listener was to literally, keep my office door open as much as possible. Heller (1999) also promotes this strategy in his statement: “Never hide behind the closed doors of private offices” (p. 47). While this “openness” has not always been conducive to my personal productivity, the open door invites colleagues and students to stop in for brief (or extended) discussions, sharing of ideas, seeking or supplying answers to questions, and to the building of a collegial community.

I also keep my “virtual door” open to faculty, staff, students, and others by sharing my email address, inviting correspondence, and responding to emails promptly.

Further, I attempt to be as transparent in my leadership as possible, often consulting with more veteran faculty prior to making decisions. I can, and must, be able to provide sound rationale for, and open to discussion about, decisions which affect our departmental community.

Another “open door” policy strategy is to be open to creating collaborative partnerships with stakeholder groups both inside and outside the university community. As an example: our Education Department is engaged in a partnership with three technical colleges in our area to facilitate the enrolment of students into our Early Childhood Education program once they have completed their two-year Associate Degrees at their respective technical colleges. This proposed program envisions a “bridge course” to introduce students to the university program and plans to offer classes either via distance learning or on-site at the respective technical college campuses to enable students, most of whom are or will be employed, to easily attend classes without
travelling great distances. This program will benefit all involved, but with respect to our program, the increased enrolment from these courses will ensure full workloads for our professors and increase revenue for our program. As an added benefit of the collaboration, grant writers from one of the partner schools wrote a large grant for this effort, a monumental and time-consuming task which would have otherwise fallen to our department personnel. Being open to this and other partnership opportunities benefits us in multiple ways, not the least of which is increased program stability during difficult financial times.

1.2. Collegial Empowerment

I espouse a “power with” approach to administration (Shaw, 2001). Building upon the “power to” approach advocated by Brunner (1994) and Brunner and Duncan (1994), the “power with” approach is “based upon the recognition of (colleagues’) own power as well as that of others, and that goal attainment is accomplished in concert with other stakeholder groups as they exercise their individual power together (p. 163).

During stressful economic conditions, changes are often imposed upon organizations and the stakeholders within them that are seen as necessary for the survival of the unit or program. Any change involves a degree of risk (Heller, 1999, p. 68) Reactions to change and perceived impositions can vary from positive willingness and acceptance to ignoring change directives and/or subverting them. Allowing colleagues to voice their concerns and have voice in how changes can be implemented or at least coped with can be empowering to them. The following is an example of an imposed economic change and our department’s reaction to it.
For two years, the State of Wisconsin mandated unpaid furlough days for all state employees (which included all employees at the state-funded schools). During state-mandated furlough days, employees were not to perform any work-related duties, including reading and responding to email, answering telephone calls, and so forth. These unpaid days for faculty members resulted in a 3.065 percent pay reduction in salary (in addition to the rescinded 2 percent pay raise). Many faculty members felt unappreciated and, not surprisingly, a decline in morale ensued.

To cope with this mandate, together we contrived “politically correct” messages to those who tried to contact us on furlough days via email, in person, or by telephone to inform them about the mandate and to invite them to contact their legislators about the effect of furlough days on their education. While our efforts could not change the mandate, having a strong response to it left many faculty and staff feeling more empowered rather than powerless.

Other institutional changes have been foisted upon our faculty that have been grievously resented, especially those impacting salaries. Due to some of these changes, which will become effective in the near future, we formed two committees chaired by department members for the purposes of investigating the effects of the changes on our department and ways we need to prepare to be proactive in adopting them. Faculty and staff members have self-selected the committee on which they wish to serve and all have equal voices in the discussions. The result of these actions, for the most part, generated feelings of excitement and opportunity instead of powerlessness and dread.
1.3. Cutting Back Without Cutting Out

As the entire university, including our college and department, continue to face budget difficulties, there was need to examine where cuts could be made. These reductions, however, could not compromise the quality and integrity of our program.

Looking at expenditures over a period of time, I found several areas where reductions could be implemented while still maintaining program excellence. Although savings in some areas seemed miniscule within the larger budget “picture”, over time the savings have become substantial. The following paragraphs highlight two of these reductions.

Every department colleague, as well as each of our two student offices, had at least one telephone. Some offices had as many as three telephone lines as well as a fax line. Research on the telephone and fax usage in all offices resulted in the realization that several telephone lines were seldom, if ever, used even though we continued to pay monthly service fees! The outcome of this effort was the disconnection of several telephone lines and one fax line and a savings of close to $2000 in the first year following this action. It must be noted that all faculty, staff, and our student organization office have the equipment and access they need to maintain quality and timeliness in their communications.

A second realization of the need for change centered on expenses incurred (food, lodging, and travel) by supervisors of student teachers in our program. Supervisors typically documented the “allowable per diem” for food and often used their own vehicles (as opposed to a state-owned vehicle) for travel. Because the amount budgeted for these expenses has remained at the same level for almost ten years despite rising costs, changes in travel and recording of
expenses were needed to stay within our budget. Thus, supervisors were instructed to record exact (versus “allowable”) amounts for food. In addition, personal vehicle use was permitted only if state vehicles were not available or if the use of a personal vehicle was more cost effective due to miles travelled.

During the first year after implementing these changes, the department saved over $700. The savings increased in the following year due to diligence on the part of supervisors in geographically coordinating visits as well as increased attention to detail in their reporting of expenses. Supervisors still received compensation for their travel; however, the parameters of allowable expenses and the use of state vehicles reduced costs to the department.

Faculty and staff initially struggled with these changes for several reasons, including but not limited to: 1) the procedures were not universally followed across the campus, resulting in some faculty feeling resentment, “put upon” and micromanaged; and, 2) the procedures were new and change in long-held practices can be difficult for some stakeholders. Delivering consistent messages over time has contributed to the majority of faculty and staff acceptance of these procedures.

1.4. Doing the Same Things Differently

Our faculty, like many of our counterparts in other institutions, require students to do supplemental reading beyond course textbooks. These readings, in many cases, come in the form of paper copies of articles that are distributed to students throughout the duration of the course. I learned that while our departmental usage of photocopied handouts was not considered excessive when compared to other departments within our college, I wanted to reduce
the dependency on paper for both financial and ecological reasons.

Within our university system, we have an outstanding online course management system, *Desire2Learn (D2L)*, which allows instructors to post articles, syllabi, links to internet resources, video clips, and other forms of media. The system also has a depository for student work, can manage grades in multiple formats, and enables multiple forms of communication between instructors and students.

I strongly encouraged my colleagues to use this system, even with their face-to-face classes, as a means of reducing paper consumption and providing students with any-time access to all course materials and grades. Further, the cost of purchasing supplemental course materials incurred by students has been eliminated now that all materials can be accessed online free of charge during the duration of the courses using this format. Hard copies may be printed from the system, if students choose to do so. An additional benefit to students has been the ability to access this material, with instructor permission, even after the course is completed, again with no charge. Because instructors can electronically copy their course materials from one semester to another, importing all the course elements, the one-time expenditures of time and effort in the initial set up of supplemental materials do not have to be duplicated each time the course is offered.

Instructors have also been encouraged to use the option of posting reading material to our library’s Electronic Reserve system. This option also requires more work on the part of the instructor prior to the onset of the class; however, students have electronic access to these materials for the duration of the class
and may, if they choose, print hard copies of the articles.

A final option presented itself with the purchase of a new photocopy machine which allows for the creation of pdf files while copying. These files can be instantly emailed to course participants, again alleviating the use of paper while still providing the content.

As with other changes, moving to a system using less paper was resisted by some faculty and staff members. Quarterly announcements to department stakeholders about paper consumption, while highlighting savings, has resulted in greater buy-in to this process.

1.5. Choosing Attitude

Charles Swindoll (1996) wrote, “I believe the single most significant decision I can make on a day-to-day basis is my choice of attitude. It is more important than my past, my education, my bankroll, my successes or failures, fame or pain, what other people think of me or say about me, my circumstances, or my position. Attitude keeps me going or cripples my progress. It alone fuels my fire or assaults my hope. When my attitudes are right, there is no barrier too high, no valley too deep, no dream no extreme, no challenge too great for me” (p. 64).

As mentioned in the description of mandatory furlough days above, one’s attitude toward change, dire economic conditions, and the feeling of being “done to” can have either positive or negative impact on motivation, work performance, and morale. My attitude, however, can also have an impact on the way my colleagues view change.

In *Lesson in Loyalty* (2005), Lorraine Grubbs-West outlines nine “lessons” that can have a positive impact
on any organization. Two of the lessons most applicable to this discussion have been selected for deeper consideration.

First, “Loyalty Lesson #4: People Give as Good as They Get” (p. 52). Included in this lesson is the principle that an employer/administrator shows colleagues they are highly valued. Here is how I have attempted to follow this principle in a fiscally responsible manner:

Show gratitude for everything, for example, timely responses to correspondence, service on committees, exemplary teaching, scholarship, and/or service, help in problem solving, and so forth.

Recognize days/times that may be special to colleagues: birthdays, inquiring about family or health, celebration of successes in teaching, scholarship, and service, especially if noted in the media.

Nominate colleagues for recognition for exemplary teaching, scholarship, and service.

Maintain an open door policy that sends the message to colleagues, “I am available and reading to listen”.

Second, “Loyalty Lesson #8: Do What’s Right” (p. 101). This lesson reinforces earlier statements about collegial empowerment and expands that concept to encourage colleagues to not just “do what’s right by the book” but to “do the right thing” (p. 94), use common sense, and make suggestions that will benefit the greater good. Trusting colleagues to perform in this manner is empowering to them and reinforces Loyalty Lesson #4 above.
1.6. Conclusion: Challenges and Opportunities of Change

With each challenge comes an opportunity, and with each opportunity comes a challenge. As the department leader, it is my job to minimize the discomfort of challenges and tout the opportunities of change. This is no small task and in the words of Dr. Joan North (2008): “Everybody has an ideal about how you ought to lead, even you. Run from them all and find the real you (the only you) and operate from there, without apology. This is a life-long marathon. Think of the various challenges—budget, quirky personality snags, lack of help, weeds of all sorts—as board games. They offer you challenges for your intellect and instinct to solve. They are fun. Don’t get sucked into them emotionally or they are not fun. Don’t spend much of your time with this fun. Make room for your number one job of establishing the college climate.”

As indicated above, I often consulted with a variety of faculty, staff and administration in my decision-making. While an often effective practice, there was, at times, a dissonance of perspectives about discussion topics, often depending upon the impact of the final decision on those with whom I may or may not have consulted. There was no question that stakeholders wanted to insure the security of their positions while, simultaneously maintaining program quality. Thus, any thought of downsizing or economizing felt threatening to some faculty and staff members. In addition, the thought of infringing on a faculty member’s academic freedom in the classroom, especially among veteran professors, may have caused stress among the ranks. Finally, decisions perceived to be made with cultural bias in mind fuelled fear and discontent among some. It was only through constant and consistent reassurance to those stakeholders that fears were allayed or minimized.
Over time, because no positions have been lost, faculty and staff worries have abated somewhat.

This personal anecdotal case study has focused on challenges I have encountered during my first two years as the department chair. Absent from much of this discussion has been a listing, or endorsement, if you will, of the strengths or limitations of various leadership theories and approaches. Rather, this paper has been a reflection of a personal call to action in the face of economic conditions and the ways in which practical applications have helped me lead toward change in my department.

5. References


CHAPTER 28

CELTIC LANGUAGES IN EUROPE AND REVITALISATION PROGRAMMES: LANGUAGE POLICIES, LANGUAGE PLANNING AND LINGUISTIC COMMUNITIES

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Abstract

This contribution seeks to clarify the conditions under which language revitalisation measures taken after the Second World War in Europe can permanently strengthen vulnerable minority and regional European languages. More specifically, this research examines the question why the implementation of language revitalisation/maintenance programmes in schools (as well as the adoption of linguistic policies beneficial to less used languages) has been uneven. The reasons why some models of revitalisation are more successful than others in developing one’s linguistic heritage appears to come from the interaction of the stakeholders, such as the EU, the states, language planners, and the linguistic communities involved in implementing programmes and policies. Indeed, when stakeholders promote similar positive attitudes towards language re-vitalisation and share the same goals, revitalisation can take place. However, when goals or behaviours are not harmonised they are unlikely to lead to language revitalisation.
Introduction

The Council of Europe has recognised the need to protect regional or minority languages\(^1\) as an important element of European cultural heritage, and the adoption of the charter (1992) is a major step in that direction. The steady increase in the number of countries ratifying its provisions is testament to Europe’s recognition of the “intangible heritage”\(^2\) that all languages represent. The charter was introduced at a time, however, when a vast number of regional and minority languages have entered a phase of steady decline, and when much work remains to be done to prevent their demise.

Unfortunately, the implementation of language revitalisation/maintenance programmes in schools, as well as the adoption of linguistic policies beneficial to less used languages, has been uneven. The reasons why some models of revitalisation appear to be more successful than others in developing one’s linguistic heritage is the question at the centre of this contribution. More specifically, this chapter seeks to clarify the conditions under which language revitalisation actions conducted at the educational level can be strengthened to ensure the continuation of language use in the workforce and in society in general.

\(^1\) Regional and minority languages of Europe, as defined by the European charter, are languages which are traditionally used by the nationals of a State (thus excluding languages used by recent immigrants from other states), which significantly differ from the majority or official languages and which either have a territorial basis or are used by linguistic minorities within the State as whole.

\(^2\) A powerful metaphor used by UNESCO.
The study of the maintenance and protection of linguistic diversity is a complex issue because the perpetuation of languages involves multifaceted factors. The concept of revitalisation itself is intimately intertwined with that of “language loss” or “language shift”, the causes of which centre around considerations which are not properly speaking linguistic; rather they are socio-political and associated with imbalances in prestige and power between a minorised language and culture on the one hand, and the language of wider communication and dominant culture(s) on the other. Socio-political inequalities experienced by linguistic communities lead to situations known as “social dis-locations”, which are considered to be one of the most powerful factors involved in language decline (Grenoble 2006: 145; Nettle and Romaine (2000: 79,179).

Increasingly aware of the social division that had led to massive language losses, countries from the European Union, from the end of the Second World War, guaranteed fundamental human rights, prominent amongst which was the right to use one’s own language. Linguistic diversity was also seen as crucial in ensuring Europe’s political stability and safety. Renewed official interest in regional and minority languages did not, however, trigger the desired renaissance of endangered tongues. In fact, the implementation of revitalising initiatives meant to help linguistic communities regain control of their identities, cultures, and languages have regularly failed to translate into a growing usage and/or transmission of languages.

3 In this contribution, the terms “language loss”, “language shift”, “language decline” and “language attrition” will be used interchangeably. The terms are not exactly synonymous, but treating them as such in the context of this chapter, will avoid unnecessary terminological digression.
One of the factors explaining this limited success is the isolation in which revitalising programmes tend to be carried out; that is their general inability to address the complexity\(^4\) and uniqueness\(^5\) of the social and cultural fabrics of the communities involved in linguistic recovery, although there is a general agreement about the importance of some factors, eg. the importance of intergenerational language transmission (Gragg 2006: 322; Baker 2006: 64). Even then, though, some linguists, such as Fishman, believe that everything that does not lead to the restoration of intergeneration transmission is merely camouflaged failure (1991:86, 399). Others, such as Spolsky, adopt a more balanced approach. He suggests that along with intergenerational transmission, other programmes creating an increase use of a given language are acceptable, but prefer using the term “regeneration” for programmes which do not involve intergenerational transmission (2003: 554-555).

In numerous communities, however, where intergenerational transmission has significantly declined or has ceased altogether, a new grey area concerning what constitutes efficient revitalisation programmes has emerged. For instance, there is little debate about the importance of minored languages regeneration\(^6\), or the role of educational institutions in language acquisition programmes. But it seems to be

\(^4\) A significant body of work has been done in recent years to understand better the complexity involved in revitalisation measures. The UNESCO document (2003) on endangered languages, for example, has identified 9 factors (and their almost endless combinations) as having a significant impact on the chances of survival of a language.

\(^5\) As emphasised by Grin (2000).

\(^6\) In this paper, “regeneration” and “revitalisation” are used interchangeably. The terms are not exactly synonymous, but treating them as such in the context of this chapter, will avoid unnecessary terminological digression.
frequently assumed that these programmes will fulfil single-handedly the linguistic revitalising mission. There is no doubt that such initiatives have become an intrinsic part of the solution to language loss, but they are unlikely to be sufficient on their own to meet the immense challenges facing those seeking to revitalise languages\textsuperscript{7}. Ultimately, even the most drastic measures involving substantial budgets and sophisticated programmes may fail to revive a language, if they are not based on a clear understanding of what is at stake in the pursuit of revitalisation\textsuperscript{8}.

In summation, no matter what actions are deemed appropriate to serve the future of a declining language, language acquisition programmes will remain at the heart of the revitalisation process, provided that their initiators do not forget that the longer term future of languages also depends on the implementation of the conditions where they can continuously be used (Hinton and Hale 2001: 17). The creation of such an environment, it is often forgotten, relies heavily on extra-linguistic factors comprising a range of contributions from governments, schools, and official institutions (Annamali 2002), as well as well designed linguistic policies\textsuperscript{9}. Hence the need for an ecological approach.

\textsuperscript{7} See also Fishman (1991:371).

\textsuperscript{8} It seemed to be the case in Ireland, in 1948, whereas immense efforts have been deployed with disappointing results. Their approach to language revitalisation programmes will be examined in another section.

\textsuperscript{9} Linguistic policies are defined as follows by Grin: “Language policy is a systematic, rational, theory-based effort at the societal level to modify the linguistic environment with a view to increasing aggregate welfare. It is typically conducted by official bodies or their surrogates and aimed at part or all of the population living under their jurisdiction.” (1996: 31, developed from Cooper 1989).
1. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework adopted in this contribution is that of language ecology, as developed by Haugen from the 1970s onwards. It offers a holistic approach to understanding language loss and revitalisation within the context of the society and culture in which the language has to be protected and restores the importance of the notion of community-as-environment as one of the central elements in linguistic description (1972: 325, cited in Garner 2005: 92-93). Haugen’s definition of language ecology as “the study of the interactions between any given language and its environment” is widely used now, and so are his views on the competitiveness at the heart of the interaction between languages. More recently, though, Mühlhäusler (1995) has advocated a more cooperative interactive model. He believes that in the same way that natural ecologies are defined by non-competitive functional interconnections between their inhabitants and their habitats, linguistic diversity is similarly structured, with small languages being important for the viability of larger ones and vice versa.

In Europe, the interaction between languages has been mostly competitive since the advent of the nation state 10, although previously, languages enjoyed periods of harmonious cohabitations 11. After World War 2, the creation of the EU aimed at fostering economic cooperation in order to avoid conflict. Since then, the economic union of European countries has

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10 Thiesse (1999) examines this question in detail.
11 For example, in France, the interaction between the numerous languages was predominantly cooperative for a number of centuries, even after the adoption in 1539 of the Villers-Cotterêts edict, which made French the language of the French administration and tribunals.
evolved into an organisation spanning a wide range of areas, including an active promotion of human rights, of which linguistic rights, are an intrinsic part.

The introduction of the European Charter for regional and minority languages (1992) is an evident effort to restore a more cooperative model of linguistic interaction. The ecological framework adopted in this chapter echoes the collaborative approach outlined in the Charter, as it allows a better exploration of the relation between revitalisation programmes, language policies and the societies in which they exist.

2. Contextual Framework

With an estimated 6800 languages spoken in the world today, it is widely believed that as many as 90% of the world’s languages could be lost by the end of this century. Communities facing language loss have responded to this threat to their identity by trying to revitalise the local languages (Grenoble 2006: 137-138).

Europe is no exception when it comes to language decline. The potential loss of a large part of its linguistic heritage, as reported in the UNESCO Red Book on Endangered Languages: Europe (1999), has been addressed by a number of European states, but the results have been uneven. One notable success, and regularly referred to when the survival of minority or regional languages is cited, however, is that of Wales, where the number of Welsh speakers has recently stabilised, after a century of steady decline. This is the result of initiatives begun in the 1960s, when the Welsh-speaking population came to the realisation that their language was doomed if nothing was done to counteract the trends contributing to its demise.
The valiant Welsh campaign for the preservation of their linguistic heritage has not necessarily secured the future of the Welsh tongue in the long term, as it retains its endangered status (Salminen 1993)\(^{12}\), although progress made in recent years provides ground for optimism. Nevertheless, the revitalisation programme put in place in Wales is evidence that longer term action can have a significant effect on language use.

In the case of languages such as Welsh and other minority European languages, where intergenerational transmission has dramatically declined or ceased altogether, the language transmission has to route through the educational system. Yet, little is known about what has to be done beyond this most important step to sustain language use.

Using Welsh as a starting point, this study will further explore the ecology of the linguistic revitalisation effort undertaken to ensure the sustainable development of regional and minority languages in the wider society and to protect the European linguistic diversity principles as laid down in the European Charter for regional and minority languages.

3. Methodology

This section is influenced by Grin’s approach to the design practices seen as best able to support the language revitalisation effort in a wider social context:

> governments frequently encounter difficulties in the selection, design, implementation and evaluation of linguistic measures, even if they

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\(^{12}\) This is due to the critical factor that the overall number of speakers in absolute terms remains small (less than a million).
are committed to their principle. In particular, there is evidence that governments find it difficult to assess the implications of their commitment, whether at the very general level of the management of linguistic diversity or at the very practical level of the financial costs [...] resulting from, say, extended provisions for the teaching of regional or minority languages in the education system. Such difficulties of evaluation, in turn, hamper governments’ ability to adopt and implement measures that would enable them to comply with some of their obligations resulting from their being party to such international instruments. (Grin 2000: 7)

Furthermore, Grin insists that the methodology used for decision-making and assessment should be based on the observation that the actions to be carried out, or the measures adopted in favour of minority languages, are highly case-dependent. As a consequence, they have to be adapted to the specificities of the language to be revitalised, making it difficult to formulate general guidelines. By contrast, guidelines regarding the selection, design, implementation and evaluation of policy measures could constitute useful elements to define a “good practice” approach to minority language policies (ibidem).

Grin finally adds that a common problem associated with the protection of minority languages is the identification of the ultimate goal of a policy, and the links between that goal and the policy measures. In other words, Grin believes that in order to evaluate policies accurately, the most important step must be to identify an outcome which is acceptable to the members of the minority groups, or the society as a whole (2000: 11). These principles seem to be simple enough to follow, but whether the actors involved in the protection of linguistic diversity approach linguistic revitalisation programmes in this way is
doubtful. On the contrary, it seems that when linguistic programmes fail to revitalise a language, the burden of failure falls most often on the linguistic communities rather than on those designing the programmes or policies.

4. The Welsh language

Welsh is a Celtic language sharing linguistic features with Irish, Gaelic, and Manx languages, but is linguistically closer to P-Celtic branch, which includes Breton and Cornish. Celtic languages are believed to have originated in Central Europe in pre-Roman times (Aitchison and Carter 1994:22). They spread through Britain, (England, Wales and Southern Scotland) until the Anglo-Saxon invasion of the fifth and sixth centuries. The influence of English rapidly grew after the death of Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, the last Prince of Wales in 1282, but it is the Acts of Union of 1536 and 1542, which joined Wales to the Kingdom of England, and more importantly made English the sole language of government and law, which sounded the knell for Welsh by decreeing that henceforth no person who used Welsh should hold any office within the Realm. From that moment on, a progressive Anglicisation of the Welsh gentry (Jones 1998:7) took place, whilst Welsh progressively lost its status as a “high” culture and was systematically downgraded to the status of patois (Aitchison and Carter 1994: 25). The language remained widely spoken nevertheless until the 1847 Blue Books stated that the Welsh language was a barrier to the social and economic advancement of the Welsh and that the introduction of English was the only way forward. Under the “Revised Code” of 1861, payments made by the government to elementary schools in Wales depended on the proficiency of the pupils in arithmetic and English

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13 This is despite the fact that the Welsh had one of the oldest body of literature in Europe.
Celtic languages in Europe and Revitalisation Programmes

(Jones 1998: 10). The use of Welsh continued to decline\(^\text{14}\) and the twentieth century witnessed further erosion of the language.

On 13\(^{\text{th}}\) February 1962, an important BBC radio lecture by Saunders Lewis to the Welsh nation detailed the negative attitude of the English government towards the Welsh language and demanded more Welsh in public life. This lecture is believed to have triggered widespread campaigning to secure increased rights for the Welsh and their language. Twenty years later, the campaigning efforts had produced a stabilisation in the number of Welsh speakers\(^\text{15}\), as indicated in the table below.

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The following section will look at the way in which such a dramatic reversal was made possible.

4.1 Linguistic Revitalisation programme: values, attitudes and purposes

The maintenance/revitalisation programme undertaken since the 1960s in Wales includes a range of measures meant to meet the needs of the

\(^{14}\) See Jones (1998: 10) for details about the Welsh Not—thou shalt not speak Welsh in school.

\(^{15}\) According to the Welsh Language Board, “Welsh speakers” are those who say they can speak Welsh.
Welsh community. The measures adopted, which have produced an augmentation of language users, can roughly be divided into linguistic and extra linguistic measures.\(^{16}\)

Amongst linguistic measures aiming at strengthening the linguistic vitality of Welsh, language acquisition programmes are seen as essential as inter-generational transmission is unable, on its own, to fulfil this mission. In this regard, Wales can rightly be proud of the implementation of a complex network of both bilingual or Welsh-medium schools, seen as the cornerstones of the movement for the revitalisation of the Welsh language. The first to be opened since the publication of the Blue Books statements (1847) was in Aberystwyth in 1939 (Jones 1998:22), and the pace of their implementation accelerated significantly in the fifties and the sixties. In fact, seventy years after that first opening of a school for Welsh-speaking children in Aberystwyth, the number of Welsh-medium schools has increased dramatically to 448 Welsh-medium and bilingual primary schools and 54 Welsh-medium secondary schools.\(^{17}\) These results are all the more impressive given that ninety-five percent of the children attending these schools are non-Welsh-speakers.

The immersion and bilingual schools are, by and large, considered as the most effective means of acquiring fluency in Welsh (Jones 25)\(^{18}\), but are not, by any means, the only “tool” for language acquisition. Importantly, Welsh language training can also occur in the workplace. In addition, adults can

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\(^{16}\) Linguistic measures involve actions taken at the level of language acquisition, such as teaching and learning the grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation of the language.

\(^{17}\) According to the Welsh Language Board.

\(^{18}\) Jones (1998) explores further the pros and cons of immersion schools and bilingual programmes but this development is beyond the scope of this chapter.
learn Welsh using a variety of courses and delivery methods when they want to use Welsh with their children who are attending Welsh medium schools. As far as language programmes are concerned\(^{19}\), Wales’ success seems to stem from the stance taken by the Welsh authorities that every inhabitant of Wales is a potential Welsh speaker to whom language education should be made available. As a result, an assortment of courses for all age groups cater for a wide range of needs, from school to the workplace, or society in general. Clearly, the multifaceted Welsh approach to language learning has checked language decline and might even have secured its longer term future.

There is no doubt, however, that such programmes could not, as Fishman puts it “stand alone on the language front” (1991: 371). The sociolinguist insists that efforts must be first and foremost properly sequenced (1991: 111). As the case of Eire demonstrates, when a country promotes the higher functions of a declining language prior to having made sure that it has well trained teachers or teaching material, results can be disappointing\(^{20}\). In this regard, the decision by the Welsh University Colleges to appoint lecturers to their education departments to train teachers who could, in turn, teach various subjects (Jones 1998: 23) was particularly prudent.

The situation of higher education is more variable when it comes to the Welsh-medium provisions. Although Wales has been served by its own university since 1872, most lectures were given in English until the 1920s (Jones 1998: 23). These days, there is, in some cases, the opportunity to undertake all, or

\(^{19}\) For a detailed description of these programmes, see Jones (1998: 17-21).

\(^{20}\) The Irish language became the official language of Ireland in 1948, but the Irish state was unable to significantly curb English language use because too few resources were available.
substantial parts, of a course through the medium of Welsh (consultation document 2009). This is without doubt a sphere wherein the Welsh authorities wish to improve in future, as there is no room for complacency about the future of the Welsh language. Overall, nonetheless, the prospects for the language seem brighter today than they were fifty years ago, thanks to the well-co-ordinated actions of the State and the language planners. Moreover, their actions have been met by a positive attitude on the part of the population, which has embraced the Welsh language early on.

In order to have a better sense of the progress made by the Welsh community, a brief comparison with a comparable linguistic community in Brittany, is useful. The Breton community in France, also uses a Celtic language, which had an even larger number of speakers (2,600,000 in 1911 according to INSEE 2010) than that in Wales (see Table 1) at the turn of the 20th century, and was even better placed in terms of its relative number of speakers, representing around 90% of the population (as compared with 54% of the population in Wales at similar dates).

Table 2: Proportion of Breton speakers

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(from Fanch Broduic 1999: p. 27, and Office de la langue bretonne)

Even in the 1950s, the number of Breton speakers21 (around 70% of the population) was much higher than that of Wales (28.9%) and yet this

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21 It is difficult to know what the term “Breton speakers” meant in the 1960s. The methods of surveying were not as sophisticated as they have become in recent years.
number has dramatically shrunk to around 206,000 speakers today\(^{22}\) (Survey TMO Fanch Broudic 2007), or 5% of the population in 2007.

Unsurprisingly, the second edition of a report entitled *Ar brezhoneg e-kreiz ar roudour /La langue bretonne à la croisée des chemins* (2007) the Office de la langue bretonne found the Breton language situation had not improved at all in recent years, and the number of Breton speakers was still going down. The bilingual language teaching programmes had been unable to reverse the trend. In fact, nowadays, the Breton speakers, form only 5% of the total population (Survey TMO Fanch Broudic 2007), and a significant number of these are over 60 years of age.

This discrepancy is due to a number of quantitative and qualitative factors, amongst which is the much later introduction of the immersion (1977) and bilingual schools in Brittany, which has resulted in the implementation of a similar network to that of Wales, but in much more modest proportions\(^{23}\). Also, less encouragingly, is the range of courses offered to adults (long-term, short-term, and evening classes), whereas no training course in the work place is available. This situation might lead one to questioning the commitment of the Breton community towards their language. However, the next section will seek to demonstrate that other factors are at play.

### 4.2 Extralinguistic measures

At the time of Saunders Lewis’ lecture in 1961, the Welsh language had been in steady decline since the

\(^{22}\) The Office de la langue bretonne makes a distinction between “active” Breton speakers and those who can only understand Breton (between 335,000 and 350,000).

\(^{23}\) Diwan Schools, equivalent to Welsh-medium schools list 37 primary schools, 6 colleges and 1 high school, in addition to a bilingual (private and public) network of schools.
end of the 19th century and was characterised by a linguistic dichotomy between Welsh-speaking and English-speaking Wales (Aitchison and Carter 1944: 43). A Welsh department of the Board of Education had existed since 1907 and, as previously indicated, a Welsh-medium primary school had been established in Aberystwyth in 1939. The Welsh-medium school system had been steadily developing thanks to the determination of Welsh parents from South Wales (the Anglicised Welsh population) (Aitchison and Carter 1994 : 44). These initiatives would not have been successful, however, had they not been supplemented by other types of interventions, to be examined in the section below.

4.3 Linguistic policies and language planning  

The effort to increase the number of fluent Welsh speakers was further supported by actions from the 1960s onwards aimed at improving the social status of the Welsh language. For example, a Council for the Welsh Language was established in 1962, followed by the publication of a report on the use of the Welsh language in 1965, which resulted in the adoption of the Welsh Language Act in 1967 and the restoration of the right to use the Welsh language more widely in courts (Leclerc 2011b). After several years of campaigning, the Welsh language television channel started broadcasting in 1982. Most importantly, in 1993, the Welsh Language Act (1993) put English and Welsh on an equal social footing (Language Board) and established an in-creasingly bilingual public

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24 According to Bugarski the term “language policy” refers “to the policy of a society in the area of linguistic communication—that is the set of positions, principles and decisions reflecting that community’s relationship to its verbal repertoire and communicative potential” “Language planning” is understood as a set of concrete measures taken within language policy to act on linguistic communication in a community, typically by directing the development of its language (1992:18).
sector in Welsh where language skills were essential. Nowadays, most official Welsh local government documents are bilingual and Welsh speakers are allowed to use Welsh for any enquiry, thus creating an increased need for Welsh language use. Moreover, the foundation of the Welsh Language Board (1993)\textsuperscript{25} made it possible to oversee the delivery of the promises made by the Language Act and to promote and facilitate the use of the Welsh language\textsuperscript{26}.

Taking steps to establish a society where the Welsh speakers can use their language skills in high prestige functions in both the public and private sector has had a significant impact on the social perceptions of Welsh. It is now not only a language which bears the history, culture and traditions of Wales but also a language the knowledge of which is socially advantageous. Indeed, a report published by Trywyyd in 2010 mentions that both private and public sector seek to employ staff with bilingual skills to demonstrate their commitment to the Welsh language. More specifically, five hundred and thirty seven public sector organisations have implemented Welsh Language Schemes, which are committed to providing services through the medium of Welsh under the 1993 Welsh Language Act. In the private sector, three hundred and nine companies have signed up to the Welsh Language Board’s \textit{Investing in Welsh}. In short, Wales has extended the sectors of the workplace to which the Welsh language is relevant. More importantly, Wales has created a support network through the Welsh Language Board to enable organisations to fulfil their linguistic duty towards Welsh. A number of publications explain precisely how the equality status between English and Welsh can be implemented. In 1998, the Government

\textsuperscript{25} The Breton equivalent came into being in 1999.
\textsuperscript{26} The creation of a similar body in Brittany, the \textit{Office de la langue bretonne}, has not had the same impact on language use in Brittany, because of a lack of executive power.
of Wales Act, stipulated that the Welsh Assembly could do what it considered appropriate to support the Welsh language. In early 2010 the Welsh Assembly succeeded in passing the Legislative Competence Order (LCO) on the language. This meant that the Assembly for the first time could legislate on issues relating to the Welsh language. The Proposed Welsh Language Measure published in March 2010 is reasserting the official status of the language. A Welsh Language Commissioner has been established and more rights for Welsh speakers were created. Thus, Welsh has been transformed into an instrument of communication, as indicated by developments in the education sector. For example, the 1996 Education Act raised the status of the Welsh language by making it a core subject of the curriculum in Welsh medium schools, and a foundation subject in non-Welsh-speaking schools.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the Welsh have also embarked on education campaign promoting the benefit of bilingual education. Supported by recent research on the intellectual benefits of studying languages, education campaigns have highlighted what children may gain from bilingual or immersion schooling, rather than how they might be handicapped by it, as it used to be widely believed in the past. This type of action contributes in a significant way to permanently change mentalities which have been geared for generations into thinking that only one language should be learnt and that any time spent acquiring other languages actually deprived children from “the basics” or confuse them. This educative effort may explain the enthusiasm with which large numbers of non-Welsh speakers have participated in immersion education.

In summation, it appears that the Welsh authorities have attempted to find a balance between measures
associated with language acquisition and that associated with the creation of a society wherein the language can be used, as recommended by the “good policy” principle described in Grin:

Some rights can only be exercised by individuals in interaction with others, and much of this interaction takes place in the public domain. This is largely the case for language rights. Using a language requires interlocutors, and the viability of a language in the long run requires that it must be possible to use it in as many different contexts as possible—this to avoid that some registers of language fall into disuse, and that a language be de-legitimised and excluded from certain functions or ‘domains’. It follows that the full exercise of language rights requires the language to be considered appropriate for pleading in a court of law, arguing with a policeman in the street, retrieving information about current affairs in the media, or sealing a business deal. (2003: 82)

Grin claims that many of the ‘domains’ where languages should be normally utilised are influenced by the action of the state, or may even be said to be within the state’s competence. (2003: 82). Once the areas of responsibility are better understood, it becomes easier to make decisions about the actions to be taken to recreate a balanced linguistic environment where languages can flourish. Also noteworthy, is the importance of changing ingrained ideologies according to which learning a second language is a distraction from more important topics. The idea that the mother tongue will be poorer as a result of a bilingual education, or that a regional language is neither a “real” language nor important enough to be learned must also be fought. All in all, if a balance is not achieved amongst all these levels of intervention, the revitalisation programmes are in danger of failure.
In Eire, the amount and range of actions at all levels did not result in the restoration of the Irish language as a means of communication. Making Irish the first official language of the Irish Republic in 1948, introducing Irish language teaching programmes to the schools and measures touching the civil service and the workplace in general have not had the desired effects. It is believed that the Irish Republic was faced with both a very small pool of native speakers (1% of the population) and insufficient linguistic resources (teachers and teaching material, for instance) to implement its ambitious plans in the first place. It seemed that it was the quality of the linguistic planning undertaken in Ireland which impacted negatively on the revitalisation of the Irish language, rather than a lack of it. In Brittany, the revitalisation of Breton continues to clash with a political structure which provides little support for languages other than French. This has left the Breton with no way of developing a social space wherein to use their ancestral language. Indeed, even though the purpose of Breton language planners remains the increased use of the Breton language, and although the State modified the Constitution in 2008 to state that the regional languages of France are an intrinsic part of its heritage, actions to revitalise the Breton language are hampered by contradicting policies found in the Constitution itself. Amongst others, the fact that the

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27 Leclerc (2011a) and others label the Irish situation as the “Irish failure”. The reasons for the failure of the Irish programme can be found in the uniqueness and complexity of the situation. On the one hand the very small proportion of Irish people (Grenoble 2006: 138 calls these “critical factor in language vitality”) who could actually use the language at the time the programme was implemented (1.1%) meant that the task ahead was colossal, and the government failed to measure the means needed to reinstate the use of Irish Gaelic (although it succeeded in re-establishing its knowledge).
French language is considered as the language of the nation has led the government to reject the establishment of Breton immersion schools within the National system of education. As a consequence, those schools can only exist in a parallel and less accessible education system (Catholic and/or private education). The creation of tools promoting the Breton language in the workplace and in society in general is also difficult due to the fact that there are no linguistic policies supporting the use of Breton in the public sector.

**Conclusion**

From the 1960s onwards, it seems that the Welsh community has gone from strength to strength in developing a society wherein the Welsh language can reclaim its role in the daily communication of Welsh culture. The Welsh seem to have grasped, even at a time when revitalisation programmes were in their infancy, how to proceed to create a space wherein the Welsh language could be increasingly used. Welsh language campaigners have been faced with less opposition than language advocates in other countries, but they also made sure they obtained support from the Welsh Assembly and the Welsh language board. This has allowed them to adopt and implement laws which go far to secure the use of Welsh in the workplace and, in turn, its future. In Wales, the State, the regional government and the language planners share a common purpose which is an increase in Welsh speakers. Clearly, the stakeholders are instrumental to the purpose of language revitalisation. In Brittany, there is a clash between the State and the language planners, although on the surface they seem to pursue the same goals. In Eire, although there was no clash between the purposes of the State and that of the language planners who both pursued the revitalisation of Irish Gaelic, the behavior of the authorithies was
misaligned with the needs of a linguistic community who had been almost entirely cut off from its linguistic roots\(^{28}\) for a significant period of time.

It follows from the above analysis, therefore, that language acquisition programmes, no matter how well designed they are\(^{29}\), must be implemented in conjunction with other social measures in order to create a wider environment in which language can exist and prosper. This study illustrates the complexity of such a mission and above all, that if the « burden » of learning the ancestral language belongs to the linguistic community, the « burden » of providing the legal structure and organisations which will support language use beyond schools, belong to the educational and governmental authorities, who will succeed if they understand and know the community’s linguistic needs and work in close cooperation with its members.

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http://www.linguapax.org/congres/plenaries/annamali.html


\(^{28}\) Let’s remember that at the time when Eire engage in robust revitalising action, only 1% of the Irish population still spoke Irish Gaelic.

\(^{29}\) As the Breton case seems to painfully illustrate.


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SECTION 5

MEANINGS AND USES OF STANDARDS IN EDUCATION POLICY

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CHAPTER 29

QUALITY ASSURANCE IN TEACHER EDUCATION IN FLANDERS

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Abstract

This chapter enquires external quality assurance (QA) in 60 ECTS post-graduate teacher education programmes in Flanders. These programmes are offered by universities, university colleges and centres for adult education. The coordination of external QA is assigned to VLUHR (Council for Flemish Universities and University Colleges).

The assessment framework was developed by VLUHR in cooperation with representatives from the three types of institutions. Key elements in the assessment are not only teaching staff and results, but also on aims and objectives, content, facilities and internal quality assurance. Within the chapter on quality assurance, stakeholder involvement is an explicit aspect to be evaluated, but also in other chapters.
stakeholder participation in the development of the objectives of the programme, cooperation with secondary schools and students are key factors in the evaluation of a programme.

Also during the evaluation, stakeholder involvement is a key issue. The assessment panel consists of teacher education professionals, senior secondary school staff, students and other experts. During the evaluation process all relevant stakeholders have been interviewed to get an insight in all aspects of each programme.

**Keywords**

Teacher education – Quality assurance - Stakeholder involvement

**Introduction**

Education is a competence of the Flemish community. In this chapter we will only focus on the situation in the Dutch speaking Community in Belgium (Flanders). In Flanders two types of teacher education exist. On the one hand, 180 ECTS bachelor’s programmes with a professional focus are offered by university colleges (hogescholen). These programmes prepare students for a career in pre-school (age 3-6), primary (age 6-12) or first grade secondary school (age 12-15) teaching. Those programmes are subject to the standard external quality assurance system in Flanders, based on external programme assessment. On the other hand 60 ECTS post-graduate teacher education programmes are offered to people who have professional skills or have an academic degree, and who want to teach their field of expertise in a secondary school. These programmes are offered by
universities, university colleges¹ and centres for adult education. To teach in higher education no formal teacher education diploma is required. This chapter tackles the QA system which has been specifically developed for the latter type of teacher education, called ‘Specifieke Lerarenopleiding’.

2. Post-graduate teacher education in Flanders

2.1 Before 2006²

Since 1929 universities used to organise a minimal academic teacher education for graduates who wanted to teach in secondary schools. Later, also university colleges (‘hogescholen’) were given the opportunity of offering teacher education programmes for their graduates in business studies and the arts. Since 1996 academic teacher education programmes comprised 34 ECTS. Most of those credits were dedicated to theoretical training, with a focus on pedagogy and subject specific pedagogy. The pre-service training was limited and in general seen as too small. Students most often took this teacher education during their master’s degree or while already teaching.

Also centres for adult education have been offering teacher education since long. They have a broader target group than universities and university colleges. Originally centres for adult education focused mainly on people who want to acquire the proficiency in

¹ Flanders has a binary higher education system. Universities offer academic bachelor’s and master’s programmes, while university colleges offer professional bachelor’s programmes. University colleges can also run academic programmes in cooperation with a university.
pedagogy and didactics, required to teach in technical and vocational secondary schools. However, centres for adult education broadened their scope and also attracted higher education graduates. Centres for adult education offered a more practice oriented programme than universities and university colleges. They organised their programmes mostly exclusively in the evenings and at weekends.

2.2 The 2006 Decree

In 2006 a new Decree on teacher education\(^3\) was adopted. This decree created a unified legal framework for teacher education programmes at universities, university colleges and centres for adult education. This decree was the result of many years of discussion on how to organise teacher education. All postgraduate teacher education programmes are now offering the same ‘teacher’ degree. The post-graduate programmes were extended to 60 ECTS (1500 to 1800 hours of study load), of which 30 credits should focus on the theoretical basis of pedagogy and 30 credits ought to focus on practical training\(^4\). The credits for practical training relate to practical exercises at university, observation and student guidance, as well as to in-class teaching. The practical training can be offered in pre-service training or in in-service training. For pre-service training 20 to 80 hours of in-class practice are required from the student, together with other assignments. For in-service training 500 hours of (paid) teaching experience are required to fulfil the practical training in order to obtain the teacher education degree. The work invested in other assignments should be more limited than in the pre-service training.

\(^3\) Decreet betreffende de lerarenopleidingen in Vlaanderen, December 15th, 2006

\(^4\) Decreet betreffende de lerarenopleidingen in Vlaanderen, December 15th, 2006, Art.11 & 16
Due to the increased work load for students who take their teacher education at universities and university colleges, the number of students taking a teacher education degree at these institutions diminished after the reform\textsuperscript{5}. E.g. comparing academic years 2004-2005 and 2008-2009, student numbers in post-graduate teacher education programmes at universities went down from 4582 to 2087 and at university colleges from 950 to 487. Within centres for adult education the total study load did not increase that much. Student numbers apparently decreased less, although this evolution is difficult to analyse, because the number of students is calculated differently since the reform. About 8000 students are registered in 2008-2009, while roughly 11000 students were registered in 2004-2005 at centres for adult education.

So, since the 2006 Teacher education Decree, the requirements for post-graduate teacher education programmes are the same for the 38 institutions\textsuperscript{6}. To stimulate cooperation between the different teacher education programmes, the decree (financially) stimulated institutions to organise themselves in ‘expertise networks’\textsuperscript{7} with at least one university, one university college and one centre for adult education. These expertise networks should foster cooperation between the three mentioned types of institutions. Some of the main issues that are dealt with within these networks are internal quality assurance, sharing

\textsuperscript{5} Based on data provided by the Ministry of the Flemish Community, Department Education

\textsuperscript{6} The number of institutions is changing continuously. Since the start of the assessment, two institutions merged and others decided to merge their studie programmes. Another institution decided to discontinue its programme. In May 2012, 38 institutions offer 37 programmes (one programme is jointly organised by two institutions).

\textsuperscript{7} Decreet betreffende de lerarenopleidingen in Vlaanderen, December 15th, 2006, Art.12
experiences and good practices, and preparing the external assessment.

3. External quality assurance in Higher Education

The external quality assurance system for post-graduate teacher education programmes is largely based on the existing system for higher education. Therefore this system is described first. In Flanders the responsibility for internal and external quality assurance of the education is assigned to the institutions themselves. So, each institution is responsible for its own internal quality assurance. Additionally, each institution is required to submit its bachelor’s and master’s programmes to an external assessment on an eight-yearly basis and to act upon the findings and results of this external assessment. Professional bachelor’s teacher education programmes are subject to this system. Up to now, no institutional audits or institutional accreditation is required. The remit of organising external programme assessments was entrusted to VLIR (Vlaamse Interuniversitaire Raad – Flemish Rector’s Conference)\textsuperscript{8} for the Flemish universities and VLHORA (Vlaamse Hogeschoolraad – Council of Flemish university colleges)\textsuperscript{9}, which are the consultative and advisory bodies of the universities and university colleges since respectively 1976 and 1994. Within VLIR and VLHORA a Quality Assurance Unit carries out the external assessments. Those two Quality Assurance Units are recognised by the Flemish Government, are full members of the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA) and are registered with the European Quality Assurance Register (EQAR). Recently, VLIR and VLHORA established a common structure VLUHR (Flemish Universities and University Colleges Council)

\textsuperscript{8} www.vlir.be
\textsuperscript{9} www.vlhora.be
which takes over the responsibility of VLIR and VLHORA in the fields of quality assurance.

The external quality assurance system serves a twofold purpose: it is intended to help improve the quality of education, and it helps the institutions to account towards their stakeholders for the way in which they address quality and quality assurance in the context of a programme. Although panellist and QA agencies see quality improvement as the main purpose of the system, within institutions showing quality and accountability are often seen as key in the assessment process.

Essential features of the external quality assurance system are that it takes a programme or cluster of programmes as its starting-point, that it is organised along inter-institutional lines and that it starts with a critical self-evaluation report which the programme coordinators are required to compose. A panel of independent experts, composed in consultation with the institutions, then visits the programmes, discusses the quality of the programme with all relevant stakeholders, forms a judgement about the quality and formulates recommendations for improvement. The process is concluded with the publication of a public assessment report. The reports include a comparative description and comparative tables, but do not have the aim to rank programmes. The programmes are assessed according to 21 quality aspects covering 6 themes, which together constitute a programme’s quality profile. The assessment framework envisages grasping every aspect of a programme, focussing not only on the curriculum and results, but also on goals, staff, facilities and internal quality assurance. So, it is up to the reader of the reports to judge which aspects are most important for him/her and thus to evaluate which programme fits best his/her needs.
On the basis of the assessment framework and the panel’s own discipline-specific reference framework (with this framework, the panel specifies the minimum discipline-specific requirements it believes the programmes should satisfy), the panel assesses the various quality aspects and explains its judgement on each quality aspect in the final report. The panel likewise expresses this judgement on a 4-point scale: unsatisfactory, satisfactory, good and excellent per aspect. At the overarching theme-level (staff, quality assurance, ...) the score is unsatisfactory or satisfactory.

Since 2004, accreditation has been added to the external quality assurance system. So, all bachelor’s and master’s programmes assessed by one of the two quality assurance agencies in Flanders have to demonstrate their generic quality as a condition for accreditation. The assessment panels’ judgements count heavily in this accreditation decision. Flanders and the Netherlands decided to have their higher education programmes jointly accredited, and to this end they established the Accreditation Organisation of the Netherlands and Flanders (NVAO)\textsuperscript{10}. VLIR and VLHORA have developed a joint protocol for the assessment of higher education programmes, which describes the procedures for external assessments of higher education programmes, as well as the assessment framework\textsuperscript{11}. After the publication of the assessment report, the higher education institutions have to submit an accreditation application to the NVAO. The NVAO’s decision-making is binary: either the programme receives accreditation or it does not. If the accreditation decision about a programme is negative, the board of the programme may submit an

\textsuperscript{10} www.nvao.net
\textsuperscript{11} NVAO, Accreditatiekader bestaande opleidingen hoger onderwijs Vlaanderen, September 1st 2009, http://www.nvao.net/accreditatiekaders-vlaanderen
application to the Flemish government for a temporary recognition. A positive accreditation decision has an eight-year period of validity.

4. External quality assurance for post-graduate teacher education programmes

Although preparations for an external assessment of the teacher education at the Flemish universities started already in 2004, the external assessment itself has been postponed due to the thorough reform which was in preparation at that moment\textsuperscript{12}. So, the planned external assessment will be the first external assessment focussing specifically on the quality of post-graduate teacher education programmes at the Flemish universities and at the university colleges. As the assessment framework is based on the one for higher education, central administrations and staff involved in other programmes at the involved higher education institutions, already have relevant experience in preparing the external assessment.

Until the new Teacher education decree came in place, post-graduate teacher education programmes offered by centres for adult education, were subject to inspection by the Flemish Government. Inspection was based on a Context Input Process Output-model (CIPO-model). Each centre for adult education has been assessed at least once since 2000. So, these programmes have experience with external assessment, but change to a system of peer evaluation, with a new assessment framework.

The 2006 Teacher education decree\textsuperscript{13} set the basic rules for teacher education programmes’ external quality assurance. The methodology used was based

\textsuperscript{12} Decision of the VLIR Board, February 8\textsuperscript{th}, 2005
\textsuperscript{13} Decreet betreffende de lerarenopleidingen in Vlaanderen, December 15th, 2006
on the assessment system for higher education, as described above, and thus on self-evaluation, followed by an external assessment by peers and stakeholder representatives. All programmes have to be assessed in one cluster and the report will be made public by the end of 2012. The main difference in comparison to higher education is that the assessment isn’t followed by an accreditation procedure.

The coordination of the external assessment has been assigned to the Quality Assurance unit of VLIR and VLHORA, later passed to VLUHR. It was a deliberate choice to assign the external quality assurance to the umbrella organisations of institutions. Because at the time the Decree was voted, no formal umbrella organisation of centres for adult education existed, the task was assigned to VLIR and VLHORA, which both have a long standing experience in organising external assessments of higher education programmes.

4.1 Ownership vs independence

VLIR, VLHORA and the institutions believe that strong ownership within the programmes for the external assessment process, clearly contributes to the positive approach of the programmes towards external evaluation and creates the necessary openness to discuss potential measures for quality improvement, a vision which is shared by the Flemish Government. Therefore all involved programmes have been invited to play an active role in the preparation of the external assessment. They have also been asked to propose members for the assessment panel.

The procedures try to balance a high level of ownership within the institutions with the guarantees for independence requested by the Government. Therefore an independent judgement is an essential feature of the system. Strict conditions are in place to guarantee that the proposed panel members are
independent. Additionally, the independence of the panel members is checked by the Higher Education Recognition Committee (a standing committee of independent experts which advises the Flemish Government on all kinds of higher education matters) before the assessment process starts. Also panels who assess the programmes consist not only of peers, but also of stakeholder representatives, including employers and students. This allows to take into account the different perspectives on the requirements for up to date programmes.

4.2 Common project

This assessment is a common project of VLIR and VLHORA. In each organisation a project manager14 was assigned to this project and a Task Force has been formed which has the responsibility to execute the assessment of the teacher education programmes. Although VLIR and VLHORA have a common protocol and procedures for assessing higher education programmes since 2004, the implementation has often proved to be slightly different. As a consequence, for this assessment, every step in the procedure has to be evaluated on how to design it best. It was decided to do this taking into account the specific characteristics of post-graduate teacher education programmes. Having to take conscious decisions on every step of the process, was very time consuming, but lead to carefully designed procedures and a process which was relatively fit for purpose, a principle laid down in the ENQA European Standards and Guidelines15.

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14 Floris Lammens and later Chara Baeyens within VLHORA and Pieter-Jan Van de Velde within VLIR
4.3 Preparation of a protocol for external assessment of teacher education programmes

In preparation of the external assessment, VLIR and VLHORA gathered representatives of the teacher education programmes of all types of institutions and the Flemish Government. A working group of 15 representatives of the institutions, a representative of the Flemish Government and the project managers of VLIR and VLHORA was established. This working group was one of the main tools to create ownership among all involved programmes, especially the programmes from centres for adult education. The working group met several times in 2008 and 2009 to adapt the assessment framework and procedures which VLIR and VLHORA are using for higher education programmes. Several meetings were needed to get to know each other better and to find a common vocabulary. Indeed universities and university colleges on the one hand and centres for adult education on the other hand have had for long a completely separate legal framework and did not work together that often until recently. So a certain time and number of meetings were needed to adapt the language used by VLIR and VLHORA to match it with the language used by centres for adult education. While for the Government and the quality assurance agencies it was important to develop a common assessment framework which would allow to assess the programmes from the different types of institutions, institution representatives defended their values and perspectives. Representatives from centres for adult education focused on the importance of practical applicability of the results of the teacher education programme and cooperation with secondary schools. They also defended the stance that internationalisation and an extensive student counselling were not requested from their type of institution.

16 5 representatives from the universities, university colleges and centres for adult education respectively.
Representatives from universities and university colleges on the other hand defended the importance of discipline specific didactics, contents based on scientific research and internationalisation.

As soon as the working group finalised its preparatory work, the protocol for external assessment of teacher education programmes (including an assessment framework and all relevant procedures) was approved by all parties involved (not only VLIR and VLHORA, but also the Steering Group Adult Education, which had been established at the same time of the preparation process and represents the centres for adult education to the Flemish Government) in October 2009. In the end, the process has led to an assessment framework and procedures that are *fit for purpose*.

The adapted assessment framework envisages, as well as the original VLIR-VLHORA framework, to grasp every aspect of a study programme. It focuses not only on teaching staff and results but also on goals, content (the curriculum), facilities and internal quality assurance. The adapted framework consists of six themes covering eighteen aspects which will be evaluated by the assessment panels. The themes and aspects are indicated in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Assessment framework</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theme 1 Aims and objectives of the programme</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Aspect 1.1. Level and orientation of the programme and discipline-specific requirements</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Theme 2 Curriculum</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Aspect 2.1. Correspondence between the aims and objectives, and the curriculum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aspect 2.2. Requirements for professional and academic orientation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aspect 2.3. Consistency of the curriculum</td>
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Aspect 2.4. Size of the curriculum
Aspect 2.5. Workload
Aspect 2.6. Coherence of structure and contents
Aspect 2.7. Learning assessment
Aspect 2.8. Admission requirements

Theme 3 Staff
Aspect 3.1. Quality of staff
Aspect 3.2. Quantity of staff

Theme 4 Services
Aspect 4.1. Facilities
Aspect 4.2. Tutoring

Theme 5 Internal quality Assurance
Aspect 5.1. Evaluation results
Aspect 5.2. Measures for improvement
Aspect 5.3. Involvement of staff, students, alumni and the professional field

Theme 6 Results
Aspect 6.1. Achieved learning outcome
Aspect 6.2. Study progress

4.4 Implementation of the assessment

Once the procedures were adopted in October 2009, VLIR and VLHORA started the assessment process itself. In defining the timing for the external assessment, a balance was sought between offering the programmes some time to implement the new legal framework on the one hand and keeping enough time for assessing all the programmes before the end of 2012 on the other hand. Indeed the Decree requires the assessment to be finalised by end 2012. Before this time the three phases of the process should be finalised (Preparation, site visits and reporting). In the preparatory phase, which lasted till March 2011, the programmes were informed about the assessment process, the assessment panel had been put together, the panel’s inauguration meeting was held and the programme coordinators wrote their self-evaluation report. During the second phase, the project managers discussed the practical aspects of the site visit with the programme coordinators, the latter prepared for the site visits and, finally, the panel visited the programmes between March 2011 and
March 2012. The assessment process is rounded off with the reporting phase, which will last until end 2012. It covers the compilation of the programme report, the feedback on the reports by the concerned programmes, the report’s formal submission to VLUHR by the assessment panel, and the publication of the report.

4.5 The assessment panel

Next to the involvement of all types of institutions in the development of the assessment framework, involvement of all involved programmes in the process of selecting members for the peer review panel, was a key feature in the assessment process to raise the ownership of the process in all involved programmes. They made a list of preferred chair persons for the panel and a long list of potential qualified panel members. On the basis of this list, the panel chair composes the panel. This composition had to be agreed upon by the VLUHR Board, before the panel members are invited.

The post-graduate teacher education programmes at all 38 institutions involved have assessed by one panel of peers divided into five sub-panels. Every sub-panel gathers four peers, all independent experts in the field of education in general and more specific of teacher education and at least one student-member. A secretary who is employed by VLIR or VLHORA supports the panel. The team of panel chairs is responsible for the overall consistency of the assessment process. In each panel it is tried to have expertise in pedagogy, didactics, international developments in teacher education, knowledge of Flemish secondary education and the needs in academic, technical and vocational education, the needs of adult learners and quality assurance.
The process has been difficult to find qualified and independent peers, mainly for panel chairs, as universities, university colleges and centres for adult education partly see different groups as peers. For universities, foreign academics are seen as the main group of peers. In university colleges also professional bachelor programmes in teaching (180 ECTS) preparing for pre-school, primary or first grade secondary school teaching are offered. So, staff members teaching in these programmes were seen as relevant peers – also by centres of adult education – but in the meeting with all programmes, it was decided that no staff of the involved institutions would be proposed, for reasons of independence. The three types of institutions proposed senior teaching and school management staff of secondary schools. Also inspection staff members of secondary and adult education have been proposed. Also a clear spread in opinions was seen on international panel members. While university programmes mainly suggested Dutch academics (because they could assess the programmes in Dutch), centres for adult education were afraid that these academics would not understand their specific situation and thus evaluate them more critically.

The representatives of all involved programmes agreed on a ranked list of potential chairs and a long list of potential panel members, all insisting on balanced sub-panels. After advice of the Steering Group for Adult Education and agreement by the Boards of VLIR and VLHORA, panel members were contacted and found during the summer and fall 2010. The Flemish Student Union (VVS), following its standard selection procedure for student members of external assessments, presented some potential student members. As the number of candidates did not meet VLUHR’s expectations, a public call was sent to all programmes involved. This resulted in about 60
candidates for 10 positions (2 student-members per sub-panel, each taking part in half of the site visits).

To ensure the independent functioning of the assessment panel, safeguards have been built into the whole assessment procedure. As described above, the programmes have only been involved in the first phase of the selection of the panel. Chair persons had the possibility to add candidate panel members to this list. Incompatibility grounds have been defined and the candidate panel members were required to sign a statement of independence as a precondition for joining the panel. Before the panel could officially start its work, its independence was checked by the Higher Education Recognition Committee. This committee based its check on the members’ curricula vitae, on the statements of independence, on the shortlists of candidate chairpersons and candidate members and on the Steering Group Adult Education, VLIR and VLHORA boards’ decisions about these lists. After the composition of the panel was ratified by the Recognition Committee, the assessment panel has been instituted by decision of the VLUHR.

Once the panel was selected and approved by all relevant bodies, its inauguration was the next main step in the assessment process (March 2011). During the inauguration meeting the assessment process has been discussed in detail, the education field in Flanders has been presented, the panel members have been trained to use the assessment framework, the discipline-specific referential framework has been discussed and practical arrangements have been made. The discipline-specific reference framework has been based on the competences of a starting teacher, laid down in a decision of the Flemish Government, paying specific attention to some recent developments such as the multi-cultural nature and growing
language heterogeneity, democratic values, competence based teaching, and ICT development.

4.6 Self-evaluation report

To prepare the site visit of the assessment panel and the discussions with the panel, each programme was asked to write a self-evaluation report. This report was not only meant to give the panel the necessary information, following the assessment framework, but also to give a critical self-evaluation with strengths and weaknesses of the programmes and plans for improvement. To prepare this self-evaluation report, the programme was asked to involve all relevant stakeholders, including staff, students, alumni and representatives of secondary schools.

4.7 Site visit phase

A preparatory discussion of the project managers and the programme coordinators marked the start of the ‘site visit phase’. This discussion was meant to discuss the site visit schedule, the purpose of the various interviews and the groups who are expected to attend each interview. On the basis of this meeting the site visit schedule was adapted based on the specific features of the programme.

During the site visit, the panel refined its analysis based on the self-evaluation report, meeting all the stakeholders. The panels’ task consisted of assessing the quality according to the criteria and in making recommendations to improve the quality of the programmes. Depending on the number of students, the number of locations on which the institution offers the programme and the number of trajectories it offers, the length of an assessment visit may varied from one to several days. The most common visit length was two days (for a standard trajectory). During the site visit the panel interviewed various
stakeholders, such as institutional management, programme management, staff involved in quality assurance, students, alumni, teaching staff, tutors responsible for guidance in relation to the pre- and in-service training and secondary school management. Next to the self-evaluation report, discussions with all these stakeholders are the core of the assessment process. Other essential elements of the site visits were the panels’ internal consultations, time to check additional information, an informal meeting with the stakeholders, a visit to the infrastructure, a free consultation period and any supplementary interviews at the invitation of the assessment panel. The panels’ secretary was the contact person during this phase between the programmes and the panel for all practical difficulties, took minutes of the internal consultations and of the interviews and oral report, made sure that all themes were covered during the interviews and checked that the assessment protocol is applied correctly. For reasons of independence, but also to ensure his/her ability to monitor the progress of the interviews properly, the secretary did not participate actively in the interviews.

The assessment visit ended with an oral report in which the chairperson presented the first provisional findings, conclusions and recommendations to all interested stakeholders. No further discussion with the panel was allowed during or immediately after the oral report.

4.8 Reporting phase

After the visits, the secretary of the sub-panel drafted programme reports, based on the self-evaluation reports, the notes of the interviews held by the panel during its visit, the internal deliberation and the oral report. To guarantee consistency of the evaluations over the sub-panels, the draft reports of the first visit of each sub-panel have been discussed by the panel
chairs as soon as they were drafted. Also after each semester of site visits, an editorial meeting with the panel chairs took place. The panel members have been asked for feedback during the whole process. As soon as all programme reports were drafted, an editorial meeting has been organised with the complete sub-panels to discuss the programme reports in detail and to check for consistency in marking. Also input for a comparative section for the overall report was gathered at these meetings. This section should give a presentation of the panels’ main conclusions and recommendations. The panels’ secretaries adapted the reports on the basis of the discussion at the editorial meetings and then presented them to the panels for approval. After they have given their approval, all draft reports were discussed with the panel chairs to guarantee consistency between the sub-panels. After this process, the draft report will be sent together with the associated score tables to the institutions.

Each institution receives its own programme draft report only. The institutions are asked to react to factual inaccuracies, and may also make comments of a substantive nature. They are also explicitly asked to indicate whether they have already initiated improvement measures in the time between the visits and the reaction to the programme draft report. The programmes’ reactions are, subject to the consent of the institutional board, conveyed to the project manager, who passes them on to the panel members.

The panel will discuss the programmes’ reactions to the draft programme reports at a second editorial meeting. The panel decides whether or not to take account of the programmes’ comments. However, factual inaccuracies are always corrected. In a passage at the end of the draft report, the assessment panel can also indicate whether it assesses positively any
improvement measure that the programme has reported. The report does not take into account any developments which have taken place after the assessment visit, as the site visit is taken as the final evaluation moment. The panels’ secretaries adapt the draft reports on the basis of the discussion at the editorial meeting, and then present them to the panel again for approval. Next, the institutions receive the final version of their programme report, together with a response from the assessment panel explaining why they have or have not taken into account the programmes’ comments; they also receive the general conclusions of the assessment panel. If the programmes are not satisfied with the extent to which the panel has taken their comments into account, they can use the internal appeal procedure or compile an appendix which is included in the report.

After the editorial meetings, the project managers complete the assessment report with a foreword by the chairperson of the VLUHR and one by the chairperson of the assessment panel, the discipline-specific referential framework, the curricula vitae of the panel members and the site visit schedules.

As the final step in the assessment process, the project managers organise a formal handover and publication of the assessment report. With the formal handover of the assessment report by the chairperson of the assessment panel to a representative of the VLUHR board, the panel completes its assignment. The handover takes place in the presence of representatives of the institutions/programmes.

The reports’ publication is consistent with the accountability function that the quality assurance system has in Flanders. This means firstly that the institutions are required to account for the way in which they use the public funding that has been
allocated to them and the results they have achieved. Secondly, the students, their parents and employers are supposed to be informed via public reports about the extent to which the programmes meet the quality standards. On the day of the handover, the report is published on the VLUHR website. The Flemish Minister of Education also receives a copy.

5. Discussion and conclusions

The first clustered external assessment of all post-graduate teacher education programmes is a challenging process, both for the involved teacher education programmes and for VLUHR. VLUHR has invested much time to involve all stakeholders in the preparation of the process and to adapt the process to the specific needs of the post-graduate teacher education programmes. This is an interesting learning process and has created a better understanding of the different types of institutions offering teacher education programmes and a fit for purpose protocol for the assessment. Also the strong involvement of all stakeholders in the composition of the assessment panel and its 5 sub-panels, benefited a strong ownership of the whole process among all stakeholders. The asymmetrical situation, where the quality assurance agencies for universities and university colleges developed the framework and implemented it, while the Steering Group Adult Education had only a consultative status, lead to some communication problems during the process, but in general up to the moment to writing this chapter, these problems have been solved accurately.

A main challenge in the assessment process was to guarantee consistency in focus and in marking between the different sub-panels and between the different types of providers, valuing also the differences. On the one hand much work is invested to come to a common approach between the former
**VLIR** (university) and **VLHORA** (university college) approach. In general VLHORA has more detailed procedures, guidelines and formats, while VLIR has an approach which is a bit freer, based more on the panel members’ and secretaries’ expertise. Both approaches have their advantages and lead to good results. This sometimes makes it difficult for secretaries and panel members who are used to a certain approach to adopt a common approach. Thanks to many meetings and discussions, trust has been built and openness has been created and both sides are willing to give and take to develop a new and common approach. Often it is dealing with minor issues, such as using a standard preparation form, or not, the time for preparation for the panel during a site visit, etcetera. On the other hand also the approach of the different **sub-panels** should be consistent, to make sure that the impact of which sub-panel assesses a programme is minimal. Although the assessment framework is quite detailed, it leaves also room for interpretation by the sub-panels. To guarantee a consistent approach mainly the panel chairs and the secretaries have an important role. The visits have been scheduled so that the first sub-panel had 2 site visits (a university and a centre for adult education) before the other panels started. During the first site visit the two project coordinators joined the site visit to learn from each other and to come to a common approach of working with the sub-panels. After the first two visits a meeting with the panel chairs and the secretaries was held to discuss both the way of working and relevant aspects in the evaluation. As expected the approach of discipline-specific didactics is one of the main topics for discussion. Universities and university colleges have a long experience in this field, while centres for adult education are generally more focused on general didactics. Also for instance the amount of training in schools, the involvement of secondary schools in designing the objectives and the curriculum, the way
internal quality assurance is organised and didactic concepts differ greatly between institutions. It required a lot of fine tuning to make sure every panel requires the same quality level on the diverse aspects of the assessment framework. Secretaries and panel chair therefor read draft reports from every panel and had several meetings to discuss these to guarantee consistency.

Another challenge is the financing of the assessment. Although no specific funding for external quality assurance is provided in the standard funding of the programmes, the Government proved only be able to cater for about a quarter of the costs of the assessments for the centres for adult education. Universities and university colleges did not receive any contribution at all in the cost of the assessment.

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CHAPTER 30

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNTABILITY POLICY AND STAKEHOLDER VALUES

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Abstract

The Ohio Department of Education has undertaken a series of initiatives to strengthen the accountability and performance of educators under state performance standards that were adopted. This paper reports on the initiatives that have focused on school building leaders, and how the different viewpoints of stakeholders in this process were accommodated. The authors of the paper believe that the purposeful, systematic, and integrated work that has been done in Ohio may be instructive and helpful to other entities that are seeking to upgrade principal performance. The paper describes the development of the Ohio Principal Standards, the alignment of the standards with national standards, the development of the Ohio Principal Evaluation System, the pilot testing of the evaluation system, and the development of rubrics within that evaluation system to measure principal performance. The discussion of each of
these initiatives describes the participants, processes, and products that have contributed to principal accountability and performance in Ohio. The paper highlights the views and values of the stakeholders in the process, and the lack of conflict throughout the process.

Keywords
School Leadership – Accountability – Stakeholders

Introduction
The development, planning, and implementation of policy initiatives in complex organizations pose significant challenges to organizational leaders. When the intended changes are controversial, the challenges to leadership are especially demanding and viewpoints can become splintered among stakeholders. The development of policy changes and new programs can create conflict among stakeholders in such programs. This was the case in the state of Ohio (U.S.) when the state’s General Assembly mandated the creation of performance accountability mechanisms for P-12 educators. Such mandates are not infrequently addressed by speech making, one-shot cures, politically expedient solutions, or scattered and uncoordinated interventions.

In 2001 Ohio Governor Ted Strickland appointed and convened the Governor’s Commission on Teaching Success. This Commission studied education in the state and developed several recommendations for improvements, including a recommendation that the state develop means to “create school environments with effective leadership where teachers can teach and students can succeed.”

In 2004 the General Assembly of the State of Ohio enacted Senate Bill 2, which created the Educator Standards Board “to develop and recommend to the state board of education standards for entering and
continuing in the teaching and principalship professions....” The Educator Standards Board acted to create standards for teachers and principals, revise license renewal standards, align university educator preparation programs with the educator standards, define master teachers, develop a proposal for a career ladder, and monitor compliance with the educator standards. The Educator Standards Board was required to report directly to the Ohio Legislature (Smith, 2010).

Since that time the Ohio Department of Education, with substantial support from The Wallace Foundation, has undertaken a series of initiatives to strengthen the accountability and performance of educators. This paper reports on the initiatives that focused on school principals, and how stakeholders were involved, maintained focus, and in general, worked without conflict. The authors of this paper have been involved in these initiatives, and they believe that the purposeful, systematic, and integrated work that has been done in Ohio may be instructive and helpful to other entities that are seeking to upgrade principal performance and keep stakeholders focused and working together.

2. Development of the Ohio Principal Standards

2.1 Participants

The Ohio Educator Standards Board asked the Ohio Department of Education to appoint a diverse team of professional educators from across the state to develop a set of performance standards for school principals. The Ohio Department of Education and the Mid-Continent Research for Education and Learning non-profit (McREL) provided facilitation to the writing team. McREL was incorporated in 1966 as the Mid-
Continent Regional Education Laboratory, to help educators bridge the gap between research and practice. The Educator Standards Board also provided guidance to the writing team.

2.2 Process
The Educator Standards Board and the Ohio Department of Education were purposeful in their selection of team members to write the standards. In alignment with Arthur’s Levine’s study titled *Educating School Leaders*, the team comprised a strong combination of practitioners and university faculty working together. The participant selection was intentional to support the creation of standards that were reflective of practice and theory. Additionally, three strong meta-analyses were referred to during the writing process that grounded a common understanding and framework for writing the Ohio Principal Standards. The three meta-analyses were Kathleen Cotton’s summary of findings about how principals influence student achievement in her book *Principals and Student Achievement* (2003), Waters, Marzano, and McNulty’s paper entitled *Balanced Leadership: What 30 Years of Research Tells Us about the Effect of Leadership on Student Achievement* (2003), as well as the same three authors’ book titled *School Leadership That Works: From Research to Results* (2005). The latter two reports examined 5,000 studies and selected 70 that met criteria for design, control, data analysis and rigor. From the analysis, the authors created a “balanced leadership framework” to help guide strong practices in the field. Cotton’s findings led to the identification of specific traits and behaviors that cut across setting, demographics, and school organizations for principals of highly effective schools. These comprehensive analyses provided an understanding of the literature informing the Ohio standards writing process.
The writing team met every three weeks from October 2004 to July 2005. Honoraria and expenses for the writing team were paid by the Ohio Department of Education. The team was instructed to develop general statements of principal job expectations, a narrative explanation of these expectations, a breakdown of the general statements into component elements, and a further breakdown of the elements into precise behavioral indicators. For each standard, levels of performance were defined for principals whose work would be deemed Proficient, Accomplished, or Distinguished. These levels were established to assist in the assessment of individual school leaders’ professional development needs, as well as to support a mandated career ladder. An iterative writing process was followed, in which language drafted by the writing team was closely critiqued by the Ohio Department of Education, McREL, and the Educator Standards board facilitators, followed by team consideration of recommended changes, and additional cycles of review and revision (Beebe et al, 2008).

2.3 Product – The Ohio Principal Standards

The product of the process described above was the following five Ohio Principal Standards (OPS), which were approved by the Educator Standards Board in October, 2005.

Standard #1: Continuous Improvement- Principals help create a shared vision and clear goals for their schools and ensure continuous progress toward achieving the school’s goals.

Standard #2: Instruction- Principals support the implementation of high-quality, standards-based instruction that results in higher levels of achievement for all students.
Standard #3: School Operations, Resources, and learning Environment - Principals allocate resources and manage school operation in order to ensure a safe and productive learning environment.

Standard #4: Collaboration - Principals establish and sustain collaborative learning and shared leadership to promote student learning and the achievement of all students.

Standard #5: Parent and Community Engagement - Principals engage parents and community members in the educational process and create an environment where community resources support student learning, achievement and well-being.

According to the Ohio Department of Education’s booklet entitled Standards for Ohio’s Educators the Standards are organized from broad terms to observable and measureable individual performances, in the following pattern.

**Standard:** The Standard is the broad category of knowledge, skills or performance;

**Narrative:** The Narrative more fully describes the content and rationale for each standard;

**Elements:** The Elements are the statements of what educators should know, think and do to be effective.

**Indicators:** The Indicators show the knowledge and skills of each Element in practice. The Indicators are observable and measureable statements that serve as tools in the discussions of educators’ skills and knowledge or of the effectiveness of professional development activities.
Further details of the Ohio Principal Standards may be found at the following link:


3. Alignment of the Ohio Principal Standards with National Standards

Universities in Ohio are expected to construct principal preparation programs based on the Ohio Principal Standards. However, the universities are also required to utilize the Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium (ISLLC) and Educational Leadership Constituent Council (ELCC) standards when applying for national accreditation. Programs serving multiple standards can create problems of use or non-use of some sets of standards. This requirement led to the work of developing an alignment between the three sets of standards for principals in order to simplify and support the work of maintaining accreditation.

Complicating this effort was the fact that universities had two choices of national accreditation entities: the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) and the Teacher Education Accreditation Council (TEAC). Additionally, the programs needed to align with the licensure examination (PRAXIS Exam) and Ohio Value-Added Assessment legislation. The Ohio Department of Education believed that the use of the new Ohio Principal Standards would be enhanced if the state developed an alignment of all three sets of standards (OPS, ISLLC, and ELCC), and then made the alignment accessible to all Ohio programs to use as a framework when preparing for the university accreditation process.
3.1 Participants
The participants in the alignment process included individuals representing all 22 public and private educational leadership programs in Ohio. Since the state had also created new Teacher Standards, the work included an alignment with national and organizational teaching standards. These two projects took place at the same time, with both groups working together at times.

3.2 Process
The timeframe for creating a matrix, or crosswalk, to illustrate the alignment of each of the pieces mentioned previously was from August 2006 to June 2007. The project goals were: (a) to create an alignment between national standards and tests and other initiatives supported by the Ohio Principal Standards, (b) to develop alignment tools that institutions could use, and (c) to produce an interactive product that could be customized and adapted by the individual institutions. It was noted in the beginning of the project that the product was not to be a new set of standards, or a synthesis of standards, or a prescriptive model to be followed by all institutions in Ohio.

Participatory action research was used to create the matrix. Kennis (2006), Kidd and Kral (2005), and Reason (1995) state that participatory action research allows shared deliberation and discussion, while supporting results that benefit the groups involved. The Ohio Department of Education appointed a committee to lead the project, placing both public and private institutions on an equal footing. The use of a leadership group to facilitate work can improve processes within action research by creating a level field for the participants (McTaggart, 1991).
3.3 Product

The product of the alignment processes for principals was a matrix aligning each set of standards with each other set of standards, and each set of standards with the PRAXIS licensure exam and the Value-Added Assessment being used in Ohio. This alignment of multiple sets of standards and other items created a large and complicated document. The tool became easier to use due to work by a subcommittee whose members were knowledgeable in the development of electronic charts. It was felt that the alignment tool needed to be easy to use or it would simply not be used, or that institutions would again resort to using their own alignments or ignoring one set of standards or the other.

In order more strongly to validate the matrix, representatives from NCATE, TEAC, and the Educational Testing Service, which produces the PRAXIS licensure exam, offered feedback on the alignment. The matrix was posted and made available to each of the institutions in the state. The institutions were instructed that they could supplement the matrix by adding alignments to their own university outcomes and missions.

The alignment matrix for principals is available in two formats at the following link:


3.4 Work That Remains

At the point of completion, the committee disbanded, and the instrument was considered finished. A problem may arise as future changes to the ISLLC and
/or ELCC Standards need to be addressed by an adjusted Ohio alignment.

4. Development and Pilot Test of the Ohio Principal Evaluation System

Ohio Senate Bill 2 instructed the State Board of Education to develop guidelines for the evaluation of both principals and teachers. The guidelines were intended to be shared with school districts as a model for creating evaluation systems at the individual school district level.

4.1 Participants

In 2006, the Ohio Department of Education initiated an inclusive process to develop an Ohio Principal Evaluation System (OPES) involving public school leaders from all over the state. A design team of approximately 30 school superintendents, principals, university faculty in educational leadership programs, and the directors of the principals’ professional organizations held meetings in which they shared ideas, listened or read of the thinking of experts on principal assessment, and examined the needs of practitioners. A team from the University of Cincinnati reviewed the results of the pilot test of an earlier evaluation plan. The earlier test had included 19 school districts, 65 school personnel, and a broad representation of the many different types of public schools in Ohio.

4.2 Process

The Ohio Principal Standards served as the guiding force for this evaluation system. The groups closely studied 360 degree surveys, goal setting procedures, and other potential parts of the system to ensure alignment with work that Ohio had already completed.
One of the considerations for developing the evaluation system was the uniqueness of the types of school districts in Ohio. Ohio has 614 separate school districts ranging in size from a few hundred students to over 50,000 students, a large private school (parochial and private) population, and a large number of charter schools, which act as small independent school districts. It was also necessary to remain conscious of the need to use this system not only for principals, but also for assistant principals and associate principals.

### 4.3 Product

The Ohio Principal Evaluation System was developed to measure the performance of the Ohio principals based on the Ohio Principal Standards which included Elements and Indicators that could be observed and measured. This model was not intended to be prescriptive, but rather as a resource model for districts to use as they need, in whole or part.

In the OPES guidebook (Ohio Department of Education, 2009), the principles underlying the evaluation system were described as follows.

The OPES is a research-based model for the evaluation of school principals which is aligned with the Ohio Standards for Principals; district and school improvement plans; local priorities, goal and objectives; current evidence and new findings on effective leadership; and research linking leadership to student achievement and learning.

The system was designed to be fair and equitable, understandable and easy to use both by principals and their evaluators, and adaptable to local conditions and needs, allowing for tailoring work and targets of performance to the wide variety of contexts throughout the state.
The system was created to encourage ongoing dialogue between principals and their evaluator, to foster the professional growth of principals’ knowledge and skills, and to propel schools to higher levels of effectiveness as a result of improved performance.

The first two parts in the evaluation system were intended to be formative, and to create environment in the school district to encourage continuous dialogue between principals and their supervisors and to help move a district toward a focus on learning and results. “OPES’s use of multiple data sources and attention to a cycle of support moves evaluation beyond just compliance—instilling a culture of accountability for school improvement and student learning” (National Association of State Boards of education, 2009: 5). Even the summative section has an improvement plan process and pushes evaluators to look toward development and improvement, rather than a quick summation of performance.

The system comprises the four dimensions below, each of which is intended to be a part of the process. But it is clear that 50 per cent of the evaluation must be based on student achievement data, and is reflected in the Summative section.

The first section is a Goal Setting Process in which standards based goals are crafted, targets of performance are established, and sources of evidence are identified. A section on Formative Assessment describes tools and pathways for development of school leaders. Some aspects, for example the 360 survey and the parent surveys, were quite controversial, with leaders wondering whether this would be accurate or based on personality. Community surveys also suffered skepticism by the team until they were field tested. The same is true for the 360 surveys in that once they were tested, they
found that these instruments could offer information that could help school leaders have that discussion with their evaluators to improve. A third section entitled Communication, Professionalism, and Ethics is outside of the rubric, and is a simple “Met or Not Met” setting. Summative Assessment is the final section, and includes the rubric to base the summative evaluation upon, plus an improvement plan process for the weak areas not met in the standards.

Three different models of 360 degree surveys were pilot-tested: Vanderbilt’s Assessment of Leadership in Education (VAL-ED), McREL’s Balanced Leadership Profile, and Educational Impact’s The 360 Leadership Assessment Tool. But as the use of student data at 50 per cent became a bigger issue due to a mandate from state government, the 360 surveys were pushed to the fringe of the conversation as to their importance.

4.4 Work That Remains

Many of the piloting districts used only parts and pieces of the Ohio Principal Evaluation System. Only one district the authors are aware of actually piloted the entire process in districts. A question remains as to how one can make this process reliable and valid from district to district. One way to move in this direction is to include adequate training for those using the system. Training opportunities have already begun in early 2011, offered by the Ohio Department of Education and the Buckeye Association of School Administrators (BASA), the superintendents’ organization.

In evaluating the work the districts did in piloting the system, one must take into account the “enduring dilemmas in the assessment of leadership performance.” (Portin, Feldman, & Knapp, 2006: 40) These dilemmas are the tension between summative and formative purposes; balancing local, state, and
national interests; focusing on direct versus indirect effects on student achievement; considering the leadership context; and finally, assessing individual versus collective effort (Portin, Feldman, & Knapp, 2006). All of these must be taken into account when evaluating the performance of the principal. For example, the context of the principal’s school when evaluated can be a huge part of the evaluation. At what stage of development is the school? At what stage in the principal’s career is the evaluation taking place?

Regarding balancing local, state, and national interests, many outside influences can compete, such as the influence of federal School Improvement Grants, which may require the replacement of the principal, or the political drive to heavily rely on student test scores. The Ohio revised code states that school boards are not mandated to utilize or strongly consider any of the principal evaluations completed by the superintendent. Thus, even strong evaluations under a high quality state model can be set aside by local school boards, creating a true dilemma.

How the OPES is used will be the key to its success and acceptance by principals and school administrators. Performance evaluation is still a human endeavor, with possible inconsistencies in implementation no matter how well the system has been developed.

5. Development of the Scoring Rubric for the Ohio Principal Evaluation System

5.1 Participants

The final step in refining the principal evaluation system was the development of valid and reliable rubrics, or scoring guides, for the assessment of principal performance on the job. This developmental
work was assigned to a writing team consisting of four principals, three university professors, and three central office administrators. Leadership was provided by two officials from the Ohio Department of Education and a consultant from the southern Regional Education Board. The writing team was scheduled to complete its work in two meetings.

5.2 Process
The first meeting began with an overview of the task to be performed. Reference resources were distributed from Linda Darling-Hammond, new Leaders for New Schools, the Center for the Study of Teaching and Policy, and Learning Point Associates. Sample rubrics were distributed from New Leaders for New Schools and the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. It was pointed out that although the rubrics to be developed would need to match conceptually with the Ohio Principal Standards, there would not need to be a verbatim match between the two.

The draft Ohio Principal Evaluation was then reviewed. A work session followed, in which the writing team divided into three subgroups to begin drafting rubrics. At the end of the day, a debriefing was held to discuss the draft rubrics.

5.3 Product
The work products of these subgroups were subsequently collated, edited, and supplemented by the leadership team and sent to members of the writing team for review. For each of the Ohio Principal Standards, the leadership team proposed several indicators of principal performance at each of the four rating levels: Ineffective, Proficient, Accomplished and Distinguished. The writing team was invited to examine the draft rubrics and to suggest additions,
changes, and deletions. A pilot test of the rubrics was conducted in the spring of 2011 by a research team made up of faculty from Ohio Dominican University and Wright State University. The hope of the state was to have an instrument which might bring the state school districts’ evaluation methods closer to a more common evaluation.

5.4 Work That Remains

At the time of the preparation of this report, the writing team had not held its second meeting to offer suggestions. The validity of the final Ohio Principal Evaluation System rubrics was addressed by designing the rubric to align tightly with the Ohio Principal Standards, and then having this alignment reviewed by two national experts (Dr. Joseph Murphy of Vanderbilt University and Dr. Terry Orr of Bank Street College in New York), an independent research team, plus five focus groups of school leaders in the state. Reliability is a difficult issue to address since Ohio has 614 school districts who could be using the OPES along with the rubric, but their administrative staffs will have to undergo an intensive 3-day training before using the evaluation system. The research team will be looking for ways to strengthen the reliability of OPES, evaluating the complete program and the alignment of the training.

6.0 Stakeholders

The work concentrated on four separate projects, each of which was a piece of the big picture of leadership and leadership accountability for the state of Ohio: develop the principal standards, develop the alignment of state standards with national and other standards, develop the principal evaluation system, and develop the rubric specifically within the evaluation system.
The development of the principal standards was conducted by principals (7), teachers (4), district administrators (3), and higher education faculty members (5). This group was led by the Department of Education personnel with the aid of a facilitator from McREL. At the same time, in a parallel room and timeframe, similar groups developed teacher standards and standards for professional development for the state.

The alignment of state standards with national standards and other necessary standards was very much an exercise that was needed by the institutions of higher learning that had to navigate multiple sets of standards for national and state accreditation of their programs. Thus the participants reflected that idea: 18 faculty and university administrators from 13 different institutions, 8 of which were state institutions and 5 were private institutions. This group was led by a member from the Ohio Department of Education and co-directed by college faculty.

The principal evaluation system was developed following two separate starts: the original version was developed in 2007-2008 and this version was subsequently enhanced in 2010-2011. The original version called on a group of 40 school leaders (principals and superintendents), university faculty, and department of education personnel, which was facilitated by a nationally known faculty member from Vanderbilt University.

A second group came together to develop a rubric for the enhanced version, which was driven by the federal grant monies allocated to some states on a competitive basis, called the Race to the Top. Ohio received $400 million dollars and agreed to several changes, one being that the state guarantee that teachers and principals would move to evaluation
systems based on student achievement data. With the large funding being driven by federal guidelines, timelines were narrowed and the process needed to speed up. The group became much smaller (2 university faculty, 4 principals, 2 district administrators, plus 2 department of education personnel) and was now led by a different facilitator, a representative of the Southern Regional Education Board (SREB).

The rubric was sent out to be examined for alignment to the Ohio and national principal standards. Again, two national experts (one from Vanderbilt University and one from the Bank Street College in New York) were utilized for this and each sent back valuable feedback that was included in new versions of the rubric.

Finally, the rubric and the later version of the principal evaluation system were taken to practitioners for input by a research team from two Ohio universities (one private and one public), and then a writing team from the Ohio Department of Education took the input and made the proper adjustments based on the feedback from those in the field. This group offering feedback met at 10 small events around the state involving 67 people, some meeting on multiple occasions. The two principal organizations and the superintendent’s association helped gather the right people for the meetings.

6.1 Reflection on Stakeholder Views and Values

There was a broad range of stakeholder participation throughout all the phases of the initiative. The participants spanned the spectrum of K-12 education, with representatives of teachers, principals, superintendents, central office administrators, university professors, two educational research institutions (McREL and SREB), the Ohio Department
of Education, and two principal organizations (Ohio Association of Elementary School Administrators and the Ohio Association of Secondary School Administrators). Depending on the type of work, the Ohio Department of Education selected different representatives. The Ohio Department of Education coordinated the meetings and writing for the entire process.

This large and strategic representation of participants in the development of principal accountability provided multiple perspectives during the writing and planning stages of this work. Practicing administrators such as principals, superintendents, and central office personnel were expected to ensure that the standards and evaluation instrument would be an accurate and appropriate representation of administrative work. They wanted to see a product that reflected what they felt was important in their position and an evaluation tool that would be fair and manageable. University and McREL representatives wanted the results of their labor to have validity in the field based upon current research and practice. They recognized that this work would be guiding their teaching and future research as well as creating additional accountability in preparing school administrators.

Directors of the two principal associations saw the opportunity to shape the direction this process might move as well as to provide support and training to administrators to prepare for principal evaluation. The creation of the standards and evaluation tool could lead to the development of future seminars and conferences. The Ohio Department of Education began the work in order to establish specific Principal Standards for Ohio that would form a common understanding across the state of the expectations for principals and how those skills would be measured. During the process, the work developed a sense of
urgency as Ohio was selected as a state to receive money from the Race to the Top Federal Grant. This grant increased the need for an Ohio Principal Evaluation System.

While those in the state worked together well and were driven by the need for the product, having facilitators from multiple backgrounds (McREL, Vanderbilt University and a developer of the ISLLC standards, the Ohio Department of Education, and finally the Southern Regional Education Board) could have created a problem if the department of education and the practitioners did not keep pulling the group forward and back to the focus on a workable, practical product.

**Conclusion**

Each of the participants persons had individual, professional, and organizational histories and priorities. In this situation, one might reasonably expect significant issues and problems to arise from conflicting agendas. However, this does not appear to have been the case for this initiative. A peaceable kingdom seems to have reigned.

One explanation may lie in the decision by the Ohio Department of Education to include several individuals in multiple phases of the work. These persons provided a rolling history and narrative for the work as it was completed. As Likert (1961) points out, such persons may have effectively linked the actions, values, and decisions developed in earlier phases of the work to later work teams. Such a linkage may have flattened the learning curve for later participants, provided an already established and stable perspective on the work, and reduced the felt need on the part of stakeholders to raise and examine broader values and issues.
A second explanation for the apparent lack of conflict in the process may be contained in the very structure of the tasks that were assigned to the teams. The Ohio Department of Education charged stakeholders with one (or more) of four specific, interrelated tasks, namely, (a) to develop principal performance standards, (b) to align the standards with national standards, (c) to develop and pilot test a principal evaluation system, and (d) to develop rubrics to measure principal performance. The concreteness and specificity of these tasks may have constrained the communication and pursuit of participant values and interests.

Thompson & Tuden (as cited in Sergiovanni, Burlingame, Coombs, & Thurston, 1987: 142), identify four decision environments, one of which is described as requiring decisions to be reached where there is agreement on the product to be created, but disagreement on the goals to be served. Sergiovanni, Burlingame, Coombs, and Thurston (1987) confirm the existence of such environments in the public sphere:

Incrementalism of Lindblom [1959] and political bargaining of Allison [1971] assume that groups or individuals can find reasonable means while ignoring or downplaying differences over goals. Hence, we would expect to find that political bodies would place great emphasis on agreeing about means to be used, even though participants would differ sharply on goals (p. 145).

The stakeholders in this initiative appear to have experienced such an environment. They were not charged to examine the desirability of the assigned tasks, but rather to create acceptable products without necessarily agreeing on why the results were acceptable. Such an environment may have
suppressed the expression of individual and group agendas.

Only at one point during the last phase was there a moment of possible straying from the focus, which saw the SREB facilitator inserted the SREB’s 21 Responsibilities of the School Leader which then created confusion for the rubric being created. Should the rubric include those 21 Responsibilities which were not standards, and did they align tightly with the Ohio Principal Standards? The two outside experts reviewing the rubric pointed out the need for staying with a rubric based on the standards in Ohio, and the practitioners who gave feedback to the university team cemented that idea for the writers of the new version of the rubric and the Ohio principal Evaluation System. So while, it could have created problems, allowing practitioners and experts to view it and have input brought the focus back to a strong instrument based soundly on the principal standards of the state of Ohio.

A third explanation for the seeming lack of conflict may rest in the educator culture from which most of the stakeholders came. Sergiovanni, Burlingame, Coombs, & Thurston (1987) state:

Disputes about ends occur less frequently in collegial organizations such as schools. The training and experience of professional employees provide senses of the goals of the organization. Goals often form constellations, such as the well-being and enhancement of the client, the enrichment of best practice and advancement of knowledge, and the self-actualization of the professional. Such constellations suggest that educational goals are complementary, not adversarial (p. 144).
What the stakeholders valued in common may have shaped their participation more than did their specific representational roles as participants in this initiative.

References


CHAPTER 31

VALUES IN SWEDISH SCHOOL INSPECTION: TENSIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS

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Abstract

School inspection is becoming increasingly influential in education policy and practice globally. As do all evaluative activities, school inspection conveys particular values, albeit sometimes disguised in a more supervisory or legal rhetoric. This paper analyses values permeating Swedish school inspections. The analysis highlights the what (substantial) and how (procedural) values embedded in the Inspectorate as expressed in interviews with high-ranking officers. In so doing, it also offers an example of how values in evaluation can be analyzed. The results point to tensions and ambiguities in values. Values concerning what to promote simultaneously stress each child’s right to achieve a passing grade in a safe environment, and the necessity for the schools to follow rules and regulations. Values about how inspections are to be undertaken underline assessments based on equal requirements on schools, but also on a
needs-oriented procedure. Inspection reports are to sustain: credibility, clarity, accessibility, comprehensiveness, and impartiality. These values are not easily reconciled with the predominant reporting style (deviation reports), where mainly flaws and irregularities are noticed. Drawing on the concept of “constitutive effects,” it is argued that the values conveyed in Swedish school inspection may impact on the view of schooling so that characteristics like compliance, documentation, rational planning, and a particular notion of knowledge become central.

Keywords
evaluative activities – impact – inspection - school supervision - values

Introduction
In a global, and perhaps particularly European context, school inspection is increasingly becoming a type of evaluative activity, or even evaluation system favored by national policymakers when it comes to evaluating and assessing (the “quality” of) teachers, schools and education systems. For example, the Standing International Conference of Inspectorates (SICI) presently has thirty-two European member inspectorates. Some of these member nations, like Albania and Norway, have quite recently decided to install school inspections. Others, like England and Scotland, have a long tradition like (SICI n. d., Croxford et al. 2009, Ozga 2011).

As argued by many evaluator theorists (e.g. House & Howe 1999, Schwandt 2002) evaluation cannot be separated from values. In all evaluative activities, values are present, conveyed and have more or less impact on what is evaluated, assessed, or (quality) audited. Several international studies (e.g. Ball 1998, Gray & Gardner 1999, Perryman 2009, Thrupp 1998) have shown that school inspection indeed has an impact on education practice by focusing on particular
Values in Swedish School Inspection: Tensions and Contradictions

criteria, by publishing reports, and by following up on schools to check if they comply with the decisions and improve in line with recommendations. Not only do teachers and head masters change their behavior—for example, producing required information of strengths and weaknesses in different predefined areas (sometimes called self-evaluation) (Perryman 2009)—but different types of evaluative activities used as management techniques also impact on how people think and feel about education, as Ball (1998) argues.

This is similar to Dahler-Larsen’s notion of constitutive effects of evaluation (Dahler-Larsen 2011, 2012). In Dahler-Larsen’s view, more is at stake when considering evaluation effects than modification of behavior. That is, evaluative activities, and perhaps specifically if they are carried out systematically, regularly, and comprehensively like school inspections and tests, may impact on our perception and understanding of ourselves and the surrounding world in particular ways that are expressed in the values permeating these activities. Language and activities (like evaluation) shape our thinking of who and what we are, of the surrounding world, and of what our society is. We participate in shaping our thinking and our perceptions by using the very same language and taking part in activities, but also transform our perceptions by different interpretations and by creating or borrowing new thoughts and ideas.

In school inspections, values about what constitutes a good or bad school, good or bad teaching and teachers, important or unimportant knowledge, how to learn, good or bad societies, and so on, are present in both what is inspected and in how the inspections are carried out. This means that values present in school inspections are potentially influential in shaping education, and teachers’ and students’ perception of education and self. Since school inspection is such a
widespread practice, and policymakers rely on it to enhance education quality, it is important to critically scrutinize the values embedded in these inspection policies and activities. Hence, the aim of this paper is to contribute to such a critical examination by analyzing the *what* (substantial) and *how* (procedural) values permeating the Swedish school inspection as expressed in interviews with high-ranking officers. How the inspection policies and values illuminated by the analysis are interpreted and acted on, and to what extent these values imbue and affect educational practice is, however, outside the scope of this paper.

In the following, the paper is organized in four sections. First, I present some notes on methodology and methods. Next, a short description of the Swedish inspection agency (agencies) is provided, to situate the analysis of the interviews. Thereafter, the values emerging from the analysis are identified, with quotations from the interviews to demonstrate how the *what* and *how* values are expressed in the interviews. The paper ends with a brief discussion of the findings, relating them to Dahler-Larsen’s notion of constitutive effects of evaluation.

1. Notes on Methodology

A starting point for the analysis is, as claimed above, that values are part of evaluation. Values cannot be taken out or be dealt with separately in evaluations or evaluative activities. Values also reside in language and in the specific language used in an evaluation (in this case, school inspection). The indicators, criteria, and questions chosen and used in the inspection process, the decisions, and the recommended actions to take as a result of an inspection are all conveyed through language.

A large portion of the Swedish Schools Inspectorate’s (SSI) activities are directed to so-called regular
supervision (see description below), meaning controlling that schools and municipalities abide by the national intentions laid down in the Education Act and Ordinance, the national curriculum, general guidelines, and other national policy documents. But laws and regulations are based on certain values and have to be interpreted into areas, indicators, criteria, and the like for what to supervise or inspect and how to do it. And in interpretation and translation into what and how to supervise or inspect, values also enter.

Therefore, interpretation is central in inspection and it is also central in this analysis. Interviews are language and need interpretation. The analysis and paper could be described as resting on a critical interpretative methodology (Schwandt 2000). The analysis may also be described as a search for content and meaning or as a mix between an analysis of content and an analysis of ideas, in this case understood as underpinning values (Bergström & Boréus 2005, Boréus & Bergström 2005). The questions “What is inspected?” and “How are the inspections carried out?” directed the analysis. In the analysis a mix of noting frequently occurring terms and concepts and of noting concepts carrying central standpoints and meanings in the interviews was applied. I looked for patterns of values linked to more general value systems in the answers given to these questions, but also looking for ambiguities and contradictions characterized the analysis and interpretation process. This kind of value analysis may be performed on a variety of materials (e.g. evaluation reports, instructions, models, observations of evaluation processes, and of other evaluation documents) and may be used by those who take an interest in studying values in evaluation.

Seven high-ranking officers at the Swedish Schools Inspectorate were interviewed in autumn, 2010 and spring, 2011. The interviews were in between sixty
and ninety minutes long, and were tape-recorded and transcribed. The selected respondents formed the major part of what can be described as the leading group of the SSI. In that capacity, they are expected to represent the official inspection policy and practice as it is expressed in written and spoken language. Their spoken statements are analyzed here. It must be recognized that statements in Swedish in the interviews do not necessarily carry the exact same meaning when translated into English, although great efforts were made to capture the essence in the translation process.

Informed consent and confidentiality were exercised and the results of the study are used solely for research purposes. No claims are made that the values in inspection highlighted in this analysis are those that dominate written inspection reports or the inspectors’ activities when visiting schools and municipalities.

2. The Swedish School Inspection

School inspection in Sweden was installed in 1861 as a means to control that local authorities took on the responsibility to provide elementary education for all children in Sweden (Nilsson 2011). In the 1960s national inspections were organized through the National Board of Education in the form of county inspectors who acted in a framework of strong and fairly detailed central steering resulting from the extensive education reforms at that time. The inspectors collected statistics, distributed state grants, and visited schools, often unexpectedly, and listened to demands from the schoolteachers and headmasters.

In 1990, the National Board for Education was closed down and a new national agency was created, the National Agency for Education (NAE) (Segerholm 2009, n. d., Lindgren et al. 2011). Responsibility for
comprehensive schooling was decentralized to municipalities\(^5\) as well as state grants and the national curriculum of 1994 listed particular responsibilities for headmasters and teachers. School inspection was abandoned and the demands on local authorities to supervise schooling were increased. Critique of the Social Democrats in office from the political opposition, and dissatisfaction with local efforts fuelled demands to reintroduce national school inspection. This was done in 2003 and the NAE was commissioned by the government to inspect all schools in six-year cycles. The inspection model rested on a rationale where the preconditions, work processes, and results and attainment were related in an overall description, assessment, and decision.

When the conservative-liberal-center parties’ coalition won the election in 2006, the new minister of education started to reform the entire Swedish education system. He believed the national results were unsatisfactory in national and international tests, jeopardizing Sweden’s competitive position on the global market. A new inspectorate was decided as a remedy to this problem along with far-reaching reforms concerning all educational levels.

The new national agency, the Swedish Schools Inspectorate, now performs regular supervision, quality assessments and directed supervision, approves licenses for independent schools, and handles complaints. It assesses municipalities, other providers, and individual schools. The four areas examined in regular supervision at the time of the interviews were attainment and results, pedagogical leadership and development, environment for learning, and individual students’ rights. From July 1, 2011, the following areas are examined: students’ development in relation to national objectives; leadership and school development; the individual student’s rights;
and licensing of principal organizers or providers – the last is only applicable to independent schools.

Quality assessments are thematic and decided by the Director General. The decisions are preceded by an analysis of available statistics and other information (a so-called risk-and-essentials analysis). Generally, an inspection process includes analysis of documents from municipalities or providers and schools according to a list from the SSI. Questionnaires are distributed to students, parents and teachers and responses are analyzed before site visits. In schools with a favorable inspection history and sound documents, only a brief visit and/or an interview with the headmaster is carried out. Site visits include interviews with headmasters, a group of teachers, and a group of students. Occasionally, special education teams and parents may also be interviewed. Responsible local politicians and administrators are also interviewed as well as the responsible management and owners of independent schools’ providers. The Inspectorate provides oral feedback to the headmaster before writing a public report and decision. From autumn, 2011, SSI has arranged feedback seminars with headmasters, local politicians, and managers.

3. Values in Swedish School Inspection

This section starts with a presentation of the respondents’ general views of the inspection activities, and subsequently moves over to the analysis of the more specific what and how values based on the statements from the interviewees. Quotations from the interviews are translated from Swedish to English and polished to make them easier to read. Where sentences have been taken out to shorten the quotation in order to stress the essence, this is marked by /---/. Additions or clarifications within quotes are bracketed.
As a general response to the question about the main purpose with the present national inspection agency and inspection activities (regular supervision, quality assessments, directed supervision, and so on) interviewees used expressions like “a better school” or “good education for all children in a safe environment,” pointing to different ways of articulating the overarching aim for the SSI and inspections. Most of the respondents relied in one way or another on the official slogan of the SSI in how they conveyed this. The variation in statements concerned whether good education is a right for “all children” or for “each individual child” and if this right was expressed as “good education” or as the right “to be awarded a passing grade,” meaning the right for each and every child to reach an attainment level equal to the fulfillment of the requirements for a passing grade. These differences may seem of little consequence, but actually reflect rather different positions in relation to the notion of citizenship, as mainly an individual (private) right or as a public good (Englund 1993).

Some respondents also elaborated their answers and pointed out that there is no simple causal link in between what they and the inspectorate do and a better school. The SSI is only one of several measures or initiatives in a complicated mix of policies, actors, and actions striving to improve the school. At the same time, it was recognized that the SSI is commissioned by the government to control that rules and regulations laid down in the Education Act and Ordinance and other national policy documents are followed. One of the respondents expressed this as follows:

On the one hand, it [the school inspection] is to be one piece of the large jigsaw puzzle in which many different policy actors have different types of responsibilities, and where we are one, as mentioned, helping to contribute to the
development of the Swedish school. But we also have a commission to control, and in that way act as the extension of the government and see to that in fact...it turns out the way it has been decided. (Officer 6, p. 5).

Another of the interviewed persons said, “That is, how do you act in order to pursue what has been decided in a democratic order, in the best way, so that school development is promoted? That is the trick, somehow” (Officer 1, p. 6).

It is quite clear that these high-ranking officers live with the tension posed by both striving to be a source for development and improvement, and being aware that the SSI acts as a control agent for the government. The more detailed values embedded in what these officers put forward as the direction or substance in SSI’s evaluations/inspections, and how inspections are to be carried out will now be dealt with.

3.1. What values

There is a striking resemblance in values surfacing in the interviews concerning the importance of assessing whether or not those responsible for education in municipalities (local politicians and civil servants) and schools (primarily head-masters but also teachers) are following the rules and regulations. Rules and regulations here denote national policy documents decided by either the parliament or the government (the Education Act and Ordinance, the national curriculum, course syllabi for school subjects) or national guidelines produced by the National Agency for Education (e.g. concerning quality assurance, grading, students’ individual development plans). Officer 1 expressed it as “and when we talk about a ‘better school’ we mean more aligned to the national curriculum, objectives and course syllabi for school
subjects” (p. 6). It seems to be a value in itself to align all work to these legal and juridical requirements independent of their basis. As a couple of respondents pointed out, the rule of law is important and one person said that one aspect of this is to uphold the principle of equivalence in education:

The students are entitled to good education in a safe environment. But it is also about securing the right, to be a guardian of the rule of law for students (Officer 2, p. 4) What I find very central is the requirement of equivalence. That is, not the same but the right to education of equal value and good quality. And then there is this part that has to do with student assessment and grading, since we have to, some way or another, to handle this situation where grading is performed by so many different actors who have different preconditions and it is supposed to be based on the principle of equivalence and we have to believe that this can be done in a way that is based on the rule of law. (Officer 2, p. 5).

Several respondents underscored the importance of a child-centered perspective in the inspections, which is also apparent in the slogan of SSI stating children’s or students’ rights to good education. Good education apparently is not only about abiding by national regulations. Good education is in addition about increasing the level of attainment, or as Officer 4 put it, “students’ knowledge development, that is what we have to work with above all” (p. 4). Good education was interpreted by almost all of the interviewed to mean education based on criteria mainly drawn from successful schools research. In the words of Officer 4:

We cannot make any other interpretation than what is said in the laws and regulations. We can add and we do in our quality assessments and we also relate the rules to current research
And Officer 3 pointed to more or less the same things:

Areas that I find important to evaluate and some of the ones we assess are the leadership of the head-masters the educational leadership and high expectations on the students and a safe peaceful environment. (Officer 3, p. 13).

A change in attitude is also necessary and according to Officer 5:

[I]t is also about supporting a change of attitude, where all have to embrace an attitude based on the idea that the schools have to try to work in a direction so that all students reach the level of a passing grade. (Officer 5, p. 9).

However, resources or other local conditions are not of interest in the inspections and are not examined or taken into account in the decisions as Officer 1 clearly stated, “So far, we have not considered the resources at hand in the municipalities. Quite simply, education shall be carried out” (p. 13).

The rule of law seems to be an overarching value present in these high-ranking officers’ views of inspection. Not one of them commented on the fact that the number of rules and regulations have expanded during the last decade and become more and more detailed, for example, now giving instructions on how to write so-called individual student development plans (see e.g. Skolverket n. d.). This is something that traditionally has been part of teachers’ professional tasks, and not regulated by formal rules and detailed guidelines. However, it is
now one of the most-criticized areas by SSI (Swedish Schools Inspectorate 2011: 14) and the stress on headmasters to be active leaders can perhaps be understood as a way to persuade teachers do their work as stipulated in the national policy documents.

Keeping track and records of all individual students also reflects the desire to raise the attainment level. By rational planning for all students, this is to be achieved. Values in the interviews of how education best is carried out also rested on a belief that strong leaders and high expectations on students is the path to success. In this view, responsibility (and accountability) for educational results are made an individual responsibility decoupled from political decisions and priorities, albeit expressed in a language stressing the rights of children. The ambition in SSI to “look at teaching” (see quote below) may also be interpreted in the same direction: teaching (and teachers and headmasters as responsible individuals) is to be reviewed more closely.

For some of the respondents, inspection itself is of value as a lever to change education practice:

We inspect those areas that we know are important in order to achieve good knowledge results, and that is the reason we say that we have to look at teaching (Officer 7, p. 5) /---/

There is no reason in the world to spend a couple of millions on examining an area we know works very well. Rather we examine critical areas where there is a need for development and improvement (Officer 7, p. 6)

This means that inspection as described in the interviews is also perceived as a means to implement national policy by successively emphasizing different areas in the inspection processes. This is particularly interesting at present since there is now a new
Education Act and Ordinance to be applied. The new law also makes SSI better equipped to force schools and municipalities to abide by the extended rules and regulations since fines and the closing of schools can now be the result of inspections (SFS 2010:800).

3.2. How values

There is one particular value about how inspections are carried out voiced in the interviews: the importance of assessments based on equal requirements. In the Swedish language, this is expressed in the same terms as the above-mentioned principle of equivalence. The logic is based on the idea that in order to be just and legitimate and adhere to the rule of law, the assessments have to be carried out in the same way in all schools and municipalities and anchored in equal requirements. The following quotations illustrate this. The second is quite long, but also gives details about how equivalent assessments are to be achieved.

And we have lawyers who ‘quality assure’ all our decisions, both concerning schools and more overarching decisions. This is an important part of our activities and it is a big challenge to make sure that the inspection processes are carried out ‘equivalently’ throughout the agency. And in that respect there is a lot to do still. Not even in the different regional offices this is functioning...as it is meant to (Officer 3, p. 4). We measure all according to the same measurements. And in one place some of the results may be very good and in other places they are less good. This is a dilemma since the school is supposed to be equal. /---/ But we measure their results in the same way. (Officer 3 p. 7).

As you know, we have very clear descriptions of our inspection processes in order to make them equivalent, in order for all to do it in the same
way, and to make it possible to carry them out with some speed. /---/ Equivalence means that we have to assess the same criteria or issue on equal terms independent on whether it is in the north or the south of Sweden. /---/ And where is the level when we can say that this is not acceptable. And this level in the assessments has to be the same everywhere. And it is this type of equivalence...I think is a big challenge and I respect the difficulties. Because on the one hand, we are individuals who assess, and not one case is to a hundred per cent similar to another. On the other hand, it is a matter of the rule of law, to make equivalent assessments, and this is a challenge for us. In that respect the descriptions of the inspection processes are of substantial help. /---/ ...and we do not only listen to what the headmaster has to say about action plans. We actually collect actions plans and look at them, and in doing that we enhance the conditions for equivalence. All sections work with their internal equivalence in their assessments. /---/ What we also do now in our assessments of school subjects [quality assessments] is to record lessons, that is, before the actual inspection process, and use the recording and apply the criteria and indicators we plan to use and check how we assess. (Officer 7, p. 8-9).

Officer 5 further elaborates the importance of equivalent inspection processes:

For us, we have everything schematically put down, concerning the quality assessment process, the regular supervision process, and so on, in processes, where we have every single little part defined. And we also have...around every such little part there are a number of guidelines and we have to follow them and it is only...they are sometimes recommendations where we can find ideas of how things can be carried out. /---/ The [description of the] process
itself has to be followed by everyone. (Officer 5, p. 12).

The importance of this principle of equivalence and how it is to be upheld in the inspection processes, independent of what type of inspection it is, is contradicted by the simultaneous application of a different principle; that of a needs-oriented and proportionate process:

I’d like to say that what has been aimed at, when it comes to the new model, is to make it as functional and rational as possible. And that means it should be sharper as well as more frequent and efficient. And to clarify I might also say that it strives to be more flexible and needs-oriented than before. It does not have to appear in the same way everywhere, but a new thing as I understand it, and quite apparent is that we work on the basis of “risk and essentials” [see next quote for an explanation]. (Officer 4, p. 9-10).

In Officer 1’s quote this principle of needs-orientation and more efficient use of SSI’s resources is described:

We do a basic supervision when the schools show good results, and at a fairly quick...well, it is a thorough analysis of documents we do, but if it looks good in the documents and the results are good, we do a quick visit at the school and check if it really is the case. And if the picture can be confirmed, the inspection is finalized. But based on the documents a decision can be made to carry out a broader supervision from the beginning. /---/ And we also do intensified supervision if there are some particular areas showing up in the documents that we think need to be examined more closely. (Officer 1, p. 9).

Somewhat surprisingly, not a single respondent commented on the apparent conflicting logics between
inspection on equal terms and needs-oriented inspection. At a general level there is a conflict between these logics and the values they promote. Even though the descriptions of how the inspection processes are to be performed are extremely detailed, tracing every single little step, the analysis of the collected documents from individual schools led to disparities concerning which criteria are emphasized for different schools. The principles also conflict on a more detailed level. If the same criteria are assessed in all schools, different inspectors interpret what they hear, read, and observe in dissimilar ways, as recognized above by Officer 7. Values embedded in the two principles are the rule of law and justice interpreted as assessment on equal terms and based on equal requirements, and needs-orientation interpreted as inspections related to the perceived status of education quality in individual schools.

Two more values are visible in the quotations above: The first is efficiency, as an economic notion of inspections. The second is a particular understanding of knowledge as an objective description of reality that is produced by systematically assembling observable knowledge in an identical way (evidence or proof). This knowledge is used to substantiate claims made in the assessments and decisions, and is of value because it is closely related to the rule of law. The inspectors have to reconcile the tensions these conflicting logics and values produce in how the inspections are carried out in their daily practice, partly supported by the lawyers at SSI who help translate their assessments into written reports and decisions that need to be “correct” and hold up in a court of law.

All respondents displayed a widespread uneasiness concerning the reporting style at the time of the interviews. Although some of them said the new
Education Act gives the SSI more space for maneuver to guide, counsel, and bring forward positive assessments, they still seemed to be disturbed by the critique of the deviation reports from those who are inspected, as demonstrated in the following quotations.

I think this is sometimes experienced as a problem, both within the agency and outside, this reporting, the fact that we report on deviations. /---/ ...well the effects are a bit peculiar with these deviation reports, because there may be things we do not write about, and one reason can be that we did not notice, and the other reason is that it does not exist, so to speak. (Officer 2, p. 10).

And we have had some problems since in our reporting we emphasize deviations, that is, what is negative. And those who we examine...find this is not helpful. They think that there is a very good discussion when the inspectors give their oral feedback, it is balanced and nuanced and brings forward both positive and negative findings, but in our written report, we are negative. (Officer 6, p. 10).

In reporting the assessments and decisions officers have “to follow the principles of comprehensiveness and impartiality in the Public Administration Act” (Officer 2, p. 6). The SSI has developed a policy for communication and as Officer 6 explained:

We talk about ‘the three T’s’: clarity, accessibility and credibility ['tydlighet, tillgänglighet, och trovärdighet’ in Swedish; hence, three T’s]. Our opinion is that we shall express ourselves in a clear manner, in writing and orally, so that all people can understand what we say/---/credibility is about making it visible on what grounds decisions are made so that they are not questioned. (Officer 6, p. 9).
Clearly these ambitions in reporting are not easily reconciled with the reporting style where deviations, in the sense of irregularities or what is not up to standards, constitute the essence. The dissatisfaction shown in the interviews around this issue also relates to the relief most of the respondents expressed when talking about the opportunities given by the new Education Act. From July 1, 2011, the work of the SSI and thereby the inspection processes may include portions of advice and counseling. According to the respondents this is to be achieved by following the schools during a longer period of time and in a more positive and supporting manner. Officer 3 noted the difference between the different inspection models as follows:

Presently [autumn 2010] we focus on deviations in our reporting but next year we will try to get more into advice and counseling /---/ We now have a new model: we are following the schools for six months, and since we follow the schools more closely the expectations are that change will occur faster. And I believe that earlier we worked using this as a threat but now we have to make it something positive. (Officer 3, p. 9-10).

It has to be understood that the change mainly concerns the prolonged period the schools are followed by the SSI and the activities following the report and decision, rather than a dramatic change in reporting style. Officer 6 said:

We hope, by more following-up activities, to be more present and by that take some more steps in the right direction (Officer 6, p. 6). We will not leave a school or municipality alone before we are sure they have understood and that they will start development work. That is, we will be more meticulous in our follow-ups. (Officer 6 p. 9).
The *how* values illuminated by the analysis point to inherent tensions in the way the SSI has organized the inspection processes. Two conflicting logics are in operation at the same time according to the respondents: one stressing equivalence as matter of justice (treating all in the same way) where objective knowledge is essential, and the other based on differentiation of resources related to needs and efficiency (more to those who are doing worse as an overall strategy to use resources efficiently). Furthermore, the respondents experienced apparent problems in how the SSI was to handle the style of reporting and at the same time act as advisor or counselor; the last was something most of the respondents seemed to support. Also, the value-laden words attached to Swedish public administration are difficult to apply on the deviation reports which are presently the dominant style of reporting, at least in the regular supervision.

4. Discussion

Before turning to a discussion about constitutive effects (Dahler-Larsen 2011, 2012) and the values in Swedish school inspections as demonstrated in the analysis, this section will present a few comments on the results.

The values exposed in the interviews have to be understood in relation to the present government’s and education minister’s ambitions to raise the standards of Swedish students when it comes to attainment and results on national and international tests, where Sweden has regressed lately. In 2006, when the conservative-liberal-centre parties’ coalition won the election, the minister of education announced that Swedish schools had to improve, raise the standards and level of attainment, increase national and international test results, and abandon the so-called “wooly pedagogy.” This was to be achieved by
Values in Swedish School Inspection: Tensions and Contradictions

harsher and sharper inspections, a reformed teacher education, a new Education Act, a new national curriculum and course syllabi in the school subjects, and a new grading system. All these far-reaching reforms were decided in the parliament, as the same coalition continues to stay in power.

As already mentioned, a new national agency was created: the Swedish Schools Inspectorate, commissioned to control more frequently that schools and municipalities lived up to the requirements. New models for inspections were called for since the old model was deemed inadequate, and the reporting style was also changed. The new inspection processes emphasize “good education,” meaning following the rules, regulations, and instructions in the national policy documents independent of local conditions. Furthermore, “good education” is interpreted in line with what is put forward in research on successful schools. Indicators in the inspection are drawn from there and made into national requirements, as indicators for all schools. This is what is to be controlled. Within the agency there are arguments for more development-oriented inspections as well, particularly visible in the concerns about the reporting style and in the recent possibility of giving advice opened by the new Education Act.

What is witnessed here and articulated in the what and how values in the SSI is the difference between control and development in the purpose of evaluation (e. g. Karlsson 1999, Vedung 1991). As in many other evaluative activities, these two purposes are put together in the same evaluation/assessment/inspection process, here leading to an apparent tension or even conflicting situation. The respondents’ experiences and views in the interviews are also similar to what was found in an analysis of written policy documents from the former
national inspection agency (NAE) and the present (SSI) (Lindgren et al. 2011), strengthening the results of this analysis.

Turning now to the results of the analysis and their relation to constitutive effects, the next section will raise some critical issues. Dahler-Larsen wrote, “By constitutive effects I refer to how QAE [quality assurance and evaluation] redefines the meaning of education and the practices of education by means of installing new discursive and cultural markers defining standards, targets, and criteria (Dahler-Larsen 2011: 153). The point he makes is that “social reality emerges out of tests” (Dahler-Larsen 2012). Substituting “inspection” for “tests,” this means our perceptions of what education (in this case) is and ought to be emerges in parts out of inspection. This is not to say that other activities like parliamentary decisions of new reforms are insignificant. It is merely to underline the importance of being aware of the values inherent in all evaluative activities and the potential directions of their effects. Evaluation is not an innocent activity; it is infused with values and in that sense also political.

What then can be said about the values in Swedish school inspection and their potential constitutive effects? As has already been pointed out, it is not possible to paint a single homogenous picture, a fact that Dahler-Larsen also observes in terms of the “unfinished’ and processual nature of constitutive effects” (Dahler-Larsen 2012). The interviews represent views at a national level, and the ongoing process and shifts concerning what to inspect and how to do it points to the “unfinishedness” of inspection itself and thereby also its effects. What happens in municipalities and schools in relation to inspections is also an open-ended process about which little is known so far.
The *what* values of interest here are those regarding what here has been called the rule of law, that is, to obey rules and regulations, to do what is required in the interpretations of the law made by the inspectorate. Adaptability, compliance, obedience, and adherence are virtues promoted by such values. Individual responsibility in terms of individual rights is also emphasized, as distinct from the responsibility to be a good citizen, which is a responsibility that extends to others’ welfare as well. This may foster a view of humans as self-serving individuals, and a view of education as a provider of resources like knowledge and traits that serves the fulfillment of individual desires and choices.

Attainment is another value of paramount interest in inspections, as is high expectations on students and headmasters’ ability to act as pedagogical leaders. Again, the concentration on individual responsibility is apparent but also leads to questions about what kind of perception of self for “failing” versus “successful” students, teacher, or headmaster this may induce. On the other hand, the rights of the individual student also promote values of equality before the law, which is a central value in a democracy and a nation characterized by the rule of law. And in the case of education, they also sustain the notion that education is good in itself and something to which every child should be entitled.

The *how* values underscore both inspection of all in the same way through the reliance on detailed descriptions of inspection processes, and inspection based on needs. “Bad” schools get more attention and inspection resources, and are not left alone until the inspectors are sure they start to redirect their work along with the requirements. Again, ambiguities are prevalent in the interviews concerning different positions of which is more beneficial—to be a counselor
or a judge, or to work with a stick or a carrot (see for example Bemelmans-Videc, Rist, & Vedung 2003). The “unfinishedness” is here displayed by the conflicting positions at work at the same time.

Irrespective of position, the inspection processes are dependent on a massive collection of data, particularly from the schools. All kinds of work and processes are to be documented and sent to the SSI. The reliance on written material, and on the reporting of particular areas as a representation of the educational work at specific schools, valorizes a certain view of knowledge and also a hierarchy of different notions of knowledge.

Not surprisingly, knowledge used at a national level is more valuable than knowledge used at school level (comp. with Franek-Wikberg’s (1992) discussion of different needs of knowledge in relation to levels in an educational system, see also Owen & Rogers (1999)). This is particularly interesting in an organization that has as its dominant societal mission to deal with knowledge. Local, contextual, experience-based, orally expressed knowledge (compare with the concepts “tacit knowledge” (Polyani 2009) and “communities of practice” (Wenger 1998)) is less valued, both as a basis for the inspections and as a legitimate way for teachers to communicate with students and parents about how the students are doing (see above about individual development plans). There is a deficit of values that promote plural notions of knowledge and knowledge residing at the local levels. Whether or not this will affect teachers’ and students’ perceptions of what counts as valid knowledge or what and how to communicate with students, parents, and colleagues is, of course, an open question. Most probably it will vary in different local contexts.
Conclusion
The new Education Act, giving the SSI more power to use sanctions, opens possibilities for constitutive effects to become more far-reaching. Inspection is planned to be an ongoing activity engaging all schools with the inspectorate’s indicators and criteria in one way or another. This adds to the force of the inspections.

Likewise, the reporting style goes hand-in-hand with media logic, picking up on what seems to be out of order and making headlines, and working as a megaphone, putting pressure on schools and municipalities to adapt (Rönnberg, Lindgren, & Segerholm 2011). Bad press in the local community most probably not only impacts on teachers’ and headmasters’ (perhaps also politicians’ and administrators’) experiences of success or failure, but also influences the citizenry and their views of education. But then again, as Dahler-Larsen points out, if constitutive effects are noticed, discussed, and become visible, the present landscape of school inspection and its potential drawbacks might change (Dahler-Larsen 2011: 154).

End notes
1. The text is a revision of an earlier paper presented at the American Evaluation Association’s annual conference in Anaheim, November 2-5, 2011.

2. The author acknowledges support from The Swedish Research Council (VR) for financing the projects Governing by inspection. School inspection and education governance in Sweden, England and Scotland (no. 2009-5770, Segerholm, Forsberg, Lindgren, & Rönnberg) and Swedish national school inspections: Introducing centralized instruments for governing in a decentralized context (no. 2007-3579, Rönnberg).
3. The history of Swedish school inspection is based on Nilsson (2011).

4. The description of inspection from 1990 to present is based on Segerholm (2009), n. d., and Lindgren et al. (2011).

5. A municipality is a geographical, political, and administrative unit with a local parliament and political boards and administrations for different political areas like education, elderly care, social care, leisure activities, infrastructure, and more.

6. It is my understanding that in the United States, the “No Child Left Behind Act” held similar intentions.

7. The concept “the school” denotes comprehensive education in this paper. Comprehensive education in Sweden is nine years long and children usually start the year they become seven years old.

8. The principle of equivalence has been the hallmark of Swedish public education for decades. From the beginning, it concerned equal allocation of resources and a common national curriculum. In today’s Swedish educational landscape, where independent schools run by shareholding companies, cooperatives, and religious communities on tax revenues compete with public schools run by the municipalities, it has more to do with local and individual freedom than with equality (Englund, 2005).

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CHAPTER 32

HEALTH PROFESSIONS STUDENT ADMISSION POLICY IN ITALY: LINKING SELECTION AND PERFORMANCE

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Abstract

Identifying the variables that should be used to predict a secure success for a student attending a medical or health care vocational school is of major interest to University admission committees given the cost of degree programmes and the social responsibility, taken by schools, of graduating competent physicians and health care personnel.

This research has examined the criteria used by most admission staffs of Italian health care schools to determine the applicant’s academic eligibility to attend the vocational degree programs. The main objective was to evaluate the predictive capability of the current criteria.

Most of the authors contributing to the specialized literature share the general agreement that the admission processes should include the assessments of both cognitive and non-cognitive applicants’ characteristics, while several surveys
have revealed that such assessments are a common practice among health vocational programs in many countries. Unfortunately this is not the case of Italy where these issues have been largely neglected.

**Keywords**

Admission criteria – predictive validity – higher education

**1. Introduction**

In recent years, the number of students enrolled in Italian university programs has shown a substantial increase. But, for many social, economic and cultural reasons, it's not likely that the quality of their involvement in those programs will improve as well. Moreover many students are not deeply motivated and tend to lose their interest in their future jobs very early. This is one of the main reasons why their dropout rate is quite high. Many researchers have looked well into the causes of this phenomenon and demonstrated the complex influence of multiple factors (Glossop, 2002). One of these seems to be represented by the selection criteria for acceptance into the degree courses (Van Rooyen et al., 2006). Many Italian universities have been implementing different screening measures with the ultimate goal of predicting future clinical and professional performances. In Fig. 1 the different stakeholders involved in the admission criteria policy and what they want to aim.

All stakeholders need to share their expertise in creating an evidence-based admission process. In literature there is general agreement that the admission process should include assessment of both cognitive and non-cognitive characteristics of applicants and several surveys have revealed that such assessment is common practice among health profession programs (Agho et al., 1998).
In Italy these issues have been neglected. However, only a relatively small number of papers exists on the Italian case, notwithstanding the historically low performance of Italian students.

2. The enrolment system of Italian universities

Since the eighties, a system for the regulation of enrolment has been gradually introduced into Italian universities. Besides responding to the need of adapting the Italian education system to the European
directives concerning some degree courses, the regulation of enrolment carried out by means of a selection based on excellence appears to be functional under several aspects.

2.1 Raise the quality of training

Universities can offer a suitable service at a quality level only proportioning the number of students to the actual capacity of the teaching facilities. Universities must in fact ensure that freshmen receive adequate reception and real training opportunities. This aspect is particularly important for courses that entail internships, like those in health care, or laboratory activities, where the number of students is strongly related to the quality of their training.

2.2 Reduce the drop out rate

Larger numbers of Italian students than their OECD counterparts (OECD 2009, 2010), leave the universities before completing their degree courses. Most of them drop out before moving on to the second year after enrolment, and some of the remnants abandon their courses later on. From ISTAT data (2009) it also emerges that the degree courses which for several years established limits to access at a national level are those with the highest probability for students to graduate. In particular, the medical area, where the restricted number has been in force for a longer time at a national level, has a study success rate (percentage of graduates in the year compared to those registered in the first five years) 62% higher than the national average.

2.3 Improve the efficiency of universities and reduce social costs

The above data are significant, especially if one considers that almost half of the registered Italian students fail to complete their university studies,
resulting in economic costs and high psychological and social distress, not only for the students who are directly affected and their families, but also for the whole country.

2.4 Improve the occupational prospects
Programming the access to university also allows better employment prospects, adjusting the number of graduates to the real needs existing in various professional fields.

2.5 Encourage social mobility
This is the field where the young people belonging to the working class can hardly have the same opportunities as the professionals' children. In fact, in Italy, more than in other countries, the generational change for some professions does not seem to be happening only on the basis of excellence but also by the mechanism of "inheritance".

2.6 Increase the international competitiveness of the universities
The restricted number is one of the instruments that allows universities to better face the international challenge. Students from the best universities in the world have had to overcome very rigid selection processes in order to take-up their studies and it is with them that Italian students have to compete in today university halls as they will compete tomorrow in the job market.

3. Admission procedures in medical schools
Nayer (1992) stressed that the aim of admission procedures is “to select students who will complete the university program and go into professional careers, do well in the program, perform creditably in professional practice and possess the traits of
character and ethical values desired of a professional person”. Selecting the best candidates for health care vocational degrees can be achieved when those who are selected have appropriate personality features, such as caring for others, sense of responsibility and team orientation (Wharrad et al. 2003).

Literature on medical school admissions consistently draws a distinction between cognitive and non-cognitive abilities. Broadly defined, the former refer to intellectual prowess, typically measured by grade point average (GPA) or performance on standardized tests of knowledge, such as the Medical College Admission Test (MCAT) in North America or the Graduate Australian Medical School Admission Test (GAMSAT) in Australia and the UK.

The non-cognitive aptitude is typically used to encapsulate all the other qualities that might be desired in an applicant. The list of non-cognitive characteristics is likely to be endless (Albanese et al., 2003), but it includes the abilities to relate to others on a personal level, to make sound clinical and professional judgements and to carry out ethical decision making.

3.1 Grade point average (GPA)

According to Kreiter (2007) the Grade Point Average has consistently shown statistically significant, practically relevant and positive predictive correlations with future performance. Moreover students from non-science backgrounds initially experience higher stress but ultimately perform equally well with respect to their counterparts with a science background (Huff & Fang 1999).
3.2 Medical college admission test
The admission test, apportioned into four sections (Physical Sciences, Biological Sciences, Writing Sample, Verbal Reasoning), has consistently been shown to be statistically significant, practically relevant and with a positive predictive correlation with future performances (Donnon et al. 2007).

3.3 Multiple mini-interview
Small studies (Eva et al. 2009; Reiter et al. 2007) confirm that the multiple mini-interview has proved to be statistically significant, practically relevant and a reliable source of positive predictive correlations with future performances.

3.4 Personal interview
Personal interviews have an important role in the Human Resources (HR) setting. The HR methodological gold standard includes a pre-interview job analysis, behavioural descriptor interview (BDI) questions, and situational interview (SI) questions. This approach yields predictive validity correlations with subsequent job performance. In the case of medical school admission interviews, similar results have yet to be found (Albanese et al. 2003).

3.5 Letters of reference
Letters of reference have been an integral part of the medical school admission process and remains a common criterion in the candidate screening process (Berstein et al. 2002). Nevertheless little evidence exists supporting their effectiveness and continued usage in medical school admission processes (Salvatori 2001). Many of the concerns that arise from the use of LOR as a selection tool can be attributed to its poor predictive validity (Standridge et al. 1997) and reliability (Ross and Leichner 1984).
3.6 **Personal statements**

Some researchers attributed a limited predictive value to the personal statement as a selection tool (Dore et al. 2006; Hanson et al. 2007).

Studies by Brothers et al. (2007) and Peskun et al. (2007) found letters of reference to be predictive of later performance (e.g. clinical performance in residency training).

3.7 **Personality testing**

Many studies can be found on personality testing in the human resource literature (Barrick et al., 1991). This represents a source of encouragement to the application of personality testing in the case of medical school admissions. Unfortunately the population of medical school candidates tends to be far more homogeneous than those taken into account in human resource studies.

4. **The health care vocational degree courses at the University of Genoa, Italy**

Twenty-two different non-medical health care vocations have been selected. For each of them a specific three year degree course exists, in accordance with the health care professions recognized by the National Health System. The degrees awarded have the unique feature of qualifying the holders for practising the respective professions. Degree courses in the area of health care are training courses for a restricted number of participants. Their access is regulated by admission tests based on programs chosen by the Ministry of Education.

The number of students eligible for the degree program is determined annually by the Ministry of Health in cooperation with the Ministry of Education. It is based on the indications contained in the regional
training plan, taking into account the requirements of national health services, the characteristics of the didactic project and the University educational potential. The restricted number of participants favours both a highly qualified training and, in general, a fast access to the job market.

Table 1 shows a photograph of students registered in the last three academic years.

Table 1 – Health care vocational degree courses: students' picture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Available places</th>
<th>Participants present at the admission test</th>
<th>Students registered for the 1st year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>academic year 2006-07</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>1.512</td>
<td>726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>academic year 2007-08</td>
<td>769</td>
<td>1.550</td>
<td>698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>academic year 2008-09</td>
<td>862</td>
<td>1.889</td>
<td>806</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Investigations on the employment of graduates one year after graduation show that the employment rate is very high, above 90%, which is a much higher value than the average of all Italian universities offering degree courses for health care vocations (AlmaLaurea, 2011). The research also showed that the health care courses activated at the University of Genoa have been valued “very efficient” by 90% of graduates.

Drop out and dispersion at the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Genoa are monitored through a system of indicators calculated for different cohorts of students registered in each degree program. This information is available to the bodies responsible for teaching in the Faculty and for the Evaluation Nucleus of the University. To give an idea of the dimension of the phenomenon, the following three summary indicators are calculated for the cohort of students registered for the first time in the last five academic years (surveyed at the end of the first year).
Table 2 - Graduate employment at one year after graduation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University of Genoa</td>
<td>All Universities</td>
<td>University of Genoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of graduates</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>12.534</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of respondents</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>10.759</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Response rate</td>
<td>86,5</td>
<td>85,8</td>
<td>89,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition by gender (%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>28,7</td>
<td>29,5</td>
<td>25,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>71,3</td>
<td>70,5</td>
<td>74,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at graduation (mean)</td>
<td>30,1</td>
<td>28,6</td>
<td>31,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree class based on 110 (mean)</td>
<td>105,3</td>
<td>103,7</td>
<td>105,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of study (average, in years)</td>
<td>3,6</td>
<td>3,5</td>
<td>4,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment rate (final ISTAT - Labour Force)</td>
<td>95,1</td>
<td>88,5</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness of graduates in work (%): very effective</td>
<td>90,4</td>
<td>90,9</td>
<td>87,5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: elaboration of data from the AlmaLaurea Interuniversity Consortium (March 2011).

Table 3 - Monitoring of students registered in the careers of health care vocations at the University of Genoa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cohort of students enrolled for the first time</th>
<th>% missing entries to the 2nd year and waivers</th>
<th>% of students who did not acquire CFU credits</th>
<th>Average no. annual credits earned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>academic year 2006-07</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>35,92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>academic year 2007-08</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>36,78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>academic year 2008-09</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>36,10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: author's elaboration.
In 2008/2009, during the first year the percentage of inactive students (no exams taken) reached 9% and at the end of the first year of the course a percentage higher than 17% of registered students was lost. In fact the first year represents a critical period in the university student's career. Table 3 also shows the average number of credits earned by active students, which is barely more than half the 60 credits required. The percentages shown condense a situation where every year and every course differ from the others, with minimum values around 4-5% and maximum values still below the national average (around 30%).

The situation regarding students who have not registered for the following year in the various health care vocations courses shows different values both between the training courses and between the years within each course of study (min. values 0%, maximum values around 50%).

5. Data and Methodology

The main goal of this study is to analyse the effects of the admission criteria used in Italy and the way in which they relate to students' success in completing the health care vocational programs. Or, in other words, to answer the following question: do students with higher entry qualifications perform better than those with lower qualifications?

An exploratory correlation design has been used. Academic achievement at the time of entry to the health care vocational degree courses has been correlated with students' performance in the first year.

The sample consisted of 2,250 first-time students, whose complete admission data were available, who entered into a course during the three-year period starting from academic year 2006-07.
Data on each student were drawn from the University Student Database that tracks all students after the entry point utilizing periodic data uploads.

The main predictor variables considered in the study were high-school grade-point average and standardized test scores (e.g., students’ scores for each of the four tests required for the admission: biology, chemistry, mathematics, physics, logical reasoning and general culture).

In addition to these academic variables, students’ high school performance has been taken into account.

Finally, it is important to note that several kinds of variables, such as financial, social and academic support, have not been considered here. As a matter of fact the present study is limited to assessing the predictive validity of academic factors known at the moment of admission to the university.

6. Results

According to the demographic data the total sample (n. 2,250) was split as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic year</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006/2007</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007/2008</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008/2009</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>569</td>
<td>819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>710</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,540</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,250</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This result mirrors the gender division within health care courses. These data suggest that males currently represent a relatively small percentage of the nursing and similar health care vocations students. The graph below (Graph 1) shows the students' age distribution for the three academic years considered.
For many students the access to a health care vocational course, as evidenced in Graph 1, doesn't take place immediately after graduation at a secondary school but occurs after an interruption of learning activities or a temporary enrolment in courses on completely different disciplines or even a more or less long working experience.

Graph 1 – First years students in health care vocational programs (age)

Most of the students graduated at scientific lyceums, technical institutes, psycho-educational secondary schools and vocational schools. A lower number of students came from classical, linguistic and artistic lyceums.

As the admission test is mainly centred on scientific disciplines (biology, chemistry, mathematics and physics), students originating from scientific lyceums are usually favoured over the others. Nevertheless thanks to the setting up of training courses on admission tests by the universities, the number of admitted students originating from secondary schools
different from scientific lyceums is increasing and their academic performance improving.

Students with elevated levels of secondary school leaving grades achieve, at the time of entry, elevated levels of academic performances as well and a high number of first year exams successfully passed. But the correlation is weak, as shown in the graph below.

Graph 2 – First year students (type of school of origin)

Graph 3 – Correlation
The correlation index between gender and academic achievements shows that females perform better than males, but the trend is decreasing. Older students achieve better average marks in examinations than their younger peers until the academic year 2006-07, while in the last two years the trend is negative. The objective criteria currently used to make academic eligibility decisions provide little predictive validity. The criterion used for the admission of students at medical courses is a good predictor of academic performance, but has limited power and value as a predictor of student retention. Other variables appear to influence a student’s choice to complete his/her studies.

The results do not allow to say that those who entered with a high admission test score (and probably will have a high performance during the courses) have also the skills to become good health care professionals.

7. Conclusion and implication for policymakers

Predicting an academic performance in a program of graduate education is not an easy task.

The Italian university admission criteria tend to select individuals who know how to take lecture notes, to study in view of examinations and in general to work obediently at activities that they do not seriously consider relevant. Some of these characteristics are irrelevant for an independent and creative professional activity.

A considerable literature exists, mostly in medical and nursing/midwifery sectors, relating to the factors that are linked to, and are believed to affect, retention rates in health related courses. Some of these factors should be deeply analysed both to ensure that a
student possesses the right qualities and a true commitment to pursue the future profession and to select the most appropriate candidates for it.

So results from this study raise several important questions:

- What if admission test performance is predictive of risk for specific “adverse events” (eg, voluntary withdrawal prior to graduation, failure of national board licensing examinations, or) for applicants receiving low scores?
- What role should each admission subtest serve in helping admissions committees chose among applicants for admission to their programs?
- How should the admission results be weighted relative to preadmission school performance?
- Are they designed to select individuals with appropriate aptitudes or diversities?

The process of choosing candidates for health care programs in Italy requires new thinking, most of all about considering students' personality and adopting new competency based procedures during the process of admission at schools.

Identifying cognitive, non-cognitive and demographic variables that can predict success at medical or health care vocational schools is of major interest to university admission committees, given both the costs of programmes and the social responsibility that the schools have to graduate competent physicians and health care personnel.

The academic staff needs to explore the predictive capacity of new admission strategies (such as the multiple mini interview strategy) and determine their long term usefulness.
Robust markers of clinical competence able to help measuring success in a more professionally authentic manner have still to be identified. These measures could then become the targets for selecting students for medical and health care vocational schools.

References


Cultures of Education Policy: Meanings and Uses of Standards in Education Policy
CHAPTER 33

ESSENTIAL ASPECTS IN TECHNICAL TEACHER EDUCATION

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Abstract
A curriculum for technical teacher education has been designed and implemented at Tallinn University of Technology, being accredited by International Society for Engineering Education IGIP, meeting all accreditation criteria and requirements for curricula of technical teachers: organisation of the programme, entrance requirements, skills/abilities and study outcomes, engineering pedagogical curriculum, qualification of the professors, institutional resources, quality control and feedback of a multi-layered educational process for quality assurance and quality improvement. The minimum standard for acceptance of students is a completed degree in engineering on Master’s level, the amount of studies being 60 ECTS credits. The curriculum has been designed taking account of the required international study outcomes for technical teachers and evaluation based on them. A complete analysis has been carried out to specify both how the study outcomes of the curriculum correspond to the international requirements of IGIP and to the Estonian national legal acts regulating teacher education. Detailed examination regulations, which
show how the achievement of the study outcomes of individual modules and overall course programme, are monitored and conformed. The education is completed by the final Master's Degree examination, consisting of a written examination, presentation and discussion of the portfolio along with an examination interview, and an interactive lecture in the relevant engineering subject. It is expected that the graduate of a programme, in addition to a high degree of engineering expertise, can also demonstrate solid competences in engineering pedagogy, thus ensuring the quality of teaching engineering subjects at vocational schools, gymnasiums, colleges or universities. The employers of the graduates are regularly polled about the relevance and quality of the engineering pedagogical training.

**Keywords**


**Introduction**

Education is a dynamic phenomenon, recognizing the changes in the environment and responding to growing demands and challenges. Engineering education is a large system and it is almost impossible to predict its behaviour over far too distant future since the system parameters show a high rate of change. Changes in society present challenges to education. In order to educate not reactors to changes but, first and foremost, directors and executors of changes, it is important to promote development of the corresponding attitudes and skills in the students. These skills and attitudes are developed with the support of school, the key person being a teacher.

The quality of engineering education crucially depends on the quality of teaching engineering. In order to improve the quality of engineering education, the
foremost mission should be the improvement of the quality of educating technical teachers. Without improving the education of educators we cannot bring about any positive changes in the overall educational system.

For the present study, the following terminology proposed by UNESCO (UNESCO 1973) has been used: A technical teacher: a person teaching general and special technical theory in educational institutions on the upper secondary or post-secondary level with the aim of educating and training technicians/engineers. Usually the technical teacher is responsible for both classroom and laboratory work, but may also supervise practical workshop training to the extent required for integrating theoretical and practical aspects of technical education; he/she may be assisted in laboratory work by appropriately qualified laboratory technicians. A technical teacher has an academic higher engineering education.

Technical teachers need a fundamental engineering education and professional experience as well as a comprehensive teaching training. A successful curriculum meets the needs of the contemporary further education sector, while guaranteeing the academic standards appropriate to the teaching profession. A curriculum of modern engineering educators should make scientifically-founded and practice-oriented teacher training possible, so that teachers can expect to build a deeper understanding of the principles, problems and solutions associated with teaching learners in technical institutions. They should also gain greater confidence in their own skills and abilities through the use of an extended range of tools, techniques and activities.
1. Proposed Methodology of the Curriculum Design

In order to understand the curriculum process, it is necessary to offer a definition of the curriculum. According to John Heywood (Heywood 2005) the curriculum is a formal mechanism through which intended educational aims are achieved. Since educational aims are achieved by learning, the curriculum process is described by those factors that bring in learning. Thus both, learning and instruction are central in the curriculum process.

The designed curriculum is based on the Frame Curriculum of the International Society for Engineering Education (IGIP), the basic concept of which calls for a life-long continuous improvement process in the excellence of teaching and learning. The curriculum of IGIP represents a triad of knowledge, teaching methodology and of value ethical attitudes in a double bond manner between the corners of the didactical triangle - Engineering Profession, Engineering Science and Engineering Pedagogy Science. IGIP proposed a network of modules representing learning and teaching in the educational process as well as planning and developing in teaching engineering. On the one hand, the curriculum enables teachers to realise a future-oriented training programme for engineering, and, on the other hand, prepares them to take responsibility for a sustainable, humane and socially and environmentally compatible contribution to shaping society, the world of work and technology. Technical teachers use the knowledge and abilities acquired here in their teaching and enable the learners, in their turn, to use complex scientific and technological systems in a competent and responsible manner, which reflects the educational goal.

The ‘Circle of Engineering Pedagogy’ presented by Norbert Kraker (Kraker 2006) assumes five disciplines
which help to develop technical teachers’ competencies. The five components of the circle are: applied sciences (mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, software engineering, etc), social sciences (pedagogical psychology, pedagogical sociology, education and vocational education), subject-related didactics (didactics of teaching theoretical subjects, didactics of teaching in the laboratory, didactics of blended learning), supervised teaching practice (in the different learning environments) as well as additional courses (communication skills, a foreign language as a medium of instruction, administration, quality management, project work). The ‘Circle of Engineering Pedagogy’ has served as the basis of the proposed curriculum.

If a curriculum can, or must, be viewed in terms of these four elements described above, different planning models will emerge according to the ways in which we might permutate those elements, the priorities we might give to them and the choice of focus we might adopt. Within this model educational purposes take pride in place, content is selected not for its own sake but for its presumed efficacy at enabling us to achieve those purposes, organization is similarly designed with these objectives in mind, and evaluation is framed so as to assess how far those objectives have been achieved.

Technical teachers should pass preliminarily higher engineering education at least on Master’s level and obtain sound knowledge in a certain field of engineering. Successive courses for technical teachers should not exceed a year. The length of the courses has been a key factor in the professional judgement of the standard of courses. In compliance with Hrdlička and Měřička (Hrdlička & Měřička 2006), one of the main problems of training technical teachers is the
relation of engineering education and educational studies. High engineering competency is generally required, which can be complemented by further educational studies. It is generally assumed that for teaching engineering - particularly on post-secondary level - more professional or specialised education and less educational training is required (Hrdlička & Měřička 2006).

During the past 3 years the curriculum development for technical teachers has been of essential importance in the Estonian Centre for Engineering Pedagogy at Tallinn University of Technology. A three-staged methodology for curriculum design has been used. The proposed methodology for the course design started with decisions on overall goals, learning objectives and intended learning outcomes and the basic principles and methods of assessment.

The following three-staged methodology has been used for the design of the curriculum (Heywood 2005):

1. **Problem Definition** – Identification of education-occupation linkages or needs which arise from three areas (establishing the goals and objectives or qualification profile in terms of desired knowledge, skills and attitudes) namely:
   - Society needs;
   - Professional needs;
   - Industrial needs.

2. **Structuring the Curriculum** – The objective of structuring is to achieve the qualification profile. Changes in ways of thinking, in fundamental habits, in skills, attitudes and interests, develop over time and require cumulative effect of many learning experiences. To produce the cumulative effect, educational experiences should be organised to reinforce each other. Curriculum development is conducted at two levels:
• **Macro-level**, the final result of structuring is that the curriculum will be defined by syllabus, a timetable, an idea of teaching methods – lectures, seminars, laboratory work, independent individual work, etc to be used;

• **Micro-level**, where the subject providers plan their activity.

3. **Implementation and Evaluation** – Implementation is the process of putting the designed curriculum into practice in the university and evaluating, modifying or improving as necessary. Evaluation is essentially the process of determining to what extent the educational goals and objectives are being achieved by the curriculum.

In order to assure the high quality of the curriculum, the following five means for reinforcing the curriculum established at the macro-level have been used:

1. Computers in instruction;
2. Laboratory work;
3. Individualised instruction;
4. Self-access media;
5. Project and research work.

The methodology used for the course design started with decisions on overall goals, learning objectives and intended learning outcomes and principles of assessment. The curriculum was designed according to the following model:

1. **Establishing Qualification Profile** – expectations of employers, qualities (knowledge, skills and attitudes) the graduates should possess were considered and expressed as learning outcomes;
2. **Establishing Admission Quality** – appropriate entry qualities were settled.
3. **Defining Course Content** – the course content should develop communication skills, analytical capability, skills for project, research and laboratory work, the use of information technology and learning skills;

4. **Establishing the Curriculum at Macro Level** – establishing the syllabus, teaching approaches like lectures, seminars, practical lessons, etc., and timetable;

5. **Establishing the Curriculum at Micro Level** – establishing the module content, methods of assessments, etc.;

6. **Integrating the Curriculum within the University System** – the university should have a course approval procedure and general awarding system for Master’s programmes.

The curriculum design process is a complex activity: each stage involves an iterative procedure, the output of which is evaluated before being used as a part of the input to the next stage. Specific learning strategies will be required if the objectives are to be successfully attained, and this requires an understanding of the complexity of learning. A multiple strategy approach to teaching, learning and assessment should be required.

**2. Results of the Curriculum Design**

The curriculum for technical teachers was completed in 2006. The curriculum has been accepted and registered by Estonian Ministry of Education and Research in 2006. The study is state commissioned and free of charge for students.

Engineering Pedagogy Studies in Estonia are provided only by the Estonian Centre for Engineering Pedagogy at Tallinn University of Technology. The designed curriculum is the only and the very first one in Estonia providing education in the Engineering Pedagogy
Science for technical teachers on Master’s level in the amount of 60 ECTS credits. The curriculum is based on IGIP (International Society for Engineering Education) Recommendations for Studies in Engineering Pedagogy Science (IGIP 2006).

Students with a Master’s Degree in engineering speciality and professional experience of at least one year have been admitted to the course from 2006. It is assumed that the candidate has acquired knowledge in the engineering speciality on a high level.

The curriculum for engineering educators has been prepared taking account of the most popular and perspective branches of industry in Estonia. Eight possible specializations have been proposed:

1. Civil Engineering;
2. Power Engineering;
3. Geological Technology;
4. Information and Communication Technology;
5. Chemical Engineering and Material Technology (including Wood Processing, Food Engineering, Textile and Garment Engineering);
6. Logistics;
7. Mechanical Engineering;
8. Technical Physics and Mathematics.

Studies in Engineering Pedagogy have been planned and designed taking account of the main aspects of Klagenfurt School of Engineering Pedagogy founded by Adolf Melezinek (1999). 23 professors of Tallinn University of Technology, involved in the study process, all possession a PhD degree have passed the relevant international courses for engineering educators at the Estonian Centre for Engineering Pedagogy and in Austria, at the University of Klagenfurt, being awarded the title of an International
Engineering Educator ING-PAED IGIP. The Professor teaching Engineering Pedagogy Science has a doctoral degree in Engineering Pedagogy.

The structure of the designed curriculum is presented in Table 1. According to Estonian legislation, the amount of Teacher Training Practice in the curriculum is 15 ECTS credits during which lessons should be given. The practice is built on the teachers’ professional speciality qualification and provides necessary theoretical and practical pedagogical, didactical and psychological competencies to enable the teacher to be able to work at school.

The students should document on a continuous basis the learning processes and work results subject by subject in a portfolio. The portfolio contains confirmations that the candidate has completed the studies in all the modules, the complete written planning and performance of a teaching session, including video recording, and a subsequent analysis as well as the problem solving of at least one didactic case study. The portfolio should also contain self-evaluation of the study process and a learning style of an individual student. Furthermore, the complete planning, performance and analysis of a course including video recording as well as the solution of a didactic case study should be presented for the final examination to the Engineering Pedagogy Colloquium – both documented in the portfolio.

Education is completed by passing the final examination. During the examination the candidates must show that they have acquired the skills of an engineering pedagogue. The final examination consists of the presentation and discussion of the candidate’s portfolio and an examination interview.

Graduates who have fulfilled the curriculum and passed the final examination are awarded a MA
Degree in education, and may continue their studies on the doctoral level or enter the labour market. Graduates may apply for a qualification of an international engineering educator at the International Society for Engineering Education (IGIP).

Table 1: Structure of the Designed Curriculum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Module</th>
<th>ECTS credits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MODULE OF ENGINEERING PEDAGOGY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering Pedagogy Core and Basic Modules</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering Pedagogy in Theory and Practice</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laboratory Didactics</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering Pedagogy Theoretical Modules</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Psychology and Sociological Aspects</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didactics and Methodology of Teaching Engineering</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethical Aspects and Intercultural Competencies</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering Pedagogy Practical Modules</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetoric and Communication</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media (Teaching Technology) and E-Learning</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPECIALITY MODULE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informatics</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product Development and Innovation</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Training Practice</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELECTIVE SUBJECTS minimum 6 ECTS credits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific Writing</td>
<td>3 ECTS credits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working with Projects: Curricula</td>
<td>3 ECTS credits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standards, Qualification and Certification</td>
<td>3 ECTS credits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Quality Assurance of the Study Process

The quality of the study process depends on:

1. Study environment – infrastructure, library, dormitories;
2. Study programs and their development based on systematic self-evaluation and feedback from students and employers;

3. Academic staff evaluated through annual performance reports (the study load, supervision, publications, and research and development activities), feedback from students, requirements for election, etc.

The qualification profile of a technical teacher is based on two pillars:

1. The engineering qualification which was earned through a recognised and/or accredited engineering education followed by relevant professional experience;

2. Qualifications in engineering pedagogy acquired in the course of a comprehensive educational programme for technical teachers. The programme is generally an independent course of studies after an engineering programme. The educational programme for technical teachers can be accredited by IGIP. To be accredited, they must meet the accreditation criteria defined by IGIP.

The purposes of IGIP accreditation are:

1. To assure that graduates of the accredited engineering pedagogical programmes are well prepared to perform their teaching duties in engineering subjects and meet the criteria for IGIP registration an International Engineering Educator, ING-PAED IGIP;

2. To promote the quality assurance, quality improvement and modernisation of the engineering pedagogy programmes;

3. To create public awareness of the high quality of the programmes for technical teachers.
IGIP accreditation criteria defined by IGIP for the corresponding education process of a programme for technical teachers are:

1. Organisation of a programme - depending on the structural requirements of the national education system, the engineering pedagogy programme can be organised as an independent course of studies which follows a completed engineering programme on a Second Cycle degree (Master level), or integration of the engineering pedagogy programme into an engineering degree programme;

2. Entrance requirements for the first year students – the minimum standards defined by IGIP for applicants to qualify as students is a completed degree in engineering from a nationally recognised course on a Master’s level and relevant professional experience;

3. The engineering pedagogical curriculum – being the central building block of a technical teachers’ training. The institution must present documentation comprising a table listing the curriculum modules stating the ECTS credits, detailed conditions of study stating the contents and learning goals of individual modules and assessment methods;

4. Lecturers and professors – high degrees of expertise documented by completion of a relevant university degree, lecturers of engineering education module should be registered as ING-PAED IGIP, a doctorate in engineering pedagogy is recommended;

5. Institutional resources – the institution must show that suitable resources are available since the engineering pedagogical programme minimum standard requires proof of availability of suitable classrooms and practice rooms, proof of adequate, state-of-the-art media equipment ( PCs, projectors, internet access, video recorders, players, etc), assistant personnel adequate to meet the capacity of the institution, an adequate supply of learning materials;
6. Quality control and feedback – effective measures for quality control and assurance of the programme must be defined and implemented, a procedure must be implemented which involves surveying students about achievement of educational goals in all modules and throughout the whole programme. The address files of the graduates must be filed according the year of graduation: The graduates are surveyed about the usefulness of their training as engineering pedagogues. The employers of the graduates are regularly polled about the relevance of the training. A procedure exists and is implemented that permits changes to improve and enhance the educational process;

A complete analysis has been carried out to specify the correspondence of study outcomes of the curriculum to the international requirements of IGIP and to Estonian national legal acts regulating teacher education. Detailed examination regulations showing how the achievement of the study outcomes of individual modules and the overall course programme are monitored and conformed.

For establishing external cooperation and networking opportunities there have been close contacts and discussions with directors of the biggest Centres of Vocational Education in Estonia, representatives of the Ministry of Education, universities, industries and Non Governmental Organisations. The employers of the graduates are regularly polled about the relevance and quality of the engineering pedagogical training.

The curriculum has been accredited by IGIP in 2007 and accreditation is valid till 2013.

**Discussion**

Understanding students’ different learning styles is one of the midpoints of teacher training quality. The aim of the study programme for technical teachers is to abolish mismatches between students’ common
learning styles and traditional teaching styles of technical teachers and make teaching in engineering more effective, to equip future technical teachers with the skills associated with every learning style category, regardless of the students’ personal preferences, since they will need all of those skills to function effectively as professionals.

Technical teachers should attempt to improve the quality and efficiency of their teaching, which in turn requires understanding the learning styles of engineering students and a designing instruction to meet them. The problem is that two students are never alike. They have different backgrounds, strengths and weaknesses, interests, ambitions, senses of responsibility, levels of motivation, and approaches to studying.

According to Richard M. Felder (1993) students learn in many ways – by seeing and hearing; reflecting and acting; reasoning logically and intuitively; memorising and visualising; drawing analogies and building mathematical models. Teaching methods also vary. Some teachers lecture, others demonstrate and discuss; some focus on principles and others on applications; some emphasise memory and other understanding. How much a student learns in a class is governed by the student’s ability and prior preparation, but also by the compatibility of student’s learning style and the instructor’s teaching style.

Mismatches exist today between common learning styles of engineering students and traditional teaching styles of engineering professors. Most engineering students are visual, sensing, inductive, and active, and some of the most creative students are global, but most of the engineering education is auditory, abstract (intuitive), deductive, passive, and sequential. In consequence, students become bored and inattentive,
do tests poorly, get discouraged, and in some cases change to other curricula or drop out of school (Felder 1993).

At the Estonian Centre for Engineering Pedagogy the study programme for technical teachers is based on Felder-Silverman learning and teaching style model for engineering education (Felder 1988). The future technical teachers get acquainted with the following different learning styles of engineering students: *sensing/intuitive learners* (sensing learners like facts, data, and experimentation; intuitive students prefer principles and theories); *visual/auditory learners* (visual learners prefer sights, pictures, diagrams, symbols; auditory learners – sounds and words); *inductive/deductive learners* – induction is a reasoning progression from particulars (observations, measurements, data) to generalities (governing rules, laws, theories); deduction proceeds in the opposite direction; *active/reflective learners* (active experimentation involves doing something with the information: discussing it or explaining or testing; reflective observation involves examining and manipulating the information introspectively); *sequential/global learners* (sequential learners learn in a logically ordered progression, global learners learn in fits and starts: they may be lost for days or weeks, until suddenly they “get it”).

The analysis of the students’ learning styles at Estonian Centre for Engineering Pedagogy has been carried out according to the above introduced methodology created by Richard Felder (1993). As a result of the analysis, the future technical teachers, students studying at the Estonian Centre for Engineering Pedagogy, were classified as follows: of the analysed 68 students, 61% were classified as active learners, 39% were classified as reflective learners, 64% were sensing learners, 30% were
intuitive learners, 87% were visual learners, 15% were verbal learners, 55% were sequential learners and 34% were global learners.

As the results of the analysis present, 64% of students were sensors, while traditional engineering instruction is usually oriented toward intuitive learning, emphasizing theory and mathematical modelling. 87% of the students were visual learners, but most of engineering instruction is overwhelmingly verbal, emphasizing written explanations and mathematical formulations of physical phenomena. 61% of the students were active, while most engineering courses other than laboratories rely on lectures as the principal method for transmitting information. 55% of the students classified themselves as sequential learners and as traditional engineering education is heavily sequential, relevantly there is no mismatch between students’ learning style and instructors’ teaching style in this case. 34% of students were global learners. According to Richard Felder (2005) global learners are multidisciplinary thinkers with a broad vision. Unfortunately, traditional engineering education is sequential and does little to provide students with global learning style to meet their needs.

As it could be seen from the results of the analysis, in engineering education there is a great mismatch between students’ learning styles and instructors’ teaching methods. Thus it is of high importance for technical teachers to make instruction more effective to abolish these mismatches, and taking account of them.

Although the diverse styles with which students learn are numerous, the inclusion of a relatively small number of techniques as an instructor’s teaching tools should be sufficient to meet the needs of most or all of the students in any engineering class. The techniques
and suggestions presented below should serve this purpose in any case.

The following recommended teaching techniques suitable for engineering education to address all learning styles (Felder 2005) serve as the basis of instruction at Estonian Centre for Engineering Pedagogy at Tallinn University of Technology to future technical teachers:

1. Motivate learning. As much as possible, relate the material being presented to what has come before and what will to come in the same course, to material in other courses, and particularly to the students’ personal experience (inductive/global);

2. Provide a balance of concrete information (facts, data, real or hypothetical experiments and their results) (sensing) and abstract concepts (principles, theories, mathematical models) (intuitive);

3. Balance material that emphasizes practical problem-solving methods (sensing/active) with material that emphasizes fundamental understanding (intuitive/reflective);

4. Provide explicit illustrations of intuitive patterns (logical inference, pattern recognition, generalization) and sensing patterns (observation of surroundings, empirical experimentation, attention to detail), and encourage all students to exercise both patterns (sensing/intuitive);

5. Follow the scientific method in presenting theoretical material. Provide concrete examples of the phenomena the theory describes or predicts (sensing/inductive); then develop the theory or formulate the model (intuitive/inductive/sequential); show how the theory or model can be validated and deduce its consequences (deductive/sequential); and present applications (sensing/deductive/sequential);

6. Use pictures, schematics, graphs, and simple sketches liberally before, during, and after the presentation of verbal material (sensing/visual). Show films
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(sensing/visual.) Provide demonstrations (sensing/visual), hands-on, if possible (active);

7. Use computer-assisted instruction – sensors respond very well to it (sensing/active);

8. Do not fill every minute of class time lecturing and writing on the board. Provide intervals – however brief – for students to think about what they have been told (reflective);

9. Provide opportunities for students to do something active besides transcribing notes. Small-group activities that take no more than five minutes are extremely effective for this purpose (active);

10. Assign some drill exercises to provide practice in the basic methods being taught (sensing/active/sequential) but do not overdo them (intuitive/reflective/global). Also provide some open-ended problems, questions and exercises that call for analysis and synthesis (intuitive/reflective/global);

11. Give students the option of cooperating on homework assignments to the greatest possible extent (active). Active learners generally learn best when they interact with others; if they are denied the opportunity to do so they are being deprived of their most effective learning tool;

12. Applaud creative solutions, even incorrect ones (intuitive/global);

13. Talk to students about learning styles, both in advising and in classes. Students are reassured to find that their academic difficulties may not all be due to personal inadequacies. Explaining to struggling sensors or active or global learners how they learn most efficiently may be an important step in helping them reshape their learning experiences so that they can be successful (all types).

The idea is not to use all the above described techniques in every class but to choose some of them, those that look feasible, and try them, keeping the ones that work, dropping unsuitable, and trying some more in the next course. In this way, a teaching style
that is both effective for all students and comfortable for technical teachers will effect positively on the quality of engineering students’ learning.

Future technical teachers at the Estonian Centre for Engineering Pedagogy must take account of presented teaching techniques suitable for all learning styles. During their studies in the subject of the Engineering Pedagogy Science in Theory and Practice they prepare their teaching material in the chosen engineering speciality accordingly and present it relevantly. The video record of their presentation is later analysed and discussed in the seminars.

**Conclusion**

A technical teacher needs to possess skills in at least two distinct areas: an engineering discipline and the art of teaching. A good teacher balances these two areas. As the practice of the Estonian Centre for Engineering Pedagogy shows, there is a wide interest towards the new courses and the interest will remain high as there are no other appropriate courses in Estonia today.

The point of taking account of different learning styles in teaching engineering is not to determine each student’s preferred instructional approach and teach exclusively in that manner. It is rather to “teach around the cycle,” making sure that every style is addressed to some extent in the instruction. If this is done, all students will be taught in a manner that addresses their preferences part of the time, keeping them from becoming so uncomfortable that they cannot learn, and requires them to function in their less preferred modes part of the time, helping them to develop skills in those modes. At the Estonian Centre for Engineering Pedagogy, Felder-Silverman learning and teaching style model for engineering education is used as the basis for the instructional design.
Teaching and learning engineering demands superior teaching competencies of educators. The subjects comprise specialist theory in the respective field, laboratory work and practical training in the workshop; these can be high-achieving learning environments for all students, where the most advanced curriculum and instruction techniques combine to support learning.

Technical teachers are usually highly qualified in the field they work in, they have enough experience which enriches their lessons, are able to provide students with practical examples. But they often lack education in the teaching profession. These and other factors have led to establishing education in this field. A highly specialized person often concentrates on the topic not taking account of the basic rules and principles necessary to be applied in all phases of the educational process, starting with handing on information to students, practicing and testing new knowledge, motivating students during the whole process, choosing appropriate methods and forms etc. Each of these phases contributes to the whole process in a special way – none of them may be omitted. If so, it influences the quality of students’ knowledge.

References


CHAPTER 34

IMPLICATIONS OF THE SELECTION PROCESS FOR ETHICS INSTRUCTORS IN GRADUATE SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: FAILING TO ACHIEVE OBJECTIVES?

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Abstract
Are schools of public administration in the United States preparing students effectively for the moral and ethical problems they will encounter in government settings? After a review of the perspectives on the teaching of ethics in higher education, this paper examines the selection criteria used to recruit ethics instructors, surveys their selection of textbooks, and identifies the programs of study in which ethics is taught (political science, business, public administration) and the various teaching methodologies employed. Data was collected through a random sample survey of departmental chairs in schools of public administration and a literature review. The results revealed that the selection of ethics instructors and the resulting teaching methodologies are arbitrary, and lead to programs of study that do not prepare students to address the moral and ethical dilemmas they are likely to encounter in the workplace. Stakeholders in this research are ethics
instructors, departmental chairs, the author, the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (the accrediting body of member schools), and students, whose values, attitudes, and purposes will be guided by the instructions they receive.

**Keywords**

Ethics – Public Administration – Teacher Qualifications

**Introduction**

With respect to ethical matters, public administration in the United States (U.S.) can be described as being in a state of crisis. Scandals, examples of immorality and corruption in government abound throughout the nation. The frequency of reports of such behavior is suggestive of some type of malignancy within public life. “It is as if a virus has afflicted the behaviors of public officials and civil servants who should be there to serve the public good. From an epidemiological perspective, it is almost as if a contagion of the mind has inflicted the psyche of government officials ...” (Mitchell, 1999, p. 35).

In the U.S., schools of public administration are responsible for teaching ethics to individuals in the public arena. The present paper examines the extent to which schools of public administration are addressing the issue of declining ethical standards. It also investigates whether teaching methodologies and the selection process for ethics instructors contribute to the low ethical standards observed.

In the U.S., for comparative purposes, schools of business administration have also debated the topic of who teaches business ethics and whether those selected are the best or even capable of teaching ethics. The literature in the area of business reflects this concern as well as the educational techniques employed. Given that concerns regarding the teaching
of ethics are similar in both business and public administration, and because the literature overlaps, both areas will be discussed in this paper.

1 Literature Review

1.1. A Call for Philosophical Training

Bruce Maxwell (2008) states that, in early American colleges, ethics was considered the most important subject. It was considered “indispensable to the aims of a traditional liberal education; the development of capacities of rational reflection, the acquisition of a broad understanding of the world and one’s place in it...” (p. 169). As indication of its importance, ethics was taught by the college president.

Unfortunately, as Maxwell (2008) reveals, the teaching of ethics suffered a serious decline during the mid-twentieth century and has only resurfaced as a serious topic during the past 30 years (p. 170). In the U.S., political scandals that have involved the office of the president, such as “Watergate”, the Iran-Contra Scandal, the impeachment proceedings of President Clinton, and the Abu-Ghraib incident in Iraq, have prompted renewed interest in ethics training for public servants (Shafritz et al. 2009; Stillman 2010). In the private sector, the collapse of corporate giants such as Enron, WorldCom, and Tyco, and recently the need to “bail out” AIG Insurance, Goldman Sachs Group, JPMorgan Chase, and others due to unethical business practices has had a similar effect. Such instances are evidence that both the private and the public sectors are failing in the area of ethical decision making.

Ellen Klein (1998) writes that, in business schools, “the questions of why? when?, how?, where?, and in what ways? business ethics should be taught in the Business Ethics classroom inundate the scholarly literature” (p. 561). Yet, despite volumes of
research, she claims that no consensus has been reached in regard to teaching methodologies in this area and, in fact, the practical value of teaching such a course is challenged. Likewise, the literature on public administration is replete with discussions about the teaching of ethics, but the question of teacher competency is conspicuously absent. Moreover, as Klein’s comments about business ethics, some individuals in public administration question the efficacy of teaching ethics. A literature review from both fields underscores the nature of the problem.

Klein (1998) contends that the qualifications of ethics instructors are important. She argues that, in order to teach ethics to students of higher education, one must be an expert in ethics, like her, and expertise should be the distinguishing factor of instructors. Reflecting on her statement, consider the trust that we place in individuals in our society who are experts. As Klein states, we, as a society, consult with experts for a variety of needs; e.g., physicians, attorneys, CPAs, etc. (p. 562). Why do we not take this same approach with respect to the teaching of ethics?

In academia, individuals with doctorates are hired to teach on the basis of their expertise. Similar to areas of expertise just mentioned, “when it comes to sanctioning degrees, or the hiring of new colleagues, academics return to the basics - they search for scholars and pedagogues who can evidence expertise in some specialized field of study” (Klein 1998). In this regard, Klein contends that the importance of ethics being taught by a philosopher can be illustrated by asking any member of a business faculty who teaches ethics to talk about the problem of ethical relativism in their classroom (p. 566). She says that her colleagues have no idea what to say and this constitutes pedagogical malpractice (p. 566).
Hetzner and Schmidt (1986) argue that, in order to teach ethics, one must implement a curriculum “for familiarizing students with a full-range of moral and political philosophical literature from which they can garner the substantive and methodological guidance necessary to sorting out good reasons for their administrative actions and public policy” (p. 450). The authors claim that this approach allows for the study of an array of substantive moral philosophical theories. They maintain that this method encourages the type of reasoning required for administrators to make ethical decisions. Hetzner and Schmidt suggest that many of the ethical dilemmas faced by public administrators are basic questions of moral and political philosophy and thus, they contend that students need training in the moral and political philosophical literature.

In his best seller, *The Closing of the American Mind* (1987), Allan Bloom, a philosopher and professor at the University of Chicago who taught the classics of philosophy, argues that the students who attended his classes lacked any knowledge of ethics that comes from reading such literature. Bloom asserts that this is part of the problem with the educational system in America as a whole. In the established university-level curriculum, too little is taught of the works of great writers such as Immanuel Kant, Friedrich Nietzsche and others whose works are concerned with questions of moral values and of what constitutes “good” or “evil”. In Bloom’s experience, students view morals in terms of their relevance to the situation at hand. There is no a priori notion of what is good, right, and just, as compared with what is unethical, immoral, and perhaps illegal (Mitchell, 1999, P. 28). From this premise comes Bloom’s argument that the seminal works of philosophy need to be taught to students at the university level.
Christina H. Sommer (1998) supports Bloom’s idea that the educational system in the U.S. contributes to a lack of morality and the existence of an ethical malaise in the U.S. today. She also suggests that we need to “bring back the great books and the great ideas, and to teach young people to understand, respect and protect the institutions that protect us and preserve our free and democratic society” (p. 1). Sommer says that the last decades of the twentieth century “have seen a steady erosion of knowledge and a steady increase in moral relativism” (p. 1). She claims that this in part results from teachers who believe it is wrong to “indoctrinate” students in their own culture and moral tradition. Sommer urges a return to the reading of seminal classics such as Aristotle’s Ethics, Shakespeare’s King Lear, the Koran, and the political ideas of Madison, Jefferson, and Lincoln, to name a few. It is through exposure to such works that students can begin to understand concepts of morality, the nature of good and evil, and ethically correct behavior. Sommer asserts that the youth of today have seemingly digressed ethically to the point that they often exhibit the traits of sociopaths. They cannot distinguish right from wrong or good from evil, or they seem to believe that it is “all relative”. Thus, there is a need to pursue a philosophical approach to teaching ethics to students in America’s classrooms.

There are others who propose that ethics should be taught through reference to the liberal arts curriculum and literature. Yoder and Denhardt (2001) cite H.T. Edmondson, III, who says: “The liberal arts are able ... to provide life experience vicariously. Hypothetical case studies attempt to do this, of course, but the experience they provide often reduces the involvement of the student intellect” (p. 69).

The work of two other authors cited by Yoder and Denhardt suggests that the inclusion of classic
literature would help the teaching of ethics to students in higher education. For example, Richardson and Adkins state:

“ Properly presented, the dramatic interplay within appropriate works of fiction can intrigue and immerse students in ways that surpass almost all other approaches. In the special case of administrative ethics, there are works that allow for a fulsome exploration of such topics as honor, character, law, administrative discretion, codes, political power,

and even the role that more base parts of human nature (such passions as envy, anger and hate) may inevitably play in various types of rule (p. 69).

Frank Marini (1992) gives an example of how public administrators can learn about ethics from Sophocles’ Antigone. Antigone is an ancient Greek play written over 2,500 years ago that Marini describes as a fruitful source of opportunities to reflect upon the ethical challenges that face public administrators today, because, like other plays of the same ilk, Antigone allows one to see “ethical questions affected by passion, emotion, personality differences, loyalty, and consideration of family and friendship” (p. 425). According to Marini, the play offers opportunities to reflect upon the role of democratic values in ethics and on the nature of conscience from a variety of vantage points (p. 425). Marini emphasizes that literature of a philosophical nature, such as Antigone, is an ideal teaching tool.

However, some would disagree with the perspective that a philosophical approach to teaching ethics, either through the seminal works on philosophy or through the use of literary works, is a suitable teaching methodology. Furthermore, the problem remains as
to whether today’s educators are sufficiently trained to teach from a philosophical perspective.

1.2. No Need for Philosophical Training

Robert Kunzman (2006) asserts that teachers are able to develop the capacity for ethical dialogue. He argues that teachers do not need “extensive, detailed training in philosophical ethics or religious studies” (p. 129). From his perspective, teachers merely need to develop an understanding of how ethical dialogue contributes to broader educational ends.

Kunzman’s ideas relate to public school teachers but his concepts can be applied readily to the collegiate level. He proposes that the teacher serves as a facilitator of ethical discussion in the classroom and suggests that the instructor must maintain neutrality and not impose their values on students. At the collegiate level a similar approach should be used. The teacher must stimulate the student, teach skills, correct errors in reasoning, and discuss how others in the field think about the issues discussed (Lee & Paddock, 1992). No specialized training in philosophy is required to achieve this level of ethical dialogue in the classroom.

Kunzman’s view that there is no need for teachers to have specialized training in ethics is echoed by Richard Rorty (2005). Rorty, a professor of philosophy, thinks that no special philosophical training is required. He states that “philosophy is as relevant as lots of other academic disciplines to applied ethics, and perhaps a little more than most, but not much more” (p. 378). Rorty thinks that someone who teaches applied ethics needs to be creatively imaginative – and be able to use that imaginative ability to bring about change in each student’s environment by teaching them to move toward whatever greater good may be possible in their respective milieu (p. 376).
Finally, the research of Worthley and Grumet (1983) is worth reviewing. Their research on the teaching of ethic produced a low response rate, similar to the present study, which is suggestive of the value given to ethics training by university departments. Their research findings are of particular import to the current study also because their study examined the difficulty of teaching ethics in public administration.

Despite the response rate in Worthley and Grumet’s study (43%), the authors found that most graduate schools offered ethics courses as a formal part of the curriculum but not as a requirement. Their research also revealed a lack of clarity as to what constituted ethics and how the subject should be approached. Worthley and Grumet suggested that the low response rate of 43% might have been a factor of the “general state of ambivalence and confusion concerning ethics training ... [and] a reluctance on the part of many schools to indicate that they are not teaching ethics, in spite of the clear ‘mandates’ for doing so that are found in NASPAA [National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration] and ASPA [American Society for Public Administration] guidelines” (pp. 54-55). Thus, rather than admit noncompliance with the guidelines of sanctioning bodies, many potential respondents chose not to participate in the study. This author believes that the low response rate in the current study was driven by similar factors.

From the foregoing, one can surmise that the difficulties educational institutions are facing in teaching ethics are caused partly by the fact that there is no consensus either on the nature of the training needed or on the correct approach to teaching ethics. It is this author’s position that a multifaceted approach in needed which should include more philosophical teaching techniques. If the experiences and recommendations of authors such as Bloom, Sommer,
Hetzner, Schmidt, and others are given credence, such an approach should infuse students with higher order ideals of ethical and moral concepts found in more philosophical approaches to teaching ethics.

2. Study Design and Methodology

The aim of the present research study was to determine the selection criteria and the expertise and approach of instructors selected to teach ethics in schools of public administration at NASPAA-accredited programs. The survey questionnaire utilized in this study contained 24 questions on the state of ethics teaching in accredited schools of public administration in the U.S.

Data was generated from schools selected through a systemic random sampling of accredited programs of study listed by the NASPAA in the October 2008 edition of the Public Administration Times. Systematic sampling, or interval sampling, is a procedure in which there is a gap, or interval, between each selection. The data was selected using intervals of two until the entire population had been exhausted. The approach yielded a sample of 76 programs.

The characteristics of the schools varied. Virtually all institutions were public and were dispersed geographically across 32 states and the District of Columbia. Participants were department chairs. A pre-survey letter was sent before the actual survey as notice of the impending research. An e-mail was then sent to those department chairs who didn’t respond. Only 46% of selected participants (n=35) chose to participate in the survey.

3. Findings

Thirty-two respondents (91%) indicated that their program included a standalone course in ethics and 11
of these (31%) indicated that this course was a requirement for all students. Most of the respondents (69%) indicated that ethics was not a required course but one of several options offered to students. All 35 respondents indicated that the ethics course was taught in their department rather than a school of business or political science. Furthermore, 33 respondents (92%) indicated that ethics was included in course objectives across the curriculum.

All respondents indicated that their textbooks were selected to address ethical issues concerned with public sector ethics/morality issues. The instructors who taught the course selected the course material.

The most prevalent teaching methodologies identified in the response group included use of the following, in order of preference: case studies; small/large group discussions; lectures; decision-making scenarios; a combination of case studies, lectures, and classical readings, studies of codes of ethics, and research papers; reading literary classics.

Fourteen respondents (40%) indicated that literary classics were used as teaching tools in ethics classes among other options. Those who responded negatively to the use of literary classics stated that it was the instructor’s prerogative not to use such material.

Twenty-eight respondents (80%) articulated that their ethics instructors were selected on the basis of expertise. Academic training and relevant work experience were the primary criteria used in the selection process. Other considerations included
research interest, availability of instructors, and instructor’s request.

The questionnaire requested information on the employment status and educational background of ethics instructors. Twenty instructors (59%) were full-time faculty members, whereas 14 (40%) were adjuncts. Twenty-six Respondents (74%) indicated that their ethics instructors had a Ph.D., five (15%) had a master’s degree, and three (9%) had a law degree. Respondents (66%) indicated that their ethics instructors had formal training in the philosophy of ethics and 27 (77%) felt that formal training in the philosophy of ethics was relevant to the teaching of ethics in modern society.

**Discussion**

The data gathered shows that most schools of public administration rely on a case study approach to teach ethics, or use a number of other traditional approaches that include small/large group discussions, lectures, and some combination of the preceding approaches.

Although the majority of respondents indicated that their ethics instructors had training in the philosophy of ethics and thought that formal training in the philosophy of ethics is relevant to teaching ethics in modern society, classical literature was used modestly in most programs. Department chairs responded that their instructors tended to find such literature unsuitable as teaching material.

Twenty-eight respondents in the survey considered their programs to be appropriate to address the
problems of ethics and issues of morality in the public sector. The prevailing perception seemed to be that, given the uniqueness of the public sector, schools of public administration are doing well in addressing public sector ethics and issues of morality.

The responses to the survey suggested that little progress has been made in this field during the last 20 years. Although there is an effort to have a single department and a dedicated faculty to teach ethics, this approach has been standard for several decades. In many schools, ethics is not a required course but is elective.

The majority of respondents’ believed that a more philosophical approach would enhance the teaching of ethics and applicants with Ph.Ds. with relevant training have been recruited to teach ethics. However, the responses to the survey indicated that these individuals tended to follow traditional rather than philosophical methodologies.

Ethics instructors are selected on the basis of a variety of criteria, which include not only their qualification level, but also their research interests, availability, and/or experience in the area. Most of the instructors who are selected to teach ethics courses have the training required to teach ethics in a substantive fashion but few venture far from standard approaches, such as the use of case studies, lectures, and small/large group discussions about ethical issues. Such approaches have been in use for decades, but there is little indication that they are effectively addressing the perceived decline in the standards of ethics and morality being practiced in the public arena.

Conclusions

While the response rate of the study does not lend itself to significant conclusions about the state of
ethics instruction in schools of public administration, the limited information available does suggest that the level of ethics training in schools of public administration is insufficient to support it becoming a required subject, such as for budgeting, program evaluation and policy analysis. The selection process for teachers of ethics and their teaching methodology reflects this fact also.

Moreover, the data reveals that, although all potential stakeholders involved in the field of ethics instruction would assert that good ethical practices are a desired end state, there are obstacles in reaching this goal. Sixty-nine percent of the responding NASPAA-accredited institutions do not require that students take a course in ethics. In addition, ethics instructors are not necessarily selected because of their expertise, and a variety of teaching methodologies are used with varying degrees of effectiveness. Thus, there is a degree of ambivalence and confusion regarding how the goal of good ethical practices can be reached. Future research should explore the source of this ambivalence and confusion beginning with accreditation bodies such as the NASPAA.

Until ethics courses are a required element of the public administration curriculum, the teaching of ethics will continue to be marginalized and there will remain a lack of universal understanding and acceptance regarding its applicability to the workplace. In the interim, it can be expected that the public sector in the U.S. will continue to show high levels of corruption, immorality, and ethical malaise without the intervention of educational institutions that could with the best available instructors and a different teaching approach, train future public administrators and officials and turn the tide.
Selection Process for Ethics Instructors: Failing to Achieve Objectives?

References


Abstract

Current organizations, in order to survive and thrive in today’s universal village, have to identify their current position, and establish their place among rivals that they will became successful. For so many years, EFQM\textsuperscript{119} model or Organizational Excellence model is used as a standard pattern. So, a more compressive mode is required to encompass important aspects. This article presents a new model; Organizational Civilization (OC). This chapter presents a comprehensive definition of OC and proposes aspects, indexes and score tables for implementing this model in organizations. The methodology of this chapter has several steps: First, we present definitions of culture and

\textsuperscript{119} European Foundation for Quality Management
civilization and compare them. Second, we explain clear meaning from organizational culture. Third, according to literature review, completely define from civilization is presented. Next, we create new concept that we name it, OC. Then according of our new concept, we present six aspects for OC. According to definition of this new concept we voted to six aspects. Points of each aspect are based on close relationship between aspects with definition of OC. Also points of indices are following this method. The method of scoring is that each index gains score with regard to their proximity to OC definition.

**Keywords**

Culture- Civilization- Organizational Civilization

**Introduction**

Today, some organizations are more successful when compared to their rivals. Successful organizations have assessed themselves correctly, identified their strengths and weaknesses, and circumferential opportunities and threats. By true knowledge of themselves, these organizations travel in the road of excellence and empowerment.

Considering assessment models used today, such as European Foundation for Quality Management (EFQM), Organizational Excellence, and importance factors ignored in these models, it is necessary to present a more comprehensive model for organizational assessment that contains all the important aspects as well, aspects such has philanthropist, knowledge and specialty, order and law, social courtesy, organizational improvement, and organizational civilization behavior. By scoring these aspects, more civilized organizations, can be identified.

By using this model, a competitive environment can be created between organizations so that organizations will utilize all their resources to achieve a higher
civilization grade, Also, each year, organizations that achieve a higher civilization grade can be presented with valuable awards by expert centers that are established for this reason.

The discussion begins with presenting definition of culture because many people do not pay necessary attention to the difference of culture and civilization.

1.1. Culture

Culture from an anthropology point of view, as Teylor described, is a combination of belief and behavior systems, methods of thinking and living that common values, norms and behaviors of a human group are established inside of them (Zohrehee 2011).

Ebn-e-Khaldoon believed that human is a creation of its own habits and familiars, not its nature and dispositions. He/she bonds with whatever there are in different customs and mores until they are his/her habits and traditions, and in the end, they replace his/her nature and disposition (Ebn-e-Khaldoon 1966).

UNESCO, Mexico world conference, 1981:

“Culture is the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs” (Zohrehee 2011).

1.1.1 Conclusion of culture definition

Culture is a collection of values, beliefs and traditions.
1.1.2 Organizational Culture

Organizational culture is a system of shared presumptions from an organization. Organizational culture is personnel general presumptions or understanding of the organization (Robbins).

2.1. Civilization

The civilization definition in Dehkhoda Persian lexicon is “Affiliation to urban morality and transition from violence and ignorance to elegance, insight and sociability. Urban dwelling, courtesy and civility. Civilization means having civility and courtesy, urbanization, and state of being in the perfect social civility” (Dehkhoda 1999).

In Amid Persian lexicon the definition of civilization is “Becoming urbanized, adopting urban customs, becoming familiar with people moralities, social life, and cooperation in life affairs and paving way for one’s progress and comfort”. (Amid 2008).

Ebn-e-Khaldoon was the first person to introduce the concept of civilization in the framework of historical philosophy and presented his theory about the science of developing. He believed that the main subject in history is to understand human social conditions, such as civilization and morality changes (Ebn-e-Khaldoon 1966).

Samuel Huntington believes civilization to be the highest cultural social group, and dissemination of people’s cultural identity, which differentiate human beings from other living creatures (Huntington 1996).

Henry Lucas considers civilization as an interwoven phenomenon that encompasses all social, economical, political and even artistic and literal events. Arnold J. Toynbee believes civilization is the result of the
innovation and ingenuity of minority, a distinguished class of the society with innovation and ingenuity that stabilize civilization during society evolution. Herskovits writes about the definition of civilization: civilization is a collection of knowledge, arts, techniques, social structure facilities and traditions that has evolved during past centuries by the light of individuals and groups innovations and inventions and is widespread in all parts of a society or connected societies. For example, the each of the Iran and Egypt civilizations has properties that are related to specific geographical, historical and technical factors (Zohrehee2010).

Marcel Morse believes that civilization is a complex, large enough from urbanization phenomenon, diverse enough and with enough quantity and quality importance, which is usually in common between several societies. Will Durant counts thoughts and cultural activities of societies as civilization when urbanization has been developed. He believes civilization is social order promoting cultural creation that several elements accelerate or slow it, such as economic provision, political organization, morality traditions, biological and psychological conditions, and unity of language. Will Durant believes when general culture reaches a certain level, agricultural thought will be born. He has actually adapted this concept from the literal meaning of civilization, which is urbanization. He believes that following elevation of morality dispositions, humankind excellent characteristics will appear, an opinion, which is shared by common people. If a person has admirable moralities and sociability, he/she is considered civilized (Rohol Amini, 1999).

Motahari associates inventions with civilization, and spirituality with culture, but also believes that mankind will not be successful in his affairs without moralities
and spirituality. Malek Ebn-e- Nabi believes civilization is a collection of spiritual and material factors that gives a society the opportunity to provide each of its members, in every part of their lives, the necessary cooperation for growth, and civilization causes inviolability for human life, provides path of progress and needs of a person, and also it is a mean to protect a person’s national and religious characteristics (Velayati 2010).

Seyed Hasan Taqi zadeh, believes civilization to be a scientific, industrial, social, political and civil movement with the addition of freedom (Velayati 2010).

Mohammad Eslami Nadooshan believes civilization has scientific and exact aspects, and it provides progress of humanity in society. Of course, he believes the true progress, is a material progress (Eslami Nadooshan 1992).

2.2. Conclusion of Civilization’s definition

Civilization is the result of cultural elevation and acceptance of social order.

Civilization is moving from Bedouin settling to establishing societies, or as Ebn-e- khaldoon said, to develop.

Ebn-e- Khaldoon considers a society civilized when by establishing authority it accepts order, by forming authority bases and positions upholds the order, transfer life from individual state to social and urban state, and elevates human virtues such as art and science (Velayati 2006).
2.3. **Comparison of culture and civilization**

With regard to the different theories about the relation between civilization and culture, this part of the article will compare these two concepts:

1. Not all societies are civilized, but there is no society without a culture.
2. Some experts include culture in the definition of civilization, and believe culture to be the basis of civilization, or someone like O. Spengler believes that civilization is formed in the course of time.
3. Some believe that civilization and culture are synonymous and have presented a single definition for both, such as Tyler who believes culture and civilization to be the only heritage of mankind.
4. Both civilization and culture are formed under influence of geographical conditions. For example, Nile River in Egypt was an important factor for that civilization to appear (Mansour Nejad, 2003).

2.4. **Initial conclusion**

People like Will Durant believe urbanization to be a necessity for forming civilization. Civilization is the identity of a society and a clear cultural sign of that society. Knowing a society civilization helps to understand its ideology and viewpoint.

In the modern interpretation of civilization and culture, there is a Generalization/Specialization relationship, meaning that each civilization is a culture, but not every culture is a culture. Civilization is stability and constancy of culture that is bound with urbanization, or political sociology and urban revolution. Civilization shows manifestations and result of culture that are formed from historical combination of culture and city.

Culture and civilization are inherited from one generation to the next, and each generation adds a characteristic or an additional sample to them. Culture
is a spiritual aspect, and civilization is a material aspect. Culture is national, civilization is general. The dynamic aspect of civilization in culture is important, while in civilization its stability is of significance. Culture exists when humanity is present, but civilization comes with urbanization. Civilization has been formed with urbanization, along with regulations and industry. Civilization is hardly five thousand years old, while culture is as old as mankind.

No society can be without a culture, because each society, whatever it may be, has a kind of culture, traditions and customs (Zamani Poor).

3. Article writers’s opinion

We can observe nations and societies without civilization. Culture is the foundation of all society’s factions. Culture acts as a medium between civilization and thoughts, that is, thought is the foundation of culture, and culture is the foundation of civilization. The culture of a society benefits from thoughts and thinking power of that society, and aids civilization on its own. The evolution path of these three concepts is:

Figure 1 Relationships of concepts

1. Thought is born out of human minds as a baby is born from mother’s womb.

2. As an infant gradually grows and reaches childhood and adolescence, he/she is influenced by family and environment, so thoughts, are influenced by traditions, customs and life methods of humans in different societies. The result of thought growth is culture. A human is influenced by environment. Therefore, thoughts in interaction with the
environment take directions and adapts with traditions, customs and environmental conditions. A human acts as an open system; he/she influences and takes in influence. When he/she is a child, he takes influence from his/her parents, and when he/she grows up and becomes a mother/father parents, he/she will influence his/her own child.

3. The next step to adolescence is maturity. In this step logic and reason become dominant and wrong beliefs and superstitions are removed from one’s mind. Humans live together in peace by observing laws and reasoning. This is the evolutionary step that brings forth civilization, as a child grows and become adult, so human thoughts moves towards civilization.

There is a trend of evolutionary path. The origin of adolescence, the essential condition of youth’s existence, is the infant. There must be an infant so he/she can grow to be a youth and the youth will grow to be an adult. Not all youths become adults; therefore, not all cultures are civilization. However, it is necessary to pass through childhood to become mature.

Civilization is the result of culture and cultural evolution. This evolution is the outcome of culture, laws, order, observing others rights, reasoning and specialty tendency.

3.1 Writers’s proposed model

Civilization is like a car, and culture is its wheels. Each civilization has culture, but not all cultures are civilizations. Each functional car has wheels, but not all wheels are cars.
The allegory of tree and fruit may appear more appropriate. The tree of culture bears the fruit of civilization. No fruit finds a chance of existence without the existence of a tree. However, not all trees bear fruits. Same is the case with the tree of culture and the fruit of civilization. All civilizations have been developed within a cultural context but not all cultures bear civilization.

3.2 Writers’s definition of civilization

Civilization is the collected impressions of respectful, polite and official manners, with reliance on specialty and capability, along with preserving rights and boundaries of others, which appears as the result of established values in a group or society, because the starting point toward civilization and civilization foundation is culture, values and established beliefs.

It is necessary to mention that because of the culture is the foundation of a society, along with gradual formation of civilization, the role of culture become less prominent, and contradictory principle of culture and civilization also fades out and in return, the role of civilization becomes the priority. When civilization becomes the priority in societies, different societies become more similar, and move toward unity and integration. Nowadays there aren’t different counties boundaries, all the societies live in a universal village.

Although in the past and present, culture was and is different between various societies; in near future, all societies will live in one civilization or a few limited civilizations. By moving toward civilization, differences, cultural varieties and different beliefs will be no longer a separating factor between societies.

Civilization means observing order, observing other’s rights, fulfilling duties and etc, these concepts are common all over the world. For example, passing
through the red traffic light and ignoring the law is known as uncivilized behavior everywhere. Harming others and ignoring their rights, like murdering and violating their rights is considered uncivilized behavior all over the world. Not performing duties and not having working conscience is also considered uncivilized behavior all over the world. Difference exist in observing of others right. In confer with injured people in driving accident, civilized behavior is call to emergency forced but illegal behavior is passing with indifferently. In this situation helping to injured people without medical knowledge is uncivilized behavior.

3.3 Writers’s definition of Organizational Civilization (OC)

Organizations are a part of societies, and as it was mentioned for civilization, I will define civilization concept for organization, because organizations are a part of society’s system.

A civilized organization is an organization that in it all personnel and groups, in any organizational hierarchy, perform their duties with regard to their knowledge and specialty, while being polite and observing organizational hierarchy and with regard to the common values dominant in organization, (the organization’s culture, (OC)).

Considering the definition of OC, it can be said that OC is the shared area of four viewpoints:

- Bureaucracy
- Democracy
- Technocracy
- Organizational civilization behavior (OCB Cracy)
In this section, I will point out the shared area of the three viewpoints:

- Shared content of democracy and bureaucracy is where people consider policies and opinions of the majority in managing affairs and there is participate.
- Shared content of bureaucracy and technocracy is where people manage organization with support of knowledge and specialty.
- Shared content of technocracy and democracy is where people participate in the affairs with regard to their knowledge and specialty, combing their knowledge with politics.
- Shared content of democracy and Organizational Civilization Behavior (OCB) is where people participate and they act to perform their duties and observe their working conscience.
- Shared content of technocracy and OCB is where people perform their duties by depending upon their knowledge and specialty.
Organizational Civilization

- Shared content of OCB and bureaucracy is where people fully perform their duties, to better manage the affairs and keeping the order.

Determining of shared content create by top managers and decision makers in organizations.

Organizational Civilization (OC) receives order and meritocracy from bureaucracy, participation from democracy, dutifulness from OC, knowledge and specialty from technocracy, and brings together all these functions together while having traits of its own, such as self controlling, innate established order. We will discuss these functions in the framework of OC aspects.

### 3.4 OC aspects

Figure 3 Beehive Model

![Beehive Model Diagram]

- Human aspect
- Knowledge and Specialty aspect
- Organizational development aspect
- Organizational Civilization Behavior aspect
- Order, law and justice aspect
- Social aspect
To evaluate and measure degree of OC and executing this model in various organizations, one must be able to present aspects and indexes with regard to definition of OC. We will explain the aspects of OC. OC have six aspects and strengthening them as a motive will allow converting organizations to civilized organizations. We illustrate these aspects as a beehive model.

### 3.5 Definition of OC aspects

In this part, we will describe the six aspects of OC:

- **Human aspect:** preserving human rights and values and protecting greatness of humanity. (In OC, performing duties will not harm the nobility of humanity).

- **Knowledge and Specialty aspect:** continuous increase of scientific and technological capacities in the organization and using specialized work forces, creating motivation to utilize knowledge and specialty of the individuals in the organization.

- **Order, law and justice aspect:** observing order and discipline and ratifying rules to do justice.

- **Social aspect:** reacting to the society, protecting the environment and struggling to achieve unity.

- **OCB aspect:** fulfilling responsibilities, to have working conscience by performing beyond the call of duty to induce dutifulness in the organization.

- **Organizational development aspect:** Planned changes with system approach to solve organizational problems in long and short terms, along with concentrating on human-social relations.
3.6 Evaluating and scoring organizations on the basis of OC indexes

For each aspect of OC, scores have been set which are as follows:

1. Human aspect: 660 points
2. Knowledge and specialty aspects: 500 points
3. Order, law and justice aspects: 510 points
4. Social aspects: 610 points
5. OCB aspects: 270 points
6. Organizational improvement aspect: 250 points

The sum of scores is 2800 points. Considering the major and minor indexes of each aspect, the above mentioned score points were allocated to the indexes as follows. The method of scoring is that each index gains score with regard to their proximity to OC definition.

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<th>aspect</th>
<th>major index</th>
<th>minor index</th>
<th>points</th>
</tr>
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<td>The standard life</td>
<td>Economical welfare</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Social security for unemployment and retirement</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tendency to participate in political fields</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Life expectancy</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Health, clinical and welfare facilities</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The quality of work life</td>
<td>Amount of salaries and privileges</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Job satisfaction</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Job security</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Physical working environment satisfaction</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Absence of working stress</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amount of participation in organization decision making processes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Right to express opinion, criticize and making suggestion about organization executive affairs</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amount of profit shared</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Presence of a retirement system</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Organizational welfare and services facilities</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Being proud of working place</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Communication satisfaction (inner and outer organizational)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Possibility of job promotion</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The human nobility</td>
<td>Good disposition and optimism toward others</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Using criticism to improve capabilities</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Fairness of behavior</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Honesty and honor among personnel</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amount of physical exercise</td>
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<td>Observing healthcare principles</td>
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Table 1 Scoring Tables
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<th>Category</th>
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<td>Amount of self knowing</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Amount of self control</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Social courtesy</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conformity of job with personality</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rationalism and rationality in affairs</td>
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<td>Dominant religious beliefs</td>
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<td>Morals</td>
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<td>Human personality (inner)</td>
<td>New technology production</td>
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<td>Amount of automation (official automation)</td>
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<td>Cost reduction because of technology</td>
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<td>Personnel empowerment to use technology</td>
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<td>Knowledge and Speciality</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Conformity of education field and job</td>
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<td>Specialist workforce level of awareness and expert knowledge</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Amount of expert's idea and suggestions utilized</td>
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<td>Number of experienced and skilled personnel</td>
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<td>Diversity of personnel skills in the organization</td>
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<td>Amount of affairs carried out by approved regulations</td>
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<td>Enforceability of approved regulations</td>
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<td>Reduction of accidents caused by ignoring the regulations</td>
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<td>Availability of progress and improvement opportunities</td>
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<td>Distribution of resources and choices by utilizing and empowering the personnel</td>
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<td>Personnel satisfaction of fairness in the organization</td>
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<td>Amount of organization profit shared with the personnel</td>
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<td>Observing organizational hierarchy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Duties carried out in the authority framework given to the personnel</td>
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<td>Knowledge and awareness of approved regulations</td>
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<td>Automatic order observation (innate order)</td>
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<td>Amount of organization participation in establishing security and tranquility in the society</td>
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<td>Organization reaction to the society</td>
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<td>Conformity of organization goals and services with public interests</td>
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<td>Using suggestions of normal citizens and non-personnel individuals</td>
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<td>Correspondence of organization norms with society norms</td>
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<td>Entrepreneurship of organization for the society</td>
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<td>Organization share in establishing pride and unity in the society</td>
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<td>Restraining environment deprivation by the organization</td>
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<td>Organization share in society sustainable development</td>
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<td>Observing individual, group and organization healthcare</td>
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<td>Organization share in creating unity of thoughts and tongues</td>
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Organizational Civilization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization development</th>
<th>The civilization</th>
<th>The network training</th>
<th>The feedback and learning</th>
<th>Total points 2800</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Respecting other personnel rights 40</td>
<td>Polite and respectful behaviors of organization personnel 60</td>
<td>Humanitarian and honorable behavior in the personnel 10</td>
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<td>Devotion and generosity of personnel 10</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Manager training in improving group problem solving skill 20</td>
<td>Amount of manager and employee relations 20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amount of different workgroups in the organization 20</td>
<td>Planning and ideal objective defining of the organization 20</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amount of organization objectives fulfillment 30</td>
<td>Endeavoring to establish positive changes and setting new opportunities 30</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amount of collected data for change and analysis 10</td>
<td>Recognizing groups’ problems 30</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>Amount of solved recognized problems 20</td>
<td>Inter members relations 10</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Participation and functions of the groups 20</td>
<td>Improvement in duties of groups and members 20</td>
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**Conclusion**

Achieving organizational success needs a systematic and integrated approach. This approach cannot be achieved without considering the aspects of organizational civilization, because thanks to OC, we will gain mature, educated and expert personnel, powerful management and a successful organization. Therefore using the present model, organizations can be led to greater success. In this method, in a world where one moment of hesitation and negligence can be devastating, organizations can continuously evaluate themselves to promote improvement and organizational maturity and become a civilized organization in the end. The result of civilized organizations is achieving a civilized society and universal village, in peace and tranquility and healthy rivalry.
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SECTION 6

GOVERNANCE FOR AND THROUGH NEOLIBERAL POLICY

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CHAPTER 36

IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION OF POLICY EDUCATION: CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE STAKEHOLDERS

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Abstract

The judicial control of public policy education in the State of São Paulo, Brazil is greatly affecting the actions of policy formulation and implementation, ignoring the limits of the system of checks and balances, giving the judiciary the authority to make policy decisions, or to interfere directly in them without legal justification. The main objective is to examine critically the relationship between two main stakeholders, with respect to judicial control of public educational policies; the first one is the Judiciary and the second one is the Executive, involving the public administration and the Parquet,. As a methodology applied to illustrate this discussion, we use the case study of the continued progression in the Educational System of the State of São Paulo. This is a public policy of social order in the custody of the Executive that, with the allegation of not meeting the quality of education, was put in question by the
Parquet for prosecution. As a result of this action research we identified that this lawsuit gave rise to a judicial control of activist character and contrary to the prerogatives of the Executive, compromising not only the evaluation of the same policy as well as the fullness of Constitutional and universal principles.

**Keywords**

Public Policy – Education – Judicial Control

**Introduction**

There are a few literatures about judicial control of public policy in Brazil. Such control is greatly affecting the actions of policy formulation and implementation ignoring the limits of the system of checks and balances, giving the Judiciary the authority to make policy decisions, or to interfere directly in them without legal justification. The failure to consider the need for a transparent system by the three powers has hindered the full exercise of democracy and therefore equal and quality treatment’s for the population.

Our present goal is to discuss the specific control of the actions of the stakeholders directly linked to the structure of government that takes care of education. So, first we will give a brief explanation of the Brazilian institutional context, the relation between the powers, and the form of educational policy; then we will indicate what we mean by ‘judicial control’ to on the third item present the problem of continued progression, a specific educational program implemented by the Executive of the state of São Paulo; finally we bring a brief analysis about the misalignments between the stakeholders about the policy issue.
1. Brazil’s Institutional Context

The Federative Republic of Brazil is located in eastern Latin America, it is a Presidential Republic administratively divided into 26 states, a Federal District and 5,560 cities. The Republic is ruled by the Constitution promulgated in 1988, which determines the rights and duties of the citizens, the organizational form of the Brazilian state and the three powers of the Union, which are independent and harmonious among themselves: Executive, Legislative and Judiciary (art. 2°, CF/88).

The Executive Branch is the public administration, formed by three levels: Federal, State and Municipal. The Federal government is vested in the president and his ministers (art. 76, CF/88). The State government is exercised by governors, assisted by vice-governors and secretaries. The municipality is exercised by mayors, assisted by vice mayors and secretaries. All of them pass through voting process.

The Judiciary, organized in the Federal and State levels, has the task of appreciating and judging public and private legal demands. It is the institutional arbiter of conflicts that arise in society in agreement with constitutional principles, ensuring the Rule of Law.

As main activity, the Legislative Branch acts in order to formulate public policies creating a relevant legislation according to the Constitution whose harmony and independence is guaranteed by a system of checks and balances (GARVEY & ALEINTKOFF, 1991) i.e., there are controls for cooperation, consent, inspection and correction between them. Although many of the controls are provided in the Constitution, it is not an exhaustive list, but only examples, once the assignments of these powers are beyond those laid out in the Charter.
1.1 **Structure of the Brazilian educational system**

Brazil has characteristics of repartition competence system which is also alike the format of concurrent competencies for most part of Brazilian social policies revealing a scenario in which the Federal union and, moreover, the cities have been the main players in educational policy even more, specially regarding Elementary Education.

The separation between state and municipal school systems is a matter deeply institutionalized that has led to an administrative service duplication, inexistent local planning and to lack of quality educational service granting to the population.

The current structure and functioning of the Brazilian Education follows the Law of Directives and Bases of Education n. 9394/96 – Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação (LDB) - which is linked to the Constitution’s general guidelines, as well as to the constitutional amendments ruling.

It is organized into two blocks: basic education, consisting of childhood education (0-5 years), fundamental education (6-14 years) and regular and/or vocational middle education (15-17 years); higher education, consisting of graduation and post-graduation *lato* and *stricto sensu*. The Federal, State and Municipal spheres organize their educational systems under collaboration (art. 211, CF/88), however, municipalities must act primarily in childhood and fundamental education (art. 211, § 2º, CF/88), and states in fundamental and middle education (art. 211, § 3º, CF/88), while the federal sphere acts supplementary balancing the educational offer (art. 211, § 1, CF/88). In the education area one cannot find that the laws are the only source of public educational policies (art. 59 CF/88) because once there are private actions to certain levels of education,
each public sphere will act in a specific way. Therefore, educational public policies are results of both legislative discussions and their regulations, and administrative acts lighted by the current rules of the legal system, left in charge of the Judiciary with the Parquet to contribute to the effectiveness of policy.

Considering those topics and that is still valid to distinguish policy into phases - formulation, implementation and evaluation - (VILLANUEVA, 1996), we assembled the following chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Powers</th>
<th>Formulation</th>
<th>Implementation</th>
<th>Evaluation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>Judiciary</td>
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Chart 1: Relationship between the phases of Public Policy and the Powers of the Union.

The presence of the Executive and the Legislative in the formulation cycle is due to the latter’s promulgation of policy’s general guidelines and these guidelines’ refinement through administrative actions by the Executive.

The presence of all powers in the evaluation cycle is because of the possibility of conducting a policy review, auditing and/or a policy evaluation. In the first possibility there is value assignment to the consequences, to the institutional apparatus and to the political and administrative acts that involved it. In the second, discussions about the merits of the benefit
appropriation, evaluate both the product and the impact, but the object of evaluation is neither the volume, the nature of the product nor the size of its impact. However, if these products were consistent with the principles of social justice, for which there is a minimum consensus (FIGUEIREDO & FIGUEIREDO, 1986), it would be of great result to use the lawsuit as a factor in evaluation process because it seeks to solve the problem not an isolated problem, enabling the society to have a voice through the Parquet.

2. Judicial Control of Public Policy Education

Due to the system of checks and balances, one of the controls exercised by the Judiciary over the Executive Branch is monitoring. Such control is to perform functions of supervision, examination or inquiry, verify the occurrence of illegal or illegitimacies (MOREIRA NETO, 1989), forming one side of judicial control. Because it has both sides of the same coin, such as that of a political function, it can also constitute as an abuse of activity becoming activism. However, the important thing now is to identify the positive action of the Judiciary and the Parquet in order to intervene properly in public policy.

Appio (2009) teaches that “in order to act in judicial control headquarters of public policies, the Judiciary takes over the political function of controlling the acts of the Legislative and Executive Branch according to the Constitution of 1988, either under normative scope, whether in an administrative scope, to ensure an increase in the democratic debate about the decisions that affect all citizens. Thus, it will limit the actions of the other powers, which cannot act with full discretion because it is bonded to the duties and objectives set by the Constitution. Therefore one may not deny that the three powers have limited themselves, although they are healthy for the
development of society. “The separation of powers is based on the expertise of state functions and shall not preclude the exercise, occasionally, of a particular function by non-specialist public agency, since it is compatible with its main activity.

Pinheiro also states: “It is increasingly emphasized the institutional role of the Judiciary as the interpreter of the Constitution and as a key player in important constitutional debates, for example, on the construction of public policies” (PINHEIRO, 2009:27).

It is clear that it cannot reduce the evaluation cycle of the policy to mere control of administrative legality and legitimacy, once it implies the assumption that this step is applied only to punctuate if constitutional/legal, unconstitutional/illegal, or if legitimate/illegitimate. The evaluation core discussion is the improvement of what is assessed, regardless of assigning value or discuss the merits, since it presupposes return of relevance to what was the object of evaluation; implies revision, reformulation, re-drafting: it is the original plus something.

Pinheiro (2009) emphasizes the importance of the public agency manifest on a law and that it restricts to an expression of constitutionality or unconstitutionality. He believes it is important to be registered how the law is seen, allowing dialogue between the Judiciary and Legislative Branch, “allowing the discussion of new solutions to be adopted and the resulting public pressure on lawmakers to take appropriate measures” (PINHEIRO, 2009:27).

The tripartite division of powers is to balance the Union and not overlap powers, sees the rule of check and balances inherent to them. The possibility of using the jurisprudence as an element for evaluation of
public policy remains impaired because based on activities beyond or below their powers.

The duty of the Parquet is to trigger the Judiciary which, in theory, is waiting for the call; but it is also true, that his duty can and should be done extra-judicially (SOUZA, 2007; FERRARO, 2009), getting in touch with the Executive, for example. When the Judiciary assume the role of decision maker and implementer of public policies, performs task differently from its, allowing the Legislative and the Executive to continue to work in error and misrepresenting their own activities.

One of the edges that determine the limit of the Judiciary power in the judicial control of public policies, is regarded to the role of positive legislator (i.e., the Judiciary cannot exercise the role assigned exclusively to the Executive - APPIO, 2009:130). Therefore, the role of negative legislator is not only to report what it is and what is not constitutional/legal, but also to implement the Constitutional law for the resolution of disputes without risking to be seen as a legislator.

Understanding that the cycles of elaboration and formulation are competence of the Legislative and Executive Branch, one may not accept that the Judiciary replace them, but only check the compatibility of these actions to the Federal Constitution. Thus the Judiciary can call the Executive to answer and do their duties, but cannot perform in order to formulate public policy.

3. Public Policy of continued progression: quality of education.

Oliveira and Araújo indicated that “quality is a polysemous word, i.e., it involves many different meanings and therefore has the potential to trigger
false consensus, as it allows different interpretations of its meaning according to different valuable capabilities” (OLIVEIRA & ARAÚJO, 2009:1).

“From a historical point of view, on Brazilian education, three distinct meanings of quality were constructed and circulated symbolically and concretely in society: firstly, conditioned by the limited offer of opportunities for schooling; a second, related to the idea of flow defined as number of students who progress or not within a given school system; and finally, the idea of quality associated with the measurement of performance through tests on a large scale" (OLIVEIRA & ARAÚJO, 2009:1).

The state of Sao Paulo through the Deliberation CEE/SP 09/97 promulgated by a public agency of the Executive Branch that deals specifically with education in the state, acting and directing custodial issues, implemented the continued progression to ensure both flow and quality education in all 5,000 schools that attend about 4.5 million students.

Among the possibilities for the educational system flexibility given by the Law Guidelines and Bases of National Education in the state of Sao Paulo, the correction of school flow has been emphasized as a strategy to go up against students' school failure and the age-grade deficit culminating with continuous progression.

Bertagna (2003) clarifies that “the difference between automatic promotion and continued progression emphasized in official texts, is presented as follows: in the continued progression (...) the child advances through school because of having appropriated new ways of thinking, feeling and acting; and on automatic promotion, the child remains in the school, regardless of progress has been achieved” (BERTAGNA, 2003:2-
3). Freitas (2003) indicated that the organization of the educational system of the State of Sao Paulo based on the continued progression is a way to combat the social issues and the school culture in which the grade becomes more important than the content, but this purpose has been distorted.

Quality is a basic principle of the education right (art. 206, VII CF/88) as well as a warranty by which the State shall provide public school education (art. 208, IX CF/88), guaranteed by the minimum content to be worked in the school (art. 210, caput, CF/88), arranged in what we know today as Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais - PCNs (National Curriculum Parameters) created by Ministério da Educação - MEC (Ministry of Education) in 1997, reinforced by multi-year National Education Plans, which should lead to quality improvement of education (art.214, III CF/88). The constitutional text never indicates the content of this quality because the value of it shall be done by public policy choice of each public sphere. LDB 9394/96 indicates that the quality standard should be set with minimum variety and quantity of inputs required by the educational process from students (art. 4º, IX LDB/96).

LDB 9394/96 indicates that the quality standard should be set with minimum variety and quantity of inputs required by the educational process from students (art. 4º, IX LDB/96).

Thus, when the Constitution indicates that the education will be conducted based on the principle of pluralism of ideas, pedagogical conceptions (art. 206, III CF/88) and the PCN’s, aiming the articulation and development of education with integration of the actions of the Powers, that should lead to quality improvement of education (art. 214, III CF/88), guiding the outline and the guidelines of educational
public policies, which were refined by LDB 9.394/96 (art. 32) allowing in this vein the State Board of Education to opt for continued progression and make it a rule with the Deliberation CEE/SP 09/97.

It is clear that the state's duty is to grant access, attendance, quality and input to enable the right of education which is reinforced by the necessity of never allowing that any child and adolescent be neglected or discriminated by any means (art. 5, Children and Teenagers' Statute). A child or adolescent must not even be through embarrassing situations such as those imposing disapproval.


For this analysis we used a public document, the motion with the request of anticipated judicial protection proposed by the Second District Attorney of Várzea Paulista against the State of São Paulo in the figure of its Governor and against the Municipality of Várzea Paulista in the figure of its Mayor, for the attorney did not comprehend that the issue is regarding to state schools and does not involve municipal schools.

The district attorney, presenting the situation of Várzea Paulista, stated that a teenager’s responsible approached the Parquet complaining about the school attendance that he had received, reporting that he had been moved forward due to the system of automatic promotion. The expression used was ‘automatic promotion’ not ‘continued progression’ showing the distortion of policy implementation.

Then, of almost 5,000 state educational institutions only one from the municipality of Várzea Paulista was warned by the prosecution.
This complaint took place at a survey by the Parquet with the state schools in the city seeking answers about the program. Of all schools only two showed, in the attorney understanding, the real data of poor educational quality, because the others tried to covet the truth by forwarding materials of a minority group and not the reality installed. Hiding what happens inside the school due to poor implementation of the policy means that even at school level there is an understanding that something has gone wrong in the implementation cycle consequently with a negative outcome.

The lack of clarity about the processes that involve the development of public policy displays implementation problems and formulation problems as their arguments support both as if they were one, ending with a request for modification of policy choice: to replace the continued progression by merit promotion; decision only appropriated to the Executive as we saw.

As evidence that the merit promotion must replace the automatic progress, the attorney uses the research of a nationally unknown researcher, Sebastião Ferreira, involving high school students who, among other issues, complain that their colleagues do not know the basic mathematical operations. Placing educational difficulties concerning the first four grades of the Fundamental Education is not valid since the end of the first cycle has an assessment during which one can disapprove. Therefore, it is not the policy that is badly chosen, neither its replacement that will solve the problem.

No expert was quoted over the motion, so we can conclude that neither were sought, which will not allow him to defend a cause without knowing it completely. Moreover, the attorney disconsiders that there is an Educational Policy Project to be followed; neither that
the teaching material used, the school calendar, the teacher’s scale, the classroom dynamics are in agreement with the school system; it is not simple to work today with a perspective and tomorrow with another with a completely different purpose; and he believes that, because it is the measurement of knowledge, everything is easier, clearer and fairer.

Mistakenly, therefore, condemnatory applications were based on two requirements: to embrace an evaluation system which requires an annual average absorption of at least 50% of the content by topic with just reproaches should the student does not achieve success under a daily penalty of U$ 6,000.00; and a penalty of also U$ 6,000.00 per student promoted in the dictates of the system should the continued progression is not used.

The attorney lost the opportunity to ask the Judiciary to force the Executive Branch to develop its task efficiently, since it gave him what he believes is the solution: changing the bias of the policy. If he found that the program of continued progression has been extremely damaging to the childhood and youth, he could have asked the Judiciary in accordance with the supervisory control he has to exercise, indicated to the Executive a term to adjust the policy and develop it properly, as pointed by Freitas (2003) and not as automatic promotion.

Besides the attorney ignored the possibilities of the educational system existing in LDB, he hurt the political autonomy of the Executive Branch. Had he got a greater clarity about what involves the public policies, he would be able to make at least two requests more consistent with the demand and more assertive in their implementation.
Conclusion

Considering all the previous points about the institutional context and the organization of Brazilian education, as well as the ways of action of the stakeholders, mostly the Parquet and the Judiciary on a policy issue, other directions are possible and perhaps with better results than that chosen by the attorney, once the way they chose shows a misalignments inside the Executive and between this power and the Judiciary. First, it was possible that the Parquet acted extra-judicially by contacting the Executive and presenting difficulties to devise ways to improve policy. A second form would be triggering the Judiciary aiming the implementation cycle, requesting time for preparation of the Executive to review the project and answer it presenting both the possibility of running to a timetable and results, under penalty of daily fines from the date on which the more reproductive results is viewed. The other, more radical of all, would be drawing up a new policy on the basis permitted by the educational law.

When it comes to judicial control, the attorney must keep in mind that the motion gives the tone of the process development, so it should be very well prepared and clear on what we want to challenge and ask for seeking to accomplish a right. The one who complains about the presence of the Judiciary as supervisory of the Executive Branch must be aware of the issue involved, in this case, about the continued progression and the very principles on public policy.

The Parquet has sought to defend the education right, but the way it works it is claiming only a part of the right, contenting itself with dubious effectiveness arising from misinterpretation and temporary solutions. Our insistence on a lawsuit that seeks permanent solution is founded on respect for the student and their families and thus society.
Considering that a change in the educational system of progression, disapproving is sufficient to guarantee the education right, defend the right part and tackling the Principle of Human Dignity, is in truth, not defending it.

The Brazilian Judiciary have ignored opportunities to operate less aggressive in order to keep the system of checks and balances, instituting a disharmonious relationship with the other powers, and disturbing the social order.

With this article we intent to share the result of government stakeholder’s misguided actions, once they are the decision makers at different levels and stages of the policy, with different views and values on issues. Their positions about the education policy just turns the rights more flexible instead of configure and defend then, resulting in the judicial activism.

References


CHAPTER 37

GOVERNANCE, MAYORAL CONTROL AND URBAN SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT: LESSONS FOR NEWARK IN A CLIMATE OF CONFLICT

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Abstract

This research studied mayoral control in nine cities: Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. Our purpose was to provide information to policymakers in Newark as they considered options for its return to local control after 15 years of state takeover. Interviews, archival research, documentary evidence, and test score data, were used to evaluate the effectiveness of mayoral control as a reform strategy for all interested stakeholders and in order to provide school governance best practices and recommendations for the city of Newark.
It examines the potential for mayoral control in Newark in the context of the ongoing conflicts among multiple stakeholders: on the one side, the Governor, Acting Commissioner, Mayor, and the Foundation for Newark’s Future, and on the other hand, numerous community groups, including parents and community leaders, some academic researchers and political leaders; with the Newark Public Schools and its Superintendent often in the middle as she tried to balance her commitments to the community with her role as a state appointed superintendent.

This chapter uses the quantitative evidence to analyze whether or not mayoral control raised student achievement in the nine cities. Combined with the findings from our larger study that mayoral control has increased public commitment to education, increased funding; lowered class size; increased stability, diminished the role for parents, community; and provided no conclusive evidence that governance leads to increased achievement, independent of other factors, although there have been increased achievement in eight of the nine cities, we recommend with caution that some form of mayoral control be considered in Newark.

Finally, given the conflict among stakeholders in Newark over mayoral control and other types of educational reform, we recommend that any form of mayoral control include checks and balances against total control by the mayor and that avenues to ensure parent and community involvement are included.

**Keywords**

Urban education– governance – educational reform

**Introduction**

Over the last year, Newark, the largest city in the state of New Jersey, has become the center of debates about urban educational reform in New Jersey and nationally. Taken over by the state of New Jersey in 1995, due to poor student achievement and fiscal and
operational mismanagement, a number of related events have come together to put Newark at the center of current debates over school governance, charter schools, public vouchers for students in failing schools to attend private schools, and teacher accountability issues related to tenure and seniority.

In August 2010, Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg made a $100 million gift to Mayor Corey Booker to improve public education in Newark. The donation was announced in a heralded appearance by the Zuckerberg, Mayor Booker, and New Jersey Governor Chris Christie on the Oprah Winfrey’s television show, where it was heralded as part of a bold effort to dramatically transform the Newark’s schools. Given the Governor’s statewide agenda to expand charter schools, implement vouchers and an ongoing battle with the teacher unions to alter or eliminate teacher tenure and seniority rules that require a last hired, first fired process of layoffs, community residents and many policy experts expected that Newark would be a testing ground for these reforms. Given the Mayor’s public pronouncements that he wanted New York City, Bloomberg type mayoral control of the schools, it was not a surprise when the Governor announced that he was delegating state control to the Mayor, despite the fact that legal experts, including the Educational Law Center, argued that the Governor did not have the legal right to delegate control without changes in the state’s governance law. Shortly thereafter, on August 31, 2010, the Governor announced that he was not renewing the contract of Newark school superintendent Clifford Janey, who had completed two years at the helm and that a search for a new leader would commence shortly.

In October, 2010, the Mayor created the Partnership for Education in Newark (PENewark) to conduct community engagement research on the community’s
perceptions and beliefs about the state of public education in the city and their views on how to improve it. Although the Mayor indicated that community involvement would be a key component of his educational reform plan, in February 2011, before the community engagement report would be issued in late March, the Acting Commissioner of Education, Chris Cerf, who has legal authority over the Newark Schools and the Mayor commissioned a report by an outside diagnostic team, originally chaired by Cerf prior to his appointment by Governor Christie, to analyze the state of the Newark Public Schools (NPS) and to make recommendations for a city wide plan. In late February, a Star Ledger columnist, was able to obtain their draft report, and revealed that it called for the closing of numerous failing NPS schools and replacing them with charter schools and new district schools operated by outside operators, including Bard College, Diploma Plus and others. In early April, Rutgers University-Newark and New York University released an independent report on resident perceptions of public education in Newark, in part based on the PE-Newark data and in part based on its own independent survey. The report indicated that while there was considerable agreement among residents that the schools needed improvement, there was also disagreement over the types of reforms needed. Importantly, over 80% of those surveyed were against mayoral control of the Newark Schools (Sadovnik, et al. 2011).

Community leaders were outraged at the lack of transparency and argued that the Mayor was in fact running the schools through the Commissioner and that the community engagement process was a sham. The Commissioner responded by saying that the report was only a draft and that an overall plan would consider community input. At the same time, a search for a new superintendent proceeded, without what
most community leaders viewed as any degree of community involvement and input.

In May 2011, the Acting Commissioner Cerf appointed Cami Anderson as State Superintendent of the Newark Public Schools. Ms. Anderson, a protégé of Teach for America founder Wendy Kopp, former Washington D. C. Superintendent Michelle Rhee, and former New York City Chancellor Joel Klein, had been a Superintendent under Klein in New York City. Ms. Anderson began in July 2011 and immediately turned her attention to the improvement of principal and teacher quality.

At the same time, the Foundation for Newark’s Future (FNF) was founded as the non-profit managing and distributing the Zuckerberg gift and matching funds. Headed by former Kellogg Foundation executive Greg Taylor, FNF immediately took a leadership role in determining which types of reforms would be funded in Newark.

Since July 2011, there has been significant community skepticism about the direction of educational reform in Newark, with critics suggesting that the Governor, Mayor, Acting Commissioner, and FNF are using the city’s schools as a laboratory for neo-liberal reforms emanating from the United States Department of Education, under Secretary of Education Arne Duncan and the Governor’s Office in Trenton. These reforms include the expansion of charter schools, the closing of low-performing public schools, teacher, principal and school accountability through value added models of student achievement, and in the case of the Governor and perhaps the Mayor, tuition vouchers for students in failing schools to attend private schools.

Finally, despite the Newark Public Schools achieving passing grades on 4 of 5 areas of the QSAC (Quality Single Accountability Continuum) and thus meeting the
state’s conditions for the return of governance to local control in all areas except instruction, the Acting Commissioner cited a part of the statute giving him the authority to maintain state control. Thus, he did not begin the statutory process of holding an election to determine whether Newark would have an elected or appointed school board and argued that until academic achievement increased significantly, the state had the authority to maintain control over the district. Some critics argued that it was ironic that after years of the state wanting to relinquish control that it was now seeking to retain it. They saw it as an attempt to use Newark as a laboratory for its reforms and/or to wait until QSAC was changed to include a specific pathway for mayoral control in Newark.

This paper will not report on the reforms occurring in Newark, nor their effectiveness, as it is far too early to examine this. Rather, it focuses on one of the controversial issues in Newark, the efficacy of a mayoral control model of governance and the legal paths required for the Mayor to get such control. Based on a larger report on school governance by the Institute on Education Law and Policy at Rutgers University-Newark (2010), this paper examines findings from nine U.S. cities that have or had some form of mayoral control and the lessons for New Jersey and Newark, in particular. In addition, it examines the potential for mayoral control in Newark in the context of the ongoing conflicts among multiple stakeholders: on the one side, the Governor, Acting Commissioner, Mayor, and the Foundation for Newark’s Future, and on the other hand, numerous community groups, including parents and community leaders, some academic researchers and political leaders; with the Newark Public Schools and its Superintendent often in the middle as she tried to balance her commitments to the community with her role as a state appointed superintendent.
1. Mayoral Control

Researchers have used the term “mayoral control” when the mayor has a high level of appointment power and fiscal control within the school district. The forms and functions of mayoral power in school districts vary in each city and depend on “diverse city contexts, local political cultures, interest group structures, state/local relations, the legal basis of city government, historical school governance structures, and other specific city characteristics,” along with the “personalities and ambitions of individual mayors.” (Kirst, 2002:4)

Kirst has classified mayoral involvement in education based on the relationships and responsibilities among the mayor, superintendent and school board. (Kirst, 2002) According to Kirst, a school system with “low or weak’ mayoral influence” exists in cities where mayors have used their position and level of authority to influence school board elections and candidates, such as in Los Angeles, St. Louis, and Richmond, Virginia (Kirst, 2002; Wong, et al. 2007). In a system with “low-moderate mayoral influence,” as in Oakland, Philadelphia and Baltimore, mayors appoint some school board members, but not the majority (Kirst, 2002). “Moderate mayoral influence,” exemplified in cities such as Cleveland, Detroit for five years ending in 2005, and Philadelphia pre-2001, is characterized by a system where the mayor appoints the majority or all of the board, but does not have absolute authority over education policy aspects of the district (Kirst, 2002). Finally, a system with “high” or strong levels of mayoral influence, such as in Boston, Chicago and New York City, gives mayors the most authority that they have had since before the Progressive Era, with the ability to control the school systems and to decrease school board power.

Wong and Shen, et al. use a broader definition of mayoral control, applying the term when there is a
system of “integrated governance” which seeks to redefine responsibilities, legitimize system-wide standards and policies, improve the capacity of district-wide leadership, build human capital as a form of economic development, and focus on student performance (Wong et al. 2007). Wong and Shen, et al. note that in some cities the mayor may have a *formal role* in education when a legal change has occurred with the state legislature giving the mayor authority over the schools in some capacity, as opposed to an *informal role*, where the mayor exerts influence over the school system, but does not have legal capacity to control it. (Wong, et al. 2007) The legislature also has the ability to establish additional checks and balances within the system by instituting an oversight and/or nominating committee, a committee that monitors the board and its progress in managing the district, or by writing a “sunset provision” that would require a reevaluation of the system of school governance.

Wong and Shen, et al. identify three methods of obtaining some level of formal mayoral control through the legislative process: 1) the state legislature grants authority to the mayor to replace an elected board with an appointed board; 2) the state legislature grants authority to the mayor to appoint the school board, but requires a citywide referendum on whether this authority should continue; and 3) voters approve changes in a charter that allows the mayor to appoint school board members. (Wong, et al. 2007) As we discuss in our findings, our nine cities include examples of all three methods.

Different researchers have evaluated the new governance models with strong mayoral involvement both quantitatively and qualitatively. In general, researchers have found mixed quantitative results in seeking to correlate mayoral leadership with student
Governance, Mayoral Control and Urban School Improvement

achievement. While some attribute positive trends to mayoral leadership, it is methodologically problematic to argue that there exists a direct relationship between the level of mayoral influence and its impact on schools. Ultimately, the local context of the city and its political and educational history appear to affect educational outcomes more than governance structure (Kirst, 2007). Despite these limitations, it is important to acknowledge research that has attempted to isolate and evaluate the role of governance in general and mayoral influence in urban school improvement.

According to Wong and Shen, et al., whose research provides the most in-depth quantitative analysis of student achievement data, cities with strong mayoral involvement have experienced an increase in student achievement at the elementary level. (Wong et al. 2007) Henig’s quantitative analysis of NAEP scores, (Henig, 2009) however, resulted in a different conclusion. In his analysis of five “mayor-centric” school districts, as compared to six traditionally-governed school districts, students in the traditionally-governed cities generally made greater improvements in reading and mathematics scores across all measures and sectors of the student population (Henig, 2009).

Wong and Shen, et al. use a national data set from 104 cities to measure the effectiveness of what they term “mayoral control” on productivity (student achievement) (Wong, et al. 2007). Although these data only span the four years from 1999 through 2003, lack a significant portion of high school data, and cannot be disaggregated by racial group, they showed an increase in elementary school performance where the mayor has gained more control than

120 NAEP, the National Assessment of Educational Progress, is the only test that is comparable across cities, as the same test is given to sample student urban populations across the country.
previously experienced in that city and also has appointment power over a majority of board seats. The limitations of Wong’s data set indicate that further research is required on the effects of school governance on student achievement and other variables.

Cuban and Usdan (2003), using methodology similar to ours, studied six cities (Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Diego, and Seattle) where the mayor’s role went beyond the traditional form of appointing members to an independent board. Their sample included cities where a non-educator was hired as superintendent. During the course of their qualitative investigation, the authors found little improvement in elementary test scores, with minority students still lagging behind and the size of the achievement gap remaining unchanged. Using case studies, primary and secondary sources, and interviews, they concluded that strong mayoral influence may result in positive changes because: 1) linking urban school governance to existing political structures including the business community will produce organizational effectiveness, improve teaching and learning, and enhance citywide service coordination; 2) the mayor will be more efficient in aligning goals, curriculum, professional development, rewards, sanctions, and instruction; and 3) when non-educators lead urban districts, they have more connections to state and local political structures that will improve and sustain achievement.

Cuban and Usdan conclude, however, that to make informed judgments about the effects of any change in governance reform requires at least five to seven years from full implementation (Cuban and Usdan, 2003). Thus, there is some question whether the benefits described in the studies are significant enough to argue that strong mayoral influence is the preferred
form of governance for cities, or whether it should be viewed merely as one option among others.

Although it may be evident, it is still worth noting, as others have, that the success of mayoral leadership depends on the mayor. According to Viteritti, the structure “is not a solution, it is an enabler...creat[ing] possibilities for the kind of bold leadership needed to turn around failing school districts” (Viteritti, 2009: 9). Typically, in systems with strong mayoral involvement, the mayors are “reformers” who emphasize and give high priority to school reform, often in common with other civic leaders (Henig, 2009: 38). But not every mayor today is a reformer.

The effectiveness of mayoral leadership may also depend upon term limitations. Urban education reforms take time; yet, on average, urban school leaders such as superintendents serve between two and a half and four years, not nearly long enough for serious reforms to be implemented. With strong mayoral involvement, school leadership may be more durable; but that, in turn, may depend on how long the mayor serves. For example, in Chicago, Boston and New York, in large part due to the absence of mayoral term limits, the mayors and their appointees are serving much longer. This has enabled them to implement their school reform strategies. By contrast, many urban mayors are limited to two terms or eight years as mayor, which makes them “subject to defeat and distraction,” with their political and educational agendas given insufficient time to flourish, regardless of any valuable insights they could offer to the school system (Hill and Harvey, 2004: 19). Yet, even four to eight years is a longer period of stability than many urban superintendents experience in reforming school systems.
As Henig points out, the essential question to consider when evaluating mayoral leadership is, does a strong mayoral role in school district governance “augment or undermine” the need of struggling urban school systems to maintain their vision, build capacity, and sustain political support? (Henig, 2009: 42).

According to Cuban and Usdan, there are three factors that affect whether mayoral involvement in governance can be successful: 1) whether the mayor’s role in the schools is integrated with existing political structures in such a way that it improves organizational efforts, thereby contributing to teaching and learning improvements and citywide programs; 2) whether mayoral leadership can provide better management that focuses on aligning goals, standards, curriculum, professional development, assessments, rewards and sanctions; and 3) whether non-educators are connected to existing state and local political structures, resulting in improved and sustained student achievement.

Governance changes depend largely on the conditions and context of the city at a particular point in time. Viteritti, chair of the Commission for School Governance in New York City, observed, “no governance plan can overcome the social impediments that can prevent disadvantaged parents from having an effective voice in the education of their children” (Education Week, 2009: 26). According to Henig, there are five reasons to be concerned if strong mayoral involvement comes at the cost of limiting access to organizations that represent minorities, teachers, and parents: 1) historically, educational policy-makers have believed that teachers and parents should have greater influence in the educational system than the average voter; 2) central administrators are not on the “ground level” every day, and thus parents and teachers can provide
beneficial information about the effectiveness of certain policies and programs; 3) the history of racial inequality within education may jeopardize the authority of mayoral control as a system of governance; 4) marginalized community and stakeholder opinions may suffer from a lack of perspective; and 5) without community and political engagement and participation, even the most researched policy initiatives may fall short. (Henig, 2009: 21-32)

We note that, during the course of our study, in Baltimore, Detroit and Hartford the mayors were convicted of criminal misconduct. In those cities the charges were not related to the mayor’s role in governing the public schools; but these events, at the very least, produced distractions from school reform.

2. Methods

We provide quantitative evidence on the effects of mayoral control in our nine cities. We seek to answer Henig’s question, whether the new governance models have augmented or undermined these urban school districts as they struggle to provide a higher quality educational experience in their communities. Our full findings are provided in the full Institute on Education Law and Policy Report (2010).

We developed a multi-part research framework for investigating the impacts of mayoral involvement on a number of variables, including both quantitative measures and qualitative investigations of stakeholder perceptions. The first part was used to classify degrees of mayoral involvement in the nine cities from strong to weak, including the manner of selection and design choices:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Year of Change</th>
<th>Strength</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>1999-2004</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartford</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington D.C.</td>
<td>2001; 2007</td>
<td>Weak to Strong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second part, not reported here, was a qualitative analysis of the effects of mayoral control in these cities, using legal, archival and interview evidence.

The quantitative aspect of our research design used U.S. Census data, data from the American Community Survey and Common Core Dataset and the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) compiled bi-annually by the United States Department of Education’s National Center of Educational Statistics (NCES). NAEP is called “the nation’s report card” because it is the only state-level and, in some cases, city-level achievement database that uses the same test in multiple states and cities, making possible cross-state and cross-city comparisons of a representative sample of students. We used the urban city dataset to analyze achievement differences in the five of our nine cities that were available and in a comparison set of cities without formal mayoral involvement.
The last section makes recommendations for Newark. These recommendations examine whether the two governance options available currently to school districts under New Jersey law, namely Type I (mayor-appointed boards, but with the district otherwise independent of the mayor) and Type II (elected or appointed boards), should be legislatively augmented to include other governance options, including forms of mayoral control studied here or other hybrid models (e.g., boards of education whose members are partly appointed and partly elected).

3. Findings

Though good assessment data are hard to come by, the NAEP data do allow for year-to-year comparisons across and between districts. Given the problems with comparisons of state achievement data due to differences in tests and changes in cut scores, NAEP remain the only valid and reliable basis for state and city comparisons.

Figures 1 to 4 show graphs for the five study districts for which math and reading NAEP data are available (for 4th and 8th grades). The graphs show average test performance for each district. All five school districts remain below the national average, but some have made more progress than others in coming close to it. For example, Washington, D.C. has shown steady gains in all years and all grades. Cleveland, on the other hand, has improvements in some years but not in others.
Figure 1: City NAEP Scores, 4th Grade Math (2003, 2005, 2007, 2009)

Figure 2: City NAEP Scores, 4th Grade Reading (2003, 2005, 2007, 2009)
Figure 3: City NAEP Scores, 8th Grade Math (2003, 2005, 2007, 2009)

Figure 4: City NAEP Scores, 8th Grade Reading (2003, 2005, 2007, 2009)
Table 1 presents the NAEP math and reading scores for 2009 for the large urban districts in the NAEP sample, including five of the nine cities in our study.

Table 1: NAEP Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>4th Grade</th>
<th></th>
<th>8th Grade</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Math</td>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>Math</td>
<td>Reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austin</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Boston</strong></td>
<td><strong>236</strong></td>
<td><strong>215</strong></td>
<td><strong>279</strong></td>
<td><strong>257</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlotte</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New York</strong></td>
<td><strong>237</strong></td>
<td><strong>217</strong></td>
<td><strong>273</strong></td>
<td><strong>252</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Diego</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Washington, D.C.</strong></td>
<td><strong>220</strong></td>
<td><strong>203</strong></td>
<td><strong>251</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Study cities in bold.*

Next we present the regression results using the NAEP data. We recognize that all of the regressions were run with small samples. For this reason we have aimed to estimate as parsimonious model as possible to preserve the degrees of freedom. P-values are given below each coefficient estimate; given the small samples, these p-values will be larger than if a large sample was used to reflect the greater uncertainty due to the small sample size. Given that NAEP results can be compared across school districts, we feel that the regression results can provide insights on the possible effectiveness of mayoral control. With this small sample caveat we proceed with discussing the regression results.
Table 2 presents the results of a regression analysis using the NAEP data in levels. In this case, school districts without formal mayoral involvement are compared to the districts with some form of mayoral involvement. Equations (1) and (4) show results when the only independent variable is a “dummy” variable for mayoral control. In these regressions, we actually see a negative effect.

However, equations (2) and (5) also include three control variables: the percent of residents in each city that are white, the percent of residents in each city that are below the poverty threshold, and the U.S. national average on the NAEP exams. Equations (3) and (6) include a variable that tests to see if the “strength” of mayoral control makes a difference. In general, for 4th grade these regressions do not provide evidence that assessment scores improved because of mayoral involvement in governance.

**Table 2: Dependent Variable: NAEP scores, 4th Grade**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Equation</th>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>NAEP scores, 4th Grade</td>
<td>p-values given below estimates. A p-value less than 0.1 indicates that a coefficient is statistically different than zero (i.e., is statistically significant). Standard errors are robust. Note for 2009, 2008 ACS data was used.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 runs similar regressions as in Table 1, but looks at the changes in the variables. Again, there is no statistical support for mayoral involvement having an effect on test score growth for 4th grade (though the coefficients are positive, they are not statistically significant).
Table 3: Dependent Variable: Changes in NAEP Scores, 4th Grade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mathematics</th>
<th>Reading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>0.209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.28)</td>
<td>(0.81)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength x MC</td>
<td>0.457</td>
<td>0.219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.12)</td>
<td>(0.39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US Avg.</td>
<td>0.995</td>
<td>-0.600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% White</td>
<td>0.051</td>
<td>0.161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.30)</td>
<td>(0.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Poverty</td>
<td>0.669</td>
<td>-0.227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(0.52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>2.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0)</td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># obs.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: p-values given below estimates. A p-value less than 0.1 indicates that a coefficient is statistically different than zero (i.e., is statistically significant). Standard errors are robust.

Table 4 performs a similar regression as Table 3, but for 8th grade test scores. Equations (1) and (4) show a negative effect for mayoral involvement districts, when there are no controls for the national trends, race or poverty rates. When we do add the controls, however, we see a positive and statistically significant effect for mayoral involvement. For example, controlling for national trends, race and poverty rates, we see that mayoral involvement districts, on average, had a 4.76 point higher performance on 8th grade reading tests, compared to their counterparts without mayoral involvement (all of the districts included are listed in table 18). There is also a greater effect for stronger control districts, as shown in equation (3). For example, based on this equation, we would predict that a “strong” mayoral control district would have a 6.45 point higher performance on the NAEP math scores, compared to a non-mayoral control district, all else equal. Similar effects also hold for the reading scores.
### Table 4: Dependent Variable: NAEP scores, 8th Grade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mathematics</th>
<th>Reading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>-7.80</td>
<td>5.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength x MC</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>1.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Avg.</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>1.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% White</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Poverty</td>
<td>-0.51</td>
<td>-0.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.06)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>267.8</td>
<td>-308.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># obs.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: p-values given below estimates. A p-value less than 0.1 indicates that a coefficient is statistically different than zero (i.e., is statistically significant). Standard errors are robust. Note for 2009, 2008 ACS data was used.

### Table 5: Dependent Variable: Changes in NAEP Scores, 8th Grade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mathematics</th>
<th>Reading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>-0.972</td>
<td>-0.996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.36)</td>
<td>(0.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength x MC</td>
<td>-0.152</td>
<td>-0.110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.65)</td>
<td>(0.21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΔUS Avg.</td>
<td>0.972</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.37)</td>
<td>(0.34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δ% White</td>
<td>0.044</td>
<td>0.023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.82)</td>
<td>(0.90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δ% Poverty</td>
<td>-0.340</td>
<td>-0.311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.58)</td>
<td>(0.62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>3.97</td>
<td>2.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0)</td>
<td>(0.30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># obs.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: p-values given below estimates. A p-value less than 0.1 indicates that a coefficient is statistically different than zero (i.e., is statistically significant). Standard errors are robust.
Table 5, however, shows that there is no evidence that mayoral involvement districts have higher growth rates, in terms of their test performance, as compared to districts without strong mayoral involvement.

Next, given the demographic differences among the nine districts with respect to race and socio-economic status, we disaggregated these NAEP data for 2009 in order to analyze whether differences in district performance vary by race and socio-economic status. The following tables present these findings:

Table 6: 4th Grade NAEP (2009) by Race and Free Lunch

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>4th Grade Math (2009)</th>
<th>4th Grade Reading (2009)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: na=not available

Next, we examine whether or not the differences in demographics among cities with respect to low income and African American and Hispanic students explain the differences in achievement. That is, is the higher achievement of Boston and New York City a result of their higher percentage of white and affluent students, which may hide lower achievement by low income and African American and Hispanic students? Or if those cities with higher percentages of low income and African American and Hispanic students have lower overall achievement due, which may hide higher
achievement by them. These data do not support the hypothesis that cities with larger concentrations of poverty and African-Americans and Hispanics have higher achievement for these groups. Boston and New York have the highest achievement among African-American, Hispanic and low-income students.

Table 7: 8th Grade NAEP (2009) by Race and Free Lunch

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Hispanic</th>
<th>RFL Eligible</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Hispanic</th>
<th>RFL Eligible</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Na</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>Na</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelp hia</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: na=not available

Although Wong et al. (2007) find small significant effects of mayoral involvement in governance on student achievement, our statistical analysis does not provide convincing evidence to suggest that mayoral involvement has a causal positive effect on achievement or on other demographic and educational measures. There have been improvements in student achievement on NAEP from 2003-2009 in almost all of the districts with some forms of mayoral involvement, but it is impossible to isolate any causal effect of mayoral involvement, given the mixed findings of the statistical results. We simply cannot reject rival hypotheses, such as the effects of NCLB or other systemic reforms in each of the cities or their states.

In addition, comparisons to cities without mayoral involvement on NAEP during the same time period do
not indicate that mayoral involvement explains achievement gains, independent of other variables. The two highest-performing cities, Austin and Charlotte — the only two above the national average in both mathematics and reading — are both cities without mayoral involvement.

Nevertheless, given the gains in NAEP (2003-2009) scores in almost all mayoral control cities and all levels, the statistical significance of these gains in cities with strong mayoral involvement (control) and the gains in almost all the cities on state examinations (2006-2008), the evidence suggests that mayoral control is associated with increases in student achievement. However, given small sample size and the difficulty in controlling for all variables related to student achievement, it is impossible to argue that mayoral control is causally related to these increases.

The data certainly do not indicate that forms of governance with mayoral involvement have a negative effect on student achievement, but rather that governance may not be the most important factor; or, at the least, may be one of many factors in raising student achievement. If raising student achievement is the only reason to consider implementing a mayor-dominated governance model, then our findings do not provide support for stronger mayoral involvement. However, our evidence indicates that as part of an overall systematic approach to urban district improvement, mayoral involvement—if not control—should be considered.

4. Lessons for Newark

The findings reported above are part of a larger set of findings in the IELP report (2010). These include that mayoral control in the nine cities has:

- Increased public commitment to education.
Governance, Mayoral Control and Urban School Improvement

- Increased funding.
- Lowered class size.
- Increased stability.
- Diminished the role for parents and community.

Provided no conclusive evidence that governance leads to increased student achievement, independent of other factors, but that there has been increased achievement in eight of the nine cities.

Based on these, we recommend that some form of mayoral control might be considered in New Jersey in general and in Newark in particular. We note certain restrictions on governance peculiar to New Jersey that may limit the relevance of those experiences.

Newark faces the challenge of reestablishing local governance. It has met 80% of the state’s performance goals in governance before the state will allow self-governance, as well as in three of the other four areas, with the exception of instruction. QSAC requires that within one year of the state withdrawing from intervention in a school district’s governance, the board of education must call a special election for the residents to vote to select their preferred governance system. Currently, voters can choose from two options: an elected board of education or an appointed board, but not one totally controlled by the Mayor. Jersey City held an election in November 2008 that led to an elected board of education. Newark voters should be able to express their preferences as it has satisfied 80 percent of the standards on the District Performance Review. As noted above, despite meeting the governance standard, the Acting Commissioner has refused to begin the process of returning Newark to local control.

*Given these legal requirements, it appears clear that Governor Christie did not have the authority to*
delegate state control to Mayor Booker and that the mayor does not have the authority to continue to behave as if he has mayoral control.

Given these legal requirements, it is clear that full mayoral control like Mayor Bloomberg has in New York City, as Mayor Booker desires, is not an option under the law. The only form of mayoral governance available is a Type I district, with mayoral appointment, but with the board independent of the mayor, with fixed appointments and not subject to termination, as occurred in New York City, when board members disagreed with Mayor Bloomberg. Full mayoral control can only be attained through a change in the law by the legislature, as was the case in New York City, where the state legislature passed mayoral control legislation.

Many of the forms of governance that have been adopted in the nine cities in this study are not available currently in New Jersey. New Jersey recognizes only two forms: appointed or elected school boards. In either of those cases, once seated, the board acts as an independent legal entity, responsible for hiring, spending and policy implementation. Other legal structures that have added value in our nine cities might be reasonable additions to the menu of choices. These run the gamut from hybrid elected and appointed boards that are independent, to separate school boards that are appointed by mayors but remain subject to some mayoral oversight, to school systems without a separate governing body that are run by the mayor directly as a department of the city. Obviously, if Newark, or any other school district, wishes to implement any form of school district governance other than what New Jersey law provides currently, legislative action will be required.
Another aspect of school governance in New Jersey is the degree to which local communities have embraced political ownership of education through the process of electing school boards. Local political control is not unique to New Jersey, of course, and many of our nine cities balked at giving up that control. Notable among those was Detroit, where the citizenry took back local elected control of the school board after five years. Of the 600 school districts in New Jersey, only 50 have opted for mayoral appointment versus election of their school boards (NJSBA, 2009). Would Newark and Paterson—or any communities in New Jersey—now opt to give up their electoral power for a system of mayoral appointment, let alone a system of mayoral control, even assuming the legislature would make that available? It seems doubtful. Perhaps, however, the legislature should consider—on an experimental basis—making some form of mayoral control an option specifically for those communities returning to local control after state takeover or intervention. Expanding governance options specifically for those school districts that have struggled in the past with governance problems makes good sense and might be palatable to communities eager to regain some degree of local control after having had virtually none.

Any new models must ensure, though, that there is adequate community input into school governance and policy. This was an important concern in the cities we studied and, given New Jersey communities’ historical involvement in school governance, any system that is perceived as shutting out parental and community voices is not likely to be successful. Likewise, there must be transparency and public accountability on which the public can build trust in new leadership models.

However real, the benefits may be from new governance models, it is important to remember what
we know generally about school reform. We agree with the many voices that told us effective governance is necessary, but not sufficient, to move school reform ahead. Concurrent reforms at the building level, including strong leadership by the principal; the recruitment, retention and support of high quality teachers and administrators; as well as addressing the myriad problems outside of the schools related to poverty and its effects are also vital to urban school improvement. Given the decades of research on the need to tie school improvements to community and economic development, we recommend that such initiatives as the Harlem’s Children Zone in New York City and the fledgling Global Village Zone in Newark be examined as models along with governance innovations.

In sum, because of the benefits that we have observed from our other qualitative evidence and the increases in student achievement, in the nine cities that have implemented some experimental forms of governance, we recommend that New Jersey lawmakers consider making a broader array of governance models available to cities emerging from state control or intervention. While we were unable to link any specific form of governance to any specific advance in student achievement or school district management, the evidence still demonstrates that raising the profile of education through adopting new governance models has more positive than negative results. Keeping the spotlight on education reform, overall, has benefited public education in the nine cities we studied.

We recommend this with great caution, especially in Newark. Given the events of the past year, it appears that the state wants to maintain control of the Newark School District in order to implement its own reform agenda and fears that a return to local control will result in an elected school board as it did in Jersey.
City. If and when the legislature amends QSAC to include a full mayoral control option as exists in Boston, Chicago, and New York City, the state would probably consider returning local control to the Mayor. It would appear that this type of mayoral control would continue to centralize decision making in the hands of a few and if New York City is a guide, would limit parental and community involvement. Thus, we recommend that any form of mayoral control in New Jersey should include checks and balances on mayoral authority and avenues for meaningful community involvement. And if this occurs, the considerable conflicts among the stakeholders outlined above will continue to define the governance of the Newark schools.

This study supports Viteritti’s position that governance structure “is not a solution, it is an enabler...creat[ing] possibilities for the kind of bold leadership needed to turn around failing school districts” (Viteritti, 2009: 9). Good governance is necessary but not sufficient for meaningful educational reform, and mayoral control is not the only form of good governance. Given the benefits we have seen in the nine cities, mayoral control should be one of a number of options available, as long as parental and community input and involvement are not stifled as they have been in some cities.

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Zay D. (1997), How To Make Research Useful for Schools? The Emergence of Researchers – Practitioners Partnerships through Teacher Education Reform in France, Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Chicago, 27-28 March)
Abstract

One of the fundamental goals of education is to transform people into a relevant and productive workforce needed by their country. A country’s education system therefore plays a pivotal role in its economic growth as schooling prepares its people for the world by equipping them with appropriate knowledge and skills. The world economy has a significant impact on education, meaning that a change in the economy requires a change in the education system. This paper offers a snapshot of how the Singapore government, through its national day rally speeches and news reports,
has fostered the need for the country to redesign and realign its education system to the changing globalised economy. It discusses how educational policies are translated from the government, to the Ministry of Education and to schools to create the country’s ideal future workforce. The specific stakeholders involved in this translation process are the government, Ministry of Education (MOE), media, schools and parents, who have shared common values, attitudes and purposes in the various educational reforms implemented in Singapore, and that is to prepare Singaporeans for the future economy. This paper shows how the alignment of these factors among the various stakeholders has played a critical role in the success of the Singapore education system.

**Keywords**

Globalisation – government policies – educational policy

**Introduction**

One of the fundamental goals of the education system in any country is to create a skilled workforce that will meet the economic needs of that country in response to its position in the globalised economy. As “the most fundamental needs of a society are its survival and development” (Chang, 2002, p. 131), education has become a critical tool to develop relevant skills for work and to improve the productivity of the workers. Schools are required to provide the education needed to facilitate economic growth (Benson, 1978), as their role is to invest in the country’s human capital to support its economy (Chang, 1995). According to Bertrand (1994), human capital is defined as an investment in education and training in order to increase the skills of the workers and their productivity level. In other words, education is more than just obtaining knowledge and a set of skills needed for the economy; it is about obtaining the right skills needed to increase the productivity rate of the workers. As the world and the economy become more globalised, there
has been an increasing emphasis on producing a workforce that is able, adaptable and re-trainable (Graddol, 1997). Thus the new world requires new kinds of knowledge and skilled intelligence, and Singapore, unlike many other countries, has limited natural resources, and therefore it depends largely on its highly adaptable human capital for its economic development (Chua, 2006). In view of this, a different form of education has been implemented in the Singapore education system – one that will enhance the adaptability and ability of the learners.

1. Singapore’s education system and the changing economy

In Singapore, the elected government and its various ministries hold the power to decide on the policies and procedures that are to be implemented (Mauzy & Milne, 2002). This centralising influence extends to the education sector in which the MOE holds the authority to design curriculum and implement changes in all government-owned schools. Since gaining independence in 1965, the Singaporean education system has been reinventing itself constantly to create, recreate and expand its population of professionals, technicians, executives and managers needed in the society (Chang, 1995), through initiatives such as the Thinking Schools, Learning Nation (TSLN), Teach Less, Learn More (TLLM) and Innovation and Enterprise (I&E) (Chua, 2006).

TSLN was launched in 1997; it focused on constructing creative and critical thinking schools, and developing all students into active learners by equipping them with critical thinking skills (Tan & Gopinathan, 2000). Under the TSLN vision, TLLM was introduced in 2004 with the aim to enhance student learning through the use of learner-centred pedagogies (Tan, 2007). Similarly, the I&E initiative, though not new to Singapore, was formally implemented in 2004 in an
attempt to cultivate the qualities of creativity, initiative and self-reliance in students, which were to strengthen the TLSN initiative (Ng & Tan, 2006). The present curriculum in Singapore is centred on maximising Singaporean students’ potential, and to develop their passion for lifelong learning ("MOE: Education," 2011a). The government believe that these initiatives would “increase Singapore’s chances of survival and development” and enhance “the productive potential of the individual” (Chang, 2002, p. 140).

Consistent with this perspective, the Singaporean government has been giving its full support to education. In 2009, the government invested about S$4.4 billion for basic education and another S$3.5 billion for higher education ("Singapore budget," 2009). In 2010, the government increased the investment to S$9.7 billion ("MOE: Education," 2011a). Such heavy investments demonstrate that the economic needs of a country are powerful as they determine what goes on in other sectors of the society, particularly the school (Apple, 1982).

2. The Singapore Straits Times and its influences

In this paper, extracts from The Straits Times, an English language daily newspaper which is also the highest-selling paper in Singapore owned by Singapore Press Holdings (SPH) are used to illustrate how the Singapore government, through newspapers have propped up the importance of educational reforms. Newspapers play an important role in disseminating, reinforcing and reviewing government policies. Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke and Roberts (1978) argue that media “do not simply ‘create’ the news; nor do they simply transmit the ideology” (p. 59); they project particular forms of social practice. This is because media not only represent the world selectively, they also project selected versions of social
identities and cultural values (Fairclough, 1995). Hence, the newspapers, a form of print media, will not be politically or ideologically impartial. This is because “[t]he problem of bias in the press is not a matter of who, or what system, is supported” (Reah, 1998, p. 10). Instead, biasness is perpetuated by the system (set by the government) and the context (laid by the government) that ensures its continuity, as decisions are needed to be taken to decide what information is to be included or excluded depending on the type of readers and the intended impact. Therefore, newspapers can present facts in ways that can influence the readers’ view of them, as news “is always reported from some particular angle” (Reah, 1998, p. 10).

In the Singaporean context, the problem of bias in the press is exacerbated by government determined conditions under which the press operates as the press must be subordinated to the needs of Singapore. According to Mauzy and Milne (2002),

> the government, through government-linked companies (GLCs) and private holding companies with close ties to the government, has a near monopoly of the media. Singapore Press Holdings Ltd. (SPH) owns all but one of the local dailies and tabloids, in all four official languages. The other is a free tabloid new in 2000, distributed to train and bus commuters, which is owned by the broadcasting group MediaCorp, a joint venture of four GLCs. (p. 137)

The government adheres to the belief that “media accountability is not a question of free market economics in Singapore, but of Government control” (Birch, 1993, p. 20). They argue that Singapore can only experience stability and ethnic harmony when the media supports and does not undermine governmental policies (Mauzy & Milne, 2002). It is stated clearly that
media criticism has “to be constructive so that the media maintain respect for the parent (the government) and the good name and harmony of the family (the country)” (Wong, 2001, p. 6). Thus, the government has substantial, if indirect, control over publications like The Straits Times through the Media Development Authority of Singapore which supervises how the media operate, or through the Undesirable Publications Act that prohibits the dissemination and sales of any publications that the authority deems to be against the public interest (“MICA,” 2005). With that in mind, reports published in The Straits Times normally provide a publically published document, which can be regarded by the readers as statements by the government, as evidenced by the tacit editorial support provided by the newspaper’s editor. In this paper, extracts from The Straits Times are used because they provide authoritative statements of government policy, in a manner similar to The People’s Daily in The People’s Republic of China.

3. The Singapore Straits Times and education reforms

This paper looks at two national day rally speeches taken from the years 2005 and 2009, and a 2009 interview report of Professor Linda Darling-Hammond who had visited the Nanyang Technological University (NTU) in the same year. An interesting feature of these news reports is the use of a large number headlines and sub-headlines. As in print news, framing is largely accomplished in the headline and lead paragraph of the story. Therefore, headlines are carefully constructed to provide a systematic overview of the actual content. The basic function of headlines “is to draw the attention of the reader to the topic of each news story” (Bignell, 1997, p. 96), in this case, drawing attention to the key themes of the message.
The 2005 national day rally speech, which continued the theme of the first speech in 2004, is selected because PM Lee Hsien Loong was only beginning his second year as Singapore’s third prime minister and the rally was an opportunity for him to evaluate what had been accomplished and to put forward his new agenda. In 2004 he had argued that,

the most important gift we can give our young, and to prepare for their future is education. It’s not just preparing them for a job but learning to live a life, to deal with the world, to be a full person. (From the Rally, 2004)

PM Lee continued his focus on the future in 2005 by stressing the need for Singaporeans to be adaptable so as to prepare for the imminent changes in the upcoming years. The full report of PM Lee’s 2005 speech occupied two full broadsheet newspaper pages and was accompanied by a coloured photograph. It contained two smaller pictures of PM Lee that acted as an attention getting frame to highlight the key topics of his speech which were: Retirement, the needy, education, service and graciousness, remaking Singapore and spirit of Singaporeans (“Remaking Singapore,” 2005). The main headline of the 2005 speech read – “Remaking Singapore as a vibrant global city”. The word “remarking” give an impression that Singapore would be undergoing a transformation process to become a “global city” under the new PM Lee’s leadership. This is supported by the introduction of the report and its following paragraph,

Introduction:

In his National Day Rally speech on Sunday, Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong mapped out his vision to remake Singapore and called on everyone to play a part.
Extract of the sections following the introduction:

...What will Singapore be like 40 years from now? I can’t tell you. Nobody can. But I can tell you it must be a totally different Singapore because if it is the same Singapore as it is today, we are dead. Therefore, we have to remake Singapore. Our economy, our education system, our mindsets, our city.

PM Lee’s approach to this revamp was to restructure the Singapore’s economy, followed by its education system, Singaporeans’ attitude to change, and lastly the whole society itself. As it was predicted that in 2005 there would be an impending slow down on the global economy, the government’s plan was to create more diversifications, such as expansion in the biomedical sector in order to reduce Singapore’s vulnerability (Bhaskaran, 2005). In order to implement this change to the country’s economy, the government indicated that the transformation needed to include the education system. According to Wong (2005), globalisation has resulted in the need for countries to invest in education, skills and technology capabilities in order to keep pace with the changing labour market, and therefore according to PM Lee, in order “to remake the economy, Singaporeans have to be equipped with the right skills and the right attitudes”. The importance of acquiring these skills and knowledge was reinforced in the Ministry of Education’s (MOE) subsequent responses, such as the opening of the NUS High School of Mathematics and Science in 2005, a specialised independent school that is affiliated with the local National University of Singapore (“NUS High”, 2009). This was an attempt to create a more vibrant education landscape to cater to a knowledge-based and innovative-driven economy. As stated by PM Lee:
Key topic (education)

We want to develop every talent, not just those who are academically inclined, and we want to prevent the problem of low skills and low incomes from going on into the next generation.

Extract of the sections on education (polytechnics and ITEs)

...we want many different models of success, many paths to success and many opportunities to cross over...

Wong (2005) explained that the globalisation of capitalism and labour had resulted in the widening of income gap and the most effective way to manage this inequality is to provide different kinds of education for different groups of people. She argued that while the government has been providing education, skills-training and upgrading courses, more needed to be done to ensure the workers from low-skilled and low-wage jobs have the capacity to increase their earning potential. Thus, aside from diversifying the economy, it had to be accompanied by a diversification the educational system, which in this case meant expanding places in the polytechnics and the Institutes of Technical Education (ITE). Prior to the 2005 rally pronouncement, changes were already made in the post-secondary landscape including the introduction of the ITE Advantage 2005-2009 initiative in January 2005. The objectives of this initiative were to ensure that ITE education equipped Singaporean graduates with the skills necessary for the globalised economy (Nathan, 2005). For the government, only by having “everyone to play a part” and move towards a common ‘right’ path, only then Singapore would be able to “develop every talent, not just those who academically inclined” but also “to prevent the problem of low skills and low incomes from going on
into the next generation” (“Remaking Singapore,” 2009, p. H6). These brief examples show that the Singapore government and MOE have been working closely together.

On the other hand, the 2009 speech was chosen because the general cycle for change is often between four to five years. Therefore the 2009 rally speech could be expected to reflect the government’s next phase of its developmental plan for Singapore, for example, as evidenced in the implementation of the third phase of the Information and Communication Technology (ICT) Masterplan which had begun in 2009 and will end in 2014 (“MOE: MOE launches,” 2008). The 2009 national day rally speech contained no specific mention of the Singaporean education system. It occupied ten broadsheet pages (four in the Prime section and six in the Home section) and was accompanied by numerous pictures. The striking difference between the coverage for the two years is that it gave greater focus to topics on the economy, health care and Singapore’s past successes with a prominent focus on religious issues. In 2009, the central themes were more specific, probably a result of the global financial crisis, the issue of an increasing unemployment rate, and the H1N1 flu outbreak. The report gave predominance to the danger of the “religious fault lines” (found in the main headline) because the issues of race and religion are considered sensitive and are perceived to be a serious threat to Singapore’s harmony and cohesiveness by the government (Oon, 2009). This emphasis could be the result of the saga caused by the Association of Women Action and Research (AWARE), a non-governmental group that was almost taken over by a group of Christians who felt that it was becoming too gay oriented. The event resulted in a series of discussions on the topics of multi-racialism and multi-religious tolerance (Ramesh, 2009), which included reports of
the churches and other religious leaders’ responses in the local media ("The Straits Times," 2009).

In 2009 speech, the importance of education was embedded in the section where PM Lee shared snapshots of the Singapore’s past challenges, successes (which included heavy investments in education at all levels), and his future expectations and commitments, i.e., his continual interest and investment in the education system, such as building more schools. He added that if only “Singaporeans remain united, an equally stunning transformation [Singapore] is possible in the next 50 years” (Basu, 2009, p. B6), implying that diversity in opinions, values and attitudes will be detrimental to the progress of Singapore. Thus, it is important for Singapore to continue to safeguard “the true spirit of Singapore – its commitment to excellence, ability to deliver results” (Basu, 2009, p. B6). Nonetheless, the importance of education was reinforced again about a week later in an interview with Professor Linda Darling-Hammond, who came to Singapore to receive an honorary degree of Doctor of Education from the Nanyang Technological University (Davie, 2009). Professor Darling-Hammond is a Charles E. Ducommun Professor of Education at Stanford University, where she has launched the Stanford Educational Leadership Institute and the School Redesign Network. She was also named to be one of the United States’ ten most influential people who has a great influence over the country’s education system in the last decade (Davis, 2009). This report is important (placed under prime news) as it talked about the need for a country to have well paid teachers who are trained in teaching. Her responses reinforced the expectations and commitments made by the government for the past years. More importantly, it also supported the 2009 speech that centred on Singapore’s past struggles, present
successes and future expectations. As reflected in the question-and-answer section of the interview (See Table 1), it discussed the importance of modifying the education system to meet future needs with Professor Darling-Hammond making specific references to the Singaporean education system.

Table 1. Education-related Questions and Answers (Davis, 2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Extracts of the answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1 What should we change in education to prepare youngsters for the future?</td>
<td>We have to move away from the factory model of education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>… the nature of work and society is changing at breakneck speed, pushed along by the growth of new knowledge and technology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thus, the new mission of schools must be to prepare students to work at jobs that do not yet exist, creating ideas and solutions for products and problems that have not yet identified, using technologies that have not yet been invented.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2 What new skills will be needed in this new economy?</td>
<td>It includes the ability to design, evaluate, and manage one’s own work so that it continually improves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Workers would also need to frame, investigate, and solve problems using a wide range of tools and resources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>They must also be able to find, analyse and use information for many purposes and collaborate strategically with others and communicate effectively in many forms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3 As one of the international advisers to the National Institute of Education, how would you rate our school system?</td>
<td>Singapore had already ploughed headlong into the new model of education to prepare students for the future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It has made strong, amazing educational progress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In many respects, Singapore’s work is a model for the world.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Creating a dynamic learning environment that is always adapting and responding to new challenges has become a national quest in Singapore...

It is substantial, strategic investments in education that are essential to our long-term prosperity.

Education is no longer a pathway to success; it is a prerequisite.

This question and answer section shown in Table 1 reaffirmed the critical role of the education in the overall development of the Singapore’s economy. It projected a positive image of the government’s contributions and accomplishments in the education system which has become “a model for the world” to follow.

The interview report is important because through The Straits Times, it re-established the government’s active role in the education system and reaffirmed its close partnership with the MOE. For example, the first question stressed the expectations of education for the future education, which was to prepare students for jobs that have yet to exist. This was followed by listing the specific skills needed by the economy in the second question, including the abilities to “design, evaluate, investigate, analyse and to solve problems” independently and collaboratively (Davis, 2009). And Singapore, through MOE, has already “made strong, amazing educational progress”. Questions 3 and 4 applauded the Singapore education system stating that it is moving in the correct direction with schools focusing on instilling the skills needed in the future economy. Professor Darling-Hammond argued that “education is no longer a pathway to success; it is a prerequisite” (Davis, 2009). And since “creating a dynamic learning environment... has become a national quest”, Ms Ho Peng, the Director-General of Education, affirmed that Singapore has already moved
into the “next lap” of its education journey (“MOE: The Teachers’ Digest,” 2009). Corresponding to this call, the MOE would open the School of Science and Technology in 2010 that focuses on innovation and enterprise, and applied learning whereby students learn by doing (“School of,” 2008-09). In addition, ITE education is also to undergo another phase of change known as ITE innovate 2010-2014. This new phase, unlike the previous ITE Advantage phase, has as its focus is to produce “a globally-competent, innovative and relevant workforce” by equipping its students with industry-relevant skills so that they would be able to take on the challenges of the global marketplace (ITE Innovate, 2010, p. 2).

These news reports have shown that it is crucially important for Singapore to have a common vision i.e., to have a robust education system in order to prepare Singapore for the future. These examples show that the government and ministry, in collaboration with the local media, have been working closely to ensure the success of the reforms. For the Singapore government, such centralised control will facilitate a more effective translation process of the various policies.

To complement these changes, Singaporean schools have had to re-define the teaching pedagogies that are appropriate to cultivate these skills. At the school level, the schools are given autonomous power to incorporate the policies according to the needs of the school. Nonetheless, the intentions and objectives of these policies remain constant in the different schools. For instance, in Pei Hwa Primary school, higher ability students are put through a special programme known as “EL Thinkers Today, Leaders Tomorrow” (TTLT) to cultivate critical and creative thinking skills by teaching them concept mapping, research skills, drama skills, debating skills, reading and leadership
skills ("Pei Hwa", 2011). In Nanyang Primary school, the school adopts a Toy@Work programme to allow students to design and create their own toys. The programme allows the students to have hands-on-experiences to develop scientific concepts and build creativity ("Nanyang Primary," 2011). Although these schools have different programmes, the key objectives remain the same, and that is to cultivate critical and creative thinking skills among students. Besides the schools, the parents are also heavily involved in the educational changes. Through COMPASS (COMmunity PArents in Support of Schools), a National Advisory council established in 1998 works together with the schools to promote better home-school-community relationship ("MOE: What is," 2005). For example in Gongshang Primary school, the school sources the help of the parents to run the scout activities ("MOE, Partners," 2005). At River Valley High school, its parent-teacher association has been organising various events throughout the year so as to enhance the school relationship with the parents ("River Valley," 2008). Such attempts to bridge the gap between parents and schools, as well as the community are important because they not only facilitate the translation process of the various policies, more importantly, they help to provide a supportive and appropriate learning environment beyond the walls of the school. Although some parents had expressed their unhappiness over the “constant tweaks to the education system” (see Figure 1), the importance of education and its changes have been generally accepted by into the Singapore society. As shown in this year’s Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE)¹ results, 97 per cent of the students have passed the examination and have been promoted to secondary schools with top students

¹ PSLE is taken by all primary school students at their sixth year of education.
credit their success to their parents who were very supportive in their learning journey (See, 2011).

**Conclusion**

According to Ong (2009), Singapore will need to continue to explore new ways, methods, and tools to help the country to further improve and to rise to greater heights, and in order for Singapore to maintain its competitive edge in world markets. As discussed in the previous discussion, the basic intent of education remains unchanged, that is, to provide the knowledge needed for the economy. With this perspective, the 2005 and 2009 national day rally speeches and Professor Darling-Hammond’s interview report have reaffirmed the Singapore government’s extensive involvement in the redesigning and realigning of its educational system, and this commitment to change is well supported by MOE. As reflected in the MOE’s vision statement, the ministry is committed to “to nurture young Singaporeans who ask questions and look for answers, and who are willing to think in new ways, solve new problems and create new opportunities for the future” (“MOE: Our,” 2011b).

In a nutshell, the values, attitudes and purposes towards education in Singapore are essentially well supported by the different stakeholders (see Figure 1). Although different policies produce varying degrees of successes, Figure 1 demonstrates that the mandatory state interventions have enabled Singapore educational policies to be translated efficiently and effectively, from the government, ministry, schools and parents. Nonetheless, such alignment has also produced unintended and/or misaligned outcomes (see Figure 1).
Figure 1 shows that despite a general alignment of values, attitudes and purposes of education, it has produced unintended or misaligned outcomes. For example, as found in Ng’s (2004) research, the various changes made in the educational system throughout the years had resulted in dissatisfactions among the students. He discovered that although the students were generally receptive to the various changes, in reality these changes were executed superficially in schools. The students pointed out that although the government and ministry had been advocating changes to the way students’ learned and were assessed i.e., critical and creative thinking, the education system still remained centred on results and academic ranking, thus sideling the objectives of the various educational initiatives, such as TSLN, TLLM.
and I&E. The obsession with academic grades was also highlighted in PM Lee’s 2004 rally speech whereby he appealed to the parents to let their children “grow up in their own time” and not to treat grades as the not the only thing in life (From the Rally, 2004). In view of this, even in a highly structured and controlled environment such as Singapore, the alignment of values, attitudes and purposes of education does not produce completely consistent outcomes and behaviours across the stakeholders.

References


It has been more than a decade since the EU recognised education as a key factor for the EU to become “the most competitive knowledge economy in the world”. In facing this challenge, the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) was introduced as the main mechanism to achieve common EU educational goals. It is very interesting to see how the OMC has had an impact on different aspects of national education policies and how the idea of a common European educational space has helped countries to increasingly perceive themselves as similar with respect to necessary educational changes. From that point of view, on the one hand, this chapter explores the theoretical presumptions about the role of the local level in European educational space. On the other hand, it provides so far missing empirical evidence about the involvement of the local level
in OMC processes in the case study of Ljubljana. On the basis of analyses of formal and informal documents and semi-structured interviews, this chapter concludes that although Ljubljana is included in various different forms of OMC-like activities in the field of education, actors involved at the local level do not perceive their behaviour to be influenced by the OMC. Values, attitudes and purposes of involved actors at the local level are in accordance with the EU ones, although their actual behaviour does not express such compliance due to the institutional and cultural particularities of Slovenia.

**Keywords**

Open Method of Coordination – Local level – European educational space

**Introduction**

In developing the European educational space, the roles that different actors play in the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) has frequently been addressed. In highlighting the OMC’s openness, decentralisation and subsidiarity, the local level role has gained significant attention from scholarly and European Union (EU) institutions. The assessments of its role are controversial. On the one side, the ideal institutional architecture of the OMC as described in the Lisbon Strategy (European Council 2000) and characterised in the White Paper on European Governance (European Commission 2001) highlights its crucial importance for EU effectiveness and legitimacy. In that way, it is assumed that recent social changes triggering educational reactions are concentrated at the local level. The local level thereby acquires a relevant role for its capacity to value local specificities and to deal with local problems in an appropriate way. Consequently, the local level provides remarkable resources to bring about societal and educational changes on the national/EU agenda in order to proactively shape them. Hence, the local level
potential in the OMC relies on bottom-up learning and consequently contributes to achieving over-arching EU goals. The OMC, which constantly seeks solutions and new usable knowledge, also enables policy makers at the national and EU levels to detect innovative solutions at the local level that can be (with the bottom-up approach) spread throughout the EU and therefore trigger convergence in European education. On the other side, despite these various potentials of local level activeness, some scholars express criticism and doubt about its real involvement in national and European educational space and recognise that its role is not fully exploited. Moreover, the question about the relative weight of local knowledge versus top-down learning in the OMC remains open. Both sides agree that empirical evidence in this field is missing and that the research question addressed in this chapter – “What is the real role of the local level in education OMC and therefore in the European educational space?” – has not yet been satisfactorily answered.

The basic objective of this chapter is to fill the research gap by providing an innovative research framework for investigating the role of the local level in the European educational space. In this way, the theories and concepts about the OMC,

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122 Since the local level in EU documents is not precisely defined and since localism can be interpreted in various ways, for the purpose of our research (in accordance with theories and concepts used and academic flows in this field) we stated our own working definition of the local level in the OMC: the local level is the lowest unit (agency or individual) responsible for realising EU goals in the field of education. To play its role successfully, it is able to carry out policy learning activities (sharing best practice, knowledge, etc.). Following this definition, the municipality is not the lowest local level (the schools as stakeholders are) in terms of agency, but in terms of individuals the very bottom represent students, teachers and headmasters of the schools and not only municipality officers. Understanding the local level in this very bottom sense (and presupposing its active role) can provide necessary input to the EU (effectiveness and legitimacy).
Multilevel governance and policy learning with special emphasis on bottom-up learning are used to introduce and explain the importance of the local level in the convergence of the European educational space and to highlight the empirical findings about how Ljubljana, the biggest City Municipality in Slovenia, (as a local level) is involved in national and European education policymaking. Here, this chapter limits itself to the policy of lifelong learning and focuses on the field of adult education. In conducting empirical research, special emphasis is on Ljubljana’s involvement in activities under the umbrella of the OMC and learning about policy (sharing best practices, comparing results, benchmarking, etc.), but other types of informal cooperation are also taken into consideration (Eurocities, Town Twinning, etc.). At the end, previously mentioned theories and concepts are also used to critically estimate Ljubljana’s (non-)involvement in the OMC and policy learning processes, to explain its (in)capability to be fully involved and to present opportunities for a more proactive role of the local level in such processes.

This chapter draws on theoretical and empirical evidence. The above-mentioned research question is addressed by a comprehensive review of academic discussions about the role of the local level in OMC and EU policymaking with special emphasis on bottom-up learning and through analysing EU/national/Ljubljana official documents in the field of (adult) education/lifelong learning. Based on the complexity and particularity of a unique case, the case study (City Municipality of Ljubljana) is presented in-depth. Additional empirical evidence was gathered with semi-structured interviews conducted with relevant officials in the Slovenian Ministry of Education and Sport (at the Education Development Office and EU Department) from 2008 to 2010 (four interviews), at the Slovenian Permanent Representation in Brussels.
(one interview), and with relevant officials at the Directorate General for Education and Culture in Brussels (ten interviews) in January 2010. Data gathered through semi-structured interviews present an additional source of information and were only used to clarify those open issues that we were unable to identify from our analyses of official documents.

This chapter proceeds as follows. First, the role of the OMC and different actors in the emerging European educational space are presented. In the second section, we focus on the scholars’ discussions about the OMC potential for policy learning with special emphasis on bottom-up learning. The third section focuses on empirical evidence from Slovenia presenting its institutional organisation of the local level with special emphasis on education matters. In the fourth section, we conduct the case study of Ljubljana and analyse its activities in the field of education through the lenses of policy learning theory. Finally, the conclusion synthesises the main findings.

1. The OMC and the role of different actors in the emerging European educational space

Since the mid-1980s the European Commission has launched numerous initiatives, buttressed by extensive academic literature, to connect local governments, such as cities, provinces, and regions, to the process of European integration and to address the discomfort with the homogenising pressure of the EU. These initiatives show that the EU does not represent a threat, but rather it supports local diversity and experimentalism. Thus, the EU has openly embraced diversity and local democracy in an attempt to support its legitimacy and fill in democratic gaps (Nicola 2011: 3). Therefore, since the mid-1980s decentralisation was functional to European integration insofar as it responded to the demands of increasing the legitimacy and participation of local actors in supranational
decision-making processes. The involvement of local actors was a way through which the European Commission sought a more successful implementation of its legislative and policy initiatives, especially in regulating the social aspects of the single market (Nicola 2011: 16). The new social vision of the EU in the 1990s brought about immense problems for a governance approach based on the classical Community Method. It took the EU into areas that have traditionally been the exclusive province of the member states, therefore also into education. The states have been especially wary of extending legislative competence to the EU in these domains. These are areas of policy in which there are great differences between the member states, and calls for reforms in areas of high political salience (Trubek & Trubek 2005: 347). It is in this context that the OMC has been designed and developed as a device for sharing responsibilities between the EU and the member states in some core areas of economic and social policy (as well as in education) (Kohl & Vahlpahl 2005: 4).

To succeed, the EU’s new social policy initiatives have relied on the engagement of all stakeholders, seeking new solutions to seemingly intractable problems, spreading best practices, seeking common goals without insisting on uniform measures, and ensuring easy and rapid revisability of norms and objectives as new knowledge accumulates (Trubek & Trubek 2005: 347). Therefore, diversity was not seen as a problem to be overcome by centralisation, but as a fortunate situation to be taken advantage of in the search for new solutions to seemingly intractable problems. They stressed the need for experimentation, and considered this to be best accomplished by fostering divergent models at national or sub-national levels. They believed that the widest possible public participation in
policy development was likely to lead to the most salutary results (Trubek & Trubek 2005: 353).

The empirical evidence concerning this question suggests that both the bottom-up and the top-down elements are part of the OMC. The argument that the OMC is generally less of a top-down process is based more on the fact that there is no treaty base giving the European level this possibility, which therefore makes the supranational actors tread carefully (Drachenberg 2009: 258-259). Much of the rhetoric associated with the OMC is sensitive both to adherence to the principle of subsidiarity, and to the maintenance of local autonomy. By providing a multi-level, non-hierarchical, reflexive, ‘soft’ framework that facilitates mutual learning, spreads good practices and, perhaps most importantly, accommodates diversity while at the same time fostering convergence towards commonly agreed EU goals, it could bridge, or at least narrow, the gap between subsidiarity and harmonization. These permit exploratory learning within and among member states by contrasting different problem-solving strategies, each informed by a particular idea of the good, with the aim of both improving local performance and creating frameworks for joint action at the EU level (Zeitlin 2005c: 214).

2. How should the local level play a role through the policy learning process in the OMC?

The most detailed definition of the OMC in EU documents, which almost all scholars of the OMC refer to, is the one from the Lisbon Strategy (European Council 2000) where it is stated that the OMC involves:

- ‘fixing guidelines for the Union combined with specific timetables for achieving the goals (...) in the short, medium and long terms;
- establishing, where appropriate, quantitative and qualitative indicators and benchmarks against the best in the world and tailored to the needs of different member states and sectors as a means of comparing best practice;
- translating these European guidelines into national and regional policies by setting specific targets;
- periodic monitoring, evaluation and peer review organised as mutual learning processes’ (Presidency Conclusions, point 37).

In addition, point 38 states: “A fully decentralised approach will be applied in line with the principle of subsidiarity in which the Union, the member states, the regional and local levels as well as the social partners and civil society, will be actively involved, using variable forms of partnership.”

Along with its democratic dimension (respecting principles of good governance), the OMC has been frequently understood as a policy learning process. Its potential for learning processes hinges on several mechanisms, such as the systematic diffusion of knowledge and experiences; persuasion supported by the practices of peer review and dialogue; knowledge work including the development of a common policy discourse; comparable statistics, and common indicators, repetition, and strategic use of policy linkages (Borrás & Jacobsson 2004: 195). These are all instruments that should assist policy makers in their learning exercises. The EU itself has been described as a platform for learning and policy transfer (Radaelli 2004: 3). Instead of using the authority of the law or the weight of hierarchy, new governance is often associated with learning. The purpose of the

123 The five principles of good governance are openness, participation, accountability, effectiveness and coherence. These five principles also reinforce those of subsidiarity and proportionality (European Commission 2001).
OMC is to organise a learning process at the European level in order to stimulate exchange and the emulation of best practices and to help member states improve their own national policies. The OMC aims to organise a learning process about how to cope with the common challenges of the global economy in a co-ordinated way, while also respecting national diversity. This is becoming a new exercise for governance at the European and national levels (Rodrigues 2002).

Among the various definitions of policy learning in multilevel governance, some of them provide an especially important detail about the direction of policy learning in multilevel governance. In its ideal-typical and most abstract form, the OMC has potential for learning in at least four directions (Radaelli 2003; Larionova 2007):

- EU-level learning within communities of policy makers engaged in EU policy processes (or ‘learning at the top’),
- hierarchical learning from the EU level down to the domestic and local levels (or ‘learning from the top’),
- learning from below (i.e., social actors, regions, local governments) to the top (or ‘bottom-up learning’),

124 Another interesting feature of policy learning is not only its direction (on the top, top-down, bottom-up, bottom-bottom) but also the reasons why policy learning occurs. The main reasons for policy learning can be: a) learning from own experience (learning as a way of reducing errors and analysing own institutional and organisational past); b) learning from others (more efficient, not so painful); c) learning in organisational network. By learning from own experience government can seek the solutions in its own local environments. Local units can therefore be the subject and object of learning. In this approach, learning via organisational networks is all about tapping the benefits of local knowledge – a point made on several occasions by Trubek and Trubek (2005).
heterarchical learning between actors at the lower level (between local levels or member states) (or ‘bottom-bottom learning’).

Figure 1: Directions of policy learning within the Open Method of Coordination

Source: Adapted from Larionova (2007)

In its ideal-typical form, the OMC has considerable potential for learning in at least two directions. The emphasis on participation and local knowledge should provide a platform for ‘bottom-up’ learning, whereas peer review and benchmarking – if properly used – can generate cross-national policy diffusion and learning. Turning to the metaphor of the method as a radar, the idea is that the network structure of the OMC enables policy makers to detect innovative solutions – wherever they are produced at the local level (Radaelli 2003: 39). By estimating the local level’s role in the European educational space, the last two directions are especially important: ‘bottom-up’ and ‘bottom-bottom’ learning.

Some commentators argue that the method searches and diffuses local knowledge – and in doing so creates the preconditions for ‘bottom-up’ learning. The most
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inclined to stress the potential of the OMC for ‘bottom-up’ learning are American authors (e.g., Cohen & Sabel 2003; Trubek & Trubek 2003; 2005). The idea – they argue – is that there is a solution somewhere, but hierarchy cannot provide it. Therefore, the OMC activates a network that searches the solution. As such, the OMC works like a radar. According to Zeitlin (2002), the OMC radar must tap the benefits of local knowledge and local experimentation. Accordingly, participation should not be limited to those who operate in EU-level committees, but it should be extended to local level actors. By learning from local knowledge and by generating transnational diffusion, policy makers can improve at their own pace (Radaelli 2003: 26). On the other hand, since education processes are always context-specific, policy learning is extraordinarily demanding as it requires knowledge of the local conditions responsible for the success of a policy programme (Kaiser & Prange 2004: 251).

Other commentators consider that learning is more hierarchical and that the OMC is a methodology to get member states in line with the EU policy. Be that as it may, the OMC in vitro – that is, in its ideal-typical format – has considerable potential. It can deliver ‘better governance’ (Radaelli 2003: 8). On the other hand, the text insists on mutual learning processes and development of domestic policies at a pace that is not dictated by Brussels – something close to ‘bottom-up’ dynamics. If Lisbon contains the template of the OMC, it is fair to conclude that the template leaves the question of the relative weight of local knowledge versus ‘top-down’ learning open (Radaelli 2003: 25).

The scant empirical information on learning in OMC processes directs us towards a problem acknowledged by the European Commission itself: up until now, the amount of learning ‘from the bottom’ and across-countries has been limited. One explanation for this is
that participation falls short of the ideal-type of participatory governance designed at Lisbon. If the OMC is all about tapping the benefits of local knowledge, poor participatory governance is a serious hindrance to learning. One key mechanism envisaged by the Lisbon architects is simply not working (Radaelli 2003: 40; 2004: 24).

3. Why is the local level role in the OMC not fully exploited? OMC and its obstacles for (bottom-up) policy learning

The importance of local level participation and ‘bottom-up’ learning is often stressed in EU official documents about the OMC, as well as in the academic literature about the OMC. It is also seen from the different activities of various actors promoting the OMC.125 A common claim made by the OMC architects like Rodrigues (2002) is that the OMC has considerable potential for policy learning. By learning from local knowledge and by generating transnational diffusion, policy makers can improve and learn at their own pace. Two questions arise: are the claims valid in relation to the abstract properties of the method? Does reality conform to the potential? (Radaelli 2004: 13-14).

125 After the introduction of the OMC, various (local and regional) actors have felt very enthusiastic about their more important role in EU decision-making processes. Their hopes and expectations were for example presented at two conferences: the first one was organised by the Committee of the European Municipalities and Regions in Brussels in October 2001 (Governance and the Open Method of Coordination) (Council of European Municipalities and Regions 2001). The second one was organised by the Committee of the Regions Conference on “The Open Method of Coordination: Improving European Governance?”, which took place in Brussels in September 2002 (Committee of the Regions 2002).
Radaelli (2003) argues that learning processes can take place both among policy makers at the EU-level (horizontal); the domestic level can get inspired by the EU-level (‘top-down’); and the domestic level can put forward ideas from the domestic level to the EU-level (‘bottom-up’). According to Radaelli, learning is most likely to take place ‘at the top’, at the political EU level (the horizontal approach). On the other hand, empirical studies show little evidence of a learning process from either a top-down or a bottom-up approach (Radaelli 2008: 241). One could argue that this also means a low potential for learning among actors at the national level. Radaelli (2003) also argues that the reason why the results in cross-national and bottom-up learning have been limited so far can be explained by the following factors:

- Lack of participation at national and local level because there are no incentives for participation. This shortcoming cannot be resolved in Brussels, but must be made in the capitals of the member states.

Some authors (Tömmel 1998: 73) have noticed that the emergence of new modes of governance, rather than promoting a third level in Europe, are “[...] leading away from it, because the newly emerging patterns of decision-making and consensus building evolve independently or even against formal distribution of powers between government levels.” In fact, new governance supporters advocated for local power by relying on national-local structures and without envisaging new legal powers for subnational actors engaging in EU policy-making (Drachenberg 2009: 44-45).

Despite the commitment of new governance advocates to decentralisation, the participation of local governments in the OMC has been limited. As Scott (2005) noted, the OMC lacked a regional dimension to
its process. While the White Paper called for more direct contact with the regions, the European Commission only envisaged coordination with national governments or with the Committee of the Regions as an optional source of consultation on subnational matters. In this respect, subnational actors also expressed their concern about retaining their social welfare competences vis-à-vis the expansion of the OMC. More empirically based analyses of the OMC describe the process much more as top-down standard-setting through specialised committees rather than a bottom-up deliberation, recognising the diversity of national situations, ensuring local participation and public scrutiny (Smismans 2004: 6).

- The underestimation of the peculiarities of learning in a transnational political context

The challenge is how to reconcile hard political truths involved in the Lisbon Strategy with ‘bottom-up’ learning. The OMC design and practice is often silent on how to achieve ‘bottom-up’ learning, it does not provide enough avenues for participation, and does not use conflict as a resource for policy learning.

- Limitations in the current use of benchmarking

The involvement of the social partners, civil society and regional and local authorities is much weaker than what the rhetoric suggests. Without such a decentralised participation, the definition of benchmarks at the European level may be a threat for – rather than a radicalisation of – the principle of subsidiarity (Smismans 2004: 14). Such a top-down approach cannot be the best guarantee for respecting national and sub-national diversity.

One of the basic ambiguities inherent in the OMC is that policy coordination needs to follow a top-down logic if seriously attempting to counter-balance economic integration and that the learning processes
that indicators are supposed to support require more of a bottom-up logic and would seem to necessarily include a broader range of actors and indicators produced on the ground (Room 2005). While “transformation” relies on the ability of local experience to foster a more responsive and more legitimate legal order, there is neither evidence of consistent local involvement, nor (where there is participation) of local input “feeding-up” into the process of framing “central” or EU objectives.

3.1 Some suggestions...

Reception of the OMC, due to its non-binding character, will not take place unless learning reaches down to lower levels of governance and is developed in public reasoning there (de la Porte, Pochet & Room 2001: 300-303; Jacobsson & Vifell 2003: 28; Zeitlin 2005a: 31). In this sense, it does not come as a surprise that so far there have been relatively few concrete cases at the national level of direct or first-order policy learning from abroad about what works and what does not (Zeitlin 2005a: 26). For learning to happen, there would need to be a greater commitment of key actors and much more space would need to be dedicated to peer review and the contextualisation of best practices. If the OMC is a process that should include evaluation as well, then additionally questions of power would need to be resolved (who has the right to evaluate and with which consequences?) (Kröger 2004: 23-24).

Whereas the European Commission is primarily engaged in the establishment of a framework for dialogue, co-ordination and benchmarking, the member states are responsible for the creation of ‘internal’ co-ordination mechanisms, both horizontally between the respective government departments and vertically between the national, regional and local levels. Local and regional actors are thus not directly
involved in the co-ordination process. As a consequence, the success of the OMC in education – at least in view of the vertical dimension – largely depends on the existence of co-ordination mechanisms within the member states and the willingness of local and regional actors to subscribe to targets that have been defined at the European level (Kaiser & Prange 2004: 253). At that point the distinction that is sometimes made between top-down benchmarking (where benchmarking is applied externally) and bottom-up benchmarking (where organisations benchmark themselves) becomes important. Benchmarking could be more relevant at the national level because the (ideological) differences\textsuperscript{126} about what is good policy are not so prominent (there is less competitiveness, bargaining and political influences). In defining good policy from the local level (aggregating statistical data from the local level) individual member states aggregate the important information about what works, and what the problems in implementing EU benchmarks are. Therefore, the national level works like a mediator between the local and EU levels and a translator of essential feedback to the EU level, which is especially important in times of increasing school autonomy (which means that schools, as stakeholders, are responsible for their success and therefore can use different instruments of policy learning in order to improve their results). In connection with developing (internal, national and international) evaluation methodologies, benchmarking stimulates cooperation and competition inside member states. Although the local level in the member states in some way works under the same conditions, intelligent benchmarking and policy learning are also important at this stage. Because of the differences between different local levels

\textsuperscript{126} Institutional legacy, state tradition, and the dominant legal culture is the same.
(municipalities) (e.g., rural/urban environment, school infrastructure, general socio-economic situation) we need to be very careful when comparing local level results. At that point, secondary analysis of the international large-scale assessment studies seems to be very valuable as well as the introduction of ‘intelligent’ or ‘practice’ benchmarking (Lundvall & Tomlinson 2002). This means that benchmarking is about to adopt a systemic perspective and will therefore be extended in two directions. First, it will look at all mechanisms that have an impact on education policies (e.g., public programmes, the education and research system, or financial structures). Second, it will incorporate the wider policy framework. This may result in a situation in which benchmarking will include not only the international comparison of quantitative performance indicators, but also the ‘use of simple statistical techniques to map causalities and the qualitative comparison of systems’ (Lundvall & Tomlinson 2002: 225). Such a benchmarking model seems more appropriate to reflect the context-specific characteristics of successful practices in education policy. However, it will also disclose that best practices are often based on specific local conditions and on specific modes of interaction between innovative organisations. This would constitute a strong argument in favour of a bottom-up benchmarking process in which schools, local clusters or regional associations compare themselves with other respective units.

From the scholars’ discussion it is evident that the OMC in its ideal framework holds great potential for (‘bottom-up’) policy learning and that in its practice one can find several reasons why these potentials are not exploited. One argument for its improved exploitation is the more prominent role of the local level in the OMC process. For ensuring its role in the situation of an absence of formally defined
mechanisms, it is especially important that the member states and local communities foster learning opportunities in the interests of competitiveness and social cohesion on their own. In the next chapter, we present the particularities of Slovenian local level organisation in the field of education. By estimating Ljubljana’s reception of OMC activities we estimate why the OMC presents a hindrance to ‘bottom-up’ policy learning and how Ljubljana (on the basis of theoretical presumptions, Slovenian legislation in the field of administrative organisation and education policy and its own capabilities) could play a more proactive role in the Slovenian and European educational space.

4. Empirical evidence from Slovenia

Today, the EU decentralisation rhetoric lumps together a number of very different actors such as metropolitan areas, towns, neighbourhoods, and districts as well as regions, provinces, and cities in the homogeneous category of subnational governments (Nicola 2011: 10). Likewise, EU law and policy redistribute power among local actors in a way that is highly dependent both on supranational and state background rules as well as on the intranational distribution of economic and cultural power within each state. Because member states maintain a wide range of different constitutional regimes, local governments in the EU have a wide range of possibilities to cooperate or resist the implementation of EU policies and collaborate or collide with Brussels in implementing EU policies (Nicola 2011: 5). Therefore, Poto (2007) explains that the effects of EU decentralisation reforms and their benefits for local governments ought to be analysed field by field and with particular attention to the different internal allocations of power in each member state. This chapter is thus focused on the role of the local level in the education policy field in Slovenia.
4.1 Institutional architecture (national – regional – local level)

Apart from territorial smallness and a low number of inhabitants, Slovenia’s special features include its extreme natural, cultural and socio-economic diversity.\textsuperscript{127} The result of this diversity is limited access to certain areas, challenging settlement conditions and difficulty in organising economic activities (Negotiating Positions 2000: 226).

Considering the historical development of (and hence the differences between) Slovenian regions, shortly after the country’s independence in 1991 regional development was placed on the back burner and implementation of a balanced regional policy was not seen as a priority primarily because developmental problems were managed separately and not regionally (i.e., as regional developmental problems). In addition, in the initial years after Slovenia’s independence there was a high degree of centralisation of resources and arbitrary decision-making at the national level. On top of the political agenda were the tasks of establishing the political and administrative structure of the state and the macroeconomic dilemmas in the process of economic transition. Hence, the level of resources earmarked for the regional domain was falling throughout, and disparities between ‘regions’\textsuperscript{128} in Slovenia after its independence further expanded.

The past development of regional policy also influenced the remodelling of institutional and functional design at the subnational level in Slovenia.

\textsuperscript{127} In comparison with other EU member states, Slovenia’s regional diversity is unique due to its territorial smallness. Namely, no other EU member state is within such a small territory as regionally diverse as Slovenia.

\textsuperscript{128} Since regions in Slovenia as administrative-political units have still not been formed, in the article we treat ‘regions’ as statistical or functional regions.
after its independence. In the year following the promulgation of the Constitution of the newly-established state in 1991, the majority of central bodies at the national level were created, while some others – including institutional design at the local level – remained with the so-called ‘communal system’ (Šmidovnik 1997: 182). This system derived from the earlier socialist form of government whereby central and local governments were inseparably linked. Its main institution was the municipality, designated as a ‘commune’.129 In terms of status, it was an independent public entity with a directly elected representative body and it functioned relatively autonomously. These communes undertook the bulk of state administrative tasks. Thus, the lion’s share of the territorial, functional and organisational structure of the commune reflected the needs of the central administration (Vlaj 1998: 21).130 However, this old municipal system could not be taken apart by a dictate overnight, so the life of the communes extended until the beginning of 1995 (Šmidovnik 1997: 183), when new municipalities became operative.

The new municipalities131 were formed pursuant to the Law on Local Self-Government,132 and following a

129 The ‘commune’ was not the usual continental municipality, which is primarily concerned with specifically local matters and their administration. It instead acted as the agent of central government and dealt with local matters only secondarily (Šmidovnik 1997: 182).

130 Some experts today estimate that about 80 per cent of a commune’s work was concerned with state administration and only 20 per cent with local affairs (Šmidovnik 1997: 182).

131 Municipalities in the Slovenian context are self-governing local communities. In accordance with Slovenian legislation, the territory of a municipality comprises a settlement or several settlements bound together by the common needs and interests of the residents. The competencies of a municipality comprise local affairs, which may be regulated by the municipality autonomously and which only affect the residents of the municipality. With the prior consent of the municipality or wider self-governing local
The new Law on Local Self-Government also set some criteria for the definition of the new municipality, with the two main ones being: the minimum infrastructural capacities of the area of a municipality, which could not have fewer than 5,000 residents. However, the last criterion was ignored when the municipalities were finally demarcated since political criteria prevailed in line with interests emerging directly in Parliament when it passed the Law on New Municipalities at the end of 1994. In fact, of the 147 new municipalities initially formed more than one-third have fewer than 5,000 residents and were too small according to the official criteria, while on the other hand approximately one-fifth of them retained the territorial boundaries of the former communes and consequently exceeded the intended limits (Šmidovnik 1997: 186). Moreover, in the following years a majority of these ‘large’ municipalities separated into smaller municipalities, so to date the number of them has grown to 211 (see Figure 2), whereas the number of municipalities with fewer than 5,000 residents has even increased. As a result, the vast majority of municipalities in Slovenia

community, the state may by law vest specific duties within the state jurisdiction in the municipality if the state provides financial resources for this purpose, whereas state authorities supervise the proper and competent performance of work relating to matters vested in the local community bodies by the state. In principle, a municipality is financed from its own resources. Municipalities unable to completely provide for the performance of their duties due to insufficient economic development are assured additional funding by the state in accordance with principles and criteria provided by law.

132 The Law on Local Self-Government was adopted in 1994.
133 Provisions of the Law on Local Self-Government were predetermined by the Slovenian Constitution, which states: ‘Residents of Slovenia exercise local self-government in municipalities and other local communities’ (Article 138). ‘A municipality is established by law following a referendum by which the will of the residents in a given territory is determined’ (paragraph 3 of Article 139).
are generally very small since the country’s total population of 2 million inhabitants is divided up amongst these 211 municipalities. Most municipalities thus have very limited financial and political power and are inadequately staffed.

Figure 2: Ljubljana as one of 211 Slovenian municipalities

Linked to the issue of the country’s territorial organisation, a long running and considerable problem has been the fact that there has not been ‘institutional coverage’ at the intermunicipal or regional level. Therefore, in the intervening space between the national government and municipalities a kind of ‘vacuum’ has developed, bringing adverse impacts on the operations of both national and local levels. The fact is that business arising from the common interests of people in their locality usually does not stop at the borders of their municipality, but moves beyond them to a broader territorial unit (Šmidovnik 1997: 189). This defect was partly corrected by Slovenia’s accession to the EU, which as an exogenous factor triggered cooperation between local actors (especially municipalities) at the ‘regional’ level (Lajh 2004: 20) and partly filled the vacuum between national and
local levels with the setting up of Regional Development Agencies (hereinafter: RDA). However, many experts (e.g., Ribičič 1998; Šmidovnik 1998; Vlaj 1998; Grafenauer 2003) argue that regions in Slovenia as administrative-political entities still need to be established since the current territorial organisation is ever expanding the gap between the small and powerless communities and the centralised state. The introduction of political-administrative regions should close this gap between small municipalities and the state, which is excessively centralised and has too much power compared with the municipalities. In addition, the present situation is also increasing the gap between the more developed central Ljubljana urban region, and the rest of Slovenia. In fact, this falling behind has been characteristic of three-quarters of the country’s territory, even though it was one of the few (if not the only) countries in the socialist world to base its development on polycentrism (Plut 1998).

In the field of education policy, municipalities act as founders of public pre-school institutions (*vrtci*), music schools and basic schools (*osnovne šole*). They provide these institutions with partial or the main financial resources needed for the provision of their programmes and partial resources for assets and their maintenance. Other finances are provided by the government, namely, for the salaries of basic school employees and for material expenses and assets. Local authorities are responsible for co-management of the pre-school institutions and schools they partially finance. Financial resources for this purpose can be obtained from local taxes and/or the state government. Criteria for financing are determined by the minister in charge of education and apply to the whole country. Municipalities take part in the management of basic schools. They must respect the national school legislation and standards set by law (Eurydice 2009: 33). Control over compliance with the
relevant acts, other regulations and documents that regulate the organisation, budgeting and conduct of education provided by music schools, educational institutions for children and adolescents with special needs, organisations providing adult education and private persons providing accredited educational programmes is conducted by the Inspectorate of the Republic of Slovenia for Education and Sport. School inspection includes control over compliance with acts, regulations and other documents regulating student residential facilities (Eurydice 2009: 30).

In the field of adult education, the National Assembly passes laws concerning adult education and training, and adopts the National Programme on Adult Education on an annual basis (2004 - 2010). These annual plans are adopted by the Government. The minister of the sector concerned issues orders and rules specifying laws, selects education and training providers and makes decisions about co-financing arrangements. Adult education is regulated in more detail in the Adult Education Act, in some articles of the school and labour legislation and in other regulations of various fields of the economic and public sectors. The main decision-making department for the design and implementation of policy within the field of adult education is the Adult Education Division within the Ministry of Education and Sport. There is also a special department for vocational and job-related training within the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, namely the Sector for Lifelong Learning and Scholarships. The Government has entrusted professional matters and programme development to the Council of Experts of the Republic of Slovenia for Adult Education (CEAE) (Strokovni svet republike Slovenije za izobraževanje odraslih), which monitors and evaluates the conditions and the development of adult education in the country according to the developmental needs of society, from the viewpoint of
quality and international comparability. The Government appoints the members of the CEAE, who are well known experts in the field. Four members are appointed on the nominations of the ministries, three from the chambers, three on the nominations of the social partners, two on the nominations from the consortia of public institutions and two are nominated by other organisations within adult education or their consortia. The CEAE has its own consultative committees (for the curricula, textbooks and monitoring of the implementation of the National Annual Plan) (Eurydice 2009).

The local level (municipalities) is not formally included in policy-making and the preparation of legislation in the field of adult education. Almost all of them do not have their own adult education strategies. The results of empirical research in 2010 showed that the most important reasons for this is lack of financial resources (51%), municipalities think they do not need it (14%), other reasons are that they think they are too small to have such strategies, that adult education is a commercial activity, that adult education is the responsibility of adults themselves and that their residents are attending adult education activities in other municipalities (Bela knjiga o vzgoji in izobraževanju v Republiki Sloveniji 2011: 15). Although municipalities are founders of adult education schools, often they do not fulfil their duties, resulting in financial problems for adult education institutions. Organisations providing adult education can be established by a local community or by the government. If they wish to receive funding from public sources they are required to meet the prescribed legal conditions. Various institutions provide formal and informal adult education. The implementers of adult education programmes can be divided into four groups: a) institutions for the education of adults (Peoples' and Workers' universities
(ljudske univerze) and educational centres within companies or established by various chambers); b) schools, some of them have special units for the education of adults (they offer evening courses for adult learners); c) 'other organisations' whose main activity is not adult education;\textsuperscript{134} d) private educational organisations (they have been developing slowly but steadily over the last two decades).\textsuperscript{135}

4.2 Case study – Ljubljana’s adult education in the light of OMC activities

In the Slovenian administrative arrangement, Ljubljana holds a special position. Hence, in applying Ljubljana as a case study for estimating the local level role in OMC processes, we first have to explain Ljubljana’s special position and which data are appropriate to be taken into consideration. As the capital of Slovenia and being its largest city, Ljubljana is certainly not a typical Slovenian municipality.\textsuperscript{136} It is the centre of the City Municipality of Ljubljana (Slovene: Mestna občina Ljubljana, acronym MOL) and as such is one of 11 city municipalities in Slovenia. The City Municipality of Ljubljana is comprised of 17

\textsuperscript{134} Libraries, museums, theatres, archives, centres of culture; political organisations and parties; organisations for the rural and agricultural sector of the population; organisations of local communities; organisations for leisure time; professional organisations; organisations for environmental protection; social welfare organisations; organisations for the disabled; organisations for helping families, parents, consorts, organisations for tourism, holiday organisations, organisations of seniors, housewives and organisations of workers temporarily employed in foreign countries.

\textsuperscript{135} For example, private foreign language schools, information and communication technology centres and schools for financial management. In more recent years, this sector has strengthened their position and extended their offerings to other fields and forms of education and training, for example, colleges for vocational education.

\textsuperscript{136} It is the largest and due to different criteria the most developed one.
quarter communities. In the previously mentioned debate about the long way of still not established regions in Slovenia, Ljubljana also presents a statistical region, which does not overlap with either the city or municipality of Ljubljana. In accordance with Slovenian legislation in the field of (adult) education, the most appropriate unit for the analysis of exploiting OMC potentials is therefore the municipality of Ljubljana.


As already stated, Ljubljana is one of the rare Slovenian municipalities that has its own educational strategy. At the beginning of the Strategy there is reference to the international documents that provide the basis for developing the Strategy (the Declaration of Human and Child Rights, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child) and to the national legislation (Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, Organisation and Financing of Education Act, Kindergarten Act, Elementary School Act, Adult Education Act, Resolution of the National Programme of Adult Education, White Paper of Education, curricula documents). There is also reference to other international strategies and programmes (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation – Education for All). The basic principles on which the Strategy is based are quality of education, access and openness, as well as school autonomy and lifelong learning, which are also very frequently underpinned as the basic principles in international documents to which Ljubljana’s Strategy refers.

More than 30 experts coming from pedagogy, psychology, adult education, educational methodology,
economy and so forth prepared the Strategy. During the preparation of the Strategy, wide public debate was held, which included headmasters, school working groups and trade unions. The draft Strategy was discussed at the Municipality Council for preschool and school education. A round table was organised and the draft document was sent to schools, kindergartens, non-governmental organisations, the Faculty of Education, the Ministry of Education and Sport and municipality councillors. The draft Strategy was available on the web page and there was an opportunity to send comments on the Strategy by e-mail. The Strategy was formally accepted at a City Council Meeting in November 2008.

The Strategy itself consists of many elements, which can be considered as OMC instruments. In Table 1 we present the involvement of OMC instruments in key documents that direct (adult) education at the EU level: the Working Programme Education and Training 2010; at the national level, the National Adult Education Master Plan and at the local level: the Strategy for the Development of Education in the municipality of Ljubljana from 2009-2019.

Table 1: Involvement of the OMC instruments in the EU, national and Ljubljana’s policy documents in the field of (adult) education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OMC instrument</th>
<th>Working Programme Education and Training 2010</th>
<th>National Adult Education Master Plan</th>
<th>Ljubljana’s Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>establishing</td>
<td>12.5% (2010),</td>
<td>Average year of</td>
<td>15% of adults</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23 goals set in the short, medium and long term
quantitative and qualitative indicators and benchmarks | 15% (2020) of adults should participate in adult learning | schooling should generally increase | should participate in adult learning
---|---|---|---
translating European guidelines into national and regional policies by setting specific targets and adopting measures | Lifelong learning Strategy | National Adult Master Plan itself | The Strategy itself
periodic monitoring, evaluation and peer review organised as mutual learning processes | Annual quantitative progress report | Biannual quantitative/qualitative progress report | 1 – 5 year evaluation of the Strategy
 | Biannual qualitative progress report | (Policy) learning activities are not provided | (Policy) learning from other successful municipalities and countries

- fixing guidelines for the Union combined with specific timetables for achieving the goals (...) in the short, medium and long terms;

The similarity between the EU and Ljubljana strategic documents in the field of education is seen with the time frame (ten years) for which the Strategy for the Development of Education in the municipality of Ljubljana, the Lisbon Strategy and the Working Programme Education and Training (2010/2020) were prepared.

- establishing, where appropriate, quantitative and qualitative indicators and benchmarks against the best in the world and tailored to the needs of different member states and sectors as a means of comparing best practice;

- translating these European guidelines into national and regional policies by setting specific targets;

The described targets, benchmarks and indicators are in many cases in accordance with those defined in the Working Programme Education and Training 2010.
Ljubljana’s Strategy consists of guidelines and 23 goals, which present a framework for more operational solutions and measures that need to be taken in order to attain these goals. These goals are set in the short, medium and long terms. For each of them the current situation is described, the measures and solutions are provided and expected results are defined. They are divided into four domains: pre-school education, primary school education, afterschool activities and adult education. If we look at the content of each goal, we see that many of them are in accordance with the European goals (e.g., per cent of pre-school children included in pre-school programmes, per cent of adults attending lifelong learning activities, etc.). Other goals are not directly connected to the content, but to the financing of education (ensuring appropriate infrastructure, school environment, what is the primary responsibility of municipalities in the education policy field in Slovenia).

- periodic monitoring, evaluation and peer review organised as mutual learning processes.

The evaluation of the implementation of the Strategy and the attainment of the goals is provided for at least every fifth year. The final revision is provided in the year 2013, which is also the time when the grounds for a new strategy (that needs to be prepared in 2018) will be settled. The expert groups are established for all four subfields (pre-school education, primary school education, afterschool activities and adult education), which monitor the field and propose the measures that need to be taken to achieve these goals to the mayor, city administration and the Council. The Strategy (2008: 56) states: “The success of the Strategy (effective and quality education) is not monitored only by expert groups but also through longstanding cooperation with other European capital cities and successful pedagogic praxis from abroad.”
It is stated in the Strategy (2008: 7) that although the legal competences of municipalities over educational matters are restricted (since the national level is responsible for establishing appropriate system solutions and regulations and also financing of the programmes), the decentralisation processes (on the regional and local level) need to be taken into consideration. That means that the local level, as well as the schools and personnel employed, have the professional and moral obligation to contribute to the quality of education. They can do this through different activities, by either focusing on the implementation of national legislation and programmes, or by providing their own initiatives to influence the national level (The Strategy 2008: 7).\textsuperscript{137}

Here the proposal could be understood according to theoretical presumptions that non-state and subnational actors (such as opposition parties, social partners, civil society organisations and local/regional authorities) can likewise exploit the leverage effect of the OMC to put pressure on governments and advance their own domestic agendas.

Although the Strategy involves many different OMC-like instruments, Ljubljana is also taking part in many other forms of international cooperation in the field of (adult) education. The most significant are elaborated on in the following sub-sections.

\textsuperscript{137} At many points in the Strategy an initiative to change the national legislation is evident (e.g., proposal for changing the legislation in the field of pre-school education and introducing the central evidences of children, which would enable a more flexible way of including children in preschool education during the school year and therefore improve their involvement and the attainment of the European/Ljubljana’s goal).
5.1 Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR)

The Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR) is an organisation created by and for local and regional authorities in the EU and in greater Europe. It was established in 1951 by a group of mayors from the founding countries of the European Community. Today, it is the largest organisation of local and regional government in Europe; its members are over 50 national associations of towns, municipalities and regions from 39 countries. Together these associations represent some 100,000 local and regional authorities. The CEMR works to promote a united Europe that is based on local and regional self-government and democracy. To achieve this goal it endeavours to shape the future of Europe by enhancing local and regional contributions, influencing European law and policy, exchanging experience at the local and regional levels and cooperating with partners in other parts of the world. Its main objectives are: to develop a European spirit among local and regional authorities in order to promote a united Europe based on self-government for its authorities and their participation in European construction; to contribute to the reflections of local and regional authorities on the EU’s main political dossiers that concern them directly: subsidiarity and new forms of governance, reform of the Institutions, employment, implementation of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, equal opportunities; to encourage dialogue, exchange of experiences and cooperation between its members using all means available (twinning, partnership, intermunicipal and interregional cooperation); to disseminate information from the EU institutions among its members; to ensure that the opinions of its members are taken into consideration by the representative institutions and
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bodies. Its committees and working groups seek to influence draft EU legislation to make sure the interests and concerns of local and regional authorities are taken into account from the earliest stages of the EU legislative process. They contribute to the CEMR’s calendar of activities by organising seminars and conferences on a wide range of issues to promote the exchange and dissemination of experience at the local and regional levels (CEMR 2011).

5.2 Town twinning

The CEMR works closely with the European Commission (DG Education and Culture) to promote modern, high quality twinning initiatives and exchanges that involve all sections of the community. Town twinning has been going on in Europe for 60 years and today we can identify nearly 30,000 twinning links. Towns cooperate with their own twinning partners, as well as with the partners of their partners. This can help them explore a particular topic or theme, share resources or interests, gain influence or face common challenges. These should serve as milestones for networking and should encourage the development of long-lasting, dynamic, multifaceted cooperation between twinned towns. One of the key elements for the modernisation of town twinning is for municipalities to cooperate and work together to solve problems. Therefore, twinning is seen as a way to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past. Twinning involves the following actions: for a year, the network

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138 Working group on environment, Working group on transport, Network on energy issues, Working group on cohesion and territorial issues, Working group on employment and social policy, Working group on twinning, Employers’ platform, Committee for equality of men and women in local life, Working group on public services and procurement, World Affairs Committee, Working group on information society and e-government, Working group on North South cooperation, ELANET (network on information society), Committee on democracy and governance.
consists of a platform of exchange and mutual learning by sharing experience, knowledge, contacts and practical tips and hints. Each municipality receives individual support and guidance in order to analyse their twinning through a twinning scan. Based on the outcomes of that exercise the municipalities and their town twinning committees elaborate on an action plan containing objectives and activities. In this way, they can upgrade and strengthen their town twinning for the next five years. Ljubljana is quite active in twinning projects, since it is involved in 17 town twinnings around the world. Some of them had already begun in the 1960s (CEMR 2011).

5.3 Eurocities

Eurocities is the network of major European cities. It brings together the local governments of more than 140 large cities in over 30 European countries. It influences and works with the EU institutions to respond to common issues that impact the day-to-day lives of Europeans. Its aim is to shape the opinions of stakeholders in Brussels to ultimately shift legislation in a way that helps city governments address the EU's strategic challenges at the local level. A large part of its work is aimed at reinforcing the role and place that local government should have in a multi-level governance structure. Feeding into these, its network’s activities address a wide range of policies organised in different clusters (including education and knowledge society).\(^{139}\) Eurocities provides a platform for its member cities to share knowledge and ideas, exchange experiences, analyse common problems and

\(^{139}\) Other main clusters of work represent: cooperation, culture, economy, environment, mobility, social affairs, which concerns economic development and cohesion policy, the provision of public services, climate change, energy and environment, transport and mobility, employment and social affairs, culture, education, information and knowledge society, as well as governance and international cooperation.
develop innovative solutions through a wide range of forums, working groups, projects, activities and events. One such interesting and important event was the Eurocities Knowledge Society Forum in Dresden from 20-21 June 2011, which discussed the hidden profits of implementing the EU Services Directive for better organisation and knowledge management in cities.

The implementation of the Services Directive is currently ongoing across Europe, and local authorities are adapting their front-office services and the organisation of their back-office administration. This forum attempted to uncover the potential of these shifts as drivers of process reorganisation and knowledge management in cities. Ljubljana is taking part in different forums (cooperation and participation, culture, environment, mobility, social affairs) and working groups (Crime Prevention, Education and inclusion, Homelessness and housing, Housing, Migration and integration, Road safety) (Eurocities 2011).

5.4 Committee of the Regions (CoR)

The Committee of the Regions (CoR) represents a less direct avenue of local level engagement. CoR is the political assembly that provides the regional and local levels with a voice in EU policy development and EU legislation. The Treaties oblige the European Commission, Parliament and Council to consult the Committee of the Regions whenever new proposals are made in areas that affect the regional or local level. The CoR has 344 members from the 27 EU countries, and its work is organised in six different commissions.\textsuperscript{140} These six distinctive commissions are

\textsuperscript{140} Other commissions are: Commission for Territorial Cohesion Policy (COTER), Commission for Economic and Social Policy (ECOS), Commission for Education, Youth and Research (EDUC),
responsible for supporting the preparation of opinions based on the proposals of the European Commission. They examine proposals, debate and discuss in order to write official opinions on key issues. The draft version of opinions and resolutions are submitted to the Plenary Assembly for adoption.

In the field of education, the Commission for Education, Youth and Research (EDUC) is important. Its main focus is on education, lifelong learning, culture, multilingualism, youth and sports. The EDUC Commission provides a forum for representatives from local and regional authorities to provide input to other European Institutions and exchange good practices in these fields. Slovenia has two representatives in the Commission; neither of them is from Ljubljana.

5.5 The activities/projects of the European Social Fund (ESF)

The high expectation that subnational level, non-governmental organisations, etcetera would become more engaged in public affairs following Slovenia’s membership was based on the introduction of the EU Structural Fund. The year 2007 marked the beginning of the new EU Structural Fund’s financial period, which will last through to 2013. In accordance with the partnership principle, the EU cohesion policy initiatives are assumed to take place within networks that involve a variety of authorities (EU and state) as well as societal actors such as interest groups, social and economic partners, and non-governmental organisations that collaborate as partners to achieve common goals. As such structural funds certainly ought to represent an additional and strong catalyst...
for developing consultative politics in Slovenia by mobilising various actors in different policy areas.

One of the important and interesting examples of such activities in the field of adult education in Slovenia is Adult Education Guidance Centres and Lifelong Learning Centres. They represent a well-organised network of 14 centres spread across the whole country (and also partly cover statistical regions) and are financed by the European Social Fund. One of them is situated in Ljubljana. These centres were first introduced in 2001 by the Slovenian Institute for Adult Education (SIAE). Their main task is to inform the adult population of their learning and/or education possibilities and to support them in choosing the most convenient path or appropriate programme. Their work is coordinated by SIAE, which also provides expert support and arranges activities organised as policy learning processes (setting common goals, targets, establishing indicators, organising workshops, sharing experiences, providing awards for best performance, etc.). The case of Adult Education Guidance Centres and Lifelong Learning Centres (14) shows that the formally established local or regional level is not a precondition for policy learning processes. They show that such activities can also be successfully implemented with collaboration between experts (SIAE) and stakeholders (adult education schools and students) with only a marginally supporting role of the municipalities (local level) within which they operate. Their innovativeness was already presented as a good practice to other EU countries interested in common cooperation in the field of (adult) education (at the regional meeting in Ljubljana in autumn 2009) (European Commission 2009; Vilič Klenovšek 2009).
Conclusion

The OMC as a new mode of EU governance should attract the attention of regional and local actors since one of its key features is its assumed “decentralised approach” (Smismans 2004: 1). Empirical research suggests that the OMC is more a top-down standard-setting through specialised committees rather than a bottom-up deliberative setting encouraging public scrutiny and local participation (Kaiser & Prange 2004; Smismans 2004). To this extent, the promise of the transformation thesis – that new modes of governance like the OMC could empower a form of EU law that takes subsidiarity seriously – remains unfulfilled (Dawson 2009).

Although the OMC literature is abundant, only some of the authors address the question of why the local level in OMC practice does not play a prominent role. Although some reasons were already provided theoretically, it was worthwhile to also test them empirically. Some of the reasons why the local level is almost totally excluded from OMC processes (on the basis of the case study Ljubljana) are:

- The OMC and its institutional infrastructure do not provide a detailed definition of the local level – what it represents, which responsibilities it has in different member states.

Here as in all other areas of EU policy affecting municipalities and regions, the CEMR (2001: 54) stresses the need to respect the internal structures and competences of local and regional authorities when applying guidelines and evaluation mechanisms to the different member countries. Since the local level in EU documents is not precisely defined and since localism can be interpreted in various ways for the purpose of this chapter and research (in accordance with theories used and academic flows in this field) we stated our own working definition of the local level in
the OMC: the local level is the lowest unit (agency or individual) responsible for realising EU goals in the field of education. To play its role successfully, it is able to carry out policy learning activities (sharing best practice, knowledge, etc.).

While the method of ‘bottom-up’ learning is not exactly prescribed, it is the initiative of the member state or local level to establish the appropriate system of policy learning. An active part of the OMC, if it should become a reality, would be for member states to be able to mobilise regions, cities and educational institutions to participate in this process. A clear strategy at the national level is required in order for benchmarking objectives to be reached. While education policy might still be mostly a national competence, local and regional authorities have a vital role in developing grassroots policies and in encouraging local educational initiatives, in line with the European priorities. While municipalities are limited in the means at their disposal for putting forward their policy objectives in the drafting phase of the legislative process, participating in the work of these EU sections remains nevertheless a meaningful instrument in the dialogue between municipalities and national government. This is in accordance with Radaelli’s (2003: 13) statement that: “One clear lesson from the current experience is that to increase participation within the OMC requires a re-orientation of policy processes at the domestic level.” This is not something that can be decided in Brussels. The institutional architects of the OMC have neglected the issue of how to create a structure of incentives for participation at the local and national levels (Radaelli 2003: 13). In this vein, the method should be opened up to non-governmental organisations, social partners, regions and local authorities. This could also mean additional reporting (and not just scrutiny) on specific areas from these actors (Radaelli 2003: 58).
This demands the mobilisation of all partners and stakeholders in the area of education (regions, municipalities, cities, education institutions, headmasters, teachers and students). Individual regions and cities need to be mobilised in order for instances of good practice to be identified and exchange of experience to be shared. This should happen at the level of those involved in the day-to-day implementation of education and not purely at the ministerial level. They have both the capacity and legitimacy to organise horizontal governance processes that mobilise the different local actors around common development goals and strategies. Equally, they are vital in organising the vertical governance process, linking the local, regional, national and European spheres of governance in a process that former European Commission President Prodi termed as "positive subsidiarity".

− The local level (Ljubljana) is participating in so many policy learning processes that it is hard to detect which of them have the major impact on its activities in the education field.

At the subnational level, both public authorities and civil society organisations have been engaged in a wide range of EU-funded Transnational Exchange Projects aimed at linking up local actors, including the preparation and comparison of education strategies, as well as mutual learning, awareness-raising, and follow-up activities for both processes (de la Porte & Pochet 2005: 361-367; Zeitlin 2005b: 463-468).

There is also clear evidence, as a growing body of research illustrates, of the diffusion of some categories and norms (knowledge society, lifelong learning, key competences) outwards and downwards within member states to local authorities and non-state actors, often building on prior experience with related EU programmes such as the Structural Fund and

In the case of Ljubljana, its Educational Strategy is prepared in a very similar way as the Working Programme Education and Training 2010 and involves almost all OMC instruments. Although the Strategy was prepared in a similar way, the relation to the OMC is not mentioned. The reason for this could be that local level actors are not aware of OMC processes, since much more emphasis is on other forms of policy learning processes, especially those connected with financial funding (European Social Fund). On the other hand, some other processes (Eurocities, Town Twinning), which we can describe as policy learning processes, are much older (e.g., Town Twinning 60 years) than the OMC. This could be the reason for their greater visibility and importance from the perspective of local authorities.

Since theoretical debates and various actors’ intentions are directed by the more proactive role of the local level in the EU, their role can be assured by sponsoring innovative projects (such as Lifelong Learning Guidance Centres), the development of territorially disaggregated indicators, and the creation of a European local development network and forum for information-sharing and exchange of good practices in the field of education. A theoretically promising response to the limitations on transparency and participation in existing OMC processes would be to apply the key elements of the method itself to their own procedures: benchmarking, peer review, monitoring, evaluation and iterative redesign. Thus for example, member states could be required to benchmark openness and participation within all OMC processes according to national laws, traditions and practices, with due respect for the principle of subsidiarity (Zeitlin 2005c: 226).
Since the national and local level actors in Slovenia are not aware of the OMC and its potential, we cannot expect that they will intentionally contribute to good governance in the EU (e.g., respecting principles of good governance). Since Ljubljana is mainly focused on assuring effective and quality education and attaining goals that are in accordance with European ones, this dimension should be encouraged. Some of the activities that contribute to attaining these goals are already evident (preparation of the Educational Strategy, lessons learnt from other cities and trying to influence the national level). It seems that one of the additional influential mechanisms could be greater awareness raising about some elements of the OMC (indicators and benchmarks) among all stakeholders responsible for achieving EU goals (not only national and local authorities, who ensure institutional preconditions, but also educational institutions (schools), headmasters, teachers and students). Although national benchmarking and public announcement of results in the league tables is not allowed due to Slovenian educational legislation, we argue that greater awareness about EU indicators and benchmarks, as part of OMC processes, will encourage actors at the bottom (educational institutions and individuals) to attain good results. As the result of such a process, not only can comparatively good results be attained, but also respect for the principles of good governance (including broad participation, openness, decentralisation and the principle of subsidiarity) can be “unintentionally” valued.

Although the empirical evidence of this chapter is provided by the case study of the City Municipality of Ljubljana, we believe that – due to the nature of the theories used – the empirical findings are also useful for the wider public (other member states and their policy makers, EU policy makers). The results provide missing empirical evidence about the role of the local
level in the OMC and national/European educational space. In critically estimating the role the local level has recently played, expected outcomes include findings related to the nature of barriers for more proactive future roles of the local level/cities in European education policy. This chapter shows that although Ljubljana is included in various different forms of OMC-like activities in the field of education, actors involved at the local level do not perceive their behaviours as being influenced by the OMC. On the other hand, empirical evidence presented in this chapter from many perspectives shows that the values, attitudes and purposes of involved actors are in accordance with the EU ones, although their actual behaviours do not express such compliance due to the institutional structure and cultural particularities of Slovenia. The observations are in line with the nature of the OMC as a soft law mechanism, which operates on the level of cognitive convergence and as such does not prescribe detailed behaviours of actors involved but only the final goal to which actors steer by embodying the values and attitudes of the common European educational space. In the case study of Slovenia, it is shown that although local actors and stakeholders are not aware of the OMC and its potentials, with their – to some extent culturally-specific – behaviours they “unintentionally” follow EU goals and values in the field of education. We suppose that greater awareness of the OMC potential among the local level actors and stakeholders involved will lead not only to “unintentionally” following EU goals, but also to respecting principles of good governance in the European educational space.

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This chapter originated within the national basic research project "Te Open Method of Coordination: an Analysis of Its Policy and Political Consequences, financed by the Slovenian Research Agency."
CHAPTER 40

THE BOLOGNA PROCESS AND GOVERNANCE OF SPANISH UNIVERSITIES: THE RHETORIC OF DISCOURSE AND THE VACUUM OF PRACTICE

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Abstract

Spain has been one of the last to arrive to the so-called “Bologna Process”. Our contribution will initially summarize the significant features of the recent situation of the “European Higher Education Area” in Spain after 2000. Then, our focus will be to problematize the whole rhetorical architecture of this higher education reform. Although reforms attempt to present solid models and clear-cut orientations for decision-making, they are often a source of division, dispute and confusion. Their effects are therefore contradictory and paradoxical. Together with the optimistic projection of the future, nostalgia grows for apparently safer
times past. Discourse becomes increasingly fragmented against the apparent unity of theory.

Using official documents and a representative sample of the recently approved programs of study at the Bachelor and Master diplomas at the different Spanish universities, we will characterize the uses of the “Bologna Process” in Spain as a discursive vehicle. We will also analyze the kind of discursive practices employed by the critical voices against the “Bologna Process” as a rather simple devise to describe this reform as an exponent of neoliberal governance of the Spanish University.

Keywords

Bologna Process – European Higher Education Area – Governance

Introduction

Spain is one of the forty-six countries to have participated over the past ten years in the so-called "Bologna Process" for the creation of a European Higher Education Area according to the principles of quality and competitiveness, together with the capacity for diversity and mobility. While the process actually began in 1988 at a meeting of numerous Heads of European universities in Bologna to commemorate the nine hundredth anniversary of the oldest recognised university in the western hemisphere, it was not formally initiated until the Sorbonne Declaration of 1998, made by the French Minister of Research at the time, Claude Allègre, after a meeting with the ministers responsible for Higher Education in Italy, the United Kingdom and Germany.

The document known as the Magna Charta Universitatum, signed in 1988 in Bologna, can be seen as the beginning of the process, as well as a key document for analysis and understanding of its development in time. A year after the Sorbonne
meeting, Ministers responsible for Higher Education in twenty-nine countries met in Bologna in June 1999 to sign the Bologna Declaration, which was to bring about a wave of reform throughout European universities over the following decade. This was developed and given shape by a number of biannual ministerial conferences that have monitored and supervised its implementation in the various countries: Prague (2001), Berlin (2003), Bergen (2005), London (2007) and Louvain (2009). This official documents starts with common aims, such as the creation of a broad European Higher Education Space, equipped with the flexibility and resources necessary to deal with structural convergence caused by the economic demands of a capitalism increasingly inclined to create a "Europe of knowledge" — a rhetorical device repeated ad nauseam in institutional documents and likewise proclaimed by the Council of Europe. However, as Lopez Calera (2012: 15) argues, these documents are not considered an essential issue: a systemic conception of high culture and sciences and, consequently, cross-curricular thematic and interdisciplinary needed to be assumed by today higher education.

Nonetheless, the authorities of the European Union (EU) demand a more competitive position and regulating strategies from educational and training systems which must adapt to the demands of the knowledge society and the need for an increase in the level and quality of employment. These are goals associated and in harmony with the general strategy of the European Union as determined by the Lisbon meeting of the Council of Europe in March 2000, which

\footnote{For more information on all monitoring of the Bologna process since its inception, see http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/ (accessed 31/07/2011).}
proposed the goal of "becoming the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world"\(^2\) better known as the Lisbon Agenda. In this way, policies designed for convergence, integration, synergy of knowledge, research and innovation are at the service of economic growth, and in fact become the most important bases of all, as in the policies subsequently developed by the EU.

All of these "chiaroscuros", like the ups and downs in the implementation of the Bologna Process over the last decade, have given rise to reflexive attitudes revealing the mechanics of the approach and examining the transparency of a process affected by equally excessive bureaucracy and hierarchization (Meyer & Schofer 2006, Teichler 2006, Muller & Ravinet 2008, Ravinet 2009, Cascante 2009, Linde 2010, Wodak & Fairclough 2010). The aim of this paper is to determine which cognitive categories (Lakoff 2007) have predominated in the policies linked to the developing process, as well as the repercussions on Spanish universities and their governance, in view of the reforms occurring since Spain joined the Bologna Declaration. Knowing that in any system of government by discussion and towards public deliberation, analysis — even professional analysis — has less to do, for instance, with formal techniques of problem solving than with the process of argument (Majone 1989: 7), we use to this end critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2003, Wodak 2003, Fairclough & Wodak 2008, Van Dijk 2009, Fairclough & Wodak 2009) to examine the most representative, widespread documents of the whole process, particularly with the aim of showing how the practices of a particular society generate discourses that shape its institutions

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— in this case its universities. In the texts produced during the "Bologna Process" of reform in European universities, there are discursive formations which, as Foucault (1979: 77) pointed out, are dominated by the "rules for formation of objects, rules for formation of concepts, and rules for formation of theories. These rules, used through discursive practice at a particular time, explain why something is seen (or omitted); why it is perceived in a particular way and analyzed at a particular level; why a word is used with a particular meaning in a particular sentence."

In this sense, therefore, discourse takes on an essential role in sociocultural reproduction and change (Fairclough, 2008), by which we can appreciate the structures and strategies of the legitimation of power, as well as the processes of regulation and standardisation it contains. In Fairclough's view (2003, 2008), discourse is the power sustaining specific discursive practices associated with particular ideological attitudes in a position of dominance over other, alternative practices. The very heterogeneity and diversity of the discourse implicit in texts, especially in their national projections, leading to the "technologization of discourse" can serve as indicators in the analysis of the contradictions found in the implementation of the process of convergence. Critical discourse analysis represents a valuable analytical tool since, apart from their meaning; texts are spaces that combine simultaneously: understanding, representation of the world, and social interaction (Fairclough 2003, Fairclough & Wodak, 2009).

This study will therefore focus on some of the most significant aspects of the development of convergence in the construction of the European Higher Education Area in Spain over the last decade, which has some distinctive characteristics in comparison with the general framework chosen by most European countries.
for the design of new university qualifications (four-year first degree courses rather than three, and one-year rather than two-year Masters degree courses). Our contribution centres on three eloquent and revealing characteristics of recent Spanish higher education reform. First of all, there is the intensity and speed of the most important quantitative changes carried out; second, the transition from centralised, authoritarian government to an almost federal arrangement, where the autonomous region figures as the most significant, malleable element; finally, insufficient public funding leading to the impoverishment and instability of any transformation (Spain continues to have the lowest ranking of all OECD countries in national Research and Development Programs and private spending).

By means of discourse analysis of the texts related to this process, we shall attempt to show that behind all education reform there lies a project affected by a varying amount of political rhetoric, approximately defined as an effort to build a new type of citizen, as well as certain models or images of the actors (students and teachers, as well as the role of the university and education). These models and images are also relatively precise and are subjected to a complex, intense verbal process that shows the contrasting viewpoints characterizing the different educational actors. We shall attempt to show that the effects are contradictory and paradoxical, with an optimistic view of the future and the persistence of nostalgia for the past coexisting. Our starting point is a relative contextualization of the process of change and transformation undergone by the Spanish university institution since it joined the Bologna Process in 1999.
1. Spanish universities' move towards Europe in the last decade: a fragile excellence

In order to contextualize the reality of Spanish universities in the framework of the Bologna Process, we draw attention to three important aspects describing the situation and showing its evolution over the past decade (Pereyra, Luzón & Sevilla, 2009). These are: the intensity and speed with which important quantitative changes have occurred; the transition from centralized to quasi-federal government; and finally, insufficient funding.

1.1. Quantitative, but ambivalent change

One of the most noteworthy changes in the Spanish university panorama in the past few decades is quantitative in nature, which also has clear qualitative and even structural repercussions. If we compare the data from 1960 with present data, we find that 3% of the age cohort attended university, whereas in 2010 24.5% of the population between the ages of 18 and 24 attend university. In the past forty years, the student population has grown from 170,000 to over one and a half million⁴, although the situation has

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⁴The Spanish University System (SUS) at present (2010) consists of 78 universities, of which 50 (64.1%) are public and 28 (35.9%) private. In 1975 there were only 28 universities in all of Spain, with twice that number 35 years later. During the 2009-2010 academic year, there were 1,556,377 students registered in the SUS, of which 89% attended public universities and 11% private ones. However, to specify this quantitative change, we must point out that the highest student population in the Spanish university was recorded ten years ago in the 1999-2000 academic year (1,589,473 students) coinciding with the arrival of the age cohorts corresponding to the sharp fall in birth-rate that occurred in Spain after 1975. However, according to sources in the Ministry of Education (2010) for 2010-2011 a 10% increase is foreseen for new registrations, meaning that 385,000 students will enter the SUS, inverting the trend of the past decade (2000-2008) when there had been a reduction of 8% in student numbers (Eurostat), unlike the other 26 countries in the EU. The Ministry of Education
stabilised since the year 2000 (moderate fall in higher education and an increase in non-university education) and again slight growth since 2010 at all levels of Higher Education. There has also been a considerable number of students opting for official Masters courses, their numbers multiplying by three in the last decade, as well as the majority presence of women at all levels and in all areas, except for technical courses, accounting for 54.2% of the total of university students.

Therefore, by joining the Bologna process and setting up a structure of convergence in the European Higher Education Area, Spanish universities have attempted to change from an outdated model restricted to the national sphere, marked by the civil-servant status of its staff, with rigid, bureaucratic forms of governance and an essentially patrimonial orientation. This was an institution whose fundamental mission was to transmit knowledge thought to be valid for practically all life and recognised by a qualification allowing certain access to a stable profession. What is not clear is that Spanish universities have in fact achieved the change intended by their new organization, now they have completed their adaptation to the European Higher Education Are with the formal offer of 2338 Bachelor's degrees and 2429 Master's degrees as of 2010. Rather, the situation continues to be an ambiguous one of transition, with features of the previous system interlinked with those of the new. Among other things, we should highlight an insufficient degree of openness to competition, and serving society as an institution calculates that there will be 1,600,000 registered students in the whole system, more than the maximum levels of the late 1990s. (Source: Data and figures on the Spanish University System. 2010-2011. Madrid: Secretaría General Técnica. Available at http://www.educacion.gob.es/educacion/universidades/estadisticas-informes/datos-cifras.html. See also the CYD report 2010 on the university at http://www.fundacioncyd.org).
specialised in generating new knowledge and promoting technological development. In many ways, the Spanish university seems to limit itself to awarding qualifications with no effect on the work market, with a constantly increasing number of unemployed graduates and frustrated hopes of worthwhile further education and training.

Moreover, there is a constant stream of institutional declarations from both the Ministry of Education and the Rectors' Conference (CRUE) calling for a more competitive university oriented towards the knowledge society, as defined in the Agenda and the later Lisbon Treaty: "one of the major immediate challenges facing Spain is its adequate participation in the Knowledge Society, on which basis it must build with freedom a new, highly efficient and competitive model of production within a social model of intense solidarity and long-term sustainability". The references to competitiveness are constant in almost all national and European documents concerning the university and the creation of the EHEA.

An example of this insufficient development is precisely the lack of openness and competitiveness. If we leave aside private universities, since their fees put them out of reach of most of the population and they are almost exclusively located in Madrid and Barcelona, it is noticeable that only 12.6% of Spanish students study outside their Autonomous Community


5In Madrid 26.1% of students come from other Communities, many from neighbouring Communities such as Castilla-La Mancha, which provides 31%, whereas in Catalonia only 7% of students come from another Community. (Ministry of Education (2010): Data and figures on the Spanish University System. 2010-2011;
possibly because of the low budget set aside for grants\textsuperscript{6}, or perhaps because of the adoption of the localization model, characterised by the predominance of proximity over mobility, as already occurs with the implementation of campus of excellence\textsuperscript{7}.

The low level of opening-up can also be seen by the numbers of foreign students, which are much lower than in other neighbouring countries. Although there has been a 60\% increase in the past seven years, the Spanish university system attracts relatively few foreign students, particularly at Bachelor's degree level (4.1\%). In the 2009-10 academic year, there were 76,205 foreign students registered in Spain, representing 4.9\% of the total. Spanish university student mobility continues to be weak, with only 2.1\%

\textsuperscript{6}In the 2009-2010 academic year the total budget for grants and study aids of all kinds in higher education in Spain (with more than 1.5 millions of students in total) was rather more than a thousand million euros (1,011,454,204 euros), representing 0.1\% of the GDP, which is just half the average of the OECD (Source: Ministry of Education (2010): \textit{Data and figures on the Spanish University System. 2010-2011}; p. 42).

\textsuperscript{7}Campus of Excellence is a new programme that was launched in July 2009. Its main goal is to make Spanish university campuses among the best in Europe, to promote their international renown and enhance the strengths of the Spanish university system. It aims to improve the quality of teaching and research in Spanish universities, as well as to achieve advances in innovation. It fosters public and private strategic aggregations among universities, other research institutions and businesses located within the campus. It promotes diversification and specialisation with a focus on excellence, and develops knowledge ecosystems which contribute to regional economic development, social cohesion and employment. The programme is managed by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with the Ministry of Science and Innovation and the support of the Autonomous Communities. Due to the present economic crisis, this programme is lacking of funds to support its next development.
participating in the Erasmus programme, even when there is an increasing global trend to internationalisation in higher education. In the year 2001, when the conservative party passed the new university law, better known as LOU (Ley Orgánica de Universidades), their defence of the Law, apart from giving a detailed justification of the need for integration into the new EHEA, insisted on the need to strengthen policies encouraging student mobility: "to stimulate mobility of students, teachers and researchers inside the Spanish system, but also on the European and international scene."

Another argument of instrumental legitimization used institutionally to justify the Spanish university's adaptation to the Bologna process is the 9.3% increase in teaching staff over the last five years, as against the fall and stabilisation in student numbers\(^8\). However, an indicator of the lack of correspondence and adaptation is the fact that the graduation rate in university studies for the year 2008 at both first degree and postgraduate level was lower than that of the OECD.

Another indicator at present having a categorical influence on university stimulus is the "ranking", as accurately described by Lindblad & Foss (2009:180): "international ranking lists are considered as a transforming power affecting the organisation and quality of higher education, as well as its identity." Aside from the controversy they cause, it is therefore not unusual for people to argue that the Spanish university has to achieve a better position in international rankings as an indicator of improvement. Spain, for example, has no university ranked among

\(^8\)From 1996 to 2008, the average increase in teaching staff was 43.55%. The student/teacher ratio in Spain is 11.6 as against 15.8 in the EU-19. (Source: University Academic Indicators. 2008/2009, p.36. Available at http://www.crue.org).
the top one hundred in the world and only one among the top eighty in Europe. A closer look at the "Top 200 World Universities" in the *Times Higher Education* (THE) shows that the first Spanish university figured in 171\textsuperscript{st} position in the year 2009. Similarly, the worldwide ARWU classification shows eleven Spanish universities among the top 500 in the world. Without making any comment on other evaluations concerning the discourse used in drawing up these classifications, we must say that they do promote a high degree of commodification in higher education (Foss-Lindblad & Lindblad 2010).

In spite of the foregoing, another important quantitative change to be taken into account in the evolution of Spanish universities over the last decade is the multiplication of their scientific production by two, as well as their participation in EU framework programmes despite scant business involvement, thus limiting transfer of knowledge.

1.2. Transition to a change in governance: from centralist authoritarianism to quasi-federal autonomy

During the Franco dictatorship, universities were governed with an iron rule by the central Ministry for Education. Towards the end of the dictatorship, the universities became a centre for resistance to the repressive activities of the authorities. In such a hostile atmosphere, it was not strange that value of university autonomy should become mythical and believed to be able to automatically resolve many of the problems inherited by universities. Something similar has occurred since Spain began to participate in the Bologna process — that it would solve the great structural problems affecting the universities for decades, not only regarding competitiveness, research and development, but also as regards their governance. The Spanish Constitution passed in 1978
recognised the autonomy of universities as a maximum legal guarantee: "the autonomy of the universities" as the guarantee of academic freedom.

The Charta Magna signed by the heads of European universities in 1988 mentioned university autonomy as one of the four basic principles, understood as a requirement for universities to achieve their goals as institutions entrusted with the production and transmission of knowledge. The term "autonomy" therefore became a key element in a hybrid discourse which, in Fairclough's view (2009, p. 349), moved between the pluralist, holistic, "Humboldtian" universal ideal and the new model of competitiveness under the shadow of Bologna. Autonomy for what?" To satisfy the needs of the world that surrounds us "as a normative premise of legitimisation.

In the Spanish context, university autonomy as an argument for legitimisation has shown two faces. On the one hand, it has allowed the universities to maintain in the face of other powers their areas of freedom and self-governance in order to carry out research and teaching as tasks belonging to it. On the other hand, however, on some occasions it has allowed corporate interests to take precedence over certain policies aimed at providing a suitable public service. The foreseeable risk was a split and dissociation between universities and the society that maintained them and gave them meaning. The Social Councils, consisting of prominent members of cultural, professional, economic, working and social life, were created as a way to involve society in the governance of universities, but they have failed to take root and exist more as a decorative element with no true utility or function.

There is, moreover, a double relation with political power. Universities are linked to the State through the
University Council, presided over by the corresponding Minister, and attending to two spheres of governance — the political and the academic. The former is a representation of the politicians responsible for university education in the 17 Autonomous Communities, while the academic sector consists of the Rectors (Heads or Presidents) of all the universities. The University Council has the responsibility for coordinating, planning and regulating syllabi, guaranteeing a degree of unification in the system on a national level. However, the relations with Autonomous Communities are mainly relations of basically financial dependence. In this context, the autonomy of each university is complete, so that accountability, competition and external evaluation are the indicators that demand constant quality and improvement from universities. However, accountability has frequently been distorted, competition between universities is very limited, as we have seen, and external evaluation has been one of the most encouraging instruments created with the creation of national and autonomic Quality Agencies.

Not surprisingly, the Minister of Science and Innovation stated in an interview in 2009 that "there is agreement that the present system of governance of the Spanish university does not work." She then proposed formulae more directed towards professionalised management, equipped with accountability mechanisms more in line with social demands, and referred on a general, vague and imprecise manner to the model of governance in European universities. As Barbara Kehm asserts (2011: 12), governance and new public management "form part of the European agenda to modernise the university and make it more responsible in the face of social and economic needs in the era of the society of knowledge," in reference to "creative" governance that would restore social confidence to the institution.
One of the aims of the Bologna process is to encourage multi-level governance on different scales, thus improving the participation of social agents. Spanish universities have had to adapt the process of European harmonization to the framework of the autonomic nature of its administrative structure, thus making up a quasi-federal map of differing degrees of authority. This process has been excessively long and complex and has concluded with a loss of uniformity, although not of homogeneity, by adapting to increasingly intense and widespread diversity in the predominant administrative structure. The recent Informe CYD 2010 (p. 257) is a diagnosis of the Spanish university system carried out by a team of management experts. It highlights that one of the aspects considered to be of major importance in the period 2006-2010 was the provision of suitable organisation for the university to be able to act as a force for economic development, as well as to ensure the commitment of business and enterprise to the university. However, private funding of university I+D fell by 6.5% in 2008-2009. Moreover new scientific literature aims to disseminate the values of developing strategic management for making more entrepreneurial the Spanish universities, as a distinctive feature of their social responsibilities, but facts such as those provided by the CYD 2010 report make clear we are mostly talking about spreading new reform agendas according to the new research rhetoric (Kirby, Guerrero & Urbano 2011, Gaete Quezada 2011).
1.3. The lingering problem of asymmetric funding

The report by the Heads of Spanish universities (CRUE) entitled The Spanish University in Figures, 2010 reveals the evolution of the funding mechanisms of public universities, intensifying public financing in recent years to improve adjustment to the results. However, the funding of the rapid growth of university education due to high social demand, together with a low, mainly public budget, has become one of the factors in the fragile excellence of present-day Spanish universities.

In 2007 Spain spent 1.1% of its GDP on higher education, which is lower than the average of the OECD (1.5%) and slightly lower than that of the European Union (1.4%). As this datum is a percentage of the GDP, it is even more negative, given that Spain is below the EU average, whereas Denmark (1.7%) or Sweden (1.6%) figure in the highest positions. The cost per student in higher education in 2007 was 12.548 Euros, which is considerably lower than the OECD average of 12.907 Euros, but slightly higher than that of the EU (19) (12.084 Euros).

These figures vary according to the Autonomous Community in question, with the difference between the Autonomous Community that invests most per university student and the one that invests least being almost double.

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9While the GDP per person in Spain was 22,886 € in 2009, the average in the EU-27 was 23,600 € and in Denmark it was 40,300 € (Eurostat, 2010).

10The three Communities that spent most per pupil in university higher education during 2008 were: Basque Country (9,314 €), Cantabria (8,596 €), and Catalonia (8,477 €). The three that spent least were: Balearic Islands (5,988 €), Murcia (5,966 €) and Extremadura (4,934 €) (Source: CRUE, 2010).
If the possibilities for renovation and modernisation of the Spanish university system depend mainly on public funding by the respective Autonomous Communities (83.3%), which is higher than the average of the OECD (80.4%), the degree of economic dependence increases and the capacity for autonomy is more limited. Nonetheless, The University Council insists on placing the modernisation of the university system within the strategic framework known as University Strategy 2015 (Estrategia Universidad 2015)\(^\text{11}\), in which funding, together with accountability and governance, are seen as the fundamental pillars for development. A change in funding is therefore being contemplated aiming at improved efficiency of the university system based on achieving certain goals, such as "including universities as a driving force for economic development and employment" (University Funding Document: 5). Despite the declaration of intent and changes in models of university funding, there is no doubt that if the latter depends on autonomic administrations, the question arises as to how to proceed if these administrations have to reduce their budget by 50% by 2013 in order to fulfil the plans for deficit reduction. Another consideration is also the degree to which the new courses, such as

\(^{11}\)For more information: "Document on improvement and monitoring of funding policies for universities to promote academic excellence and increase the socio-economic impact of the Spanish University System (SUS)." University Strategy 2015. Conference on University Policy, Universities Council. Available at: [http://www.educacion.gob.es/educacion/universidades/educacion-superior-universitaria/financiacion-sue.html](http://www.educacion.gob.es/educacion/universidades/educacion-superior-universitaria/financiacion-sue.html). University Strategy 2015 is an initiative of the present social-democratic government, begun in 2008, to adapt the Spanish university to the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), with a broader horizon aimed at the modernisation of Spanish universities through the promotion of teaching and scientific excellence, the internationalisation of the university system and its involvement in economic change based on knowledge.
Master's courses, can be put into operation, given a sufficient size and flow of student demand. The main goals will therefore have to be adjusted to the imposition of spending cuts and austerity measures such as budgetary stabilisation which are much suited to neo-liberal discourse in the times of crisis and uncertainty we are at present living.

2. The Bologna Process in Spain or back door entry

Studies by Fairclough (2009), Wodak & Fairclough (2010) and Ravinet (2008) have shown the dissonance and antinomies existing between the implicit and explicit discourses in the architecture of change in European higher education. This process began with the Charta Magna Universitatum (Bologna 1988), to which there is scarcely any reference in official Spanish documents, and led to the Bologna Declaration (1999) as the initiation of a process of coordination and harmonisation of higher education policies in Europe under the supervision of EU authorities. As stated in the opening document "consolidation of the European Higher Education Area" is a supranational goal, although there is no indication of the precise effects of institutionalisation at European government level, which in the Sorbonne, according to Ravinet (2009), had not initially been conceived as such, especially because the national starting conditions and priorities were different.

The differences between the two documents were considerable, although they might appear to be parts of the same agenda, so that "both documents list reforms, but only Bologna uses what we might call discursive technology" (Fairclough 2009: 356). In Spain's case, this reform was begun during a period of conservative government and was developed largely by different socialist governments, but it has not provided anything really new, apart from the
regulatory changes contemplated. We shall give some examples of the discursive devices used in its institutionalisation in Spain. These have been accepted with little resistance, becoming another step in the symbology of the construction of Europe, an attribute inseparable from institutional modernity, where only a small, minority sector of teachers and students criticise the errors in its application and equate it to the commodification of the university\textsuperscript{12}. We shall illustrate the discursive formations used in the discourse of the main texts that have institutionalised\textsuperscript{13} and legitimised the reforms proposed by Bologna\textsuperscript{14}.

2.1. A common language for different paths

In the preliminary recitals (Section XI) and Chapter XIII of the University Law passed by the Popular Party in 2001, mention is already made of one of the central pillars of the Bologna Declaration: "to integrate competitively with the best higher education centres in the new European university space that is beginning to be shaped".\textsuperscript{15} This process, described in the law as a

\textsuperscript{12}See \textit{El Mundo}, Campus supplement (1/06/2005); \textit{El País} (26/04/2010), "The new education system has found the opposition of an unprecedented student movement" (\textit{El País}; 19/09/2010). "The students opposed to the Bologna plan foresee the commodification of education in a manifesto" (\textit{La Vanguardia}; 22/01/2009).

\textsuperscript{13}We understand institutionalisation as a process in which social practices are normalised to become structural norms that sanction and legitimise behaviour in a society.

\textsuperscript{14}The six objectives named in the Bologna Declaration are: the adoption of an easily understandable and comparable system of degree courses; adoption of a system based essentially on two main cycles - undergraduate and graduate; the establishing of a credit system — similar to the ECTS — as an adequate means of promoting wider student mobility; promotion of European cooperation in quality evaluation; promotion of the need for a European dimension of higher education.

still blurred, poorly defined objective, was more clearly defined by the Ministry of Education two years later in a document for discussion specifying the means and mechanisms for the incorporation of the Spanish university system into the European Higher Education Area. Although the new law did not mention the architecture of the new structure for reform proposed by Bologna, the later document, titled "Integration of the Spanish university system in the European Higher Education Space", published in 2003, made specific proposals that were later to shape the regulatory measures. The content of this text for discussion contains a high level of "discursive technology" (Fairclough, 2009). Let us examine some of the more controversial terms:

2.1.1. Which society of knowledge do we refer to?

Throughout the 1990s, the EU insisted increasingly on the need for Europe to form part of the economy and society of knowledge, a rhetorical artefact without definition or precision (Ravinet, 2009), whose most eloquent version can be found in the document titled "The EU and society based on knowledge"16, or in the European Commission resolution titled "The role of universities in the Europe of knowledge".17 This is a veritable sound box for a discourse riddled with ambiguities, when what is really meant is to recover Europe's weight in the world, maintaining a formative influence at a time when global geopolitics is moving for the first time from the North Atlantic to the Pacific

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Rim (Japan and Australia). Terms such as "employability", "mobility" and "competitiveness" are also incorporated into a cognitive, as well as normative matrix designed to strengthen the European single market and the free circulation of workers as contemplated in the Lisbon Strategy (2000). In a certain way, Anthony Giddens (2006) already suggested this in a newspaper article published in Spain under the title "To improve European universities" when he stated that: "What is all this expansion about? Why are political leaders so concerned about making universities bigger? The reasons are mainly economic. They have to do with the powerful forces that are now transforming the economies of all the developed countries." In other words, the vainglorious discourse about the society of knowledge constitutes in itself a "regime of truth" through which the possibilities for government are articulated and limited, as well as interpreted. Higher education becomes one of the ways of establishing the Europe of knowledge as foreseen in the Lisbon Strategy (2000), through activating the so-called triangle of knowledge, consisting of research, education and innovation — a mechanism equipped with scientific rationality to transmit the required competitiveness to the economy. Since the European Council set a new strategic objective for the European Union at Lisbon in March 2002, which was to turn it into the most advanced economy and society based on knowledge in the world, the Bologna process ceased to be the only engine of change and modernisation of universities in Europe, but became one more within a "space of public action of variable intensity" (Muller & Ravinet 2008: 664) in the "Education and training 2010" lead by the EU.

The cognitive rationality acquired by the Europeanization of policies is built up through "logic of continuous comparisons, that are legitimised and
carried out through 'new strategies', by which the intention is to find more profitable or efficient solutions" (Nòvoa 2010: 35).

2.1.2. The harmonisation of course structures or redefinition of traditional university models

As we have commented in other texts (Pereyra, Luzón & Sevilla 2008, González Faraco, Luzón & Torres 2009, Luzón, Sevilla & Torres 2009), the creation of a comprehensible, comparable structure for university courses is another of the central objectives of the process, as well as one of the most original for the development of the EHEA. It is not only a question of encouraging student mobility or harmonising similar courses, but also of guaranteeing sufficient professional training in a labour market that is broad and diversified, but above all necessarily competitive. This was underlined in the Lisbon strategy (2000) and subsequent documents specifying that strategy, such as Education and training 2010 (European Commission 2004), in order to combat disturbing levels of unemployment up to 21% of the active population, with Spain near the top (Eurostat 2011)\textsuperscript{18}. The approach attempts to take into account an international trend to boost the idea of university higher education to produce professionally qualified people and improve its links with the market. The consequences of this trend are many and profound, because they invite a reconsideration of the traditional functions and aims of the university and, above all,

\textsuperscript{18} The concern about the problem of growing unemployment in Europe had already been conveyed in 1993 in the White paper on growth, competitiveness and employment (European Commission 1993), which expressed the need to implement policies of permanent education that doubtless would have affected higher education.
the spirit of its historic models, such as that of Humboldt, where professionalising objectives are in second place.

Spain goes along with the basic premises in the implementation of the EHEA, following the ideas of Bologna and the agreements of the various monitoring conferences, where discourses clearly aimed at professional training take precedence over general, humanist or cultural education. (The proposal set out for consideration of universities and educational administration in the Autonomous Communities is that of harmonising the cyclical structure of university education with the design proposed by the Bologna Declaration and which is in force in the majority of States in the European Union and the rest of the world. Ministry of Education. Framework document for establishment of the EHEA.) It is a question of "harmonising" policies, i.e., to adapt them to European guidelines or to an interrelated multi-level mode of governance.

The framework document for application of directives on the EHEA specifies that the first level of university higher education is to be the "degree", lasting between 180 and 240 ECTS (European Credit Transfer System), as a new unit with the clear purpose of focusing on the acquiring of knowledge and skills aimed at achieving a professional qualification offering real opportunities for employment in the labour market. The second or "postgraduate" cycle lasts between 60 and 120 ECTS and aims for professional or research specialisation.

In Spain a debate arose on what to do with the traditional first-degree course lasting five or six years. Was this a first degree? If so, its duration and contents should be reconsidered (3-4 years) and post-graduate study be strengthened (reorganising at least the
official Master's degree market). When a new Social-democratic government came into power in Spain, it attempted to encourage the establishment of the EHEA and, while reform of the University law passed by the previous government four years earlier was being discussed, a new regulation was passed in 2005 establishing the structure of university education and regulating new first degree and postgraduate degree studies\textsuperscript{19}. It did not seem reasonable to put forward regulations that were later to be approved by a higher level norm such as the modification of an organic law, but the year 2010 was drawing near and Spain's application of measures was clearly behind those of its European colleagues. Nonetheless, in 2003 a number of teaching experiments had already been undertaken regarding the implementation of the new ECTS credits with the aim of fulfilling the regulations on the European credit system that required progressive adaptation\textsuperscript{20}. The whole normative regulation of the process is full of technical artifices given the implicit demand of a change of mentality in view of the introduction of the new credit system, presented as a benefit for the "quality of teaching" in which the student stands as the central pillar of the new methodologies of university teaching (the adoption of the ECTS credit system involves a change in the system and methodology of teaching that should encourage learning and self-teaching).

Here the language takes on its most subtle version, the change implies "quality" and experimenting with

\textsuperscript{19}Royal Decree 55/2005 (January 21st), which established the structure of university education and regulated official undergraduate studies and Royal Decree 56/2005 (January 21st) regulating official postgraduate studies. BOE, n° 21, 25/1/2005).

\textsuperscript{20}See the transitory provision of Royal Decree 1125/2003 (5th September), which establishes the European credit system and the grading system of official university degrees in all of Spain (BOE, n° 224, 18th September 2003).
the establishment of the new credit system brings with it a new, more competitive learning system that can be used throughout life after the "skills" have been developed. As we can see, the subterfuges of language involve a number of empty, rhetorical devices devoid of real content.

The regulations approved by the new Socialist government in 2005 on the structure of university education had important omissions. It maintained the ambiguity of the duration of the new first degree and postgraduate courses and gave the universities themselves the responsibility of designing the courses according to the guidelines set out. Postgraduate studies (Master's and Ph.D.) were organised in a much more flexible manner, but without specifying the length of the Master's (60-120 credits and one or two years), depending on the level of the first degree, but without any general guidelines. On the contrary, the presence of the hitherto inexistent Master's course as an educational cycle within postgraduate studies was highlighted as an important innovation. The demand for and expectations about Master's studies has led the universities to accelerate their offers, so that once the modification of the 2001 University Law was passed in 2007, the regulatory mechanisms necessary to specify the structures of first degree, Master's and P.D. courses were put into effect (article 33, modifying articles 37 and 38 of the LOU), although there was no substantial difference. The structure of new university courses was not definitively specified until the end of 2007. It was classified as one of the

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22 Royal Decree 1393/2007 (29th October) establishing the regulation of official university teaching (BOE, nº 260, 30th October 2007).
essential regulations for the process of university reform in the construction of the EHEA in Spain and a regulatory reference regarding the new ordering of university courses and official degrees. Henceforth the initiative in the process shifted to the universities and their institutional framework in the preparation, analysis, approval and setting up of the new official courses in the Spanish university system.

First-degree courses, then, last for 240 credits (four years), unlike the 180 credits and three years originally foreseen and in operation for Bachelor's degrees in many European universities. It appears that a reduction from the five years of traditional degree courses to three was considered excessive. Regarding Master's courses, they were structured as 60 credits and one year of duration, which is again different to European universities where such courses last for two years. However, despite the differences and divergences in their predominant discursive vehicle, in just two years (2006-2008) they have offered over a thousand official Master's. Specifically, in mid-2010 there were 1870 verified Master's courses and expectations are so high that in coming years the figure may reach 3000. Quality is meant to be guaranteed by the mechanisms of verification and monitoring as set out in the regulations. Challenges and new expectations are placed on inter-university and international Master's courses to promote mobility.

From a normative viewpoint, the harmonisation and structure of the new degree courses is concluded by another regulatory device, which is the European supplement to the degree, until now a novelty in the legitimisation of the mechanism of adaptation to the EHEA. Formerly regulated together with the adaptation of European credits, this represents an explanatory
document of the student's academic career and the skills acquired.

2.1.3. Improvement in quality of accreditation systems or new modes of governance in higher education

In the Bologna Declaration, as the regulatory device of harmonisation and Europeanization, we can detect that beyond national differences there is a tendency towards change in the modes of governance in education and training, as well as in higher education. These are mechanisms that replace the role of control and governance held by the State and transform the control exercised by national states or merely allowing them to ensure sufficient quality by counting on the results provided by evaluation agencies (Faraco, Luzón & Torres 2009). This suggests that the concept of quality has not been reformulated, as it continues to centre on the action of certain evaluation mechanisms operating with indicators whose references continue to be the efficiency and efficacy of national systems using accountability, mainly from what we might call a merely economic viewpoint but also as morality viewpoint (Biesta 2009). In this sense, it was appropriate for António Nóvoa (2010:37) to state that "an arithmetic conception of power is totally inadequate."

In political and institutional rhetoric, however, as expressed in article 149.1 of the Constitutional Treaty of the European Union, quality appears to be understood as something more: "The Community will contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation among member States and, if necessary, supporting and complementing action of the latter in full regard of their responsibilities concerning teaching contents and the organization of the education system, as well as its cultural and

As we can infer from these words, quality becomes a key element and would consequently legitimise intervention of the EU in national educational policies. This, then, is a new mode of supranational management, known as the Open Method of Coordination, on the basis of which the agencies of evaluation and accreditation at national and regional level have been conceived and developed with principles of cooperation between them and coordination at supranational level through an agency of agencies known as the European Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA)\(^{23}\).

Spanish universities have been slow to take part in mechanisms of control, efficiency, efficacy and results associated with market practices. One of the first institutional programmes of quality evaluation in universities was created in 1995 by the First National Plan for Evaluation and Quality in Universities that was never put into practice. With development of the Bologna process, guarantee of quality in universities has taken on more importance and new energy. In 2001 the LOU brought into being the National Agency for Evaluation and Accreditation (ANECA), which was gradually joined by Autonomic Agencies, which shows that the Spanish university is involved in a constant process of institutional evaluation with the aim of assuring the excellence of degree courses with greater transparency and more accessibility to the labour market. In fact, under the slogan of "quality guarantee", over the past ten years Spanish universities have developed a devilishly complex

\(^{23}\)The ENQA was created in 1998, shortly before the Bologna Declaration, with the aim of promoting "European co-functioning" in the field of evaluation and accreditation. For more information, see its web: [http://www.enqa.net](http://www.enqa.net)
regulatory process of accreditation and verification of the new Bachelor's and postgraduate courses and accreditation of university teaching staff, in which quality based on objective, verifiable and quantifiable criteria has been the predominant discourse. Although the performance of ANECA is widely accepted\(^{24}\), the challenge is to overcome deep-seated complacency and the ambivalence generated by discourse about quality to allow it to adapt to the scientific, productive and social requirement demanded by each particular context.

In fact, as Martínez Rodríguez says (2012: 21), the university problem and the university challenge in implementing the Bologna Process is to accept the paradoxical practice between homogeneity and uniqueness, innovation and tradition, global and local, subject’s interests and community’s interests.

**Conclusion**

The Bologna process and adaptation to the European Higher Education Space (EHES) have had particular importance for the recontextualisation of Spanish universities. This is a relatively recent, dynamic and complex process that has created the need for improvement felt and expressed by the universities, together with the desire of different governments to undertake reforms in an educational sphere of special importance for the economic progress of the European Union. Leaving behind some not very forceful resistance, the maxim of Ortega y Gasset continues to hold true: "Spain is the problem, Europe the solution." Higher education has served as a trampoline to secure Europe as a broader space for education or training, with a strong economic component in its discourse using the instrumentalism of the society of knowledge as something of economic worth. As we have already

\(^{24}\)See [http://www.aneca.es](http://www.aneca.es)
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said, one of the most out-of-tune melodies is the transition from a university model rooted in a particular historical identity, with a certain Humboldtian character and impregnated with a certain elitism to a more standardised model patented by the Bologna process that intends short cycle courses (first degrees) to be accessible to a high percentage of youth, with a markedly professional character aimed at employment.

In Spain, despite the substantial differences with its neighbouring countries, the forms of adaptation the university has gone through in recent decades have been similar and respond to a "regulatory ideal" that decisively affects the construction of national policies. The regulations of the process have been affected by a considerable discursive load and we have recovered the critical capacity to place ourselves in the latent force field of the "logic of adaptation" of university education to the labour market. In this sense, both conservative and social-democratic governments in Spain have built up the great area of European higher education through the promotion of legislative devices making possible the harmonisation of course structure, the organisation and content of the new courses and the guarantee of quality through the agencies created for this purpose. What we have is an institutional device that has required material and human resources to deal with expectations and has provided us with unforeseen, but valuable lessons intervening in the formation of identities and their effects.

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CHAPTER 41

SCHOOL LEADERSHIP AND SPECIAL EDUCATION: CHALLENGES, DILEMMAS AND OPPORTUNITIES FROM AN AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

This chapter attempts to identify the personal and professional attributes of school-leaders in SEN and to assess the extent to which this might be sufficient to give these professionals the confidence necessary to be a role model for their staff. Data were collected via a survey of a randomly selected set of Australian school leaders, in both special and mainstream schools. This included principals from all sectors of the Australian school system. The study was located on the conceptual and practical premise that school-principals place as much importance on the need to be instructional leaders, as they do on being managers. Furthermore, the study was informed by the assumption that in order to be successful as a school leader in respect of SEN, the principal required a deep pedagogical knowledge and a clear understanding of children’s developmental milestones. The study found that school
leaders needed to develop further understanding of how to differentiate the curriculum in order to identify and support quality teaching and learning processes in their schools for students with special educational needs and disabilities (SEND).

Introduction
The role of the school principal is critical in ensuring positive educational outcomes for all students, particularly those with special educational needs and disabilities (SEND). This has become an issue of substance in recent years, and is a high item on the agenda for many countries (Riehl, 2000; Attfield, 2003). This is understandable, given that all countries bar two are now signatories to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989). In spite of this, relatively little has been written regarding the principal’s role in enabling SEND students to access learning (Garner, 2011). The literature relating to leadership and management of schools appears to be depleted of a focus on developing the strategic skills necessary to promote the educational interests of this group (Chapman, Ainscow, Miles and West, 2011). Furthermore, professional development programmes for school leaders do not routinely place emphasis on the importance of inclusive education, in spite of a correspondingly widespread exposure of this concept in most countries (Florian, 2007).

These shortcomings become pronounced as a result of a corresponding failure, in many education systems, to address SEND issues within initial teacher preparation programmes. So, whilst there has been a widespread international movement towards developing educational provision which is more inclusive (Rose, 2010), such moves has been hampered by inadequate training for teachers (Davies & Garner, 1997; Garner, 2000; Mintz, 2007). There appears to be a level of naivety and simplicity regarding the training needs of
teachers, especially with regard to recognition of the curricula and pedagogies required to enable included SEN students to reach their full potential. The ongoing absence of coverage of SEND in training and professional development programmes, has meant that teachers are at a disadvantage in respect of students experiencing learning difficulties, whether they are novice, newly qualified teachers or experienced school leaders.

1. Method
A sample of school principals across Australia from all sectors, primary, secondary and specialist facilities were randomly selected and sent a leadership survey questionnaire. Three networks were used to accomplish this: the Australian Special Education Principals Association, the Australian Primary Principals Association and a West Australian Government School District Education Cluster. The questionnaire was distributed to all principals on the database of each of the three networks.

The survey contained a covering letter which outlined the aims and purposes of the data collection. The respondents were invited to complete the questionnaire and offered two options for remittance of their responses: completion of the questionnaire could either be in electronic format using written answers in full text or orally, in a telephone conversation with the researchers.

The survey instrument contained 19 questions which were designed by the researchers in collaboration with other members of the Australian Special Education Principals Association. To quality assure reliability the survey was also proof read for content by senior executive staff of the Western Australian Department of Education. The survey began with a closed set of
questions to map the demographics of the respondent group.

There then followed 10 rating questions on the respondents perceived level of confidence in service delivery to students with SEND. The five point rating scale ranged from ‘not at all’ to ‘excellent’. The final nine questions requested full text comments; these focused on the knowledge, skills and processes the respondent brought to their role as principal. The questions included coverage of SEND relating to:

- Enrolment procedures;
- School procedures, resources and personnel available across the school to cater for send;
- Professional learning opportunities available to staff to assure quality sufficient outcomes;
- Quality assurance processes with data collection to include send in whole school data;
- Whole school pedagogical development; and
- Professional learning opportunities available to the whole staff.

The questionnaire included a section where respondents could add additional thoughts relating to any issues not covered by the questionnaire or any queries they might have had regarding the purpose of the survey.

64 responses from across Australia were obtained and data from these Australian school leaders is included this chapter.

2. Results

Demographic data is represented in Illustration 1. These results highlighted that the majority of respondents were from primary schools (Figure 1) who
have been involved in the education service for twenty or more years (Figure 2) and in their current position for up to five years (Figure 3).

Illustration 1: Demographic Data

Data gathered in the closed question section of the survey revealed that respondents were from six states in Australia (Figure 5) and that 41 of the schools represented were in a metropolitan district and 23 worked in rural locations. Participant qualifications
ranged from Bachelor degree level to Doctoral qualifications (Figure 4); half of the respondents had completed some units of study in their initial degrees that covered SEND. Forty-eight participants had engaged in subsequent professional learning/development directed at SEND, whilst the remainder indicated no post-certification professional learning input (Figure 6).

The data gathered from the open-ended section of the survey was analysed by the researchers to identify the themes that emerged in response to the questions addressed in the survey. The analysis used key-word/phrase narrative searches to identify a set of dimensions or descriptors relating to the professional lives of the respondents. Four themes were subsequently identified: instructional leadership and special education; professional learning; deeper pedagogical understanding; and developmental milestones and differentiated curriculum. These themes were verified by a reference group of three practitioners, to ensure consistency and reliability of attribution.

3. Instructional Leadership and Special Education

School leadership in any educational setting or location is complex in its nature (Day & Leithwood, 2007). The leader is the vital cog in developing the vision of the school. Without this the school lacks the key to successfully including students with SEND. The attitude, knowledge and understanding of the leader are pivotal to the way the whole school community perceives, and develops policy and procedures, to support SEND learning opportunities. Level of confidence, understanding policy and procedures and including data in school accountability processes for
SEND in the closed question section of the survey demonstrated that only 18.2% of principals’ felt they had good or outstanding competency in these areas. Daniels (2008) demonstrated that school culture, attitudes and leadership are crucial in supporting student outcomes. He emphasized the importance for schools of changing historical sociocultural climates that traditionally generate messages to students in respect of ‘who can and who cannot” (Daniels, 2008).

The responses obtained are illustrative of this. One school principal indicated that “Negative personal attitudes to disability and diversity are very difficult to overcome. School Administrators who reflect these attitudes can ‘infect’ a whole school community with negativity” whilst another stated that “It very much depends on the leader’s journey whether they have much understanding of special needs - from my discussions most do not have a great understanding especially about legislation requirements”.

Some of the respondents indicated an understanding that ‘learning for all’ was a structural dimension in a schools role, and that “Leaders need to be leaders of learning and special needs students are a part of the complexity of schools.”

**3.1 Professional Learning**

There are many courses to assist education leaders in acquiring generic leadership skills. Indeed, this aspect of professional development has been a significant growth point over the last 20 or more years (OECD, 2008). What appear to be lacking are professional development opportunities that specifically equip leaders to engage more effectively with the needs of students who have SEND.

The survey responses mirror these observations. Only 18.5% of responses to the closed question on
understanding legislation were in the good to excellent range. The open question section demonstrated similar negative responses, one school leader indicating that "While on occasion, there have been learning opportunities; these have been focused on Department of Education and Training (DET) system changes. I cannot recall specific courses aimed at assisting school leaders to better meet the specific needs of SEN students”. An explicit view regarding the absence of such courses was exemplified by one respondent, who stated that “most PD opportunities are policy and/or compliant related and offer little depth, that is why we need to have the experts on the ground to turn to which are difficult to find/access most of the time.”

3.2 Deeper pedagogical understanding

The survey demonstrated that there was great diversity amongst school leaders in their capacity to engage in a fundamental and embedded way with the teaching and learning requirements of SEND students. In the closed question section, in rating the leader’s knowledge of SEND pedagogy, 78% were in the poor to medium range. The ability to demonstrate outcomes for SEND in Australia remains an issue of considerable concern and an area that leaders find difficult to address in any adequate way. As one school principal noted, “This is perhaps one our weakest points. We are reliant on external assessments by and large to determine effectiveness. Of course teacher assessments do play a part, matched against the realistic goals written in the Individual Learning Plan.”

Other comments generated by the open-ended questions amplified this sense of being ‘de-professionalised’ in matters regarding SEND, one respondent stating that “Often we don't really know
and rely on anecdotal evidence from teacher, assistant and parents". The reliance on external expertise was a feature of these questionnaire responses, as illustrated by the comments that "I am guided by the feedback of the Visiting Teachers or other content experts that we call in to support what we do" and that "School Psychologists and interagency liaison... some reports are way out of our understanding... jargon". These data are suggesting that the engagement of school leaders directly in pedagogy in SEND is unlikely, raising queries about the inclusive nature of school leadership (Ryan, 2006).

3.3 Understanding of developmental milestones and differentiated curriculum

Current policy requires most students who have disabilities to learn the same content as those without disabilities; the only variation to this requirement appears to be in the way the content is taught (Bays & Crockett, 2007). This notion is confirmed in our survey results from mainstream principals. Nevertheless, this is often not the case, as exemplified one principal in the survey:

"I am always looking for opportunities for inclusion with our students from the Support Unit. Support unit students are expected to access mainstream sporting, drama, whole school performances, excursions, choir.band and partial integration when possible. Students' IEP programs aim to focus on learning opportunities so that students can access the mainstream in the future if possible."

"The students with SEND all work on individual programs in the support classes that are planned around each child's specific needs. These programs must all reflect the NSW Syllabus in
Each subject area. Even though they are often modified, the syllabus remains the base document to ensure that these students have the same access to quality curriculum as all other students.

When the program incorporates excursions or camps to support curriculum outcomes our SEN students are always included in these programs for the Stage group that they are in.”

**Discussion**

Leadership is a common issue for discussion in educational settings. Hargreaves and Fink (2003) suggest that ‘sustainable leadership’ is cultivated through shared responsibility in school leadership. They argue that improvement is not measured by isolated tests or by strategic planning which is formulated in legislation or guidance from the state. These authors maintain that sustainable leadership is a “highly standardized approach to change that seeks efficiency above all else as the enemy of healthy and creative diversity. It produces overly simple systems that are too specialized or standardized to allow learning and cross-fertilization that are necessary for healthy development.” (p. 694).

School leaders have a profoundly positive effect on school environments by promoting diversity and growth through the three aspects of sustainable leadership: leading learning, distributed leadership and leadership succession. The overriding responsibility of leaders in schools is to sustain learning. As Hargreaves & Fink (op.cit) state, “Leaders of learning put learning at the centre of everything they do.” (p. 695) In addition to this they encourage others to support student learning. Ultimately, “sustainable leadership outlives
individuals; it does not disappear when leadership leaves” (ibid, p 697).

Fullan (2003) and others support the view that what leaders do and how they choose to do it matters, specifically in terms of student learning. Instructional leaders in schools have been described as those leaders who:

- Ensure quality teaching and learning
- Facilitate a climate and conditions that are conducive to learning
- Support teachers in implementing curricula
- Understand programs of study and pedagogy
- Are responsible for staff development (selection, supervision, professional development, evaluation)
- Act as coach, motivator, mentor, model, counselor, teacher

(adapted from Alberta Teachers’ Association – Quality Leadership Standard, 2004)

The current survey results show that, whilst all schools have an organizational process for SEND, these vary in complexity and level of application. A large proportion of schools demonstrate a distributed leadership model as the preferred process for dispensing SEND responsibilities, with little input from the school principal. Thus, one respondent observed that “We have an Inclusivity Deputy and Learning Support Coordinator that would welcome the child and parents and set up a case conference and individual education plan in consultation with teacher, parent and education assistant. The plan would then be put in place and reviewed on a regular basis.”

The results from the survey are indicative of the likelihood that principals in schools in Australia have put an emphasis on creating inclusive school
environments and structures wherever possible. However, there were several examples, which illustrate the struggle faced by leaders in coming to an understanding of educational inclusion. In doing this they need to move beyond viewing inclusion as being related to ‘place’ but rather to a developing understanding that the school needs to adopt pedagogy of inclusion as a feature of its educational culture (Lewis & Norwich, 2005). Representative of the former position is one observation by a school leader in the study: “The school has committed to resourcing a room for our SEN. This includes one stand-alone computer and two notebooks. We also provide regular training for Education Assistants with the Centre for Inclusive Schooling.”

As previously stated Instructional leaders should have a solid understating of what constitutes quality teaching and learning and understand the pedagogy required to implement an appropriate curricula for all students. This level of understanding was not always evident in the survey results. Scruggs and Mastropieri (1996) found that only 33% of teachers believed that the mainstream classroom was the best place for students with SEND. Even more telling was that only 29% of teachers in the Scruggs and Mastropieri survey considered they had sufficient expertise to deliver curriculum for SEND. This is a fact confirmed by the lack of preservice training in SEND as mentioned earlier. This leads to the assumption that leaders are first of all teachers and that this perception is translated in their leadership beliefs and attitudes. There were principals who demonstrated understanding of the need to lead curriculum for SEND. These leaders understand the critical importance of leading teaching and learning in their schools. These leaders see themselves as staff developers, coaches, mentors and motivators while
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maintaining the need to research current best practice and incorporate others’ ideas.

On the other hand the survey indicated that there were some leaders who did not see this as their primary responsibility or were unaware of what they did not know and what they needed to know in respect of SEND. As stated earlier, a heavy reliance on external expertise was noted, exemplified by the comments that “...there are outside agencies that can provide learning opportunities for SEN students” and that "I have participated in two professional development activities in special education in the last 5 years. These sessions were organised by myself and presented to all staff at the school. They involved looking at students suffering (our emphasis) from autism and Aspergers.”

If school leaders are committed to placing learning at the centre of what they do it would appear that the majority of the principals in our survey require further system support to become meaningful instructional leaders; this is especially the case in relation to their involvement with those students experiencing SEND. The present research has indicated that leaders are more than ready to participate in this vital area, though they feel vulnerable, unable to fully support their teachers and as a result express feelings of guilt at this situation: "...Burn out of teachers and aides - many teachers have great expectations for their students and when they are not achieved they blame themselves and what could they have done better...”. The commentaries provided elsewhere as responses to the open-ended questions convey a high degree of concern about an absence of awareness and skills in managing the needs of specific groups of SEND students. This is neatly encapsulated by one principal:

“...The biggest issue we face... and having a school which is recognised in Western Region as having
best practice in dealing with SEN students and therefore a resource for other schools is the area of autism. This is the area which causes untold grief, heartache and stress in our school. It is also the area for which we are contacted by other schools the most for support as having the most impact on them. We DO NOT have the resources or knowledge to deal professionally and competently with children on the higher end of the spectrum as well as those on the spectrum who are violent.”

Recent research on SEND leadership indicates that many education systems rely on on-the-job training – an interpretation which is also supported by data from the present study. This has implications both ethically and in a legal sense (Forbes, 2008). The current approach to educational policy in many countries is to articulate great expectations of all students. On-the-job training may not be the most effective or long-term way of supporting this aspiration. One concern is that there is evidence of an increasing reliance on an ageing workforce: many SEND leaders are retiring and leaders with unfamiliar knowledge bases are being recruited to take their place, with potential negative consequences for SEND students (Crockett, 2007).

The ability of SEND leaders to shape a pedagogical approach that is evidence based and ongoing for staff who work with students with SEND to improve outcomes demonstrates a fundamental difference in leadership between special (i.e. SEND-specific) and regular schools (Forbes, 2008). The leadership practices that are common among SEND leaders are principally those of problem solving, with the use of social educational and cultural data and the involvement of leadership of different people or teams of staff at different times to improve student outcomes (Spillane et. al., 2001). Such problem solving efforts are structured, flexible and evaluative in order to be
accountable for the delivery of services to this group of students (Boscardin, 2007). The approach requires that leaders are knowledgeable about the complex variables inherent in SEND and know when and how to intervene. They are able to use data and/or evidence to influence change in order to ensure improved instructional practices that lead to improved learning outcomes (Deno, 1995).

The data being reported in the present chapter demonstrates that evidence-based practice is exemplified in diverse ways and at contrasting levels of awareness amongst school leaders. The ability to demonstrate outcomes for SEND in Australia remains a concern and one issue that leaders find difficult to address. Principals with little knowledge of SEND often struggled with the resulting tensions, although those who currently work in, or have worked in specialist SEND settings, appeared to be better placed to address the emergent dilemmas, as illustrated by the comments of several respondents:

“We are very proactive in continually appraising what we are ‘doing’ in terms of student learning. We investigate new ways of doing things to enhance student learning. We invite people into our school who have knowledge of current research. We embrace our Quality teaching pedagogy (NSW), continually upgrade our sensory enrichment programs, we have embarked upon using Intensive Interaction with our higher support needs children in the endeavour of empowering them to ‘control’ their environment with their own ‘communication’ skills. We are never complacent. We continually question, evaluate and look for better ways of doing things. (There is no such support from our Special Education Unit at head office.)”

“I am very experienced in special education- 20 plus years plus involvement in a Board of Studies
- curriculum. I make sure the needs are also identified and implemented as part of their individual plans.”

“Experience and background knowledge as a result of my specialised training and teaching experience in the field. Professional dialogue with school support staff. We have a cyclical implementation of student learning programs, i.e. assessment, planning, development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of individual student learning programs.”

Spillane et al. (op.cit.) promoted a view that inter-professional working was an integral feature in SEND leadership. Boscardin was able to amplify the importance of this approach, indicating that professional collaboration and evidence-based practices are two salient leadership qualities that SEND administrators have consistently demonstrated to improve the teaching and learning of their students. The use of evidence-based practices and the ability to create dynamic team approaches are two areas where SEND leaders appear to move beyond traditional leadership practices in order to affect improved, equitable and appropriate educational opportunities. Moreover, leaders who are capable of identifying, clarifying and prioritising critical elements of curriculum are better placed to gather data to increase the ability to target areas of necessary change that in turn lead to improved student outcomes (Boscardin, 2007). This way of working is illustrated in the data from principals in the present study: "The Individual Education Plan (IEP) of each student is carefully analysed by the admin team to assure that the goals are appropriate, specific, measurable and achievable. Then extensive hard data on student achievement is gathered from the priorities set in students IEP's and
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from whole class programs. This is aggregated and analysed carefully. The opinions about what is appropriate are derived from research into disability specific curriculum, professional reading and research on instructional design.”

SEND students have specific learning needs and as such require unique curricula and instructional design (Forbes, 2007). Developing programs of learning for these students is highly specialised, intense and inherently complex. They require intensive, continual and explicit instruction, because special education provision is about the pursuit of teaching and learning outcomes, not only about care (Forbes, 2007). In Australia there are many varied models of service delivery to facilitate these outcomes via curriculum inputs, from full inclusion in mainstream settings to specialist schools and facilities. However, student outcomes vary between school types (Forbes, 2008; Hornby, 1999).

The importance of curriculum cannot be understated; it is the principal pathway to achieving educational and social inclusion. Important professional interest groups in Australia have contended that a separate set of curriculum processes is not required for students with SEND, but rather that the generic curriculum outcomes become a common inspirational goal for all students (Forbes, 2007).

With a lack of an articulated curriculum in many states and territories for SEND special educators work instead on addressing individual difference directly through individualized programs. Through these plans they provide intensity and specialized instruction so that students with disabilities can learn appropriately and participate in their communities as productive
society members (Bays & Crockett, 2007). Our survey also supports this point albeit with tensions:

“In order to plan implement and monitor an appropriate curriculum/pedagogy for SEN it is first necessary to have a curriculum. Current curriculum does not go low enough in a developmental way so there is no way of knowing if teachers are doing a good job and students are learning. An enormous amount of time is spent modifying a curriculum when if an appropriate curriculum was available then teachers and leaders could get on with the job of refining and improving their instruction to ensure students learnt. As an Ed Support Principal I am very confident in my knowledge of how to effectively teach students with disabilities but struggle against a system that thinks and acts in a vastly philosophically different way - and teachers who are poorly trained and then actively discouraged from implementing effective, research based teaching methods.”

“Planning must be informed, rigorous and based on special educational learning theory to ensure that scientifically unproven programs are not implemented and best practice is ensured at all times. There is a huge amount of knowledge required to understand the very diverse needs of the students across the range of the many disabilities therefore it is critical for the instructional leaders to be as skilled as possible through ongoing learning and practice.”

As Australia lacks a developmental curriculum in any State (at the time of writing), this issue of understanding of developmental milestones is crucial to ensuring quality outcomes for SEN. Special education leaders who have this knowledge are able to support the teams within their schools to ensure appropriate developmental outcomes are being worked
towards for the cohorts of students at their facilities. While all Australian systems have assumed a theoretical responsibility for all students, they struggle to resolve the tension between their aspirations for learning for all and an authentic curriculum model (ASEPA, 2006). They are attempting to develop a generic product broad enough to accommodate the learning outcomes of all students when clearly all actually means most. We are currently seeing this with the development of the Australian Curriculum. Provision of curriculum needs to move beyond a theoretical obligation to students with disabilities and special needs, to the actual inclusion of the learning outcomes of all students. Curriculum needs of students with a range of special needs must be built into all policies and documentation such as the Australian Curriculum, and not merely ‘bolted on’ as an afterthought. There needs to be a move from writing curricula and syllabus materials that appear to target the ‘typical’ or average learner to those which include all students at all phases of schooling (Forbes, 2007).

An inclusive curriculum is needed in the educational landscape in Australia. Until we address this we will continue to exclude a significant population of students in all curricula documentation and therefore learning in Australian schools (Forbes, 2007). SEND students need to be the starting point of curriculum development and the processes within it. It is clear that no single school can possess all the skills, understanding, and knowledge, nor a complete range of programmes and resources to ensure all students achieve to their maximum potential. Emphasis needs to be placed on developing interdependent, collaborative models to access knowledge, programmes and resources wherever they exist (Forbes. 2007).
Conclusion

This study provides some evidence to suggest that there is considerable tension in expediting the role of school leader in the context of inclusive education. Whilst there are leaders in Australia, as there are internationally, who are endeavouring to provide quality education for SEND students, there are many more for whom the task appears to be a major challenge. These school leaders are inclined to view the task in negative terms, regarding SEND students as being potentially disruptive to the otherwise efficient provision of a normative curriculum. This view is adopted in part because there is a feeling that they receive inadequate support – especially in respect of professional development in order to enhance their understanding and skills in relation to SEND.

But school leadership remains the vital key in developing appropriate teaching and learning opportunities for these marginalised students. Hargreaves and Fink (2004) sum up the position:

“Most leaders want to do things that matter, to inspire others to do it with them and to leave a legacy once they have gone. Mainly it is not leaders who let their schools down, but the systems in which they lead. Sustainable leadership certainly needs to become a commitment of all school leaders. If change is to matter, spread and last, sustainable leadership must also be a fundamental priority of the systems in which leaders do their work.”

To do this education systems need to commit to writing curricula that are inclusive of all students. This will allow leaders and teachers in schools to understand and develop what it is that their students need to learn and plan appropriate strategies and monitor progress. Leaders and schools should not be
expected to do this on their own, particularly for this most complex cohort of students.

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CHAPTER 42

CULTURAL CHANGE IN POLISH SCHOOLS IN CHALLENGING URBAN CONTEXTS

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ABSTRACT

This paper is devoted to the issue of change in school culture in Polish schools which serve highly disadvantaged communities, where poverty and deprivation tend to set a context of hopelessness and anger that are difficult for schools to grapple with and turn around (Michalak & Jones, 2009). These schools are participating in a wider comparative study being conducted in Poland and England. In the study an attempt is made to find out: (i) what is

1 This article is part of the a joint research project between the University of Lodz (Poland) and Sheffield Hallam University (UK). The project is supported (in part) by a grant from the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education, project No N N106 332634, project co-ordinator Joanna Madalinska-Michalak. The research findings are presented in the book: Skuteczne przywództwo w szkołach na obszarach zaniedbanych społecznie. Studium porównawcze [Successful Leadership in school in challenging urban contexts. Comparative study] by Joanna Madalinska-Michalak (2012).
similar and different about successful school leadership\(^2\) in challenging urban contexts in Poland and England and what is the reason for the similarities and differences; (ii) what the successful leaders in schools in highly disadvantaged contexts did that led them to create favourable conditions for the educational achievement\(^3\) of all children.

This paper is divided into four main parts. The first part portrays the contexts of school leadership in Poland. The second part presents the basic terms used in the other two parts of the text. Such terms as “culture” and “organisational culture” are described in it and additionally the significance of organisational culture for school management is explained. This part also shows the potential impact of a school principal on creating an organisational culture. In the third part, the main methodological premises of the research and the ways of collecting data are described. The fourth part is devoted to the presentation of the most important findings of the research, taking into account the subject of this paper. In analysing these findings, I would like to focus on:

- The role of a principal as a leader who supports the educational achievement of all children in schools in a highly disadvantaged urban context through shaping and utilising organizational culture;
- The principal approach to leadership in the school in a highly disadvantaged urban context;
- The key change strategies within the process of culture change for a school’s success, against all the odds and in the circumstances it faces.

\(^2\) In the study, successful school leadership refers to ‘leadership orientations and practices that have been demonstrated to have a positive impact on student learning, whether directly or indirectly through school conditions or the actions of others’ (Leithwood and Riehl, 2005, pp. 14–15).

\(^3\) The concept of educational achievement is understood very broadly. We tend to perceive this concept by looking at children learning and at progress made by them over time. Usually this concept is restricted to focusing on performance scores in core curriculum subjects (Black-Hawkins, Florian and Rouse, 2007).
1. The Polish context of school leadership

Successful educational leadership in schools facing challenging circumstances is partly shaped by shifting social, economic and political circumstances, whether local, national or global in nature. Following the downfall of the socialist regimes in 1989, system transformations have taken place primarily in the political, social, cultural and economic areas in Poland. New political legislation became the basis for changes in Polish education. From being a centrally planned, hierarchical and closed educational system, it has been transformed into a more open and highly decentralised system of governance. The new legislation permitted the development of non-state schools and changes in the structure of enrolment at the upper secondary level (a higher percentage of young people attending general secondary schools), as well as the doubling of the number of students attending higher education institutions (Michalak, 2005). The reform of the State administration system and the education reform assume that only the national educational policy will be developed and carried out centrally, while the administration of education and the running of schools, pre-school institutions and other educational establishments are decentralised. Each school is administered locally and possesses a high degree of autonomy. Each school has a good amount of control over its own decisions and destiny (Michalak, 2007).

The major structural reforms that took place in Poland at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of twenty first century had certain characteristics and dimensions. One of these dimensions put emphasis on viewing schools as an expression of democratic political ideals and as a mechanism for preparing children to play constructive roles in a democratic society. Education has as a goal the nurturing of the human person. The other dimension stressed competition and choice, which together were intended
to raise academic standards of individual students, schools and a nation. Mechanisms of accountability have also been an essential component of this ‘marketization and economization’ of education. These include the measuring of children’s academic performance, at the ages of thirteen and sixteen, through standard tests and publication of the results in performance tables. It is worth noting that in Poland there is no concept of “failing schools”, and no schools are closed because of low students' performance. If the schools are in danger of closure, it is connected mainly with the new financial policy for schools which was introduced by the Polish government in 2000. This policy can be described in the following way: ‘money follows students’, which means that the fewer students at school, the much higher the probability of school closure. This kind of policy has a very negative effect on the schools in challenging urban contexts, as these schools usually have problems with student enrolment, especially concerning students from more affluent areas, and therefore these schools carry a greater danger of closure.

Alongside the above-mentioned reforms, another rather different set of large-scale educational developments have also taken place in Poland. That is, whilst the Polish government has maintained this emphasis on competition, accountability and standards, it has also been enacting policies to promote more inclusive educational systems. Tensions have then emerged as a result of conflicts between

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4 In Poland, over 5,000 primary schools have been closed since 1990. Many facts also indicate that the process of closing primary schools will advance in the following years. The forthcoming period of population decline and raising educational expenditure of self-governments incline us to think that another wave of school closures should be expected which will be much larger than the one in 2000 – i.e. in the year when the new regulations about granting educational subventions on the basis of the number of students were introduced.
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principles that, on the one hand, underpin market based reforms and, on the other hand, are based on values of equity and social justice.

The decentralized nature of the system of education and new educational challenges (for example: improving both inclusion and achievement) have led to the situation where leadership practices vary between the different communes (gmina) and schools in Poland. Polish principals are challenged to respond to new and (sometimes) contradictory expectations. They are being pulled in many directions between management, leadership and accountability pressures. Principals are required to function mainly as the managers who must be adept in finance and budgeting, and who must also spend a good deal of time on managing performance and projecting the outward image of the school. One can say that principals are “responsible for nearly everything”: budget allocation, interpretation and implementation of legislation, staff appointments, human resource management, professional development provision, action plans and target setting, projecting image of the school, students’ achievements, dealing with parental requests and complaints, the ‘soft skills’ of teamwork and team building and also for teaching (Polish principals are required by law to have been teachers, and most continue to be engaged in classroom teaching for at least 2-3 hours per week. This enables them to remain connected to their pupils and ensures that pedagogical leadership is not merely rhetoric but a day-to-day reality). Shortage of time, increased pressure, expanded scope and accumulating perception of overload – these are the mounting burdens of performing the role of school principal in Poland. All these problems sit alongside inadequate and insufficient forms of leadership support (Michalak, 2007; Michalak, 2009). Polish principals and principal candidates have been given opportunities to
participate in training programs provided by the national or local educational governments, which focus mainly on school management. They have had few chances to learn leadership at the university level.

2. Culture and change

2.1 Culture defined

In its very broadest sense, culture is defined as the stream of norms, values, beliefs, traditions, and rituals built up over time. It serves to delineate different groupings of people on how each group is perceived, and on how it perceives itself to share similar ways of seeing and interacting with the animate, inanimate and spiritual world (Benedict, 1934; Trompenaars, 1993).

Cultures develop over time as groups establish patterns of behaviour and belief that seem effective in helping them to interpret and interact with the world in which they are immersed. The patterns of behaviours, values and beliefs, supplemented with the associated rituals, myths and symbols that arise to support them, combine over time to establish and then to reinforce the core assumptions of the culture; and to provide implicit guidelines for behaviour (Trice & Beyer, 1993).

People need cultures to have a feeling of belonging to a group because they offer collective identity which prevents individuals from plunging into isolation. One should also be aware that culture can be of assistance in identifying differences between various groups, which are as significant as similarities for the group identity.

Cultures are characterised by their own dynamics, which means that changed circumstances may result
in adopting new patterns of behaviour or ideologies. However, these are typically rooted in existing main assumptions and hence a culture may become a set of what appears to be complex ambiguities or paradoxes (Trice & Beyer, 1993). It continues until the time when new behavioural patterns resulting from attempts to adjust to the environment produce a new belief system and set of core assumptions.

In the literature, there are major differences in view and considerable freedom in interpreting the notions of organisational culture. Therefore, the need to define the terminology of the subject seems justified. The significance that is attached to the idea of organisational culture is still subject to controversy. To some extent it is understandable, on the one hand due to the complexity and ambiguity of the notion of culture itself, and on the other hand because of the diversified expectations concerning the possibility of explaining various organisational phenomena by means of cultural analysis.

In the 1950s, A. L. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn (1952) gathered over 150 definitions of culture created by anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists and representatives of other scientific disciplines. While analysing them, they divided them into six categories that reflected six types of definitions: descriptive, historical, normative, genetic, structural and psychological. They concluded that culture is a phenomenon that still seeks explanation and as such cannot explain other realities.

Over half a century has passed since their work and during this time many new concepts of culture have emerged. Some of them emphasize the significance of group behavioural patterns and habits created and performed during various actions. Others define culture as a network of meanings in which all of us are
entangled. In other words, it can be stated that the definitions of culture differ from one another depending on whether they refer to the way of acting or the manner of thinking. For example, if it is said that culture is *the way we do things around here*, as it was postulated by Ouchi and Johnson (1978: Simpson, 2002), then such a position refers to the former approach. Perceiving culture as a manner of thinking is visible in its definition conceived by C. Gertz (1973, p. 25), who claims that culture means producing meanings from the essence of which people draw their experiences and models of behaviour.

Nowadays, the attention is paid both to the ways of acting and the manner of thinking, which is clear in the definition of culture constructed by Edgar Schein which says that culture is a set of basic beliefs acquired by the members of an organisation in the course of resolving problems of its external adaptation and internal integration which are considered to be right and are taught as an appropriate way of perception, thinking and feeling with regard to these problems (1985, p. 12). Here, culture is understood as the philosophy of an organisation and is often called “organizational culture”. The notion of culture itself is relational in nature, which means that subjective relations between an individual and various organisational aspects do not exclude objective relations, i.e. the features of organisational system independent of aforementioned subjective relations.

Culture can therefore be viewed as a pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way you perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems.
2. 2. The power of organisational culture

The issue of organisational culture is important in the management of an organisation, but at the same time it is ambiguous. The power of organisational culture lies in the fact that it is treated as something natural and unquestioned by the members of a group. According to V. Sathe (1983) the power of organisational culture can be measured through the intensity of such characteristics as:

- Clarity
- The extent of dissemination
- the extent of deep-rootedness

The clarity of cultural patterns refers to how unambiguous is the perception of what is needed and what is not. The fewer doubts the members of a social group have concerning their own cultural beliefs, the greater their clarity.

The extent of dissemination concerns the scale in which workers are unanimous in their views on one type of culture. The greater the number of shared patterns of thinking and behaviour, the stronger the culture of an organisation. The extent of dissemination of organisational culture is measured through assessing the degree of cultural uniformity of the members of an organisation. The organisational culture can be homogeneous or heterogeneous. The extent of the culture's dissemination depends on the size of an organisation. Generally, the larger an organisation, the greater the diversification of the areas and conditions of its operation.

The extent of deep-rootedness shows the degree to which certain cultural patterns are adopted. The greater attachment of workers to the patterns of a certain organisational culture – and thus the greater
accompanying unwillingness to change them – the more deep-rooted the culture. The deep-rootedness depends on autonomous or instrumental attitudes towards the adopted cultural patterns. An autonomous attitude is characterised by the fact that cultural patterns become the values in themselves. Therefore they are not justified by referring them to any other values. The members of an organisation sometimes attach themselves very strongly to traditional norms and resulting behavioural patterns. Cultural patterns are thought of as universal and they are considered good, desirable and offering a steady basis for actions, no matter what the organisational conditions are. The deep-rootedness of cultural patterns is shallow when an instrumental attitude to a culture dominates. It occurs when workers treat cultural patterns as useful in performing their organisational roles at a certain time and in a certain place.

In summary, it can be stated that a strong organisational culture encompasses cultural patterns that are clear, widely disseminated and deep-rooted in the social environment of the organisation.

A strong organisational culture represents the identity of an organisation. An organisation which has its own identity possesses a set of features that makes it stand out among other organisations. A distinctive identity of an organisation is certainly an advantage of every strong organisational culture. However, a strong organisational culture leads in turn to many difficulties in introducing change to an organisation. The greater the attachment of employees to certain cultural patterns sanctioning the existing organisational solutions, the stronger their resistance to changing them.

Adjusting to change does not mean that an employee should acquire new skills, but that they should rather
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change the hierarchy of values and norms, which supports them in their actions and convinces them of their purposeful nature. After introducing organisational changes, many behavioural patterns which result from already existing cultural norms and values may appear dispensable. As it was indicated by P. Bate (1994), a strong organisational culture may in some cases result in an “acquired ineptitude”, i.e. a state in which people are not able to conceptualise their problems in ways enabling their resolution.

The most important factors conducive to freeing people from their prison of cultural habits are diversity and changeability of organisational surroundings. These habits can make people diversify their duties and trigger different reactions to these pressures. These reactions and duties are embraced by various groups of employees, which out of necessity differ in their perceptions of the surrounding environment and in their criteria for assessing formal goals and organisational solutions. This leads to heterogenisation of organisational culture.

Frequent changes in the surroundings entail constant reviews of cultural premises and changes in the hierarchy of social values and norms, which shapes instrumental attitude towards culture. In literature concerning this subject, a weak culture is frequently supported and postulated, which does not mean lack of culture. The feeling of community is an important condition conducive to effective achievement of goals in every organisational system. However, this community should be an open one, a learning one, and not the one which guards its identity and irrevocably loses its chances of development.

2.3 Cultural change and its sources

The culture of an organisation possesses an element of dynamism – it changes when influenced by new
experiences connected with the social life of an organisation and events occurring in an organisation's surroundings. New workers come to an organisation and they also bring new patterns of behaviour and thinking. Changes in an organisation's surroundings – both closer and further – i.e. including social, economic, legal, cultural changes, exert an influence on what transpires in an organisation. The need to adapt to surroundings and the necessity to develop make an organisation respond to changes in the surrounding world.

Organisational culture is constantly shaped by various internal and external factors. External cultural factors, i.e. the ones coming from the environment of an organisation, most often have an indirect impact on shaping employees' cultural patterns. They include the impact of the political, economic and social system. An indirect influence is made on an organisation’s culture through changes in its formal structure and its methods of management. These external factors which belong to the culture of the social community from which the members of an organisation come have a direct influence on organisational culture.

Three direct internal sources of cultural change include:

- Social interactions in an organisation, which form the basis for a spontaneous process of shaping culture – a manager has a very limited control over them;
- Formal organisational solutions, which are dependent on a manager, but these new cultural patterns result from cultural interpretation of organisation's requirements performed by employees;
- The manager's culture-shaping impact, through deliberately introducing and controlling changes in organisational culture of their subordinates.
The above-mentioned factors constitute a network of firm interdependencies forming a certain organisational culture.

2.3.1 Manager's culture-shaping powers

As far as the impact of a manager on shaping organisational culture is concerned, management studies and practice do not assume that a manager – in our case a school principal – possesses unlimited culture-shaping powers. However, it is assumed that in a short period of time these powers are very restricted, but over a longer time they considerably increase.

A manager's leadership talents influence the effectiveness of their culture-shaping actions in an organisation. The essence of leadership lies in an ability to control and interpret events perceived as important for an organisation's operation.

2.4. School culture and its change: the role of leadership

On the basis of the analysis of the literature it can be assumed that the organisational culture of a school, just like the culture of any other organisation, is a certain system consisting of various elements and characteristics. The elements of school's organisational culture can be divided into three categories:

- Patterns of thinking, thanks to which members of a certain social group obtain criteria for the assessment of various phenomena and situations (a set of patterns of thinking can be termed an ideology of ideology and it consists of cultural premises and social values and norms);
- Patterns of behaviour, showing appropriate ways of responding to these phenomena and situations (patterns of behaviour are shaped as a result of
popularisation of the attitudes resulting from certain patterns of thinking, dominating in a particular organisation)

– Symbols, thanks to which patterns of thinking and behaviour are popularised and consolidated among the members of a group (physical, linguistic, behavioural and personal symbols – they convey particular meanings and play a significant communicative role).

School culture is not a static entity. School's organisational culture is created over a longer period of time. It is constantly being constructed and shaped through interactions with others and through reflections on life and the world in general. The patterns of school culture are characterised by stability as significant elements of a local school atmosphere. It does not mean that they are unchangeable and resistant to the impact of the surroundings or internal factors which constitute internal sources of cultural change, taking into consideration a special role ascribed to a principal.

A strong school's organisational culture reflects its identity. A school possessing its own identity can stand out among other schools. A school's distinctive identity is an advantageous part of its strong organisational culture. However, strong organisational culture (distinctive, wide-spread and deep-rooted school's cultural patterns) can lead to many obstacles that make it harder to introduce changes into a school's life, which is very significant in schools functioning in socially disadvantaged areas.

The complexity of changing schools in ‘challenging contexts’ often means changing the ways in which staff ‘imagine’ particular communities and the education that they need (Shields, Bishop, & Mazawi,
Deficit views of families and children leads to lowered expectations which can equate to ‘dumbed down’ work and slowly paced lessons, and hostile and paternalistic interactions with families. Studies of change in specific schools with ‘challenging contexts’ have shown that ‘unsuccessful’ inner city schools were those in which students retained strong ties and identification with their communities, whereas in ‘successful’ inner urban schools, students broke from their families and neighbourhoods and formed a middle class educated identity (Miron & Lauria, 2005).

Leithwood and Riehl (2005) claim that successful leaders in schools serving highly diverse student populations often enact practices to promote school quality, equity and social justice through building powerful forms of teaching and learning, creating strong communities in school, nurturing the development of educational cultures in families and expanding the amount of students’ social capital valued by the schools.

3. Research design

The research design consisted of two overlapping phases: the first was a literature review to ascertain ‘what is known’ about the nature and effects of successful leadership in challenging urban contexts; while the second involved a case study approach to explore key leadership strategies used to create a culture of school success “against the odds”.

Using a qualitative case study approach, we made an attempt to answer the following questions, which were central for the study described in this paper:

- How do principals shape their roles as successful educational leaders who support achievement of all
children in schools in a highly disadvantaged urban context?

- What are their approaches to leadership in these schools?

- What strategies of change are used by the successful principals in these schools to create a culture of success “against the odds”?

Given the goals of the study, particular importance was placed on selecting schools from highly disadvantaged urban contexts:

- That have a good reputation (schools which aim to raise the achievements of all its students and have successes in improvements in these achievements, schools that achieve a rising level of: 'value-added' results regarding pupils' achievements, pupil attendance and social climate in the school and community);

- Are led by the principals who (i) are constantly seeking to improve achievements of all school students, (ii) are widely acknowledged by their professional peers as being ‘successful’ leaders.

Inspectors from Local Authority’s Education Service has been asked to indicate principals whom they regarded as successful on the basis of the school evaluation, student achievement and peer acknowledgement.

On the basis of the indications from the Local Authority’s Education Service in Poland (Lodz) purposeful sampling (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998) has been used to identify four primary schools and two lower secondary schools (called gymnasiums) for our study. These were schools from highly disadvantaged urban contexts regarded as being led by successful principals. They were schools recognized as aiming to raise achievements of all students and having success
in supporting their students’ learning. Two of the selected schools, when we take into account the school’s size, were small schools\(^5\) (the schools serve no more than 350 students).

Summing up, the final sample consisted of four primary schools and two lower secondary schools\(^6\) - two of them were small schools - with the majority of their students drawn from economically and socially disadvantaged backgrounds (the majority of the students live in neighborhoods which suffer poverty) where attendance and behaviour problems have existed. Whilst the schools did not have to be the most successful, they all met the following criteria: (i) the positive reputation of the school and the positive

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\(^5\)It is worth noticing that nowadays in Poland when one says „a small school”, one does not usually mean the schools with fewer than 350 pupils, but rather the new schools that replace rural schools disbanded by self-government. The term „Small School” is rather a popular term than a formal one. „Small Schools” originated as a result of the protests of local communities against closing schools by self-governments. Initially, it was a grassroot initiative. The first association was established in the village of Krzywogoniec in Cekcyn district, where in the autumn of 1999 the citizens protested against the self-government's plan to sell the building that used to belong to the school that had already been closed. Such associations and the groups of teachers themselves created schools in other places, mainly small villages (e.g. in Derc, Dłużew, Kunki and Smrokow) In February 2000, the Ministry of National Education created the program entitled „Small School” in which it gave its support in establishing public primary schools run by 1 or 2 teachers with 20 to 30 pupils in grades 1-3. According to General Statistical Office, 128 such schools operated in 2004/2005. At present there are about 200 of them.

\(^6\)In Poland education in the primary schools lasts six years. The graduation from this type of school entitles to the certificate and further education in a gymnasium, which is a 3-year compulsory school for pupils at the age of 13-16. Education in gymnasium is completed with an exam and graduation from it makes it possible to learn further in one of the upper higher secondary school (lyceum, so-called profiled lyceum, or technicum) or in a vocational school.
reputation of the current principal; and (ii) evidence of success in terms of students’ educational achievements.

In order to explore (i) the role of perceived successful school leaders in a highly disadvantaged urban context; (ii) their approaches to leadership in these schools; and (iii) strategies for change and for establishing a successful school culture, a research design was constructed that incorporated multiple methods of data collection. This included a one-to-one semi-structured interview with the principal and an interview with a group of four classroom teachers at each school.

Researchers used a common interview protocol. The schedule included themes like changes in the school, perceptions of success and principals role in the school’s success, the relationships between the principal, leadership colleagues, teachers, students and parents, and the principals actions in pursuit of student achievement. In addition, a wide range of documentary data (relevant “concrete” evidence, e.g. inspection reports, performance data) was collected concerning each school. In the early stages of the research, clear sets of ethical and practical guidelines were agreed with the participants.

All interviews were recorded and later transcribed. Transcripts were returned to the interviewees for correction and validation purposes. Interview data enabled in-depth, cross-case comparisons to be undertaken. This analysis led to the emergence of a number of common themes and key findings. In the next section of this paper we will focus on some findings connected with the issue of small schools.
4. Findings

4.1 Introductory Discussion

In presenting these findings, a number of issues have been recognized. Firstly, theoretical issues to do with “Culture and Change” have been outlined and the complex and powerful nature of culture in organizations has been recognized. Additionally, school organizational culture sits within the wider educational and societal cultures which themselves relate to underlying structures of power, class, and gender (Field, 2008). These complexities need to be recognized when considering the process of cultural change, particularly in challenging urban contexts. Further work will therefore be required to capture issues of process in the context of cultural change in schools.

Secondly, the following outcomes are from a small sample of challenging urban schools which forms part of a wider study. In presenting our findings I have focused on outcomes and perceived fruitful strategies, particularly employed by school principals. The whole process of cultural change in schools such as these is necessarily complex and will receive more fundamental analysis in reporting our wider project about the nature of the school leadership task in Polish and English inner city schools. So I recognized that the findings in this paper relate most specifically to the small schools in our study and, as such, may only be illustrative of wider processes and issues of school leadership/cultural change in other schools and contexts.

Thirdly, I recognize that there is a major issue of agency in the leadership of culture change in small schools. As Ogawa (in English, 2005:91) points out, “Leaders are scapegoated when organizations fail and excessively praised when organizations succeed”. As
outlined below, the sharing of leadership is viewed as a necessary feature of a culture likely to make positive change possible (Sergiovanni, 1994) in small schools, particularly in challenging urban contexts. In this sense, the “leadership” is regarded as a broad and shared term (Kochan and Reed in English, 2005). I recognize that whilst principal-ship is crucial to cultural change (Harris and Muijs, 2005), nevertheless school leadership needs to be a shared process to ensure sustainability (Kelly and Finegan, 2003).

Fourthly, whilst I have outlined perceptions of ways to effect positive cultural change in two small Polish schools, it is to be made clear that such positive outcomes in inner city schools are never easy to achieve (Michalak and Jones, 2009). Moreover, principals in these small Polish schools tackle these pressing issues often at personal cost in terms of work-life balance and work stress. Beyond this, principals are increasingly under pressure due to the developing neo-liberal marketisation policies of the current Polish government, where they are encouraged to compete with other local schools to attract pupils, build their school’s reputation and avoid closure due to “unviable” school size.

Finally, I argue that of particularly pressing importance in terms of culture change in challenging urban contexts is the need for teachers to develop positive expectations of local children and their community (Harris and Lambert, 2003). Such a stance is borne out by the values of the school leaders in our study, as well as by outcomes from other school leadership research (Day et al, 2010). Nevertheless, further work on cultural change in small schools in challenging urban contexts more widely will be required to dimensionalise this aspect of leadership and improvement.
4.2. Characteristic of the schools

The schools are located in an urban district. In the catchment areas of the schools there are high levels of poverty, most of the families dwelling there belong to the group of the so-called high social risk families. The schools report significant social and health problems in the neighborhood (e.g., TB, alcohol addiction). Most students come from the local community. Many of the students live in economically difficult circumstances and lone-parent families.

The primary school has 330 students; and the lower secondary school (gymnasium) has 270 students. In the primary school (case A) the same principal has been in her post for 8 years; in the lower secondary school (case B) the same principal has been in her post for 9 years. Both schools have a principal possessing a passion to lead and make a difference to the interests of students, and who is also willing to build and spread leadership throughout the school.

In the past both schools had rather negative reputations. These were paralleled by low staff morale, low staff opinion of students’ motivation to learn and a low level of student expectations. Individual self-esteem was eroded by successive criticisms of the school. The schools were managed by principals who could be characterised as ‘top-down’ managers. In these schools there existed ‘high power distance’ (Hofstede, 1991). Previous principals of the schools were concerned about establishing clear leadership direction in decision-making with effective implementation from subordinates. They were mainly focused on what happened in the school and ignored to some extent the outside world (school community). They were perceived as not putting enough emphasis on creating conditions for staff development, and for empowering staff and students.
Nowadays, in both schools, the change of culture can be identified. We can observe that high levels of students' educational achievements are paralleled by low student absenteeism, high staff morale, positive student motivation and high levels of staff expectation of what students can achieve. Both schools have managed to change the negative school reputation from the past. During the interviews staff reported principals’ clear focus, vision, care, dedication, approachability, strong presence, moral purpose and high levels of interpersonal relationships. All of these can be treated as indicators of internal school success.

4.2.1 Case A

This is a public primary school of 330 students (15 units), 31 teachers and 13 non-teaching staff (the school year 2009/10). It is an inner city school but its surrounding community is very mixed in nature. Apart from the areas which are occupied by the families in dire straits, there are also areas with middle-class families living in them. This means that there are students from different social and cultural environments in the school.

The principal is female and she began her principalship at the school in 2001/02. In order to carry out her duties, the principal aims to work co-operatively with the teaching staff, parents and pupils' self-government. As a result of her work the school has changed its cultural climate, and established positive links with the community. The school belongs to the network promoting “health schools”. Owing to the principal's leadership, the school has gained a reputation for excellent literacy programs with results comparable to most other schools despite the challenging circumstances experienced by
many of the students. The school has won awards for the excellence of its programs and staff. The school has accomplished a lot of projects. It has many achievements in cross-country competitions.

4.2.2 Case B

This is a small-size public lower 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. This is in the region of the old Łódź, which is dominated by nineteenth century buildings, especially tenement houses from this period. The old housing infrastructure and lack of green space/areas for sport or physical activity means this is perceived to be a gradually degrading district with worsening health prospects for local people.

The principal has been at the school for over 20 years with the last nine years as principal. She has struggled to shake off an inherited negative local reputation from the past. Through her leadership, the school has changed cultural climate, has established positive links with the community on a whole range of levels, their students have started to achieve very good academic results. The school is known for the successes in the varied competitions on the local and national levels. It belongs to the network of promoted the health schools.

4.3. The role of the principal and the approach to leadership

The research evidence shows that both principals have deliberately chosen to work in the schools in disadvantaged communities and have a strong commitment to making a difference to the life chances of the young people who live there.
One of the first things both principals attempted to do was to ‘re-image’ the schools. They promoted an atmosphere of caring and respect in the schools. The principal of the primary school said:

I’ve been here seven years and this is the start of the eighth. I would say just in the last couple of years, you’ve started to see parents wanting their children to come to this school and us not having space for that. We’d be known for special programs, but more importantly, I think we’d be known for care. I think that would be the biggest thing we’d be known for.

During the interviews teachers also make reference to the school’s turnaround. Anna, one of the teachers in the lower secondary school, contends that in the past community impressions of the school were negative. Now she says:

I’m happy I decided to stay and work here. Ten years ago it was a school where nothing happened. Now, there are so many wonderful programs here. And I believe that’s been a direct result of the school principal. I think she has communicated to these kids ‘Be the best you can be’ and it’s really proven it out with the awards they’ve won.

Both principals were described as making a significant difference to the quality of education in their school. Each principal had a direct impact on the school and was seen as the engine room that powered their schools’ success.

Cross-cases study analysis demonstrates that principals of both small schools do not adopt an ‘authoritative’ style of leadership based upon the ‘positional power’ of the headteacher to make decisions, delegate tasks and monitor performance. They see themselves as part of the ‘team’, work with
others as professional colleagues, and lead from within the group, rather than directing from the outside. This is exemplified by them as:

My approach to leadership is discussing everything with the staff. (Principal of primary school).

I see myself as ‘team leader’. Everybody has something to discuss, to add and that includes not only the teachers here but parents and students. (Principal of lower secondary school)

On the basis of the collected material, it can be stated that the researched principals treat their principal's roles in a unique way. In the 1970s Robert Greanleaf presented his notion of servant leadership, which reverses traditional roles – subordinates are not ancillary to a manager, but a manager is ancillary to subordinates. This ancillary nature has a special meaning: a manager is ancillary to developmental needs of subordinates, which means that he should focus on their needs and help them develop their own potential, thanks to which they will not only acquire more knowledge and skills, but also become more independent. Servant leaders are responsible for treating their subordinates as rightful shareholders in the lives of their organisations, therefore they are obliged to eliminate all social inequality and injustice. Servant leaders try to minimalise the instruments of formal power, replacing them with ability to listen to others, empathy and acceptance for those having views differing from theirs (Greenleaf, 1977).

The notion of servant leadership appears quite useful for describing the way in which the researched principals work. Their everyday work proves that they try to spot, use and first of all create conditions for developing the potential of the teachers (their subordinates), and also of the pupils and parents, and
the local community in which the school operates. Supporting the development of this potential is conducive to creating autonomy and self-government of all those involved in the school affairs and life, which in turn creates conditions for building a democratic school.

Leadership for democratic education establishes arenas for collaboration, creates opportunities for open dialogues. It includes teachers, parents, and students in school decision making and developed their understanding of leadership in taking their schools forward. It is worth stressing that the basis for such actions and such a way of thinking of the researched principals can be traced back to the influence of external conditions, mainly to the socio-political transformation which took place in Poland, which was reflected in Poland's new educational policy and in social changes. One of the main global changes in the last twenty years has been a shift to democracy in previously centralized countries. Poland is one of several Eastern European countries adapting its social and educational structures in the post-Soviet period. People in new democracies are often eager to exercise their new found rights. For schools, democracy has two main dimensions: (i) the devolution of powers previously held by the external bureaucracy to a school level (in Eastern Europe, this usually meant the Communist Party hierarchy); (ii) the allocation of powers and responsibilities within the school, beyond the school principal to other leaders, teachers and lay people. Democratic schools, operating within democratic societies, need a type of leaders different from those in centralized systems.

As far as its functions are concerned, a school becomes a democratic institution, when the principles of democracy such as freedom, dignity, solidarity and rule of law are commonly respected and followed there
with regard to all educational shareholders. It is clear to principals of both schools that consulting students about their needs, motivations, progress in learning (or lack of progress in learning) and about their views on the curriculum, and teaching and learning is a key means of providing better opportunities. This is achieved, on the one hand, through engaging them in the school's life and, on the other, through minimizing the chances of their alienation from formal schooling. Both principals who took part in the study seem to be fully aware of these demands and try to fulfil their role as best as they can. However, they were well aware of the opportunities offered by the small school context. In such schools, a more-human scale is a potent antidote to student alienation. Small schools, conducive to establishing mutual trust and respect between pupils, staff and stakeholders, can more easily maximise involvement in the daily life of the school.

The school principals participating in the research were characterised by a conciliatory attitude while resolving various matters. Thus they aimed at seeking these points that joined their staff together, they emphasized similarities rather than differences. They indicated the main goal of educational work – a moral one, i.e. education which supports maximizing achievements of every pupil. In education these principals see opportunities for pupils to escape from what can often be a vicious circle of poverty in these challenging urban contexts.

The perceived impact of these school principals on the teachers consisted mainly in inspiring them through making them face new situations in order to reinforce their various needs such as a need for achievements, a need for diversification of actions (which is manifested by their unwillingness to get involved in routine actions) and a need for development (which is
manifested by aiming at making use of and mastering their qualifications).

Therefore these principals viewed their work as guided by “the good of people” whom they serve, however it was not restricted only to what happened in the schools which they ran. The researched principals are open to what happens in the closer and further surroundings of the school. Simultaneously, they emphasise that their teachers should try to go beyond what takes place in their classrooms. One of the principals said:

In the school which I manage, in the past it was too often said that 'what counts is my classroom, my subject and me', which was probably characteristic not only of the school, where I’m a principal, but of many schools in our country. I believe that a properly understood teacher's autonomy is recommended, but their isolation from other teachers in their school and teachers from other schools results in worse performance of their schools. From the pupil's point of view, it is important that they should interact with a group of teachers cooperating with each other and thus creating curricula, assessment systems and rules of conduct together. This is especially vital in such a small school, where everybody knows each other. (Principal of lower secondary school)

Analysis of the case studies revealed how the principals carefully considered the local, cultural context when their approaches to leadership were formed. This was also reflected in the degree to which they involved teachers, parents and the larger community in their decisions. Examined principals in both schools see inclusive values as vital for successful school leadership in challenging urban communities. Inclusive values create fundamentals for leadership in schools and beyond them. They govern the desire to
carry out specific actions and reach specific goals. Inclusive values become the “mental map” that guides their actions and thoughts and serves as the foundation for these processes. These values affect actions, which in turn, influence the thoughts and actions of teachers.

Both school principals recognized the importance of including all the schools’ community members and their perspectives in school activities. The principal of primary school said:

Good and effective school leaders, especially in challenging circumstances, are - by definition - able to communicate inclusive values and create a common inclusive culture across the school and beyond it. I started from the challenge of the argument which I heard from my teacher that they cannot expect more from ‘these kids’. In my opinion believing in a child is central to values required in such a school as ours. At the same time, I tried to establish relationships with the members of the school community that will enable dialogue. I tried to do my best to make myself visible and approachable, work on understanding teachers, parents, students and dismantling the hierarchies that exclude people. What I see now…the school is quite different then it was in the past. It is the school where every child can feel well and have the chance to achieve a lot.

These inclusive efforts are closely associated with communication, and in particular, dialogue. Both principals do their best to include students, parents and teachers in dialogue. Towards this end, they look to establish relationships with members of their school community that will enable dialogue. However, as they stressed, without their colleagues - teachers who display the vital elements of passion, commitment and values in a daily school life in making a difference and
achieving cultural change in tough circumstances it would be impossible to establish such inclusive leadership at the schools. On the other hand, the principals were aware that communication in a small school is much easier than in a larger school. They stressed that staff in their schools can work together to focus the school on learning and build a coherent, high-quality curriculum across disciplines and grade levels.

Collected evidence shows that principals of the both small schools had to be able to cope personally with an extremely wide range of management demands (and other tasks) with limited time and resources. The principals were conscious of the need of additional help in order to implement many of these changes. They had limited opportunities for delegation and were very aware of the importance of not overburdening staff. Consequently, they demonstrated an ‘outward looking’ approach: they were keen networkers, particularly on an informal basis (informal discussion with other principals was the most popular management activity overall). They were also avid users of advisory and educational development services. Therefore, they identified potential sources of help for the implementation of new initiatives.

**4.4. Key change strategies**

A comprehensive review of the literature on successful school leadership by Leithwood & Riehl (2005) shows that almost all successful leaders drew on the same repertoire of basic leadership practices, and these practices included (a) setting the direction, (b) developing people, (c) redesigning the organization, and (d) managing the instructional programme. Our analysis revealed that the principals in our case study schools were utilizing these core practices to a varying extent, but this was not sufficient to explain what had
emerged in the process of successfully leading the schools in highly disadvantaged urban contexts.

In general terms, our research findings reveal several interconnected key change strategies concerning the role of school leaders in raising achievement in schools. Four of them have been identified as not only important, but essential for successful leadership practice in schools in challenging urban contexts:

- Leadership across the school;
- Provision of an inclusive curriculum;
- Including parents and the local community.
- Including other schools and partner agencies.

All these strategies taken together can be called ‘inclusive strategies’. Dimensions of each of these four focus areas are presented below in more detail.

4.4.1 Leadership across the school

In the study, the imperatives of sharing leadership, motivating colleagues and the sheer importance of the leadership task in challenging urban contexts are emphasized by the principals. They refer to the sharing of leadership as crucial in bringing about cultural change and sustainability in their schools. They cooperate with the teaching staff, parents and encourage pupils’ self-government. During the interview principal of the primary school stressed that:

I tried to work with the teachers in such a way that everyone had the possibility to feel like a leader.

She describes herself as a leader as follows:

At my work I rely on the conviction that we are all human beings with vocation and we should
aid each other. The child's good is most important.

The principal of the lower secondary school said:

Leadership in such circumstances is important, and must be nurtured. I think that a school, and the community that surrounds it, can’t have too many leaders. Sometimes it can have too many bosses, too many people telling others what they have to do and how, but not too many leaders.

The inclusion of colleagues and stakeholders to maximise conditions for students and teacher learning in challenging urban contexts is an important leadership imperative of these principals.

In the literature, the importance of leaders acting as role models to build collaborative cultures, develop teams, bring about positive cultural change, and provide motivation are all major themes. But bringing about such cultures is all the harder in challenging situations. Very often headteachers feel the need to exhibit “tight” leadership (I.e. directing colleagues) when the imperative is the turning-around of a challenged organisation. In such circumstances, the headteacher is often seen as the essential driving force to achieve much-needed social inclusion for pupils and other essential changes in the school (Muijs et al, 2007:13). According to Chapman (2005) “tight” leadership can give way to a “looser”, more inclusive way of working once improvement has happened, with pupil voice being strengthened. Certainly, operating in a more inclusive and team-working manner can enable an organisation to develop greater stability and a range of leadership sources that can help build sustainability.
4.4.2 An inclusive curriculum

In the study, there is agreement that major curriculum innovation and a determined approach stand the best chance of including children effectively. Respondents refer to the need to: draw on the assets of children, avoid a “deficit model”, provide exciting learning opportunities, encourage adaptability for pupils, pursue the “art and science” of teaching, meet individual needs, design a 21\textsuperscript{st} century education, create flexible learning spaces and innovate across families of schools, and maximise opportunities for all in an inclusive school environment.

Both Polish principals stressed that one of the priorities in their schools is to implement curriculum innovations. Significant amongst these in their schools are moves to personalise learning in order to maximise opportunities and achievements for all children. In their schools teachers make attempts to provide diverse curriculum opportunities relevant to the children. A learning environment where the children can reach their potential more easily, and where the children are encouraged to learn is one of the most important targets for the these principals.

Miujs et al (2007) point to the need to maximise opportunities for all in an inclusive school environment. However, a dilemma arises here, since to encourage children to participate and not to exclude themselves from their place of learning, certain groups of children and young people need to be separated into programmes aimed at incentivising their participation, separately from their peers. The gain for the school from this tough choice can be an orderly learning environment where the majority can learn more easily. Also, aiding the process of children being encouraged to learn is the widespread attempt to provide more diverse curriculum opportunities and to
provide a curriculum relevant to the school’s local community. In addition, rather than seeing schools in disadvantaged communities and the children attending them as “deficient”, Menter et al (2000, p. 227) regard best practice as the recognition that children’s experiences are “assets rather than problems”, that can be drawn upon as powerful resources for teaching and learning. Such approaches where children and young people’s everyday lives and experiences in disadvantaged communities are valued in the school setting, and where pupils are treated as partners in the learning enterprise are arguably more likely to encourage pupil inclusion than a “deficit model” of highly disadvantaged communities and their families.

4.4.3 Including parents and the local community

In this study, there is agreement from participants that a school should aim to include the local community, that local staff can aid this process and that high-quality school building can aid the development of pride and positive local activities. The interviewees are keen to place their schools at the heart of the local area.

Principals very often during the interviews stressed the importance of co-operation with the parents and local community. They seem to see the school as the centre of the local community and they could not imagine their work without involving parents in the school’s daily life. They believe that without parents there is no possibility properly to encourage children’s learning. As the principal of the primary school said:

including parents and the local surrounding community in sharing the school’s aspirations can help highly disadvantaged children to overcome their barriers in learning.
Principals pointed out that this is not an easy task to involve parents and local community in school work in the disadvantaged areas. Usually, teachers have to work very hard at convincing local people and parents that there is a need to bridge the gap between school, parents and local community. Without shared aims, children will not to be included effectively in the learning process.

As West-Burnham (2007) points out, “leaders need an inclusive vision where all members of the school community, including parents and pupils, are brought on board with a commitment to learning. In that sense, an inclusive school needs to be at the heart of a disadvantaged community. An inclusive partnership not only of other schools and service providers but of parents and the local community needs to be put in place if children and young people are to be encouraged in their learning to the maximum extent. This is because there is a growing awareness of the fact that schools are only one contributory factor influencing a child’s education. Therefore the building of social capital has become part of the school improvement agenda.

4.4.4 Including other schools and partner agencies

In the study, issues of: the role of cooperative cultures in fostering educational achievement, the importance of schools seeking to support families and individuals, and the promotion of inclusive arrangements and curriculum change, are all emphasised. Co-operation between schools and with partner agencies is essential for schools in their daily work and in their achievement of educational success.

Principals of these schools were aware that because of limited resources available in a small school they really need to look beyond the school and work on finding
the partners and agencies which can help them with issues such as behaviour and attendance improvement. They tried to extend partnerships further by examining what is working well, what could be improved, where gaps exist and which partners or other agencies can help to fill these gaps. Both schools co-operated with the Local Centres of Social Care (whose task is to provide social and legal assistance) and established collaboration with other local schools to enhance provision and support for children in the area.

This inclusive theme is also taken up by Lewis and Murphy (2008, p. 9), who see the new agendas of linked schools, partnerships with other agencies and 14-19 curriculum provision as drawing leaders into a wide range of tasks “which are only possible if there is well-distributed leadership” to facilitate the “business of raising standards and solving problems”. Similarly, they contend that a wider partnership with other schools and colleges is essential to pupils experiencing a flexible curriculum and having their individual educational needs met effectively. To this end of organisational inclusion, they regard co-operation and co-operative arrangements as potentially important tools for the future. Wider, schools needs to work regularly with other specialist services to meet the inclusion needs of our children and young people. However these ways of working inclusively with other schools, local authorities and stakeholders require considerable effort and determination. However, failure in this regard will inevitably throw up problems when it comes to include all pupils effectively.

Conclusions

The study revealed a complex but compelling picture of leadership in these case study schools. The evidence collected within the study suggests that
principals adopt leadership approaches that match the specific context of the school and the needs of the community. The principals in the study had deliberately chosen a form of leadership to move the school forward that empowered others to lead. The particular emphasis given by principals in the empowerment of others suggests an approach to leadership that has democratic principles at its core.

Evidence from the two case studies shows that the nature of relationships between staff and students, amongst staff and amongst students can be complex and challenging. However, it is also key to the successful development of policies and practices which support educational students’ achievements. Relationships are formed within the culture of a school and shaped by its values, beliefs, and actions. A democratic approach to leadership adopted by these principals is their belief that a vital purpose of education is to promote democracy as a core social value. Under their democratic leadership in these challenging schools they aim for staff, students, and parents to have a more participatory role in the decision making process.

It was a long process to change the culture in these schools. These principals had sought to change from a perceived hierarchical system of governance to more democratic school/leadership practices. These democratically-minded principals had had to tackle what they regarded as deeply-rooted hierarchies in their schools, and at the same time had sought to promote democratic, inclusive practices. Such remarkable change of culture within the schools would have been impossible without regarding the embracing of change as a central requirement for these schools to make progress in tough circumstances. The principals were fully aware that one way of looking at change is as an event that occurs from time to time,
and something that a school “gears up” for every few years. Such a view is sometimes described as an “unfreeze—change—refreeze” procedure. However, they are perceived as aiming at a continuing process of change that operates at many levels on an ongoing basis. This view recognizes change as a part of the school’s culture, and as providing opportunities for continued growth. And this view of change stands the best chance in effecting cultural change amongst teachers who may tend to underestimate the potential of children from a challenging urban context (Madalinska-Michalak, 2012).

Both principals aimed to nurture a culture in which colleagues are valued equally and teachers believe that they are able to help all students to make progress. It required from the teachers a broader understanding of educational achievement as well as an acceptance of a shared responsibility for the learning of all students in their schools.

High expectations for students and staff alike reflect a very strong sense of moral purpose of leadership in the examined schools. They are used to building a feeling among staff that they have the capacity to make a difference for the students they teach. This matters because teachers with a strong sense of efficacy have been shown to put more effort into planning lessons, tend to be more open to new ideas, and persevere in the face of new challenges.

Analysis of both case studies shows that the effectiveness of the principals’ chosen approach to school organization was dependent upon contextual factors relating to both the internal and external environment of these schools. These principals not only responded to their context by aiming for cultural change, but they tried to influence the context itself. In dealing with the management of school organization
and culture, it was firstly necessary for the principals to identify as fully as possible the attributes of the existing culture — its symbols, rituals, values and assumptions. Both principals put emphasis on creating an inclusive form of schooling through:

inclusive leadership across the school;

− An inclusive curriculum;
− Including parents and the local community;
− Including other schools and partner agencies.

Leading small schools offers a lot of opportunities but smallness alone does not automatically translate to school effectiveness. Both principals fully recognized the opportunities afforded by their small schools and put emphasis not on retaining hierarchical structures but on personal connections, and on the involvement of parents and the surrounding community in student success.

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He serves as lasting secretary of the Association for Research and Development of Human Potentials Razbor, and he is a member of the Croatian Psychological Association, and the Croatian Psychological Chamber. He is also a member of the Croatian Pedagogical – Literary Society, the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance (IAEVG), and the European Educational Research Association (EERA). Periodically, he writes peer-reviews for the Croatian scientific journals Drustvena istrazivanja (Social Researches) and Suvremena psihologija (Contemporary Psychology).

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In addition to a number of articles on health-related quality of life, Giulia’s published works also include studies on health and functional status in elderly patients, and on a quantile regression approach for modelling a health-related Quality of Life measure. Her current research interests include perceived school climate, perception of teachers’ competences and educational relationship between grandparents and grandchildren.
Luisa Cerdeira, Universidade de Lisboa, Instituto de Educação

Luisa Cerdeira is Auxiliary Professor in Educational Policy and Administration, with a major focus on Economy, Management and Financing issues, at the Institute of Education of the University of Lisbon. Her current research interests concern the economic aspects of education policies and the management and financing of higher education institutions. Among her publications we note a report to the Directorate-General for Education and Culture of the EC on the extent and impact of higher education curricular reform in Portugal and a paper "Funding for Bologna, A perspective on the Financial Impacts of the Bologna Process", in EUA Bologna Handbook, Making Bologna Work.

Luisa has been member of the HUMANE’ Executive Committee (Heads of University Management & Administration Network in Europe from 2006 to 2011) and head of the FORGES’ Executive Committee (Forum of Higher Education Management in the Portuguese Language Countries). She is External Consultant of the World Bank (Cape Verde Higher Education Financing). She has also been Pro-Rector of the University of Lisbon since 2010.

Chua, Siew Kheng Catherine, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Catherine Chua Siew Kheng received her Ph.D in educational policy at The University of Queensland. She has worked for a number of years as a school teacher in Singapore, and is now an assistant professor at the National Institute of Education, Singapore. Her research specializes in language policy and the effects of globalization in education. Her paper “Futuristic schools: "Little Red Dot" Strategies in a Globalised Economy” has been awarded International National Award by The International Journal of Learning in 2009.

Catherine’s recent articles include “Global language: [De]colonization in the new era” and “Micro Language Planning” in Handbook of Research in Second Language Learning and Teaching Vol. 2 (2011) edited by E. Hinkel.
Her current research interests include leadership studies and media literacy in education.

Isabel Costa, Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, Portugal

Isabel Costa is Assistant Professor in the Department of Education and Psychology, School of Human and Social Sciences, Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro.

She graduated in Anglo-American studies in Lisbon University. She obtained a master degree in sciences of education in Boston University (USA). She received her PhD in social sciences and humanities, on the theme of education research, in Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro. She has been part of the directive team of three university courses on education and community development.

Isabel is also the author or co-author of three chapters in books, one peer-reviewed journal article and several contributions in proceedings in the areas of education, research methods, research ethics, community development, local authorities, school achievement, networking, highly qualified adults professional trajectories in the third sector, education and tourism, pedagogy and e-learning at the university, social and educational inclusion.

Jorge Cunha, University of Minho, Portugal

Jorge Cunha graduated in Economics in 1996 and has a Master’s degree in Financial Economics, both attained at Coimbra University. He also holds a Ph.D degree in Engineering Economics (University of Minho). He is currently an Assistant Professor at the University of Minho, where he teaches courses both at graduate and post graduate level. His research interests include the study of the relationship between investment and finance decisions of firms, investment appraisal techniques, and economic impact studies. He is currently involved in a project for the evaluation of the economic impact of Polytechnic Institutes in Portugal.
**Tara Davidson, New York City Public Schools, USA**

Tara Davidson is an Assistant Principal in the New York City Public Schools. She received her B.A. in psychology at Davidson College, her M.A. in Secondary Education at the City College of New York and her Ph.D. in urban educational policy at Rutgers University, Newark. Her doctoral dissertation examined New York City teacher and principal perceptions of mayoral control under Mayor Bloomberg and Chancellor Joel Klein. She is a co-author of a number of book chapters on urban education.

**Ivan Dević, Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, Zagreb, Croatia**

Ivan Dević is a graduate research assistant at the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar. He holds a Master’s Degree in Psychology from the Center for Croatian Studies at the University of Zagreb and is now a final year psychology PhD student at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb. He is an assistant in several courses at the University of Applied Health Studies in Zagreb and has been a member of the Croatian Psychological Association since 2005. His research fields are psychology of education and psychology of intelligence. He previously worked in a market and public opinion research as a senior market researcher. He also co-organized entrance exams at the Center for Croatian Studies at the University of Zagreb and co-developed the Abstract Reasoning Test DF-40U.

Ivan has delivered numerous conference papers at both national and international levels including: "Prediction of Achievement of Primary School Pupils: Results of the First External Evaluation of Education in Croatia" presented at the ECER 2010 in Helsinki, Finland; "Using External Evaluation Data for Testing the Effectiveness of Primary School in Croatia" presented at the ECER 2010 in Helsinki, Finland and "Prediction Value of Entrance Exams" for the Center for Croatian Studies at the University of Zagreb, presented at the 17th Annual Psychology Conference in Split, Croatia.
Liliana Dozza: Faculty of Education, Free University of Bolzano, Italy

Liliana Dozza is Full Professor of Education, President of the Master of Science in Primary Education and Pro-Dean at the Faculty of Education, Free University of Bolzano (Italy). She was previously Professor of Education at the University of Bologna. She graduated in both School Administration and Supervision and in Pedagogy, then completed her four years training at the Laboratory of Group-Analysis (University of Bologna).

Her primary scientific interests are in general and social pedagogy; social capital, human capital and lifelong learning; and pedagogy in groups and communities.

She is author, editor or co-editor of 12 books and more than 100 book chapters and journal articles.

Her most influential publications are:

- Cooperative Relationships at School (TRENTO: Erickson, 2006);
- Social Educational Contexts (TRENTO: Erickson, 2007);
- Planet Elderly (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2010);

She served as President of the Degree of Science in Multilingual Communication and as Deputy Rector for Education and the Bologna Process.

Liliana is currently Director of the peer reviewed series “Education for Life” (Milano, FrancoAngeli) and member of a number of scientific committees for peer-reviewed series.

Her current research interests include: lifelong lifewide lifedeep learning and social capital, the school climate, and educational relationships between grandparents and grandchildren.
Introductions to our Authors

Joana Fernandes, Polytechnic Institute of Bragança, Portugal

Joana Fernandes graduated in Industrial Management and Production Engineering from the University of Beira Interior in 1998. She received the Master’s degree in Industrial Engineering in 2004 and the Ph.D in Engineering Economics in 2010, both from the University of Minho. She is an Assistant Professor at the Polytechnic Institute of Bragança, since 1999.

Joana’s main research work is in economic impact studies and human capital. She is currently involved in a project for the evaluation of the economic impact of Polytechnic Institutes in Portugal.

Fiona Forbes, The Australian Special Education Principals Association, Australia

Fiona Forbes has been the Principal of a special school in Western Australia for 14 years and has written on aspects of SEND (special educational needs and disabilities) and inclusion in a number of international publications. She is currently the National President of the Australian Special Education Principals Association.

Karen Freeman, Chicago State University, USA

Karen A. Freeman instructs prospective elementary teachers in introductory education classes and on methods of teaching Social Studies, Fine Arts, Humanities and Children’s Literature in the Elementary School for the Department of Elementary and Middle Level Education where she was awarded the honor of Outstanding Chicago State University Faculty Member (2011). She previously held the following positions: secondary education teacher in the general and special education program; Chicago Public Schools Consultant and Coordinator for Staff Training and Development, a position which included conducting programs for parents of children with disabilities; adjunct instructor at Roosevelt University and Northwestern College in Chicago.
Dr. Freeman received her Ph.D. in 1991 from the University of Illinois at Chicago in Public Policy Analysis and Administration for Education with a Political Science minor. Her research interests include investigating family relationships and their affect on children along with visiting schools (domestically and internationally) and comparing their affect on the children serviced by them. Her publications include a joint authorship of the Teaching and Learning Materials Program Assessment Report in Ghana funded by USAID, a publication on home schooling in the United States, and publications on the childhood traits of eminent women.

**Lara Fridani, Monash University, Canada**

Lara Fridani is a PhD student at Monash University Australia. She works at State University of Jakarta, Indonesia, as a lecturer and a child psychologist. She supported the Indonesian government and the Board of National Education Standards in designing the Early Childhood Education Standard for Indonesia.

Lara is author or co-author of more than 20 books on childhood education and parenting in Indonesia. She is an editor of popular education books in the country and was reviewer of educational journals in her university. She is currently researching into School Readiness and Transition to Primary School. Her main interest is about child education and development.

**Sylvie Gagnon, University of Canterbury, New Zealand**

Sylvie Gagnon received her Ph.D in French Linguistics at Laval university, where she also taught French linguistics and French language for a number of years. She then accepted a position at the University of Canterbury, as a lecturer in French linguistics, language and culture in the School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics. She became head of the French section in 2006 and head of the Department of European Languages since 2012.

Sylvie’s research interests include European regional and minority languages, language attitudes and linguistic
policies. She has published several papers in this area of research in international journals and has been a member of the editorial advisory boards of international journals such as the Journal of the Humanities and the Journal of the Arts in Society. She was national coordinator of the French Departments in New Zealand from 2001 to 2004.

Beatriz García Antelo, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Beatriz García Antelo is a professor of the Department of Educational Theory, Education History and Social Pedagogy at the University of Santiago de Compostela. She is also a member of the Scientific Council of the Institute of Education Sciences of the same university. She previously received her doctoral degree (PhD) in the Department of Research Methods and Education Diagnostic, where she also was a professor until 2010. Her current research interests include guidance processes in higher education and university collaboration with the community.

Over recent years she has participated in different research and her published work includes papers at different international meetings such as the European Conference on Educational Research or the International Conference of Education, Research and Innovation, among others. Some of her most recent publications are a book about mentoring in higher education “La tutoría en la Universidad: percepción de alumnado y profesorado” (2011) and several book chapters on innovation and collaboration between academia and industry.

The aforementioned chapters include:

“Cooperation between higher education and business: perceptions of directors of research groups in Galicia” (2010),

“La universidad y la empresa: condicionantes de la innovación y la transferencia” (2011).
Philip Garner, University of Northampton, England


He has worked in these fields in a range of international locations (including FYR Macedonia, Malaysia, China, Finland and Australia. He taught in mainstream and special schools for 17 years, including 5 years as head of a specialist setting for young people who present challenging behaviour. He was the National Director of the Teacher Training Agency’s Initial Teacher Training Professional Resource Network (IPRN) on behaviour and classroom management (Behaviour4Learning) and its successor, Behaviour2Learn, a social enterprise operating within The University of Northampton.

Philip Garner is a British Academy Fellow, the editor of Support for Learning and is an Expert Assessor in Education and Psychology at the European Commission’s Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA). He has acted as consultant to government education departments in Malaysia, Ireland, Croatia, Australia, FYR Macedonia and Hong Kong.

Howard Gibson, Bath Spa University, England

Howard Gibson is currently the Programme Leader for the Masters in Education Studies at Bath Spa University. He previously taught political philosophy at a number of universities, has taught in primary schools and acted as a local authority advisor for English. Dr Gibson graduated in politics from the University of Wales Aberystwyth and gained his PhD from the University of Hull. He acts as an external examiner at universities in Chelmsford, Winchester
Introductions to our Authors

Howard and Birmingham and specialises in issues surrounding language and power in education as well as links between educational policy and philosophy. He has authored 45 peer-reviewed papers and book chapters and one of his latest publications has concerned instrumental rationality in educational discourses on managerialism, skills and creativity, that appeared in the Oxford Review of Education.

Howard has also written recently on the politics and ideology of economics education in schools, for the International Review of Economics Education, and on economic wellbeing in English primary schools for the Journal of Curriculum Studies. He was recently guest editor of the international journal Citizenship, Social and Economic Education with papers from leading academics in education policy from around the world, including Professor Steven J. Ball. He acts as a peer reviewer of manuscripts submitted to a number of journals including the British Journal of Education Studies. Dr Gibson has worked in universities in many countries including Spain, Estonia, the United States, Germany and Canada.

Judith A. Gouwens, Roosevelt University, USA

Judith A. Gouwens holds the position of Professor of Elementary Education in the College of Education, Roosevelt University, Chicago (Illinois, USA). She serves as Program Coordinator of Elementary Education and chair of Roosevelt University’s Institutional Review Board. Previously, she was Associate Dean for Graduate Studies and Research. Dr. Gouwens has been an elementary teacher; Senior Research Associate for Research & Training Associates, Inc., Overland Park, Kansas; and Program Associate in the Center for Assessment and Evaluation at the University of Kansas, where she earned a doctorate in curriculum and instruction.

Judith served for nearly 10 years as an evaluator and expert witness of behalf of the plaintiff school children in the Jenkins et al (Kansas City) v. State of Missouri school desegregation case; has published a book about migrant education in the United States, Migrant Education: A Reference Handbook (ABC-CLIO, 2001); and currently serves as evaluator for and consultant to the Illinois Migrant
Council. Judith also authored Education in Crisis: A Reference Handbook (ABC-CLIO, 2009). After Hurricane Katrina, Gouwens led teams of Roosevelt University students to provide hurricane relief to the Bay Saint Louis-Waveland (Mississippi) School District, the impetus for studying the leadership of Mississippi Gulf Coast school superintendents.

**Camilla Highfield, The University of Auckland, New Zealand**

Camilla Highfield is the Director of Professional Learning and Development at the Faculty of Education, The University of Auckland. She is nearing the completion of her doctoral research on the impact of middle leadership on secondary student outcomes. Camilla is an emerging academic having previously been a teacher and official at the Ministry of Education in New Zealand.

Camilla has given papers at conferences focused on schooling improvement and has had a journal article published in School Leadership and Management. Camilla’s professional interests are in supporting school leaders and teachers to improve the academic outcomes for students who are not served well by the current education system.

**Soudabeh Jalili, Islamic Azad University, Tehran, Iran**

Soudabeh Jalili is a Faculty Member of Department of MANAGEMENT, West Tehran Branch, Islamic Azad University (IAU), Tehran, Iran, and also teaches management courses there. She Works in Hamshahri Newspaper Company as consultant of CEO. She is Executive Directorin at Iranian Journal of Public Administration Mission publishes in IAU, Tehran, Iran. She previously taught management courses at Parand Branch, Central Tehran Branch and Electronic center of IAU (2009-2012). She was a fellow of thought room of Military Service and also a fellow of research committee of Expediency (2011).

Soudabeh received her M.A in Public Administration from IAU central Tehran branch, Iran (2008); she is studying PhD in Public Administration (Policy Making) at science and

**Joana Marques, University Institute of Lisbon (CIES-IUL), Portugal**

Joana Marques is researcher at the Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology of the University Institute of Lisbon (CIES-IUL) and PhD student in Sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy, Languages and Literature, and Human Sciences of the University of São Paulo (FFLCH-USP). Her research fields include social policy, education, school architecture, social participation and solidarity economy.

Joana has also worked for a number of years in the field of African studies and she earned an award for her master thesis on solidarity economy (ISCTE-IUL, 2010). She has conducted research work in Portugal, Norway, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Brazil.

In addition to a number of papers on solidarity economy, Joana has co-edited a book on community development, tourism, environment and education in Sao Tome and Principe (Gerpress, 2009).

**Hants Kipper, Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia**

Tiia Rüütmann is associate professor and head of Estonian Centre for Engineering Pedagogy at Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia. Tiia Rüütmann received her Ph.D. in education at University of Hradec Kralove, Czech Republic in 2007. She graduated Tallinn University of Technology as an engineer of chemical technology in 1982 and received her
MSc in chemical engineering in 1992. She is teaching Engineering Pedagogy Science, Laboratory Didactics and Methodology, Methodology and Didactics of Teaching Engineering and coordinates teaching practice. She became a member of International Society for Engineering Education IGIP in 2003 and received qualification of International Engineering Educator ING.PAED.IGIP in 2004. She is author or co-author of more than 40 peer-reviewed journal articles. Her recent publications are on effective teaching of engineering.

Tiia is also author of the book of Engineering Pedagogy Science (forthcoming). She has been active in IGIP since 2003 and serves as member of IGIP Executive Committee and as Secretary general of IGIP Estonian Monitoring Committee. She is the member of editorial board of IGIP-IEEE peer-reviewed online journal (iJEP) “International Journal of Engineering Pedagogy” and of International Scientific Journal "Technology of Education" since 2011. She has been a visiting professor at Slovak University of Technology in Bratislava.

Sanja Kisicek, University of Zagreb, Croatia

Sanja Kišiček is a research assistant at the Department of Information Sciences, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, Croatia. She is enrolled in the postgraduate study of Information Sciences and she conducts research for her PhD thesis in the field of learning styles and virtual multimedia learning. She is engaged in teaching in the area of computer assisted teaching and multimedia. She has worked on several service learning projects throughout her career. She published 6 book chapters, 7 papers, held workshops and attended many international conferences in the field of e-learning, multimedia and service learning.

Sanja’s most important publications include:

Service learning in Zagreb University: how far have we gone? (Matić, Mikelić Preradović, Boras, 2008),

Project of developing the multimedia software supporting teaching (Matić, Lauc, Mikelić Preradović, 2007),
Framework of the Language Learning Environment for Assisting Foreigners in Learning Croatian (Posavec, Mikelić Preradović, Kišiček, 2011).

She also received the Sicence Award in 2008 from Croatian National Science Foundation for the paper Educational multimedia software for English language.

**Damjan Lajh, Educational Research Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia**

Damjan Lajh is an associate professor at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, and a researcher at the Centre for Political Science Research at the same faculty. His research interests include EU policy-making processes, especially the implementation of EU cohesion policy, Europeanisation processes in Slovenia, and processes of democratic transition, especially in the post-Yugoslav region.

Damjan is the author or co-author of five books and many articles published in scientific journals, such as West European Politics, Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans, Perspectives: The Central European Review of International Affairs, Mezinarodni vztahy (International Relations), Politologicky časopis (Journal of Political Science), Politička misao (Political Thought), Teorija in praksa (Theory and Practice), and Politics in Central Europe.

**Floris Lammens, Royal Conservatoire Antwerp, Belgium**

Floris Lammens coordinates student counselling at the Royal Conservatoire Antwerp. Prior to joining the Conservatoire, he worked for the Flemish Council of University Colleges (VLHORA) as staff member quality assurance and the Flemish Students Union VVS. He holds a master’s degree in music (violin) from the Royal Conservatoire Antwerp. He is a trained EFQM-assessor. As a VLHORA staff member he developed together with Pieter-Jan Van de Velde the framework for the external assessment of the Flemish post graduate teacher education programmes.
**Donna Lander, Jackson State University, USA**

Donna Lander is Pre-Service Coordinator for the Mississippi Academy for Science Teaching at Jackson State University, Jackson, Mississippi (USA), and program evaluator for the Winona (Mississippi) Public School District. At Jackson State University, Dr. Lander has served as Coordinator of the Ph.D. program in Educational Leadership and Assistant Professor of Educational Foundations and Leadership. She has been a public school teacher, a guidance counselor, a school and school district level administrator, Director of Instructional Services in the Mississippi Department of Education, and Senior Research Associate for Research & Training Associates, Inc. in Overland Park, Kansas. Dr. Lander earned a doctoral degree in educational leadership at the University of Minnesota. Her areas of expertise include school finance, educational policy, research analysis, technical writing, and program evaluation. After Hurricane Katrina, Dr. Lander began interviewing school superintendents whose school districts were devastated by the hurricane about the districts’ recovery efforts. From those interviews, Lander authored, with Judith Gouwens, “School Leadership In Changing Cultural Contexts: How Mississippi Superintendents are Responding to Hurricane Katrina” in the Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk (2008).

**Armando Loureiro, University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro, Portugal**

Armando Loureiro is Assistant Professor of adult education, and sociology of education in the University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro - Department of Education and Psychology. He is vice president of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences and member of the Directive Committee of the PhD in Education Sciences in the same University. He is a researcher at the Centre of Education Research (CIIE), University of Porto. He is visiting professor in the UNIMONTES University (Brasil).

He graduated in sociology in Beira Interior University. He obtained a master degree in local development in University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro. He received his PhD in sociology of education in the same University.
Introductions to our Authors

He works on adult education, sociology of education and professional knowledge. He is author or co-author of ten chapters in books, three books and more of fifteen peer-reviewed journal articles in these areas.

_Luisa Veloso, University Institute of Lisbon (CIES-IUL), Portugal_

Luísa Veloso is since 2008 a senior researcher at the Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology of the University Institute of Lisbon (CIES-IUL). She also teaches presently some classes at Master courses of the University Institute of Lisbon. She is an associated part-time researcher at the Institute of Sociology of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto.

She previously taught various sociology issues at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto, mainly at the graduated and post-graduate degrees in Sociology, but also at other graduate, as European Studies. (1991-2008).

Luísa Veloso is graduated (1990) and did her PhD in Sociology (2004) and her Master Degree on Human Resources Management (1995). Her main research areas are sociology of education and training and sociology of work and professions and labour market.


She is member of the Editorial Board of the Portuguese Journal of Social Sciences, Member of the Head Commission of the Research stream Work, Organisations and Professions of the Portuguese Sociological Association, co-coordinator of
the research stream Work, Innovation and Social Structures of the Economy of CIES-IUL.

Luísa Veloso won the 3rd prize of a Contest of Ideas “Transitions in the Ave Valley, an Industrial Region” (2008).

She is a member of the “Observatory of Activities of Africa and Latin America” of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (since 2011) and has been participating in various international research projects on education, training and labour market, like “Follow-up of the Copenhagen process: research into forms of individual career development and continuing vocational training” (2009).

**Antonio Luzón, University of Granada, Granada**

Antonio Luzón, is associate professor of Comparative Education at the University of Granada, teaches international and comparative education with a focus on European educational systems. As member of the Research Group “Educational Policies and Reforms” of the regional government of Andalusia (Spain), from which he has participated in national and international projects of research, linked to the educational policies and reforms.

Among Antonio’s most recent works are:


Introductions to our Authors


**Joanna Madalińska-Michalak, University of Lodz, Poland**

Joanna Madalińska-Michalak: Department of Didactics and Teacher Education, Faculty of Educational Studies, University of Lodz, Poland

Joanna Madalińska-Michalak, is Professor and Chair of the Department of Didactics and Teacher Education at the Faculty of Educational Studies, University of Lodz, Poland. Joanna has been working at the University of Lodz since 1996. She has long-standing research interests in comparative education, teacher education research, policy of teacher education, teacher’s professional development and learning, exemplary teachers and leaders, teacher’s success and its conditions, educational leadership, ethics and professionalism of teaching.

At the present time she is developing her research interests around the quality of teacher education, the quality of the relationships in educational settings, school development and school leadership and management, and the school-university partnership.

Joanna is author of 11 books and author or co-author of more than 150 peer-review journal articles and book chapters. Her recent publications include:


Professor Madalińska-Michalak has been active in Polskie Towarzystwo Pedagogiczne (Polish Pedagogics Association) and served as a member of Executive Body in 2007-2011. Now she is Vice-President of Polskie Towarzystwo Pedagogiczne (Polish Pedagogics Association). She has served as a Member of Council Board of European Educational Research Association since 2008. She has taught at many universities in Europe: Sheffield Hallam University, University of Aveiro, Valencia University, University of Latvia, University of Tallin, State College of Teacher Education in Linz and Akdeniz University.

Raquel-Amaya Martínez-González, Oviedo University, Spain

Dr. Raquel-Amaya Martínez-González is Professor of Education at Oviedo University (Spain). She is the coordinator of both the research team on “Socio-Educative Assessment and Intervention in Families, Schools and Communities” and the “Observatory on Family-School-Social Agents Partnerships”, both at Oviedo University, Spain. She was Visiting Fellow at the Australian Institute of Family Studies in Melbourne. As an expert external evaluator, she reviews education research projects for the Spanish National Agency of Evaluation and Prospective. Also as Expert in Emotional Intelligence and Positive Parenting she was invited by the Council of Europe in Strasbourg and by the Spanish Social Services Ministry to present her research findings in international meetings and conferences.

She received the Spanish National Research Award in Education and the “José Lorca” Award (Asturias, Spain) for her work on promoting children’s rights. Her research findings on Family-School-Community Partnerships have been published in international books, journals and conferences proceedings in the U.S. and Europe. Dr. Martínez-González translated educational documents into Spanish edited by the International Academy of Education and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. She was President of the European Research
Network About Parents in Education (ERNAPE) and currently she is member of Council of the European Education Research Association (EERA), representing the Spanish Educational Research Association (AIDIPE).

Wayne J. Martino, University of Western Ontario, Canada

Wayne J. Martino, Ph.D., is Professor of Education in the Faculty of Education at The University of Western Ontario, Canada. Previously, he taught in the School of Education at Murdoch University, Perth Western Australia. His research interests are in the fields of gender equity, boys’ education, masculinities and schooling, queer studies in education, minority underachievement, and critical policy sociology. He has published in a range of international refereed journals such as American Educational Research Journal, The British Journal of the Sociology of Education, Cambridge Journal of Education, Gender and Education and International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, and serves on the Editorial Boards of the Journal of Men and Masculinities and the Journal of LGBT Youth in the United States and Educational Review in the United Kingdom.

Wayne’s books include: So What’s a Boy? Addressing Issues of Masculinity and Schooling (with Maria Pallotta-Chiarolli, Open University Press, 2003), ‘Being Normal is the Only Way To Be’: Adolescent Perspectives on Gender and School (with Maria Pallotta-Chiarolli, University of New South Wales Press, 2005), Gendered Outcasts and Sexual Outlaws (with Christopher Kendall, Routledge, 2006) and Gender, Race and the Politics of Role Modelling (with Goli Rezai-Rashti, Routledge New York, 2012).

Dace Medne, Jazep’s Vitol’s Latvian Academy of Music, Latvia

Dace Medne is a lecturer at Jāzep’s Vītol’s Latvian Academy of Music and Head of the social care division at Social Care Centre for Children „Pļavnieki”, Rīga. She has a doctor’s degree in pedagogy (DR.paed.) and a bachelor’s degree psychologist.

Dace received a grant from Europen Social Fund in 2009/2010 for the ESF project „Atbalsts doktora studijām Latvijas Universitātē” (Support for Doctoral Studies at University of Latvia) and has authored the two books Medne Dace is the author of Dzirdēt ar sirdi (Hear with the heart). - (2010), Rīga. ISBN 978-9984-49-010-6 and Kā strādāt ar hiperaktīviem bērniem (How to work with hyperactive children). - (2007), Rīga: RaKa. ISBN 978-9984-15-857-8 as well as many other research papers.

Her Research interests include Family Upbringing in the Transformative Society of Latvia and Hyperactive Children's Life Scenario.

**Golamreza Memarzadeh Tehran, Islamic Azad University, Tehran, Iran**

Dr. G. Memarzadeh Tehran has been with the school of Economics and Management, Islamic Azad University for more than 20 years and has dedicated his career to instructing students mostly at graduate level. Other than these activities, he is currently serving as the head of department of public administration and co-director of Economics &Management School. He earned a Ph.D degree in the field of Public Administration, that he has published several peer-reviewed journal and conference papers. He is also the author and co-authors of 5 books with a focus in Comparative Public Administration, Strategic Management, and Organizational Behavior. His expertise and persistency have led him to be nominated for many prestigious awards.
Many of his students have taken key careers in many public and private organizations, caused him be a well-known professor to discuss with where people seeking long and short terms remedies for their problem. Beyond his main activities, he is also editor of two highly ranked journals (editor@bioinfo & editor@ijmbr).

Charles E. Mitchell, Troy University, USA

Charles E. Mitchell teaches ethics and human resources management in the Department of Public Administration, Troy University, where he is assistant professor of public administration. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Georgia. Previous employment was with the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission as Enforcement Supervisor, District Training Officer and Staff Consultant. His research specializes in equal employment opportunity law. He is author of peer-reviewed journals articles which appear in the labor law journal, public personnel management journal, review of public personnel administration and academic conference proceedings. An upcoming publication, “An Analysis of the Supreme Court case in Ricci Et Al. v DeStefano, Et Al: The New Haven Firefighters Case” addresses the controversial and competing issues of disparate impact v disparate treatment theories found in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended.

Charles has also authored “Violating The Public Trust: The Ethical and Moral Obligations of Public Officials (1999) which explores flaws in (a) ethical decision making of government officials and (b) ethic’s teaching methodologies. Active in the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) he has served as president of the North Georgia Chapter of ASPA.

James Moir, University of Abertay Dundee, Scotland

Dr James Moir is a senior lecturer in sociology at the University of Abertay Dundee (Scotland, U.K.) with a research interest the higher education policy discourses of personal development planning and graduate attributes, and their translation into curricular reform. He has served
as a Senior Associate of the U.K. Higher Education Academy’s Centre for Sociology, Anthropology and Politics (C-SAP) as well as being a lead consultant for Quality Assurance Agency’s (Scotland) Enhancement Themes projects: “Graduates for the 21st Century” and “Developing and Supporting the Curriculum”.

**Pedro Oliveira, ICBAS, University of Porto, Portugal**

Pedro Oliveira graduated in Chemical Engineering from the University of Porto, Portugal, in 1984, the MPhil in Statistics from the University of Minho, Braga, Portugal, in 1988 and the PhD in Applied Mathematics from Strathclyde University, Glasgow, UK, in 1992.

Pedro has been associate Professor at the University of Porto since 2010, formerly at the University of Minho. His main research work is in statistics and optimization. He is currently involved in a project for the evaluation of the economic impact of Polytechnic Institutes in Portugal.

**Tomás Patrocínio, Universidade de Lisboa, Instituto de Educação**

Tomás Patrocínio is invited assistant professor at Institute of Education of the University of Lisbon where he teaches in the under and postgraduate programs. He received his PhD on Education and Development from the New University of Lisbon, Portugal, 2005. He received his degree in Economy from the Technical University of Lisbon, 1978. His current research interests are on Policies of Education and Technologies in Education and he is a member of the Unit for Educational Research and Training in the Institute of Education, University of Lisbon. He owns a diversified experience in the education area has he has worked as teacher of basic and secondary education, as chair of a teacher training centre, as coordinator of national projects in the Ministry of Education. He has also worked as head of external relations at the rectorate of the University of Lisbon for seven years.

Tomás has attended a large number of congress and seminars in the country and worldwide, organized by
universities or other educational institutions in which he has made numerous presentations.

He is author or co-author of more than 75 peer-reviewed journal articles, abstracts, book chapters and invited papers. He is author of a book on Technology, Education and Citizenship.

**Miguel A. Pereyra, University of Granada, Granada**

Miguel A. Pereyra is full professor of Comparative Education at the University of Granada, and President of CESE. Trained both as an educationist and an historian, concluded his tertiary studies on history & comparative education at Columbia University and its Teachers College, and his research and publications are focused on comparative & cultural history of education, and educational reforms and educational policies.


**Mª Henar Pérez-Herrero, Oviedo University, Spain**

María del Henar Pérez Herrero is Assistant Professor at the Department of Education at Oviedo University (Spain), where she is involved in Research Methodology, Practicum and
Learning Difficulties lectures. She is a member of both the research team on ‘Socio-Educative Assessment and Intervention in Families, Schools and Communities’ and the ‘Observatory on Family-School-Community Partnership’, at Oviedo University.

María has worked as psychologist and pedagogue in multi-professional community teams assisting schools to create partnerships with parents. She facilitates programmes on Emotional Intelligence for families, teachers and community professionals, especially in the fields of health and social services. She has published research papers in international journals and presented at scientific meetings in the US and Europe.

**Ann S. Pihlgren, Stockholm University, Sweden**

Ann S. Pihlgren, PhD, researcher and educator at Stockholm University has worked as supervisor, principal, teacher, and chairman of the political school board in the Swedish school system. She is involved in several projects concerning school development, pedagogical improvement, and leadership training. Her doctorial dissertation “Socrates in the Classroom” was a thorough investigation of the Socratic traditions in education, and a phenomenological analysis of the interplay of children philosophizing as part of their classroom syllabus. It was awarded “Swedish dissertation of the year” 2008. Ann has also received the Swedish award for enhancing school democracy. Her literary book production includes: “Socratic Dialogue in Education”, “Democratic Educational Methods”, and “The Thinking Classroom”. She is the editor of the anthology “The Leisure-time Center” and has also participated in: “Leisure-time Pedagogy”, “Educational Assessment”, “Dewey Read Today”, “Knowledge, Communication, and Assessment in Education”, etc.

Ann’s research interests concern thinking, cooperative learning, democratic education, and consequences in teaching. Ann is a frequent lecturer in the USA and cooperates with a research group affiliated to the University of North Carolina. She is involved in a long term school development project in Slovakia, and has cooperated with
universities in Belgium, Norway, other European countries, and in Iran.

Some of Ann’s relevant articles and books are:


José Portela, University of Trás-os-Montes, Portugal

José Portela is an Associate Professor of Rural Sociology, University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro, Vila Real, Portugal. In December 2004, José Portela was elected Director of CETRAD, Center for Transdisciplinary Studies for Development, University of Tras-os-Montes and Alto Douro

Nives Mikelic Preradovic, University of Zagreb, Croatia

Mikelic Preradovic is assistant professor at the Department of Information and Communication Sciences, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. She received her PhD in Information Science at the same university in 2008 and her MPhil in Computer Speech, Text and Internet Technology at University of Cambridge, UK, in 2004. Her research specializes in Natural Language Processing and Service Learning (Community-based Learning). She mentored and administrated over 50 service learning projects over the last 4 years. She received JFDP
scholarship grant (Junior Faculty Development Program, funded by the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs) in 2005/2006, and Cambridge Overseas Trust scholarship grant from the University of Cambridge in 2003/2004. She also received Rector's Award for student paper in 2001.

She is author or co-author of more than 30 peer-reviewed journal articles, book chapters and invited papers.


In addition to a number of articles on service learning, Nives has authored the coursebook (in Croatian): Learning for the Knowledge Society: service learning theory and practice (Office of Information Studies, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences 2009).

Martin Retzl, University of Vienna, Austria

Martin Retzl is senior research and project assistant in the Department of Education at the University of Vienna, and is currently completing his doctoral thesis on the role of democracy in educational change and education policy. He holds a Master’s degree in Education from the University of Vienna, as well as a Diploma in Education for teaching at secondary school. Co-Editor of "PISA According to PISA", a critical international anthology on PISA, his work on PISA and democratic school improvement has appeared in various German-language publications and has been presented at international conferences in Europe and the U.S. His research interests include education policy, governance in education, educational change and school improvement.

Goli Rezai-Rashti, University of Western Ontario, Canada

Goli M. Rezai-Rashti is Professor of Education at the University of Western Ontario. Her research interests are broadly in the field of sociology of education, critical policy and postcolonial studies. She has published numerous
papers and book chapters which deal specifically with issues related to gender, race, class, sexuality and schooling and also the impact of neoliberal education reform on Canadian education. Her recent research has focused on a critique of male teachers as role models and women and higher education in Iran. Dr. Rezai-Rashti’s research has been published in scholarly journals such as the American Education Research Journal, Gender and Education, Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, Curriculum Inquiry and Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies. She has published over 15 book chapters and her recent book (with Professor Martino) on Gender, Race, and the Politics of Role Modelling: The Influence of Male Teachers has been published in 2012.


**Valdis Rocens**

Valdis Rocens is assistant professor and project director at the Turiba University. He teaches strategic management and business forecasting, his field of research is economics of higher education with a specialisation in competition among universities and in education efficiency. He has reported on the research results at the conferences in Bulgaria, France, Latvia, Portugal and Slovenia and presented lectures as a visiting lecturer in the University of Wismar, Germany, at the end of 2010. Valdis Rocens is currently in the promotion process to receive a doctoral degree in Management from University of Latvia

**Malin Rohlin, Stockholm University, Sweden**

Malin Rohlin recived her Ph.D in pedagogic at Stockholm University 2001, worked with a number of year constructing the higher education for leisure-pedagogue or school-age edu-care teachers at The Stockholm institute of education and at the University. At the present she is Head of the Department of arts and professions at Stockholm University. Previous she was the vice chairman for the board of education at Stockholm University. Dr. Rohlin’s thesis...
'Governing in the name of children’s leisure time: A contemporary history of the construction of today’s school-age childcare (fritidshem) in coordination with the school’ problematizes children’s time; time that must be organized and regulated. Her research field concern leisure time and steering of education, learning processes and methods, placed within an academic environment and with a multimodal approach. She is author and co-author of several articles and books about steering of the leisure time.

Two of her most relevant publications are:

The problematic time in "The Future Is Not What It Appears To Be". Pedagogy, Genealogy and Political Epistemologi. Popkewitz, T, Petersson K, Olsson U & Kowalczyk J (eds.) HLS förlag, Stockholms univeristet, and


José Roberto Rus Perez, Universidade Estadual de Campinas – UNICAMP, Brazil

José Roberto Rus Perez is a livre-docente professor in the Faculty of Education at Universidade Estadual de Campinas – UNICAMP – Brazil and researcher of the Center for Public Policies Studies- NEPP/UNICAMP. He received his PhD in Education in Faculty of Education at UNICAMP in 1994 and conducted post-doctoral research at The University of Texas at Austin in 2003. His research focuses on Social Policy and Educational Policy, with special attention to the basic and secondary education. He is author of the book Avaliação, Impasses e Desafios da Educação Básica (Editora da Unicamp and Annablume, 2000) and co-author of the book Construindo a Ouvidoria no Brasil (Editora da Unicamp, 2011).

José’s recent articles include:

“Social policies for children and adolescentes in Brazil” in Cadernos de Pesquisa, 2010, and

“Is important analyze implementation of educational policies nowadays?” in Educação & Sociedade, 2010.
Pierre Canisius Ruterana, National University of Rwanda

Pierre Canisius RUTERANA has been a qualified translator lecturing in Translation and Interpreting in the Department of Modern Languages, Faculty of Arts, Media and Social Sciences at the National University of Rwanda since 2001. He is currently pursuing a PhD in Education (Behavioural Sciences and Learning) at Linkoping University in Sweden since 2007 with a research focus on the development of a reading culture and literacy in Rwanda.

Pierre’s major publications include:
- Trilingual Glossary French- English- Kinyarwanda for Primary Schools in Rwanda (2010);
- Exploring home literacy practices among Rwandan families published in the International Journal of Research in Education, 3(1); Children's Literature in Rwanda: Translating Fairy Tales (2012);

Tiia Rüütmann, Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia

Hants Kipper is a lecturer at Estonian Centre for Engineering Pedagogy at Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia. Hants Kipper received his MA in education in 2009 at Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia. He has graduated Tallinn University of Technology as an electrical engineer in 1975. He is teaching Engineering Pedagogy Science, Laboratory Didactics and Methodology, Didactics and Methodology of Teaching Engineering, and Mentoring. Hants Kipper coordinates teaching practice at Tallinn University of Technology. He became a member of International Society for Engineering Education IGIP in 2009 and received the qualification of International Engineering Educator ING.PAED.IGIP in 2009.

Hants Kipper is the author or co-author of more than 20 peer-reviewed journal articles. His recent publications are on effective teaching of engineering. He is co-author of the
book of Engineering Pedagogy Science (forthcoming). Hants has also been active in IGIP and has served as a member of IGIP International Monitoring Committee since 2011.

**Alan R. Sadovnik, Rutgers University, Newark, USA**

Alan R. Sadovnik is Board of Governors Distinguished Service Professor of Education, Sociology and Public Administration and Affairs at Rutgers University, Newark, New Jersey, where he is the Co-Director of the Institute on Educational Law and Policy and the Newark Schools Research Collaborative, and Coordinator of the Educational Policy track of the Ph.D. Program in Urban Systems. He received his B.A. in sociology from Queens College of the City University of New York and M.A. and Ph.D. in sociology from New York University.

Among Alan’s notable publications are:

- Equity and Excellence in Higher Education (1995);
- “Schools of Tomorrow,” Schools of Today: What Happened to Progressive Education (1999), Founding Mothers and Others:
- Women Educational Leaders During the Progressive Era (2002),

Alan has also published dozens of journal articles and book chapters as well as ten major urban educational policy reports. Among the awards he has received are the American Sociological Association’s Willard Waller Award for the outstanding article in the sociology of education; and three American Educational Association Critics Choice Awards for an outstanding book in the field.
Introductions to our Authors

Marija Sakic, Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, Zagreb, Croatia

Marija Sakic is a senior research assistant at the Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences, Zagreb, Croatia. She is also a teaching assistant in developmental psychology courses at the Department of Psychology, Centre for Croatian Studies at the University of Zagreb. She graduated in Psychology in 2002 at the Centre for Croatian Studies and received her PhD in cognitive sciences at the University of Zagreb in 2010. Her main research interests are in the field of developmental and educational psychology.

Marija is the co-author of 20 peer-reviewed scientific papers, book chapters, conference abstracts and proceedings. Her main publications are related to the determinants of school achievement and school effectiveness, coauthored with Josip Burusic and Toni Babarovic, and entitled: “Experimental External Evaluation of Educational Objectives in Croatian Primary Schools”, “Determinants of School Effectiveness in Primary Schools in the Republic of Croatia: Results of an Empirical Investigation”. She is also a member of the Croatian Psychological Chamber, the Croatian Society for Neuroscience, the Croatian Pedagogical – Literary Society, and the International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development (ISSBD).

João Sebastião, University Institute of Lisbon (CIES-IUL), Portugal

João Sebastião is Auxiliary Professor, at the University Institute of Lisbon. Researcher at the Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology of the University Institute of Lisbon (CIES-IUL). Major interests of research are social inequalities in education, school violence and youth marginality. Has published several books and articles about these themes both in Portuguese and international journals.

Christina Segerholm, MidSweden University, Sweden

Christina Segerholm is professor in education at MidSweden University. She teaches graduate and undergraduate
courses in several areas in education. Segerholm’s main research interests are education policy, educational evaluation and its impact on education policy and practice. Currently she is engaged in the international project Governing by inspection: school inspection in England, Scotland and Sweden lead by professor Jenny Ozga. Apart from publishing articles about the governing power of evaluation in education, she was one of the editors of the book Fabricating Quality in Education. Data and governance in Europe published in 2011, a book that critically analyses quality assurance and evaluation as a governing device and as a Europeanising force.

**Patricia A. Shaw, University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point, USA**

Patricia A. Shaw is a professor and Head of the School of Education at the University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point (UWSP). She also serves as an Associate Dean of the College of Professional Studies at UWSP. Dr. Shaw earned her PhD in Continuing and Vocational Education, with a minor in Educational Leadership, at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Her research interests include: women educational leaders and power, and teaching and learning in the online environment. Dr. Shaw has given presentations in the United States, Canada, and France.

Patricia’s service work includes advising the UWSP chapter of Kappa Delta Pi International Society in Education and serving as the president of the Tomorrow River Scholarship Foundation, Amherst, Wisconsin.

**Lisa Shoaf, John Carroll University – Cleveland, Ohio, USA**

Lisa Shoaf is a charter member of the Ohio Council of Professors of Educational Administration, and she served as its President from 2010 to 2011. She is currently working with the Ohio Department of Education to help train Ohio principals how to enact the new Ohio Teacher Evaluation System, as well as being a key member of the Ohio Board of Regents’ “Blue Ribbon Panel” for the improvement of principal preparation programs in the state. Dr. Shoaf has conducted research and written about school reform and
change including, “Advantages and Disadvantages of an Online Charter School for The American Journal of Distance Education, and “The Hidden Advantages of Focus Group Interviews in Educational Research” published in the Journal of School Public Relations. Lisa was a co-author on a recent article, “State Initiatives for Principal Accountability in Ohio (U.S),” which appeared in the Proceedings of the 2011 Paris International Conference on Education, Economy and Society. Lisa is the Chair of the Department of Educational Leadership at John Carroll University, in Cleveland, Ohio. Lisa was also a school administrator prior to moving to John Carroll University.

Anna Siri, University of Genoa, Italy

Anna Siri received her Ph.D. in evaluation of educational processes and systems at University of Genoa (Italy), worked for a number of years as didactic manager of Healthcare degree courses, and is now the executive director of the Medical Education Centre at University of Genoa. Her research focuses on policy implementation, educational reform, and accountability.

Anna’s areas of specialization include university choice, student persistence, and enrolment management. She is author or co-author of more than 30 peer-reviewed journal articles, abstracts, and book chapters. She is past associate editor of Journal of the World Universities Forum (2011).

Florbela Sousa, University of Lisbon, Portugal

Florbela Sousa, PhD, is Assistant Professor at the University of Lisbon, Institute of Education, Her research interests include educational policies, school administration and leadership, and citizenship education. She is the supervisor of Master's and Doctoral theses in those areas.

She has taught as a visiting Professor at the University of Granada from 2004 to 2011. She is Co-coordinator of a UNESCO Chair on Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment for the University of Lisbon (2009-2012) as well as the National Coordinator of CICE (Children Identity and Citizenship in Europe - an Erasmus Academic Network). She is a team member and consultant in national and
European projects. She is an expert consultant for MIPEX (Migrant Integration Policy Index). She is a co-leader of the project "Building Local Networking in Education? Decision-Makers Discourses on School Achievement and Drop out in Portugal", a three year (2010-2013) financed project by the FCT (Science and Technology Foundation) with a national dimension.

Florbela is also a team member in "ECLIPSE" (European Citizenship - Learning in a Programme for Secondary Education), a European Comenius project on Citizenship Education. She has published her research in English, Spanish and Portuguese.

**Ana Elisa Spaolonzi Queiroz Assis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas – UNICAMP, Brazil**

Ana Elisa Spaolonzi Queiroz Assis is a PhD student at Universidade Estadual de Campinas – Unicamp – Brazil and researcher of the Laboratory of Public Policy and Educational Planning in Education Faculty - UNICAMP and also a researcher of the Laboratory of Technical Networks and Environmental Sustainability – FLUXUS in the Faculty of Engineering, Architecture and Urbanism of UNICAMP.

Ana has a graduation degree in Education (2004) and Law (2009) schools, and received her master´s degree in Education in 2007, all features at PUC-Campinas – Brazil. Her research in both laboratories is focuses on Social Policies and sciences dialogues. She is a co-author of three books: Manual de Sociologia Geral e Jurídica (Lex Editora, 2010); História da Cultura Jurídica: o direito na Grécia (Gen Editora, 2010); and Noções Gerais de Direito e Formação Humanística (Saraiva, 2012), all dealing with the relationship between law and society. She has presented many papers related on her research at international conferences in Brazil, Argentina, Cuba, France and Portugal.

**Urška Štremfel, Educational Research Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia**

Urška Štremfel is a research assistant at the Educational Research Institute in Ljubljana and a part time research assistant at the Centre for Political Science Research at the
Introductions to our Authors

Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana. Her research interests include the European aspects of policy analysis, especially new modes of EU governance and cooperation in the field of education policy. Her bibliography is composed of research on open method of coordination, large scale student assessments and multicultural education. She is co-author of two books and articles published in scientific journals, such as Sociologicky časopis (Czech Sociological Review), Journal of Comparative Politics, and Šolsko polje (The School Field).

At the moment Urška is preparing her PhD thesis with the working title “New Modes of Governance in the European Union in the Field of Education Policy”.

Mónica Torres, University of Granada, Granada

Mónica Torres is assistant professor in the Department of Pedagogy at University of Granada. She teaches international and comparative education, with a focus on European educational systems. As member of the Research Group “Educational Policies and Reforms”, of the regional government of Andalusia (Spain), has participated in national and international projects of research related to educational policies and reforms.

Among Mónica’s most recent works are:

“From Centralism to Decentralization. The Recent Transformation of the Spanish Education System” (European Education, 2005, 37 1);


with Antonio Luzón, “La Educación Internacional, un nuevo escenario entre naciones desde una política global”, in Educación Internacional, (Valencia: Tirant Lo Blanch, 2009), [International Education, a new scenario between nations in a global policy] and


Pieter-Jan Van de Velde, Flemish Interuniversity Council (VLIR), Belgium

Pieter-Jan Van de Velde is staff member quality assurance at the Flemish Interuniversity Council (VLIR) and coordinates external assessments of university programmes and post graduate teacher education programmes. Prior to joining VLIR, he was active in student movement as Ghent University board member and active member of the Flemish Students Union VVS and the Flemish Educational Council VLOR. Recently, he has assisted the European Youth Forum in developing a new external quality assurance approach for non-formal education in the youth sector. He holds a master’s degree in economics and development studies from Ghent University and a degree in Sociology from the Université Libre de Bruxelles. As VLIR staff member Pieter-Jan Van de Velde currently coordinates the external assessment of all 38 post-graduate teacher education programmes in Flanders.

Ted Zigler, Wright State University – Dayton, Ohio, USA

Ted A. Zigler received his doctorate in Educational Administration from the University of Cincinnati in 1992. He was named the Ohio Principal of the Year in 2001, and received UCEA’s Excellence in Educational Leadership Award in 2000. Ted was a member of the Writing Team for the Ohio Principal Standards, adopted in 2005, served on the Ohio Standards Alignment committee, which developed a crosswalk to align the Ohio Standards with the ISLLC, ELCC,
and NCATE standards for institutions of higher education, and the Writing Team with the Ohio Department of Education to develop a template for principal evaluation, based on the new Ohio Principal Standards. At Ohio Dominican University, Dr. Zigler directed the Teacher Leader grant, developing Teacher Leader Standards for Ohio along with designing the pilot for the Teacher Leader Endorsement at ODU. He is also involved in the development of a Principal Licensure Program at ODU, the Master of Education in Educational Leadership. Starting at Wright State University in November 2011, Ted will continue his work with the Ohio Principal Evaluation System for ODE, as well as working with the principal and superintendent organizations.
Introductions to our Associate Editors

**Dzintra Atstaja, Banku Augstskola School of Business and Finance, Riga, Latvia**

Dzintra Atstaja is an Associate Professor at the Department of Entrepreneurship and IT at BA School of Business and Finance (Latvia), Doctor of Social Sciences in Economy, Management Science (Entrepreneurship Management). She is also the Head of the Technogenic Environmental Safety Research Laboratory and Senior Researcher of the Institute of Occupational Safety and Civil Defense at Riga Technical University, Faculty of Engineering Economics and Management. She specialises in economics and sustainable development, e-learning, environmental management, civil defense and work safety and has more than twenty years experience in business consulting.

D. Atstaja is a founder and board member of the Latvian Association of Economics and member of the European Society for the History of Economic Thought and SMART civil society organisation.

Dzintra is author or coauthor of more than 50 papers and books. Here publications can be found in the Library of Congress, USA e.g. Monograph “Environment and Economics” (in Latvian) and “Environment and Sustainable Development” and in scientistic journals and in electronic data bases.

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**Khachatur Avalyan, Prime Minister's office, Government of the Republic of Armenia**

Khachatur Avalyan commenced his work with the Prime Minister's office in September 2008. His primary responsibility was to assess existing business plans within the private sector and provide selected projects with government support. In addition, Khachatur has been
selected to represent the Armenian government as a member of the Board of Directors for the "South-Caucasus Railway" Joint-Stock Company.

Richard B. Baldauf, Jr., School of Education, University of Queensland, Australia.

Richard B. Baldauf, Jr. is Professor of TESOL at the School of Education at the University of Queensland, Australia. He is Executive Editor of Current Issues in Language Planning, has published numerous articles in refereed journals and books. Richard has co-authored:

- Language Planning from Practice to Theory (1997),
- Language and Language-in-Education Planning in the Pacific Basin (2003), and

M. J. Best, Edgewood College, Madison, Wisconsin USA

M. J. Best, Ph.D is Assistant professor of education and coordinator for the higher education concentration of the Ed.D. program at Edgewood College in Madison Wisconsin USA.

He has over fifteen years of state level leadership experience in education agencies that are charged to oversee PK-12 education, teacher and administrator training and technical college programs. In that capacity he has successfully implemented several statewide education initiatives. Currently in addition to coordinating a growing doctoral program, he teaches the leadership course, and has taught the curriculum course in the doctoral program sequence for higher education leaders. He is also consulting with five Wisconsin high schools in an effort to bring industry skills into the academic curriculum.
Joseph Marr Cronin, Lecturer, Boston University, was formerly professor at Harvard University. He is the author of two publications focusing on the role of city mayors in school decision-making: The Control of Urban Schools (1973) and Reforming Boston schools, 1930s to the Present.

Joseph is a Senior Consultant for Edvisors. Edvisors works with colleges, universities, foundations, states, corporations and other agencies that seek to make changes or expand in providing services. One important core value is the extension of educational opportunities to individuals and groups who may previously been denied access to education, the arts or the world of learning.

John Dwyfor Davies, Department of Education, University of the West of England, Bristol, England

John Dwyfor Davies has taught pupils across the primary and secondary age range and was a headteacher of a residential school for pupils with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties before moving into higher education as a senior lecturer at Oxford Brooks University. He later joined the University of the West of England as a principal lecturer and head of Special Educational Needs and subsequently, Professor of Education at the University of the West of England, Bristol where he now is an Emeritus Professor in the Department of Education.

John has researched and published widely and acted as a consultant on special educational needs and school leadership in many areas of the world.

Kevin Davison School of Education, Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, Australia

Dr. Kevin Davison is a Senior Lecturer with the School of Education at the Australian Catholic University in Melbourne, Australia [as of 2 July 2012]. He is on leave from his post as Lecturer in Education with the School of Education at The National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland. He
researches, publishes and teaches in the following areas: sociology of education, gender and education, boys and academic underachievement; male teachers as role models, images and teaching, and science outreach.

In addition to his peer-reviewed publications, Kevin is also the author of:

Negotiating masculinities and bodies in schools: The implications for gender theory for the education of boys (2007, Edwin Mellen Press) and,


Rollande Deslandes, Department of Education, Université du Québec, Trois-Rivières, Québec, Canada

Rollande Deslandes is a full tenure Professor in the Department of Education at the Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, Québec (Canada). She obtained a Bachelor Degree in Education (Home Economics and Biology) at McGill University in Montreal, a Master’s Degree in Social Work and a doctorate in Educational Psychology at Laval University, in Québec city. She is Director of the Education, Culture and Health: Interactions and Partnerships Research Laboratory in Trois-Rivières. She received a Research Excellence award from the University in 2004. Her research interests include family and community involvement in schooling in relation to students’ achievement, development and healthy habits.

Rollande has been involved with the American Educational Research Association (AERA) Family–School–Community Partnership Sig, the European Research Network of Parents in Education (ERNAPE) and the Association Internationale en Éducation Familiale (AIFREF) for over a decade. She has published in several Anglophone and Francophone scientific journals. She edited the following two important volumes:
Introductions to our Associate Editors


Dana Dobrovska, Czech Technical University, Prague, Czech Republic

Dana Dobrovska, works at the dep. of engineering pedagogy, Masaryk Institute of Advanced Studies, Czech Technical University in Prague, Kolejní 2a, 160 00 Prague 6, Czech Republic.

Gerardo Echeita, Faculty of Education and Teacher Education, Autonomous University of Madrid (UAM), Spain

http://www.rinace.net/arts/vol6num2/art1.pdf

Anthony Feiler, Special Educational Needs, University of Bristol, England

Dr. Anthony Feiler is Reader in Education, Special Educational Needs at the University of Bristol. Before university teaching, Anthony Feiler was a teacher and a senior educational psychologist. His current teaching and research focus on special and inclusive education, and on links between schools and parents. Anthony has received awards for conducting research from the British Academy, the Esmée Fairbairn Foundation, the Department for Children Schools and Families and the Qualifications and Curriculum and Development Authority.
Anthony is a member of the ESRC Peer Review College; and his book Engaging ‘Hard to Reach’ Parents (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010) was shortlisted for the National Association of Special Educational Needs Academic Book Award 2011

**Daniel Friedrich, Department of Curriculum and Teaching, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, USA**

Daniel Friedrich is Assistant Professor in the Dept. of Curriculum and Teaching at Teachers College, Columbia University. Prof. Friedrich is currently interested in the system of thought behind the travelling of teacher education reforms around the world. He has published articles in Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education and the Journal of Curriculum Theorizing among others. His book ‘The Limits of Democratic Education as a Curricular Problem will be available in 2013.


**Gallego Carmen Vega, University of Sevilla, Spain**

Dra. Carmen Gallego Vega. Profesora de la Universidad de Sevilla (Spain) Departamento de Didáctica y Organización Educativa [Dr. Carmen Gallego Vega is Professor at the University of Seville (Spain) Department of Teaching and Educational Organization]

**Professor Andrejs Geske, Faculty of Education, Psychology, and Art, University of Latvia, Latvia**

Professor Andrejs Geske is Head of Educational Science department, Faculty of Education, Psychology, and Art, University of Latvia.

**Nik Heerens, University of Exeter, England**

Nik Heerens has extensive experience working in the field of higher education throughout Europe, in particular related to higher education development, the Bologna Process and quality assurance.
Introductions to our Associate Editors

After elected positions in the European Students Union (ESU), in which he represented the organisation within the Bologna Process and contributed to the development of the European Standards and Guidelines of Quality Assurance, Nik worked as project leader with Dutch Quality Assurance agency QANU; was manager higher education projects, of Dutch development organisation SPARK (formerly ATA), and most recently the Head of sparqs (student participation in quality Scotland). Alongside these positions, he has also been involved with numerous organisations as a consultant and researcher in higher education development.

Currently, Nik works as a researcher for the Combined Universities in Cornwall (CUC) and is undertaking PhD research at the University of Exeter in the United Kingdom. His research interests are in the strategies of Universities in the context of knowledge-based regional development and in Quality Assurance of higher education. Nik is also member of the Quality Assurance Board of the Flemish Universities and University Colleges Council (VLUHR).

Garry Hornby, School of Sport & Physical Education, University of Canterbury, New Zealand.

Professor Garry Hornby first worked for four months as a residential social worker in a school for emotionally disturbed and intellectually disabled children in the USA. He then taught physics for one year in England before moving to Auckland where he taught maths and physics and worked with slow learners at Aorere College for two and a half years.

After that Garry taught a special class of children with moderate learning difficulties for three years at Tamaki College. He worked for seven years in Auckland as an educational psychologist in pre-school, primary and secondary schools. He then lectured in special education at Auckland Teachers’ College for two years, and set up a one year full-time training course for teachers of the visually impaired. After that he worked at Manchester University as a researcher on children with Down’s syndrome and their parents for fifteen months. Then lectured at Hull University
in educational psychology, special education and counselling for twelve years.

In 1997 and 1998 Garry worked in Barbados as a government consultant on special education for two years setting up a range of levels of teacher training for special needs. He then worked as Director of Research in the Education Department at Hull University for two years, before being appointed as Professor of Education at UC where he has been for ten years.

Garry is married to a teacher and they have two teenage sons. A recent book is:


**Mieke Van Houtte, Ghent University, Belgium**

Mieke Van Houtte, PhD Sociology, is working as lecturer in the Department of Sociology, Research Group CuDOS, at Ghent University (Belgium), Korte Meer 3-5, 9000 Gent, Belgium; e-mail: Mieke.VanHoutte@UGent.be. Her research interests cover diverse topics within the sociology of education, particularly the effects of structural, compositional and cultural school features on several outcomes for pupils and teachers.


**Valerie J. Janesick, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida, USA**

Valerie J. Janesick, (Ph.D. Michigan State University) is Professor of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, University of South Florida, Tampa. She teaches classes in Qualitative Research Methods, Curriculum Theory and Inquiry, Foundations of Curriculum, Ethics and Educational Leadership. She has written numerous articles and books
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in these areas including her recently completed 3rd edition of Stretching Exercises for Qualitative Researchers (2011) which is reorganized around habits of mind and includes new sections on internet inquiry and constructing poetry from interview data.


**D. Bruce Johnstone, State University of New York, Buffalo, New York, USA**

D. Bruce Johnstone is Distinguished Service Professor of Higher and Comparative Education Emeritus at the State University of New York at Buffalo and director of the International Comparative Higher Education Finance and Accessibility Project. His principal scholarship is in international comparative higher education finance, governance, and policy formation. He is the author of many books, monographs, articles and chapters on these topics, the most recent being ‘Financing Higher Education Worldwide: Who Pays? Who Should Pay?’ (with Pamela Marcucci, published in 2010 by Johns Hopkins University Press. He has been a speaker at many international conferences and a World Bank consultant on higher education reform projects in Morocco, Romania, Kenya, and the East Caribbean islands. Prior to the University at Buffalo, he held posts of vice president for administration at the University of Pennsylvania from 1976-1979, president of the State University College of Buffalo from 1979-1988, and chancellor (chief executive officer) of the State University of New York system from 1988-1994. He holds Bachelors and Masters degrees from Harvard and a Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota.

**Abubakar Kateregga, National University of Rwanda, Rwanda**

Dr. Abubakar Kateregga is a Senior Lecturer in the National University of Rwanda. He teaches Translation studies
Abubakar Kateregga has also published various Rwandan folktales in English (MK. Publishers, Kampala) and in French (Harmattan, Paris).

**Eva Klemenčič, Educational Research Institute, Gerbiceva, Ljubljana, Slovenia**

Dr. Eva Klemenčič is a researcher at the Educational Research Institute, Gerbiceva 62, SI-1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

Her recent publications include:


Her work on research project management includes:

Government Communication Office: »EU v šolah« (EU in schools); conducted by the Educational Research Institute (year 2011-2012).


Introductions to our Associate Editors

Zvjezdana Prizmic Larsen, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, USA

Zvjezdana Prizmic Larsen received her Ph.D in psychology from the University of Zagreb in 2000. She is currently a research scientist at the Washington University in St. Louis and served as a research associate at the Institute of Social Science ‘Ivo Pilar’ in Zagreb, Croatia (1991-2001). Her publications have a strong focus on work satisfaction and quality of life.

Anthony J. Liddicoat, Division of Education, Arts and Social Sciences, School of Communication, International Studies and Languages, University of South Australia, Australia

Anthony J. Liddicoat, Professor in Applied Linguistics, Division of Education, Arts and Social Sciences, School of Communication, International Studies and Languages, University of South Australia. Prof. Liddicoat is the President of Applied Linguistics Association of Australia. His research interests are in Language planning and policy, Language and culture in education, Discourse analysis and Intercultural language teaching and learning. He is the author of many books and articles. Some of his recent publications are:


**Simona Kustec Lipicer, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia**

Simona Kustec Lipicer is Associate Professor at University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences. She is a social scientist and a lecturer at the University of Ljubljana and a visiting professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences at the University of Zagreb, Croatia. She researches also at the Centre for Political Science Research in Ljubljana. Her research focuses on analysis and evaluation of policies, as well as on the analysis of voting behavior. Some recent publications include:


**Ljiljana Kaliterna Lipovčan, Ivo Pilar Institute of Social sciences, Zagreb, Croatia.**

Ljiljana Kaliterna Lipovčan, Ph.D., Prof., Ivo Pilar Institute of Social sciences, Zagreb, Croatia. She received her Ph.D. in psychology from the University of Zagreb in 1989. Ljiljana Kaliterna Lipovčan is Assistant Director at the Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences in Zagreb, Croatia. Her research interests include subjective indicators of quality of life, psychological consequences of ageing and psychophysiology of work.

Ljiljana teaches Organizational psychology at the Study of Psychology of the Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb. She is a member of COST-Domain Committee on
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Individuals, Society, Culture & Health, member of the Croatian National Scientific Board, as well as four international and two national professional associations. She has published 85 scientific articles, participated at 43 international and 28 national conferences.

**Margaret Lloyd, Faculty of Education, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia**

Dr. Margaret Lloyd, an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Education at QUT in Brisbane (Australia), is a nationally recognised award-winning tertiary educator, author, presenter and curriculum designer in the field of ICT education. She is currently a leader in the national Teaching Teachers to the Future Project (AUD$8.8 million), which is aiming to increase the ICT pedagogy skills of pre-service teachers in all Australian Teacher Education Institutions.

Along with teaching and supervising doctoral students, she co-edits the Journal of Learning Design [http://www.jld.qut.edu.au] and directs the oz-Teachernet [http://www.otn.edu.au], a long running professional community for teachers which began in 1995. She is the President of QSITE, Queensland Society for Information Technology in Education [http://www.qsite.edu.au] and is a member of the Board of the Australian Council for Computers in Education [http://www.acce.edu.au].

Her current research is concerned with the Technology Education in North Norway project funded by the Norwegian Research Council and involving academics from both Finnmark University College and NTNU. Further to this, she is a Founding Member of the Children and Youth Research Centre based at the Queensland University of Technology.

Please visit http://staff.qut.edu.au/staff/lloydmm for more biographical information or
http://eprints.qut.edu.au/view/person/Lloyd,_Margaret.html for access to some of her publications.

**Joanna Madalińska-Michalak, Professor, University of Lodz, Poland**

Joanna Madalińska-Michalak, Professor, University of Lodz, Poland. She is author of 11 books and author and co-author of more than 150 peer-review journal articles and book chapters.

Her recent publications are:


Joanna has been active in Polskie Towarzystwo Pedagogiczne (Polish Pedagogics Assosiation) and served as a member of Executive Body in 2007-2011. Now she is Vice-President of Polskie Towarzystwo Pedagogiczne (Polish Pedagogics Assosiation). She has served as a Member of Council Board of European Educational Research Association since 2008. She has taught at many universities in Europe: Sheffield Hallam University, University of Aveiro, Valencia University, University of Latvia, University of Tallin, State College of Teacher Education in Linz and Akdeniz University.

**Rob Mark, University of Strathclyde, Scotland**

Dr Rob Mark is Head of Lifelong Learning at the University of Strathclyde, Scotland, UK. He has published widely in the field of lifelong learning and has a particular interest in widening participation to higher education and in inclusion of excluded groups. His publications include *Adults in Higher Education* (R.Mark, M.Pouget & E.Thomas, 2004)
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and Lifelong Learning for the New Decade (R. Mark & H. Urponen, 2010).

**Raquel-Amaya Martínez-González, Oviedo University, Spain**

Dr. Raquel-Amaya Martínez-González is Professor of Education at Oviedo University (Spain). She is the coordinator of both the research team on “Socio-Educative Assessment and Intervention in Families, Schools and Communities” and the “Observatory on Family-School-Social Agents Partnerships”, both at Oviedo University, Spain. She was President of the European Research Network About Parents in Education (ERNAPE, www.ernape.net) and currently she is member of Council of the European Education Research Association (EERA, http://www.eera-eccer.de/), representing the Spanish Educational Research Association (AIDIPE, http://www.uv.es/aidipe/). Her research findings on Family Education and School-Family-Community Partnerships have been published in international books, journals and conferences proceedings in the U.S., Europe and LatinAmerica. Some publications are:


**Sergio Martinic, Faculty of Education, Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, Santiago, Chile**

Sergio Martinic anthropologist and PhD in Sociology, is an associate professor and Vice Dean of the Faculty of Education at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. His research and teaching about policy evaluation, pedagogical practices and Institutional culture.
**Stephen McKinney, School of Education, University of Glasgow, Scotland**

Dr. Stephen McKinney is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Education, University of Glasgow. His research interests include Religious Education; Catholic Education; Faith Schools and the impact of poverty of education. He has published widely on these topics in refereed journals and books. His publications include: the edited book, Faith Schools in the Twenty First Century (edited by McKinney, 2008); book chapter, Communicating Faith through Religious Education in Communicating Faith (edited by Sullivan, 2011) and book chapter, Religious Education in Scotland in Debates in Religious Education (edited by Barnes, 2011).

Stephen is a member of the Executive of AULRE (Association of University Lecturers in Religious Education). He is also a member of the Editorial Boards of the Journal of Moral Education and the Journal of Beliefs and Values.

**Dr. James McLellan, The University of Brunei Darussalam, Brunei**

Dr. James McLellan is a Senior Lecturer in English Language and Linguistics at the University of Brunei Darussalam, Southeast Asia. He previously worked at the University of Waikato, Aotearoa (New Zealand), and has taught at secondary and tertiary levels in the UK, France, Malaysia, Brunei and Australia. His research interests include code switching, particularly Malay-English, and minority language revitalisation, especially of Borneo languages.

**Piotr Mikiewicz, Sociology of Education and Education Policy Research Unit, Department of Education, University of Lower Silesia, Poland**

Piotr Mikiewicz, Ph. D. is a Sociologist of education. He is affiliated to the Sociology of Education and Education Policy Research Unit, Department of Education, University of Lower Silesia, Poland. He deals with social patterns of school selection, segmentation and tracking processes in lower and upper secondary education. Lately Piotr has had a special interest in issues of social capital and education.
Piotr participants in several international research networks, from 2009 Coordinator of Sociology of Education Research Network, European Sociological Association.

His recent publications include:

The theoretical foundations of the concept of social capital and their implications for educational empirical research, *Culture and Education, 2011, vol. 6*, pp. 76-96;


The ‘trajectorisation’ of Educational Biographies as an Unintentional outcome of educational expansion In Poland, w: Andreas Hadjar, Rolf Becker (ed.), *Expected and Unexpected consequences of educational expansion in Europe and the US. Theoretical approaches and empirical findings in comparative perspective*, Bern: Haupt Verlag, pp. 153-167, 2010, (coauthor with Jarosław Domalewski and Krzysztof Wasielewski)

**Gonçalo Canto Moniz, University of Coimbra, Reitoria, Coimbra, Portugal**

Gonçalo Canto Moniz is an Architect and Senior Lecturer, Department of Architecture, Centre for Social Studies, University of Coimbra. He is the author of several articles on modern school architecture and author of the book:


**Hilary Monk, Faculty of Education, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia**

Dr. Hilary Monk is a lecturer in early childhood education at Monash University, Melbourne, Australia. She is a full member of the Child and Community Development Faculty Research Group. Her research Interests include: Family pedagogy, Intergenerational families, Cultural-historical theory, Visual methodologies and Adult education.
Hilary’s latest publications include:


**Jesús Romero Morante, Department of Education, Cantabria University, Spain**

Jesús Romero Morante is professor of Social Science Education in the Department of Education at Cantabria University (Spain), and belongs to the group of educational research and innovation known as Fedicaria. He has written several books and a handful articles on social science teaching and education for citizenship, history of the curriculum, the didactic use of information technology and teacher training policies. He is also Associate Editor (Spanish language) of the journal Education Policy Analysis Archives (Arizona, USA).

**Anabel Moriña Díez, University of Seville, Spain**

Anabel Moriña Díez, P.hD in Education, University of Seville, Associate Professor. She is the author of the article:


**Reza Najafbagy, Islamic Azad University, Tehran, Iran**

Reza Najafbagy is currently Director of the Ph D Public Administration Program, at the Faculty of Management and Economics at the Islamic Azad University, in Tehran, Iran. She has conducted extensive research on comparative
management of multinational corporations and local enterprises in Arab countries.

**Romuald Normand, Ecole Normale Supérieure, Lyon, France**

Romuald Normand is Associate-Professor of Education at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, Lyon, France. He works on education policies in a comparative and sociological perspective focusing on the issues of Europeanization, policy borrowing, global expertise and the transformation of the State. Fulbright scholar, he is also a member of the editorial board of the British Journal of Sociology of Education, Link-Convenor of the ECER network “Sociologies of European Education” and co-editor of the Routledge book series “Sociologies of European Education with Martin Lawn and Kerstin Martens.


One of Romuald’s recent works has been published by Peter Lang (2011): Gouverner la réussite scolaire. Une arithmétique politique des inégalités [Governing academic success. Political arithmetic inequality], Bern (Switzerland).

**Arevik Ohanyan, Eurasia International University, Yerevan, Armenia**

Arevik Ohanyan is the head of the Quality Assurance Centre at Eurasia International University in Yerevan, Armenia. She was a visiting scholar at the Centre for International Higher education at Boston College, in the framework of the junior faculty development programme.
Susan J. Paik, School of Educational Studies, Claremont Graduate University, California, USA

Susan J. Paik, Ph.D., is an Associate Professor in the School of Educational Studies at Claremont Graduate University. Her research interests include urban and international studies, educational productivity, minority learning and talent, family-school-community partnerships, research methods and evaluation. She has participated in education projects in Africa, Asia, Central America, Europe, and the U.S, where she founded and directed an urban program for minority youth.

Dr. Paik currently serves on several advisory boards including the Editorial Board of the American Educational Research Journal – Social and Institutional Analysis, a prestigious publication of AERA. She is also an advisory board member for Partnerships for Educational Excellence & Research (PEER)—A South African Schools Partnership Project, European Research Network About Parents in Education Scientific Committee, and several advisory committees at Claremont Graduate University.


Mauro Palumbo, Faculty of Educational Sciences, University of Genoa, Italy

Mauro Palumbo, is a full Professor at the University of Genoa, where he teaches Sociology, Methodology and Techniques of Social Research at the Faculty of Educational Sciences.

From 2006 to 2009 he was Director of the Department of Anthropological Sciences and since November 2009 has been President of PERFORM (Centre of continuous training of the University of Genoa). He’s also been President of Italian Evaluation Association from 2005 to 2007.

Since 1975 till now he has written more than 150 essays and books on methodology of social research, evaluation, local
and regional policies and planning, social inequalities and social mobility.

Mauro has also taken part as speaker or organizer of many meetings regarding evaluation of public policies, social inequality, training and labour policies, assessment of social policies. He’s member of the board of some Italian sociological Reviews and Director of the Book Series “Evaluation”, published by FrancoAngeli (Milan).

**Pat Petrie, Institute of Education, University of London, England**

Pat Petrie is Professor in Education at the Institute of Education, University of London, where she heads the Centre for Understanding Social Pedagogy. A strong emphasis in her research has been the role of the social and freetime pedagogue in many sorts of children’s services, from play and day care services to services for children in residential and foster care. She has also examined the place of the arts in pedagogical practice. With Peter Moss she wrote *From Children’s Services to Children’s Spaces*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 2002).

Among Pat’s recent publications is a short book of training material:


**Vicente Chua Reyes, Jr., Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore**

Dr. Vicente Chua Reyes, Jr. is Assistant Professor in the Policy and Leadership Studies Academic Group of the National Institute of Education (NIE) - Nanyang Technological University (NTU). He is the Programme Coordinator for the Doctor in Education Programme of NIE. Dr. Reyes is a Fellow of the Centre for Chinese Studies of the Republic of China (Taiwan) and is also a Visiting Fellow of the National Taiwan Normal University. He also pursues research inquiries into governance and its impact on educational policy and practice. He has published research

**Luisa Ribolzi, National Agency for the Assessment of University and Research Institutions (ANVUR), Rome, Italy**

Luisa Ribolzi, professor of sociology of education, is now working at ANVUR (National Agency for the Assessment of University and Research Institutions). Luisa Ribolzi has conducted research mainly in the field of sociology of education. This dealt with the institutional aspects of training, especially with regard to the organizational and public/private relationship (The system cast. Autonomy, choice and quality in the Italian school, in 2000 II; Choice family and school autonomy in Europe, 2003, A. Maccarini, Italy, the impossible choice, in Regulating schools to promote 'civic values, Brookings Institution, Washington, 2004) to the evaluation of systems (assessment in autonomous schools, 2001), and the professionalism of teachers, as well as issues about the relationship between school and the labor market, even in the international arena.

As the coordinator of the group of sociologists of education, Luisa has edited a collective volume (Form Teachers, 2002). As part of the transition between education and sociology of the family, explored the theme of family participation in school governance (family, school and social capital in Donati P. (Eds.), Family and Social Capital in Italian society, CISF eighth Report on the Family in Italy, Sao Paulo, Milan, 2003).

With regard to educational policies, Luisa has also published with P. Ferratini and V. Campione:
Introductions to our Associate Editors


Ellen Rosell, Troy University, Alabama, USA

Dr. Ellen Rosell has a Doctorate of Public Administration, a Masters of Social Work from the University of Georgia and a BA in Sociology from Columbus University. She is an associate professor with the Troy University Master of Public Administration Program. Her publications include articles in Policy Studies Journal, Public Personnel Management Journal, and Urban Affairs Quarterly, and chapters in Public Works Administration: Modern Public Policy Perspectives, in Case Studies in Public Budgeting and Financial Management and in Así es la Vida: Life, Death and In-Between on the U.S. - Mexico Border.

Ellen’s research focuses on public-private partnerships in infrastructure development, citizen participation in public policy making, and immigration.

Alessandra Samoggia, University of Bologna, Italy

Alessandra Samoggia is Associate Professor of Demography, Faculty of Statistical Sciences, University of Bologna. Her publications include:


Janice R. Sandiford, PhD is Professor Emeritus, Higher Education at Florida International University. She is a member and presenter at the Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE). Her latest work is about Sub-Saharan Africa. Janice has been major professor or reader for over 100 doctoral students.

Hannu Simola, Sociology and Politics of Education, University of Helsinki. Hannu Simola’s research areas range from the socio-historical construction of schooling and teaching to education policy and politics with a focus on the effects of quality assurance and evaluation (QAE) as a new technology of governance in education. His current research examines problems of education policy transfer, in particular how the trans-national meets the national and the local in policy and politics of education.

Christine Skelton, University of Birmingham, England.

Christine Skelton is a Professor of Gender Equality in Education at the University of Birmingham, UK. Christine Skelton has been the recipient of two book prizes from the Society of Educational Studies for her co-authored book with Becky Francis, Feminism and ‘The Schooling Scandal (awarded in 2010) and monograph Schooling the Boys (awarded 2002).

Teresa Susinos, Faculty of Education, University of Cantabria, Santander, Spain

Teresa Susinos is Associate Professor of Education. Faculty of Education, University of Cantabria in Santander, Spain. Her main research interests are: Inclusive education and students’ voice.
Introductions to our Associate Editors

Jaak Umborg, Estonian Aviation Academy, Tartu, Estonia
Jaak Umborg PhD, Estonian Aviation Academy, professor, Head of the Communication and Navigation Department

Ilmars Viksne, School of Business Administration Turība, Riga, Latvia
Dr.sc.ing Ilmars Viksne is vice rector for scientific affairs of the School of Business Administration Turība and is Editor – in – chief of Acta Prosperitatis.

Theo Wubbels, Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Utrecht University, Holland
Theo Wubbels, PhD, is a Professor of Education and Associate Dean for Academic affairs at the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences at Utrecht University the Netherlands. His main research interests developed in his career from the pedagogy of physics education, via problems and supervision of beginning teachers and teaching and learning in higher education to studies of learning environments and especially interpersonal relationships in education.

Theo was the co-editor of ‘Do You Know What You Look Like?’ (1993, Falmer Press) and has published over 180 peer refereed articles in scientific journals. He also co-edited Linking Practice and Theory. The Pedagogy of Realistic Teacher Education (2001, Lawrence Erlbaum associates), which was translated into German (2002), Japanese and Czech (2010). He is fellow of the American Educational Research Association.

Hong Xiao, University of Canterbury, New Zealand
Dr Hong XIAO specialises in the sociolinguistics of Chinese language. Her current research interests include minority language issues in China, language use among Chinese in New Zealand and teaching and learning Chinese as a second/foreign language.
Her publications on education and culture include:


**Irēna Žogla, University of Latvia, Riga, Latvia**

Irēna Žogla, Dr.habil.paed., is a professor at the University of Latvia. Irēna’s academic profile includes educational courses (inquiry in teachers’ professional activities, development of learning motives, theories of teaching-learning, investigation in formal educational processes) for bachelor, professional, master’s and doctoral programmes. Irēna’s research profile includes teacher education and further professional development.

**Andra Zvirbule-Berzina, Latvia University of Agriculture, Jelgava, Latvia**

Dr.oec., associate professor Andra Zvirbule-Berzina Latvia University of Agriculture Faculty of Economics Head of the Department of Enterpreneurship and Management. Her recent publications include:


Series Editor Guy Tchibozo - Cultures of Education Series.

This series looks at what we do in education from different cultural perspectives. Each volume in the series illustrates by examples culturally different values, attitudes and purposes that stakeholders in education bring to common issues we all face in the global enterprise of Education. The fundamental purpose of the series is for our readers to not only compare how our colleagues in other countries approach our common problems, but to appreciate why they do it their way and, perhaps, for us to realise that we might need to question the meanings of what we do and why we do it.

Guy Tchibozo is a Professor of Education at The University of Limoges, France. He has worked at Strasbourg University and also worked as an expert in the field of vocational education and training research at the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP). His teaching and research address the relationships between education and work; in particular individual and institutional processes and strategies and policies in the fields of school-to-work transition, vocational education and training.

Cultures of Education Policy - Editor Béatrice Boufoy-Bastick

This is the third handbook in the series 'International Cultures of Education'. It is in two independent volumes - the work of 131 contributors from 29 countries. This is the second volume. It addresses Education Policy issues related to 'Economic influences, Standards and Governance'. The handbook offers a novel integrative approach and alternative resolutions to the international issues and concerns reported in its forty-two chapters by using a Culturometric analysis of related global and local (glocal) influences of neoliberal policy on education from the unifying fundamental perspective of individual and institutional Cultural Identity – its expression, promotion and survival.

Béatrice Boufoy-Bastick is an International University Exchange Coordinator and Senior Lecturer in French and TESOL at the University of the West Indies, Trinidad. She is an experienced academic writer and empirical researcher on culture in its multifarious forms. She has explored comparative cultures and shared her fascination with cultural diversity through her lecturing in different cultural settings across four continents. These rich cultural experiences have focused her pluri-cultural pedagogic research and led her to initiate the research field of Culturometrics.