Educational Leadership for Results or for Learning? Contrasting Directions in Times of Transition

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Educational leadership, like educational systems and schooling, is steered by the national political, professional and social contexts in which it occurs. In recent years, managerialist values have informed the policies of many governments and 'new public management' challenges the ideals of 'progressive humanistic leadership' in schools in many countries. The former approach is driven by results and demands for accountability whereas the latter favours an holistic, child-centred approach to leadership in which educational leaders at both system and school levels adopt a proactive, empowering and participative approach based on humane values of personal and organisational learning. Newly professionalised educational managers in the transforming systems of central and east Europe face the difficult task of reconciling these two differing directions. Scholars, researchers and developers of educational leadership have a key role to play in helping to deepen understanding of the dilemmas created by these contradictory trends.

As a field of study, educational management has a history of around three decades (for a wide-ranging overview of the field of educational management see Bush, Bell, Bolam, Glatter, and Ribbins 1999). Its literature has grown at an accelerating rate along with the professionalisation of educational management. Up to one third of teachers in some countries are now managers or coordinators of other professionals in their organisations. In the countries of central and east Europe that are undergoing fundamental transition, some complex and difficult choices about schooling and educational management are needed. In impoverished education sectors with little prospect of substantial increases in public funding, which is the appropriate road of transition to follow? After a brief examination of the changing context of educational management, I shall distinguish between two broad roads:

1. *'New public management'* or *'leading for results'* – the drive led by politicians for higher, measurable, visible standards of effectiveness and efficiency and equity to meet the challenges of global competition in a rapidly changing world.

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2. *'Progressive humanistic leadership'* or *'leading for learning'* – leadership that seeks to empower professional staff and young people based on principles of humanism, democratic citizenship and holistic personal and organisational learning.

These are highly generalised categories that label complex meanings. The former is the main politically driven direction in most OECD countries led by the UK and the USA. The latter is more associated with current policy and leadership practices in the Scandinavian countries although it has advocates among education professionals in many countries (see OECD 2001). The roads are not completely separate and sometimes intersect. Different ideologies and orientations underpin both. However, the tension between these two roads is widespread and presents educational leaders with dilemmas that are difficult to reconcile. They give rise to a number of trends in educational management that impact with varying force in different national contexts.

Contexts and Change

Educational management is strongly influenced by the political and social contexts that steer school systems in certain directions. Globalisation, post-modernity, advances in social and neuro-science, historical traditions, social and political reconstruction provide the context for educational change. In recent decades, these contexts have been steering education at an accelerating rate towards change. Education is seen as part of an 'unfinished revolution' (Abbott and Ryan 2000) that is being driven in directions not always clear and often confusing or contradictory. The forces that drive educational policy forward include a combination of political, professional and public pressures that operate differently from country to country. However, the common experience is increased uncertainty, accelerating change and a consequent 'educational crisis.'

A new discourse of globalisation has arisen which leads most countries to perceive an 'educational crisis' that is affecting the ability of nations to compete in the global market. Bottery (1999) discerns in 'managerial globalisation' a global picture of management practice in which there is a convergence of the business and public sector 'codes' leading to the use of concepts such as quality, competence, target setting, empowerment and learning organisation in the public as well as private sectors. This convergence between management in the private and public sectors has contributed to both of the roads outlined in this paper. The positivistic, neo-Taylorism represented in new public management contrasts

Table 1: First and second order educational changes

'First Order' Educational Changes	'Second Order' Educational Changes
• Constructivist learning approaches • Brain-based teaching methods ('accelerated learning') • Teaching for understanding ('deep learning') • Development of 'key skills' (communication, emotional intelligence, problem-solving) • Student self-evaluation • Collaborative group learning • Problem-based learning • Commitment to life-long learning	*Associated with new public management* • Results-based accountability for pre-specified standards and targets • Market competition between schools • Staff appraisal and performance-related pay *Associated with professional empowerment* • Restructuring of the school as a professional learning community • Transformational school leadership (vision, mission, strategy, re-culturing, learning organisation) • Continuing school-based professional development CPD

strongly with the learning organisation principles linked to progressive humanistic leadership, but both derive from business management theory and practice.

Educational reform in most economically developed countries in recent years has involved centralised mandated change in curriculum and assessment and a deluge of reforms imposed by central government (bureaucratic control). At the same time budgets and the implementation of policy mandated by national governments have been decentralised to local levels, either directly to schools, or to district administrations (one aspect of professional empowerment). These simultaneous but contradictory trends of central bureaucratic control and a deregulated educational market provide a backdrop to the changing nature of educational management. In response to widespread criticism of schooling in the press and by politicians (labelled the 'discourse of derision') both strategies of centralised control and decentralised professional empowerment have been promoted in an effort 'drive up standards' in order to compete more successfully in the global market. Some writers see the struggle between bureaucratic control and personal empowerment as part of the 'transition to postmodernity' (Hargreaves 1994).

The changes that are promoted can be seen as 'first order' relating to the core functions of schooling (learning, teaching, socialisation), or 'second order' changes in policy and infrastructure to support 'first order' changes (Leithwood, Jantzi, and Steinbach 1999). Some first and second order changes are identified in Table 1.

Essentially first order changes are concerned with teaching and learning whereas second order changes have more to do with leadership, policy and management. It is hard to show how second order changes bring about first order changes, if at all. Furthermore, the two groups of second order changes are difficult to achieve, complex and frequently at odds with each other. There is a fundamental tension between external accountability to the state bureaucracy or the 'hidden hand' of the market of new public management on the one hand, and the autonomy associated with professional empowerment on the other hand.

The lack of congruence between first and second order changes is clearly illustrated by the application of managerialist approaches to accountability and standards that have been introduced into the public sector from the business world. Some analysts see a radical change in the way education is perceived. They refer to the 'commodification' of education-turning learning into a measurable commodity that can be graded and measured. And with this commodification, the role of leadership becomes corporate, imitating the way a Chief Executive of a business enterprise uses profitability or 'value-added' to account for performance (Grace 1995). This concern for 'levering up standards' has led to a concentration on raising the scores of pupils on national standardised tests and examinations. The publication and comparison of school results in the form of league tables allows parents to choose the 'best schools' in a competitive consumer market of schooling. The consequence of this 'second order' change has been that teachers are diverted from the first order changes listed in Table 1. Instead, they are forced to focus on 'tactical learning' or teaching for the test instead of promoting the 'deep learning' of key skills in preparation for life-long learning. This clearly represents an unintended consequence of the attempt to raise standards. There is considerable concern that the rapid expansion of educational management activity (second order change) has become disconnected from the core purposes of schooling.

The transforming states of central Europe, particularly the candidate countries for EU accession, are driven by the imperative of matching the standards of education systems in the EU. Educational managers and policy makers in these countries will have to strike a balance between contrasting managerialist and progressive values that we have labelled 'new public management' and 'progressive humanistic leadership.' The former is associated with neo-liberal or 'new right' political ideology and neo-Taylorist managerialism whereas the latter is a continuation of post-

war welfare state consensus and progressive educational values that are in retreat in public policy, though not in the professional literature, in OECD countries in general. Each will now be examined in more detail.

New Public Management

In 1988, the British education system was radically redirected. The biggest Education Reform Act for 40 years introduced many fundamental changes that consolidated the managerialist approach and challenged the progressive values that prevailed in the 60s and 70s. The reforms of education were part of a major overhaul of all the public services that has come to be known as 'new public management.' Two aspects of managerialism-accountability to the central bureaucracy and accountability to the educational market-shifted power from school and local authority management. For example, a national curriculum and standardised national tests and examinations at ages 7, 11, 14 and 16 replaced the autonomy of each school to design its own curriculum. At the same time, local educational authority control of schools was largely replaced by delegated budgeting which gave each school the responsibility of fulfilling the aims of the prescribed national curriculum. Schools had to compete for students in an educational market place in which the 'consumers' (parents) chose between schools based on their performance in raising standards defined by test results. The results determined the place of the school in published 'League Tables' that took no account of the nature of the student intake in each school.

In addition, an apparently rigorous national system of school inspection was created that gives numerical grades to schools from 'excellent' to 'failing.' The grades are based on a process of aggregating the scores given to teachers whose lessons were observed three times during the one-week visit of a team of private inspectors subcontracted by the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED). These inspections are based on standards set out in a handbook and a 40-page inspection report is produced for each school. A summary of the report is sent to all parents. OFSTED inspections have had a major impact on the life and work of schools but they remain controversial. Apart from the stress they have generated and the view that they distract teachers from working with pupils due to the heavy load of paper work, they have been severely criticised for their lack of reliability and validity. Fitz-Gibbon (1996) refers to the judgements of the inspectors as 'inaccurate guessing' about student progress in the absence of hard evidence. Since 1997, over 650 out of 25,000 schools in-

spected have been graded as 'failing' and placed under 'special measures' requiring drastic action referred to as a 'Fresh Start' which usually involves replacing the school leadership team. Alternatively, such schools can become 'City Academies' and be taken over by private firms. So also can local education authorities that are found to be 'failing' by the inspectors (Department for Education and Skills [dfes] 2001).

It is significant that a major consulting firm from the business world formulated the legislation on delegated budgeting, justifying the approach as follows (Coopers and Lybrand 1988):

> Good management requires the identification of management units for which objectives can be set and resources allocated. The unit is then required to manage itself within those resources in a way which seeks to achieve the objectives. The performance of the unit is monitored and the unit is held to account for its performance and its use of funds. These concepts are just as applicable to the public sector as they are to the private sector.

This view of 'rational management', thought to be equally relevant to private and public sector management, follows in the tradition of the scientific management movement, management by objectives (mbo) or Taylorism. It assumes that human beings have to be driven to meet objectives and that they will only be efficient in their work if they are managed, controlled and supervised in ways that secure the required output for the organisation. The implementation of rational management has become subtler in recent years. As Bennett (1997) notes, in modern versions of scientific management, managers can direct and control through the construction of self-regulating organisational systems rather than direct supervision. In this way, the qualities of the learning organisation (see below) are brought into the service of rational management.

In a more traditional version of managerialism, Darling-Hammond (1995) describes the American state schools as 'hierarchical, factory model institutions where teachers, treated as semi-skilled assembly-line workers, process student for their slots in society.' New public management seems, for many commentators, a return to this productivity and output-based model of schooling in spite of the emphasis on diversification and specialist schools. Managerialism is the assumption that management is the solution to many organisational problems and that management is an end in itself, rather than a means to some greater

end (Oldroyd and Brzdąk 2002). Grace (1995) describes 'the changing discourse of state schooling' in terms of a new vocabulary based on the school as a 'production-function centre.' In the new discourse, schools are now concerned with 'adding value' for 'customers' in an 'enterprise culture' in which the government and market forces encourage schools to find their 'market niche' and 'unique selling points.' The British government is aiming to have 1500 secondary schools designated as 'specialist schools' by 2006. It is also currently experimenting with value-added approaches to measurement of pupils and school improvement in 200 schools (DFES 2001). However, within new public management, the force of the market relationships (driven by customer power) is combined with the continuing regulatory power of educational bureaucracy. More power is accruing to the institutional level within the central control frameworks, hence the rise in importance of education management. Simkins (1999) identifies five consequences for school managers of the shift from bureaucratic to entrepreneurial management:

1. *Greater responsibility at school and college level* – stronger leadership in a tight team, chief executive role for the head, empowerment of senior managers.

2. *Cultural distancing* – between 'corporatist' managers and 'individualist' teaching staff.

3. *Structural change* – more managers in schools; delayering with more distance between organisational levels in further education.

4. *Middle management* – more clearly defined delegated powers within a tighter framework of accountability.

5. *Technicist approaches* – strategic and operational planning, 'harder' human resource management including staff appraisal and performance related pay.

The characteristics of new public management combining bureaucratic control with market forces in the education sector can be summarised as follows:

1. Explicit pre-specified standards and performance indicators for student learning, teacher and managerial performance.

2. Stress on inspection and use of published, measurable and standardised results in order to control outputs and provide evidence for 'consumer choice.'

3. Decentralisation of responsibility for budgeting, staffing, maintenance, etc. to districts or schools within a strong national policy and monitoring framework.
4. Introduction of competition between schools (quasi-market forces).
5. Increased influence of clients and stakeholders.
6. More autonomous and entrepreneurial (but also accountable) leadership at school level.
7. Emphasis on efficiency and productivity, value for money and doing more for less.

Many school leaders have welcomed certain aspects of new public management such as school-based management and control of budgets, but many are profoundly opposed to the imposed constraints of the national curriculum, standardised testing, league tables and heavy inspection. While the professional status of managers and their levels of pay have been enhanced, many speak of the deprofessionalising effects on teachers. The weight of these mandated reforms has limited their scope to be creative in meeting the many varied needs of their pupils. In addition, other features of new public management such as teacher appraisal, performance related pay and career ladders cause teachers to complain that they spend too much time 'collecting papers instead of teaching children.' Pupils no longer remain at the centre in the 'audit culture' of new public management with its prime focus on standards and measurable results. The new purpose of schooling seems to focus on published results in a limited number of subjects using narrowly defined 'performance indicators' that encourage 'tactical learning.' The consequence is that school headteachers (Fergusson 1994)

> are becoming distinctive key actors in an essentially managerialist system pursuing objectives and methods that are increasingly centrally determined . . . and who must account for their achievement and ensure compliance of the teaching staff.

Progressive Humanistic Leadership for Democratic Accountability

Progressive humanistic leadership is the main counter-trend to what has just been described. It can be characterised as 'leading for learning' rather than 'leading for results.' It is primarily about professional empowerment and organisational learning, and is driven by values of community and democracy rather than measurable results and the imperatives of economic competitiveness. Leadership is the 'influence exerted to structure

activities and relationships in a group or organisation' (Leithwood et al. 1999). This is done by influencing the actions, beliefs and values of others in forming and implementing policy. This label for the second broad trend in educational management deliberately uses the term leadership as distinct from management. In new public management, the school director and management colleagues manage in the sense of mainly implementing the policies of others, for example, mandates from the state. In progressive humanistic leadership, school leaders assume greater responsibility for leading a learning organisation with a capacity for self-determination and continuous improvement. The term progressive implies that the interests of the 'whole child' or student are placed first and the purpose of schooling is not reduced to 'levering up results' on state mandated tests and examinations. In other words, schooling is about developing human potential, not simply about improving measurable test results. Its agenda is seen as humanistic, person and community-centred – developing 'resourceful humans' equipped, through lifelong learning, to face the postmodern world. This contrasts with the managerialist concept of 'human resources' in which people are seen as resources that must be developed to meet the needs of a productive and competitive economy.

Advances in neuro-science, cognitive psychology and pedagogy have provided new insights into child-centred learning, reinforcing constructivist approaches and offering a fuller appreciation of holistic learning (Smith 1998). In recent years, educational leadership development and school effectiveness research and improvement have increasingly focused on how the second order changes in school organisation and management relate to the core tasks of schooling, such as those set out in Table 1 (Weatherley 2000). The following quotation from Ranson (2000) is typical of the sometimes romantic progressive humanistic perspective that he terms 'a new education emerging for a new age':

> During the past decade key research on learning has critically re-evaluated the dominant paradigm and proposed values and practices that amount to a new culture of learning. Education has traditionally been shaped by too narrow a conception of purpose, of human capacity, of frameworks of learning and of assessment. The central principles informing the new pedagogy of capability for active citizenship are:
>
> • reconnect learning to living through preparation for active citizenship;

- enhance the capacity for participation and dialogue;
- understand all the needs of the learner, especially emotional well-being;
- promote active learning for developing responsible as well as reflective learners.

Learning for life (not tests), community, participation, reflection and dialogue are all aspects of the humanistic vision for schooling and leadership. They apply both to students and teachers and there is considerable congruence between the work of teachers and school leaders because of the central concern for learning. The focus on deep learning becomes the key to progressive leadership, not the preoccupation with tactical or surface learning that results from teaching to improve test results. It also distinguishes educational leadership from that of the business world.

The proponents of progressive humanistic leadership argue that education systems and institutions differ significantly from business organisations. This is because of the special purpose of schools in preparing critical citizens for democratic participation in community and society.

1. Developing a critical but constructive voice for its own sake (for self and citizenship).
2. Empowering a level of participation better than that needed for the 'best results.'
3. Helping the next adult generation search for and vocalise the means for a 'good society.'
4. Recognising that public institutions are about equity and justice not just profit and loss, economy and efficiency.
5. Ensuring that employees in those institutions are good role models for the young.

Child-centred progressive education has a long history and its principles are congruent with more recent organisational learning theory and practice associated with the 'learning organisation' or, to use a more recent term, 'professional learning communities.' Management is replaced in learning organisations by transformational leadership that empowers the staff to participate in decision-making and problem-solving and commits them to continuing self and school improvement. This is a form of leadership that is based on respect rather than power, just as progressive, child-centred teaching seeks to empower the child as an autonomous learner.

As an alternative to the factory metaphor of American schools quoted earlier, Darling-Hammond (1995) proposes schools as 'professional communities where student success is supported by the collaborative efforts of knowledgeable teachers who are organised to address the needs of diverse learners.' Such professional communities are based on trust and a willingness to collaborate in the quest for continuous improvement. Trust requires a high level of mutual predictability and shared aims and involves trusting both persons and processes. It allows staff to become 'critical friends' who are:

1. At a personal level-assertive and confident enough in relationships to give and receive constructive feedback.
2. In relation to processes-willing to engage in experiment, shared decision-making and creative problem-solving, networking, action research and continuing professional development.

The personal and the professional dimensions of trust need to be brought together in a professional learning community. The larger and more bureaucratic the organisation, the harder this is to achieve, which partly explains the frequently noted cultural differences between small primary schools and more factory-like secondary schools.

The most influential theorist of the learning organisation, Senge (1990), uses three archetypes of the leader of such professional learning communities:

- *Designer* – of structures and processes that contribute to a culture of continuous learning for all members of the organisation.
- *Steward* – of the self-respect and release of actualising potential of the staff; guardian of the shared vision of the organisation.
- *Teacher* – who helps the staff, through 'generative dialogue', to examine their mental maps of reality and to see the 'big picture' behind events and patterns of behaviour.

These functions need to be spread across all leaders in the organisation and system at all levels. Learning organisations are not divided into 'thinkers' (top management) and 'doers' (the workforce). All participants, especially in schools that are organisations staffed with professionals, should engage in a continuous process of thinking, doing, reviewing and reflecting that is facilitated by leaders at every level. In the classroom where the teacher is the leader, there are now many calls to promote key skills (communication, inter-personal relations, creative problem-solving, etc.) as part of the process of 'learning to learn.' This involves

helping learners to become more self-aware and able to use metacognition (thinking about their thinking) and metacommunication (communicating about their communication) as a preparation for life-long learning. These ambitions for the classroom closely parallel the ideals for the school as a whole. This view of the relation between the progressive teacher and learners is similar to that of the leader as designer, steward and teacher-the progressive humanistic leader. Both in the school and in the classroom, these conceptions of leadership are radically different from traditional teaching and educational management.

Progressive humanistic leadership is about leading first and second order changes within the school rather than being reformed through external mandates. Structural solutions to educational change such as new curricula and syllabi, new examinations, reorganised types of school are politically popular but are less enduring than cultural changes from within that are supported by the school's own community of local stakeholders, in particular, the teaching staff. School cultures are deeper and less transitory than the attempted interventions from the external structures of the state. Since the seventies there have been many examples of schools that have operated a collegial, team-based approach to creating what Joyce et al. (1999) call an 'inquiring workplace.' Teacher development is embedded in the workplace. Teachers work collaboratively in an information-rich environment, participate in decision-making, engage in action research, behave as 'critical friends' in giving and receiving feedback and are committed to continuous improvement. Leadership is diffused and empowering in order to create the conditions in which such a development culture can thrive.

Table 2 summarises the broad distinctions between the two models of educational leadership that emerge from the above discussion.

Discerning the Trends

Along the two roads of educational management or leadership mapped above, a number of more specific trends can be discerned.

PROFESSIONALISATION

Since the early eighties in the UK and earlier in the US, the creation of educational management as a distinct profession has proceeded very rapidly. In the mid-nineties EU educational development aid projects stimulated the transition countries of central and east Europe and the former Soviet Union to professionalise educational leadership. For ex-

Table 2: Two trends compared

New Public Management 'Leading for results'	Progressive Humanistic Leadership 'Leading for learning'
• Manager with chief executive role	• Leader with educative role
• Transactional Leadership	• Transformational leadership
• 'Strong leader'	• 'Diffused leadership'
• Mandated reform, politically driven	• Learning organisation, professionally led
• Top-down decision-making	• Participative decision-making
• 'Heavy' external inspection	• School self-evaluation
• National Curriculum	• School-based curriculum development
• National Testing and League	• Teacher assessment of pupils
• Tables Focus on aggregated results	• Caring holistically for individual pupils
• Staff development prescribed nationally	• School-based staff development
• Performance related pay	• Developmental appraisal and mentoring
• Governance by the market	• Self-governing schools
• Audit culture of accountability	• Collaborative development culture
• Managing human resources	• Developing resourceful humans

ample, Poland, following a series of major educational projects and reforms, has recently expanded the requirement for school leaders to acquire qualifications and engage in continuing professional development programmes. The technical professionalisation of education management will be complete when specific qualifications in educational management have to be obtained before the role can be assumed, which is now the case in several countries.

INTENSIFICATION AND STRESS

One reason for this extension of the 'diploma disease' is the intensification of the role of leadership. As more responsibilities are delegated, the tasks both widen and deepen, demanding a greater pool of knowledge, skills and resourcefulness than ever before. The consequence of this increased challenge has been to create difficulties in recruiting headteachers in some countries and much higher incidence of stress among school leaders. Hargreaves (1994) points to two types of guilt that professionals in school experience as a result of the mounting pressures from both within and outside the school:

- 'Persecutory guilt' – when it proves difficult to meet the incessant demands of accountability and imposed reform.
- 'Depressive guilt' – when one feels one is letting down one's own

teachers, pupils and family in failing to meet their aspirations due to the excessive burden of work.

MULTIPLE ROLES AND DIFFUSED LEADERSHIP

There are numerous menus outlined in the literature on educational leadership. Management is seen as a sub-set of leadership. Leithwood et al. (1999) describe six categories of educational leadership, each with a different focus:

1. *Instructional* – strong focus on pupil learning and development.
2. *Transformational* – focus on the commitment and capacities of the teachers and empowering them to share and reach organisational goals.
3. *Moral* – focus on their own values and ethics in relation to democracy, social justice.
4. *Participative* – focus on sharing decision-making with stakeholders in the face of ambiguity and a constantly changing environment.
5. *Managerial* – focus on functions, tasks and behaviours adopting a rationalist approach to supervision and control of inputs, processes and outputs.
6. *Contingent* – focus on responding to unique situations and solving problems that arise in a variety of ways.

This is a daunting list for any single leader to accomplish, which is one reason why diffused or distributed leadership is advocated in learning organisations. Maybe a third of all teachers in a school structured as collaborative, team-based, professional learning communities have a leadership role with other adults. Policy-making and responsibility for implementation and review are therefore widely shared in a learning organisation.

FOCUS ON CULTURAL CHANGE FROM WITHIN

A simple definition of culture is 'the way we do things around here' – the way members of a school talk, think, act and believe. It is strongly affected by the fluctuating 'climate' of inter-personal relationships that prevail on a daily basis. The new public management model of leadership fails to address culture and the unique qualities of every school. Organisational culture cannot be controlled. It can only be facilitated or encouraged in certain directions through example, policy and practice. Culture evolves and changes incrementally and is much influenced by the

history and 'organisational memory' of each school. Thus a school staff with a track record of failed innovation will probably take on further reforms reluctantly. Leaders have a choice of how they use their power and influence. They can exercise their power 'over, through or with' their colleagues. When 'power over' (controlling) is used, the person being led has the position of a sub-ordinate. When 'power with' (collaborating) is used, the so-called subordinate is empowered. Thus the way leaders use their power, influences rather than controls the direction in which a culture will evolve and the capacity for learning and dealing with new challenges.

INCREASING COMPLEXITY, AMBIGUITY AND DILEMMAS

School leaders are the gate-keepers between the school and the external administrative and social influences. They have to satisfy the ever-increasing and often contradictory demands of multiple stakeholders: government, parents, business and local community. As outlined above, three types of accountability (demands for quality) press in on the school:

- *Administrative accountability* – compliance with laws, regulations and mandatory reforms.
- *Market accountability* – ensuring that the school maintains its results and reputation in order to satisfy its 'customers' and to recruit sufficient students.
- *Democratic accountability* – responding to the specific needs of the parents and pupils, the local community and to the needs of the state for the next generation of democratic citizens.

These contrasting demands from the outside are accompanied by internal demands from staff and students. Together they add up to a major intensification of the work of educational leadership. When school leaders fulfil a bureaucratic role of carrying out orders from central administration, as in former times, their work is considerably less complicated. Now they are assailed by many dilemmas such as:

- encouraging reflection and critical practice while coping with the intensification of both their own and their teachers' work;
- influencing a caring school culture while 'levering up results';
- building a professional learning community while competing in the educational market place;
- caring for deviant pupils while protecting other pupils from them.

CONVERGENCE OF MANAGING AND TEACHING

There are strong parallels between how schools and classrooms are managed. 'Leading for results' and the pressures of new public management send strong messages about how teachers might relate to their pupils. So does 'leading for learning' with its person-centred, holistic values. The author's recent experience of the contrasting effects of the two roads in schools in England and Sweden is illuminating. In the English school the senior staff allocated a large amount of teachers' time to providing extra coaching to students whose grades in the external examination for 16-year olds might be raised from 'D' to 'C.' The position of the school in the League Tables depends on the proportion of pupils gaining 5 grade 'C's or more. In the Swedish school, art, music and drama were used across the whole curriculum to maintain a 'lust for learning' through the adolescent years. In the eighth year (15-year-olds) a year-long project involved all the students in researching, writing, producing and performing a musical drama or comedy that was presented to the local community – a 'real-life' challenge full of deep learning experiences. The Swedish school leaders were driven by a vision of empowering their pupils and the teaching and non-teaching staff. Both pupils and adults collaborated in work teams in a highly active and participative way.

A professional learning community not only 'manages' (gets results) it also learns. Figure 1 suggests how a rational management cycle of results can be combined with a cycle of learning. This simple model might point the way to a reconciliation of the two roads we have been considering.

External feedback and comparison with other schools can enrich both cycles. The school in England was inspected and graded by OFSTED, including in its report more 'measured results' for lessons observed. The Swedish school chose to engage consultants to promote 'evaluation
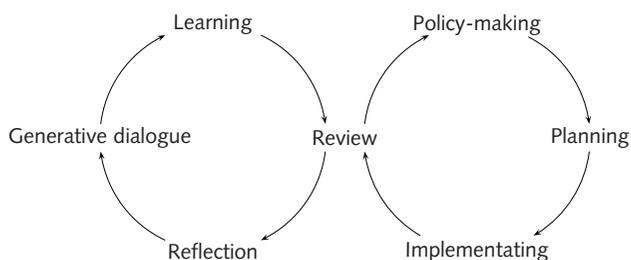

Figure 1: Leading for Learning and Results

through dialogue' that included feedback to the work teams of an analysis of letters to the evaluators written by teachers and pupils to reveal the deeper realities of the school culture (for a fuller account see Oldroyd and Hogberg 2002).

MANY PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

The rise of educational management as a profession has been seen through different academic perspectives. Positivistic scientific management and phenomenological humanistic perspectives underlie what has already been presented in the above analysis. To these one can add, for example, the perspectives of critical theory that portrays educational management as serving the interests of the corporate state, and feminism that presents the case that educational management is still patriarchal, hierarchic, masculine and gender-blind. Techno-rational, phenomenological and critical perspectives each have their own extensive and accelerating literatures that lie well beyond the reach of most practitioners and even most academics as well as this paper!

The Challenge of Educational Leadership:
Travelling Two Roads

Dealing with dilemmas is the stuff of educational leadership. Current school traditions and structures arose from the 19th and early 20th century models of mass production that aimed to produce workers with basic skills to enter a largely predictable industrial world. These structures are not designed to 'help teachers work together more effectively in collaborative cultures of positive risk and continuous improvement' (Hargreaves 1994). Nor are the imposed requirements of new public management for levering up standards conducive to organisational learning or the deeper and broader purposes of 21st century education. Nevertheless, the desire for politicians to direct and control education systems will persist. In central Europe the full professionalisation and provision of truly professional salaries and conditions of employment will be a long time in coming. Even in the relatively affluent western nations educational leaders find it hard to reconcile the contradictory directions of the two roads – 'leading for results' and 'leading for learning.' Progressive humanistic leadership in professional learning communities remains an ideal arising from theory, research and practice that is desirable but not always feasible to implement within current political and social contexts. Nevertheless, it is imperative that the community of academics and leadership devel-

opers keep these ideals alive, as leaders at every level of education tread the road of transition.

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Four Transitions for Leadership Development. CURRENT FOCUS.Ä For a long time we have thought about leadership development as working out what competencies a leader should possess and then helping individual managers to develop them â€" much as a bodybuilder tries to develop different muscle groups. Research over the last 20 years on how adults develop, clarifies one reason why many intervie-wees have grown weary of the competency model as the sole means for developing leaders.Â In contrast, vertical development aims to expand the glass itself. Not only does the glass have increased capacity to take in more content, the structure of the vessel itself has been transformed (the managerâ€™s mind grows bigger). resulted in role ambiguity and role overload for school principals. This paper explores the role of the principal of self-managing schools, especially as the role relates to educational leadership over the next decade. Several themes in the educational reforms likely to emerge and grow across national settings over the next 10 years are explored. The next section presents three interconnected perspectives on educational leadership (the cultural/school-transformation perspective, the strategic/results-driven perspective, and the linking-management-support-to-educational-improvement perspective)... Educational leaders work in a challenging and complex environment and it is encouraging that we found very good leadership in around forty percent of cases and good leadership in around a further forty-five percent. These figures are very positive but they also mean that around fifteen percent of evaluations of leadership were weak or unsatisfactory.Â Leadership for Learning. One of the main challenges facing Scottish education is to build on existing strength to create an excellent educational experience and successful outcomes for learners of all ages. Developing leadership is not just about honing the skills of those in the most senior positions, important though that undoubtedly is.Â Effective liaison and collaboration are taking place at points of transition. Effective education leadership makes a difference in improving learning. Thereâ€™s nothing new or especially controversial about that idea.Â These results, therefore, point to the value of changing, or adding to, the leadership capacities of underperforming schools as part of their improvement efforts or as part of school reconstitution. 5.Â â€œInstructional leadership,â€ for example, encourages a focus on improving the classroom practices of teachers as the direction for the school. â€œTransformational leadership,â€ on the other hand, draws attention to a broader array of school and classroom conditions that may need to be changed if learning is to improve.