Educational Leadership in an Era of Standardisation

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Introduction

I bring you greetings from my colleagues at the University of Manchester where we work on education policy in regard to public services education in schools and universities. Thank you for the kind invitation to join you today to discuss the very important issue of standardisation in public education services and the relationship to leaders, leading and leadership. In particular I would like to thank Professor Natsuyo Seida (Jissen Women's University) and Dr. Koichi Nakata (Daito Bunka University) for their kind invitation and their hospitality.

Professor Seida and Dr. Nakata met with me in April when I was visiting Japan for a holiday, and we talked through today's conference and the focus of this keynote address in particular. Notably I have been asked to talked about the growing emphasis on standardisation in education services and the relationship with leaders, leading and leadership within and of those services. Today I intend fulfilling that brief by telling the story of the changes that have taken place in educational standards, and the impact this has had on what is meant by leaders, leading and leadership. I will talk about such changes in regard to what is happening in England and in other countries, but also draw out the parallels and implications for your research and practice in Japan.

The slide show and this paper have been translated into Japanese. I will talk to these ideas but I may not follow word for word. If you wish to follow up on my talk then please do not hesitate to contact me.

In addition, I have provided you with a list of recent publications at the end of this talk.

Today's talk is in four parts :

- □ A story from England – I am going to focus on how leaders, leading and leadership was conceptualized and practiced before the 1980s. I will begin this process by focusing on the reality of what it means to be a student and to work in education.

- □ Change, change, change – I am going to focus on the challenges made to this type of leaders, leading and leadership from the 1970s onwards and the changes brought about to learners and learning.

- □ Implications of the changes – I am going to focus on the implications of the changes for leaders, leading and leadership.

- □ Lessons for Japan? I am going to consider the changes currently underway and the questions you should

be asking yourselves.

My argument is that standards and standardisation is an issue for professionals as experts, and when supported by public money in a public education system then it is also a public issue. By using England as a case for this talk I will show that professional standards and standardisation worked well but was also in need of ongoing review and change. However, the changes that took place from the 1980s was based on condemning and removing professional expertise, and replacing it with corporate and technical processes. Consequently, the focus on schools as objective and unitary organisations (or even machine like) intensified, where numbers were focused on organisational, student and workforce failure rather than being used to support inclusive investment and development.

Part 1　A Story from England: a life in numbers

I am going to draw on the situation in England rather than the UK. This is because there is no UK education system, and you need to know that there are four home nations, each with their own education system. Education in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland is a responsibility that is devolved to Edinburgh, Cardiff and Belfast. However, England does not have its own devolved parliament, and so education in England is governed by the UK government in London.

Here are two pictures of myself. The one on the left is when I was in secondary school (age 11-18 years) in the 1970s and the one on the righthand side was taken when I became a professor in 2004 at the University of Manchester. There is much that can be said about what these pictures represent (not least hairstyles) but what they do show is that a child in the 1970s had a school life in numbers – class size, examination results, but not the same as a child in the 2000s. If this picture was of me in the 2018 then I would expect to take a large number of external examinations, and at one point it was upwards of 70. Children in the 21st Century produce numbers – they set targets, sit examinations, and are measured in regard to their outcomes and value added. This testing is high stakes, and a lot depends on it – a student can be prevented from accessing a school or removed from a school if the school decides that their performance is not good enough. A teacher may lose their job if the student outcomes are not good enough, and a school that is identified as a failure may be closed down. This is the world that I inhabit as a professor where numbers dominate my life – citations, h-index scores on Google scholar, student evaluations, and research funding. The value of a professor is judged in terms of numbers.

Important questions need to be addressed:

What has happened to make numbers the most important indicator of educational quality?

And what does this mean for professionals as teachers, and as headteachers/principals?

In order to address these questions, I am going to tell a story about education reform in England. The trends I identify are not only in England, but is evident in a range of western style democracies.

Standards in education

The story begins with a view of quality that is focused on the classroom or lecture theatre. So, in England in the

1970s the issue of quality was about relationality between teachers and children, where the emphasis was on the *educability* and *inclusion* of all children (or the idea that all children can be educated and can benefit from education). This was not achieved, but was a value system for the profession and was an aspiration that underpinned the reform processes. In particular it underpinned the ending of segregation at the age of 11 years and led to the setting up of comprehensive schools.

Standardisation and Quality in Education 1

This is a picture of the sign of school I attended where the photograph was taken. The school no longer exists as it was closed as a part of the recent reform process. More of that later. But when I attended school in the 1970s the focus was on generating aspirations and working for:

- Universal free access – all could attend a school
- Local 'common' school – remove segregation at 11 and have a comprehensive school
- Curriculum – ensure a broad and balanced curriculum, with access to a range of subjects
- Mixed ability teaching with differentiation – recognition of how children learn best together with differentiation to support a range of needs (learning resources, in class teaching assistants)
- Teaching and learning – ensure high standards of teaching with a growing focus on learners and how they learn best.

This trend is a product of the post-1945 investment in public services (such as health) based on a common approach and support for all irrespective of wealth and status.

Standards and Quality in Education 2

When I was a school student in the 1970s and when I was a school teacher in the 1980s the focus on professionals and professionalism meant:

- Graduate profession – working to achieve a teaching profession where all teachers had a first degree.
- Professional credentials – teachers have certification.
- Preparation and Training – teachers are trained, educated and prepared.
- Continuing Professional Development – teachers continue to learn through in-service courses and postgraduate programmes.
- Professionalism and code of practice – teachers have a sense of what a professional means, with a clear code of practice regarding commitment to children.
- Professional autonomy and teams – teachers can work with children on their own but are also part of a team regarding the design of the curriculum and lesson planning.
- Professional integrity and judgement – high standards by teachers are illustrated by public trust in their code of practice and their conduct.

Educational leaders, leading and leadership

The implications of this approach to professional standards and standardisation was the focus on school leaders,

leading and leadership as *educational*. What I mean here was the direct link between children and their learning with the professionals who ran the school. So, we need to focus on leader, what the leader does when they are leading, and how power is exercised as leadership:

Leader: the leader role was focused on the teacher as professional, with a division of labour that enabled recognition of status but also co-ordination and collaboration. Those who took on a leader role in regard to the curriculum or pastoral care, or a whole school role as a senior member of staff e.g. as a headteacher or deputy headteacher, where regarded as people who were dedicated to children's learning and experts in the curriculum, teaching and learning, and assessment. So, a headteacher is a head*teacher*.

Leading: leading was focused on teaching and learning; curriculum; assessment, and increasingly on research and scholarship.

Leadership: is a power process and it was rarely heard in schools until the early 2000s , but research shows that when it was used it tended to mean that the headteacher was first among equals or peers.

Historically in the education system in England there was a strong tradition of autocracy by headteachers, and this is what Gerald Grace calls 'the headmaster tradition' but post 1945 the trend was to work for a more collegial and 'first among equals' culture and practice (Grace 1995).

Part 2　Change, Change, Change

From the 1970s onwards, there were demands for change to public services education in western style democracies such as England. Politically the election of Reagan in the US and the appointment of Thatcher as Prime Minister in the UK led to an attack on the idea and reality of public services. The focus was on rolling back the state, challenging public service profession codes of conduct and practices, and cutting taxation.

This can be illustrated as follows:

Change!

☐ Public education has been too successful. It was recognized that all children had been given access to a high-quality education system, and this did not fit with the Thatcherite ideology of cutting public services and bringing in markets. Public services education was discredited in order to control the power of educational professionals, and enable changes to supply and demand.

☐ Oil crises of the 1970s. It was recognized that the economy was impacted by the increase in the price of oil, and the economic crisis was connected to poor standards in education. In other words, the argument was made that children were not being prepared for work, and that parents did not want their children to have access to the type of inclusive curriculum that the education profession had developed.

☐ Cut taxes. Ideologically Thatcher wanted to cut taxes and stop investment in public services.

☐ Open public services to the market. Ideologically Thatcher wanted to bring in markets, supply and demand into public services. This included selling off public assets or what is called privatization.

☐ Corporate model for public services were presented as modern and dynamic. Ideologically Thatcher wanted to promote the corporate business model instead of public institutions.

☐ Neoliberalism. Ideologically Thatcher was influenced by neoliberal ideas about the market and competition. She argued there was no such thing as society, only individuals and families.

☐ Neoconservatism. Ideologically Thatcher was influenced by neoconservative ideas about how people should conduct themselves, particularly in regard to 'knowing your place', and the importance of the Christian faith.

Overall, the thread that runs through the discourses of the 1980s and 1990s is that 'There Is No Alternative" or TINA to the solutions to the problem of public services education.

There are lots of accounts about how the changes have developed in different places. You may be aware of Sahlberg's (2015) work on Finland where he shows how their system is different from the international trend that he calls *GERM* or the *Global Education Reform Movement* based on privatization. On the slide is the front cover to Diane Ravitch's (2010) book about the American Public School where she tells the story of being a part of the reforms and how she changed her mind in regard to the damage she saw being done by Reagan and later on by Bush with *No Child Left Behind*.

At this moment in the talk I am going to focus on the meaning and experiences of GERM. In particular the reforms that travelled the world were and are based on a different approach to standards and standardisation in education than those embedded in educational professional knowledges, skills and cultures. Let me begin by examining the importance of corporate and technical approaches to standards and standardisation, and how they have been used to redesign schools and universities to operate in local and global markets.

Standards

Standards are important and are concerned with identification and codification. Consequently, these need to be visible in terms of the product and describable through the codification of what the standard is. Standardisation is the process through which the standards are agreed, codified and delivered:

- implementation of those standards
- monitoring and evaluation the implementation against the standards
- collection of data in regard to measuring the fit between delivery and standards
- alteration and adjustments as necessary.

For example, here are two pictures. One is of a railway line, and so having the same gauge means that a train with carriages or with cargo can travel along the same railroad; and the second is of an electric plug and socket, and where you go in the UK the same plug and socket is used.

Standardisation and quality

Quality can be guaranteed by a 'kitemark' or the recognition that the product or service meets a valid standard. Overall, standardisation means that products have to fit the system and uncertainty is reduced. This means there can be mutual gains from and for producers and customers:

- Reliability and Repeat service
- Compatibility and Fit

- Exchange e.g. ICT hardware and software
- Exchange e.g. trade in products and services

Brand matters, where the consumer knows that when you purchase a product with a particular brand then you have the guarantee of what it will be like and that it meets your needs.

What happened in schools and universities is that this technical approach to standards and standardisation has been adopted for the reform of education. This is evident in the shift to schools and universities as businesses with branding and charter marks, with testing combined with the use of league tables to show which schools/ universities are at the top, and the use of performance related pay and contract renewal for staff. The focus was on building and protecting the brand, with technical standards for children and staff. The professional knowledge, skills, experiences and cultures of the teaching profession were narrowly defined around competencies, where teaching was focused on delivering curriculum packages. Teachers have to fit the school brand and deliver the right type of numbers or they lose their jobs (see Courtney and Gunter 2015).

How was this undertaken? I am now going to go through how teachers in particular were criticised.

Challenges to Professional Standards and Standardisation 1

There has been and there continues to be a direct attack on teachers:

- Disapproval of teaching – criticisms have been made of how teachers teach, and in particular an attack on 'progressive' methods of group work and the promotion of whole class teaching.
- Disapproval of curriculum – criticisms of what is being taught, and how children are given access to knowledge and dispositions that parents do not approve of (e.g. sex education).
- Credentials not appropriate – criticisms of the preparation and training of teachers. Thatcher removed the 'ologies' from teacher education (sociology, psychology) and so shifted to training on the basis of skills. Increasingly the argument is that those who teach do not need to be trained and accredited as teachers.
- Standards are not explicit and are often uncodified – criticisms of the standards in some schools, where teachers are unable to explain and defend their practice. It was argued that there is a need for evidence informed practice.
- Provider capture and serving own interests – criticisms of teachers who are serving their own interests rather than children and parents. The idea of a code of practice and the focus on children and their learning is a fabrication.
- Too much autonomy and variation – criticism of teachers who close the door of the classroom and do what they want without any regard to standards and accountability.
- Lack of accountability – no one holds teachers to account for what they do, or what they fail to do.

These types of arguments were put forward by the right wing in political parties and think tanks in a range of western style democracies. They have been shown to be fabrications and were often contradictory but they were very influential, particularly through the stories in the right-wing media.

Challenges to Professional Standards and Standardisation 2

The attack on teachers was also related to the attack on public services education in general. In particular there were major interventions into supply and demand processes.

There have been changes to the supply of schools. Instead of supply being a process within local government, it has been opened to the market. Schools could leave the local system, and new providers could enter the market. In England, research by my colleague Dr Steven Courtney shows that there are now between 70 and 90 different types of schools e.g. Academies in England, Free Schools in England and Sweden, Charter Schools in the USA (Courtney 2015). Schools are businesses within a very diverse market, and if you wish to follow up on this you need to look at the reforms in Chile where the system is fully privatized. In England schools are grouping into Multi-Academy Trusts or MATS, and so are becoming corporatised into chains.

Instead of parents accessing the local school the idea of demand for good school places was introduced. This means that parents can exercise a preference for a school place based on data about the school product.

Changes to Professional Standards and Standardisation 3

In summary, the changes that have been introduced in England, but also in different countries are about control and performance:

Control

- New Public Management e.g. inspection; school development planning; data production; training and templates (See Gunter et al. 2016).

- Privatisation – selling off public assets and allowing private providers (see Gunter et al. 2017).

- Training shifted from University to Schools – where teachers are trained by other teachers.

Performance cultures and practices

- National Curriculum and testing – a standardized product

- Technical accountability – the use of data to determine contract renewal and pay

- External Inspection (OfSTED) – the use of data to determine quality.

- Performance related pay and contracts – pay and job determined by data.

- League Tables – whether a school remains open is based on the market, and the position in the market.

Changes to Professional Standards and Standardisation 4

Such changes were enabled through other reforms that were designed to capture the profession as advocates of new forms of professionalism:

- □ Investment, training and symbolism. Major investments took place in training the profession to be 'performers' and to focus on data.

- □ National College for School Leadership was set up in England to train the profession as school leaders, and it had a remit from the UK government to enable the profession to implement the reforms. (No longer exists).

- □ Qualifications: National Professional Qualification for Headteachers. The profession was required to train

as a school leader, and this became compulsory (no longer compulsory as it contradicts the idea of the market).

☐ Performance related pay. Professionals are to be paid according to data and value added.

☐ Workforce composition. Other roles expanded in schools (e.g. teaching assistants) to support but also increasingly to replace teachers (you do not need to be trained and qualified to be a teacher).

☐ Hierarchy of leaders: students, teacher, middle, senior. Children and all professionals are rebranded as school leaders, and so we have witnessed a range of labels e.g. student leaders, teacher leader etc, and a range of training.

Part 3　Implications of changes for educational leaders, leading and leadership

These reforms into the profession, children and schools have been responded to differently. The slide shows a picture that is both a young woman and an old woman at the same time. Can you see it? This is a metaphor for how there are different viewpoints on the changes. There are those who are against the changes and they resist or leave the job, and those who have taken the opportunities to develop a corporate career.

What is clear is that there have been very major implications for the profession, and in particular the idea and reality of what leader, leading and leadership means. What I am about to say is based on detailed research (e.g. Gunter 2012, 2014).

Implications of changes for leaders, leading and leadership 1

　Leader

　　☐ Headteacher/principal branded as a corporate leader. The increased use of the term 'principal' means that the link with the teacher as a headteacher is broken. The principal does not need to be a teacher.

　　☐ Focus on the language and behaviours known as Transformational Leadership: vision, mission, followership.

　　☐ Hybrid models were developed to make transformational leadership work better e.g. Distributed; Instructional.

　　☐ Focus is on the top person who is the leader and who does leadership through charisma and attributes, and who focused on business and entrepreneurship.

　　☐ Performance and delivery – a causal relationship between headteacher/principal and student outcomes has been claimed and worked on.

Implications of changes Leaders, Leading and Leadership 2

　Leading

　　☐ Running a business

　　☐ Unitary organization

　　☐ Performance data

☐ Recruitment, retention and removal of staff and students.

Implications of changes Leaders, Leading and Leadership 3

Leadership is a power process

☐ Power 'owned' by a person – the focus is on the link between power and the person, and this is different from 'first among equals'

☐ Power over – followership – the focus is on how the person in the leader role can use their charisma and skills in order to capture the commitment and support of the teacher.

☐ Delivery – leadership is about delivering the right data to support and enhance the school or MAT brand.

☐ Data – leadership is about data production and performance, where the selection of data is what speeches and meetings focus on.

☐ Narrative and claims – the language is about performance e.g. 'good school', 'value added' and 'brand image'.

In summary there has been a shift away from educational leaders, leading and leadership towards school or organisational leaders, leading and leadership, and towards 'performance' and 'entrepreneurial' leaders, leading and leadership. This is leading to particular strategic and operational outcomes, and my next two slides say something about this.

Emerging outcomes from such changes to Professional Standards and Standardisation 1

The reforms have a number of strategic consequences:

☐ Management by template – in order to standardize there is a need to provide the requirements for teaching and learning in a list that can be ticked. This is called a template. So, there can be no variation from the template.

☐ Governing by numbers – Nikolas Rose in 1991 published an article called *Governing by Numbers: Figuring Out Democracy*, where he argues that in order to operate in a performance system we have to self-calculate about the self and others (Rose 1991). Children, teachers and headteachers are constantly calculating about who they are and what they are doing and whether what they are doing is good enough.

☐ Valuing what can be measured – what the changes mean is that we value what can be measured and so we value people who have data that show they are performing. The activities within school that cannot be measured e.g. relationships, helping a child through a difficult time, are no longer considered to be important because they cannot be measured in a test or a performance evaluation.

☐ The tyranny of metrics – Muller (2018) talks about the issue of measurement, where he argues that numbers and measuring is not the problem as this is vital for education but it is the over emphasis or fixation on numbers and what we do with them that this the problem. For example, we know that performance related pay does not work in business but it has been brought into education, where it does not work. But it is still being used in education!

"the unintended consequences of trying to substitute standardized measures of performance for

personal judgement based on experience. The problem is not measurement, but excessive measurement and inappropriate measurement – not metrics, but metric fixation" (p4).

Emerging outcomes from such changes to Professional Standards and Standardisation 2

The reforms have a number of operational consequences:

- Delivery cultures – the focus is on delivering the curriculum rather than on teaching and learning.
- Teaching to the test – the focus is on enabling the children to know how to pass the test.
- Work type and workload – the type of work is about counting and calculation with an increase in administration.
- Recruitment and retention – there are new schemes for training teachers in schools (e.g. Teach First, School Direct) but not enough people are joining the profession, and they leave or have their contracts terminated.
- Schools open/close – schools in the market mean that schools are not only opening but also closing where children do not have a local school to attend.

Emerging outcomes from such changes to Professional Standards and Standardisation 3a

What these strategic and operational changes mean for the profession needs to be addressed. Importantly we need to consider what it means to be a professional and what it means to do professional work. This leads me to consider the intellectual resources that professionals have in order to support their work. I ask the question: what has happened to our intellectual histories? Historically the profession has had access to a plurality of ideas and strategies for teaching and learning and for the school as an organization. However, increasingly the profession is told that there is only one approved of way of being a leader, doing leading and exercising power as leadership. I have studied this in detail, where I have shown the plurality but also identified the trend towards the approved of way of running a school (Gunter 2016a,b).

Let me begin by telling you about the range of resources that the profession could use to help them do their work:

- ☐ Traditions - Ideas
- ☐ Purposes - Actions
- ☐ Domains - Positions
- ☐ Contexts - Positioning
- ☐ Networks - Practices

This is fully explained in my 2016 book where I show the plurality of traditions, actions and positions, but how positioning and certain networks have secured a 'one best way' of doing the job.

Emerging outcomes from such changes to Professional Standards and Standardisation 3b

What is evident from my study of the reform processes that I have outlined is that educational professionals are being provided with a narrow set of ideas, purposes and approaches to the job. It seems that training is based on 'recipe books' that present the same ideas in 'new' and 'improved' ways:

Traditions: Positivist and Behaviourist Tradition

Purposes: Functionality

Domains: Instrumental

Contexts: Neoliberal/Conservative/Elitism

Networks: Entrepreneurialism and Populism

The school is increasingly a 'factory' where teachers and pupils work on a test data production line.

Emerging outcomes from such changes to Professional Standards and Standardisation 4

What is evident is that the market is producing 'recipe' or 'how-to-do-it' books based on:

- Commodification of knowledge, knowing. The profession is sold solutions to problems that may not be problems for schools.
- Privatised knowers. The profession is encouraged to buy solutions from books, training and from those who sell knowledge such as consultants.
- Markets and knowledgeability. The profession is encouraged to give attention and recognition to knowledgeability (language, ideas, dress, technology) that are based on profit making.

This is the front cover of my book with Colin Mills where we present evidence and analysis of the role of private consultants in the reform of education (Gunter and Mills 2017). Knowledge about how to implement the reforms is a high value commodity, and so knowledge and know how is for sale. In the book we look at the role of the international consultants (e.g. PricewaterhouseCoopers, KPMG, Ernst and Young), university professors as consultants, and educational professionals from schools and the public system who have been made redundant (through privatisation) or retired and have become consultants.

Emerging outcomes from such changes to Professional Standards and Standardisation 5

In reviewing these reform and change processes there is a need to ask: where are the teachers?

I ask this question because while a lot of investment has gone into schemes to improve recruitment into school based training e.g. Teach First, and Schools Direct, there are concerns: pupil numbers rising in secondary but not enough teachers; there have been limited pay rises due to austerity and so teachers cannot afford to live in some areas of the country; and the number of teachers who have left the profession (not retired) is going up and was 8% in 2016. Headteachers are retiring and not enough people are applying to take up their roles: workload is an issue, and the cuts to budgets. A key point is that being a headteacher now is very risky as headteachers can be sacked based on performance data and the MAT governing systems. At one point at the turn of the century the average time a head of an academy was in post was six months!

Emerging outcomes from such changes to Professional Standards and Standardisation 6

In reviewing these reform and change processes there is a need to ask: where are the children?

I ask this because children are the focus of the reforms – to improve the system for them but they have not been consulted about the changes. I did research in one of the early academies where the children were very angry

about how their schools had been closed and 'forced' to merge and become to an academy that they did not think was any better. It seems that children have been involved by being told that the 'new' and 'improved' schools are better but this has been done as a marketing exercise rather than an educative one. Children have become the objects of the reform, or how changes impact on them. There are emerging issues:

☐ Children want high quality local schools;

☐ Children who find the school has closed;

☐ Children mental health issues;

☐ Children and truancy.

Importantly the consultancy firm PricewaterhouseCoopers did a five year evaluation of the academies programme in England, and found that even though the new schools may have improved student outcomes it was not because they were academies. In other words, there is "no academy effect" and so other causes of improvements need to be considered e.g. more money invested, and in particular that academies are teaching children from different backgrounds to those who used to attend the schools that have been closed (see Gunter 2011)

Part 4　Making sense of education reforms…

The reforms that have been outlined require us to think about:

☐ Purposes of education – what is education for? What are schools and universities for?

☐ Purposes of professionality – why do we have professionals? Do we need professionals?

☐ Knowledge and ways of knowing – how do we know about education? Do parents know better than teachers?

☐ Knowers and claims to know – who do we trust to know about education? Are teachers trusted?

☐ Contribution of research and researchers – does research have a place? Are professors trusted?

Importantly much of the changes I have researched and outlined is ideological, and the claims made are based on beliefs rather than evidence (see Gunter 2018). Research is showing that the system of public education may well have needed reform but was generally working well and may have been too successful. There are two points to make here: first, that Lubienski and Lubienski (2014) have shown that public education is better than private education and more creative; and second, Ravitch (2014) has shown that the reforms are a "Reign of Error" or how the US public have been hoaxed and lied to regarding reforms and privatisation. This is summed up by Melissa Benn (2011) about the changes in England: "Will we – parents, citizens, taxpayers – stand by as one of our most vital public services passes into hands of venture capitalists, hedge fund managers and a growing array of faith groups?" (p179). The issue is not so much about how we ensure teachers do the job but about the purposes and ownership of our schools and education service.

What does this mean for Japan?

Agenda for Japan 1?

Professor Katsuno (2017) has examined the reforms taking place in Japan and identified the introduction of a new

form of teacher evaluation. In particular he makes the following summary: "the new teacher evaluation might be expected to work as a mechanism of political control" (p122), and he goes on to say: "… my central argument is that performativity works not simply *upon* but also *through* teachers" (p122). In other words, the discussion about and for ongoing reforms in Japan need to recognize that teachers make them work, and this impacts on identity, practice and ultimately whether you have a profession at all. The lessons from England are that teachers have made the reforms work but the consequences are that many teachers have left and the profession is becoming a 'workforce' who delivers (Butt and Gunter 2007; Gunter 2005). In regard to headteachers Katsuno (2017) says: "the enactment of the new teacher evaluation policies is playing a critical role in reinforcing the cultural base of Japanese leadership" (p124), in other words you need to look at how evaluation processes reinforce a particular form of 'school leadership', and how this impacts on teacher identity, status and practices.

What does this research mean for ongoing reforms? What is unfolding and why, and are the reforms creating the type of education system that Japan wants?

Agenda for Japan 2?

So, you need to ask yourselves:

Where are the children? Much reform in western style democracies makes the claim that it is for the children, but in reality, it is about allowing private interests from home and abroad to take control and ownership of schools. Is this what you want?

What type of education system do you want and why? What do you see as the purposes of education services? How might you look at Japan's place in the global economy and think about the relationship with education? What might you learn from Finland who have resisted GERM but have economic and education success?

What type of professionals do you want and why? Do you want teachers who are well qualified and continue to develop their skills, or do you want teaching to be undertaken by people who are appointed to the post? And, how does social media, ICT and Artificial Intelligence relate to the role of the professional?

Summary

The focus on standards and standardization in education in Japan allows recognition to be given to global trends and the impact these are having on the purposes of education and the practices of education by politicians, professionals, parents, and pupils. Research evidence is demonstrating how particular neoliberal and neoconservative globalized ideas and strategies underpinning changes are normalized, are militant in their opposition to public services, and are creating a different kind of education service. Overall, the shift seems to focused on attacking, dismantling and replacing professional educational standards and standardization, with an intensive focus on technical processes (disconnected with values and can be implemented and measured by anyone) and corporate systems and cultures. Much work has been done on this in other systems than the case of England that I have focused on today, and there is much for you to investigate and consider regarding education as

a service or a market, and educational providers as professionals or as entrepreneurs. Certainly, in England the impact on educational leaders, leading and leadership has been far reaching. Research is showing the emergence of new types of 'heads' of schools where the focus is on promoting and protecting the business (see Courtney 2017; Kulz 2017a,b), and where the trends identify the dangerous relationship between market segmentation of supply and demand with the segregation of society (Gunter 2018). The main question to be addressed based on education policy research internationally is whether the direction you take is one based on private profit or public provision (see Seppänen et al. 2015), and such a direction is linked to questions around: who benefits, how and why? Thank you very much and I look forward to discussing these and other questions during the day.

【References】（These are the references to other authors made during the talk.）

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