

Who are the "school leaders"? Management conditions among Japan, Germany and UK

¿Quiénes son los "líderes escolares"? Condiciones de gestión entre Japón, Alemania y el Reino Unido

Quem são os "Líderes Escolares"? Condições de gestão entre Japão, Alemanha e Reino Unido

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Abstract

In this study, the structures of public-school administration and management in Japan, Germany and UK are examined. As there is a sizable gap between the system and the practice in those countries, "Who are the school leaders?" could be not only significant but also urgent research topics. This guestion implies the significance to focus on the overall structure of public education system beyond a 'unit' school. The radical reform of school management is one of the common agendas among these countries. Document analysis and fieldwork are undertaken from the common perspectives into these three countries such as "school reform", "school autonomy", "differences/ commonalities". As the result, school management conditions and governance structures in these three countries are clarified. While Japanese headteachers formally and legally have got more authority to be a school leader, the substantial basis for school management is not much enough, with many limitations existing. Trying to understand German "school leaders", it should be analysed in relation to the principles of 'state supervision of school', 'school autonomy', and 'educational participation' by teachers, parents and students. In UK, decision making on finance, personnel and curriculum are made by governing body. Based on the decision-making, headteachers undertake the role of CEO. Distributed governance structure is existed in public education in each country, and there are diverse actors who are leading schools in different responsibilities.

Resumen

En este estudio se analizan las estructuras administrativas y de gestión de las escuelas públicas de Japón, Alemania y el Reino Unido. Dado que existe un desfase considerable entre el sistema y la práctica en estos países, "¿Quiénes son los directores de los centros escolares?" puede constituir un tema de investigación no sólo importante, sino también urgente. Esta pregunta implica la importancia de centrarse en la estructura global del

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sistema educativo público más allá de una "unidad" escolar. La reforma radical de la gestión escolar es una de las agendas comunes de estos países. El análisis documental y el trabajo de campo se realizan desde perspectivas comunes a estos tres países, como "reforma escolar", "autonomía escolar", "diferencias/similitudes". Como resultado, se aclaran las condiciones de la gestión escolar y las estructuras de gobierno en estos tres países. Aunque los directores japoneses tienen formal y legalmente más autoridad para ser líderes escolares, la base sustancial de la gestión escolar no es suficiente y existen muchas limitaciones. Para entender a los "líderes escolares" alemanes, es necesario analizarlos en relación con los principios de "supervisión estatal de la escuela", "autonomía escolar" y "participación educativa" de profesores, padres y alumnos. En el Reino Unido, las decisiones sobre financiación, personal y plan de estudios las toma el órgano de gobierno. A partir de la toma de decisiones, los directores asumen el papel de director ejecutivo. La estructura de gobierno distribuido existe en la enseñanza pública de cada país, y hay distintos agentes que dirigen los centros con distintas responsabilidades.

Resumo

Neste estudo, são analisadas as estruturas de administração e gestão das escolas públicas no Japão, na Alemanha e no Reino Unido. Visto que existe uma lacuna considerável entre o sistema e a prática nesses países, assim, "Quem são os diretores das escolas?" pode constituir um tema de investigação não só importante, mas também urgente. Essa questão implica a importância de se concentrar na estrutura global do sistema de ensino público para além de uma "unidade" escolar. A reforma radical da gestão escolar é uma das agendas comuns entre estes países. A análise de documentos e o trabalho de campo são realizados a partir de perspectivas comuns a estes três países, tais como "reforma escolar", "autonomia escolar", "diferenças/semelhanças". Como resultado, são clarificadas as condições de gestão escolar e as estruturas de governança nestes três países. Embora os diretores japoneses tenham formal e legalmente mais autoridade para serem dirigentes escolares, a base substancial para a gestão escolar não é suficiente, existindo muitas limitações. Para compreender os "dirigentes escolares" alemães, há que analisá-los em relação aos princípios da "supervisão estatal da escola", da "autonomia escolar" e da "participação educativa" dos professores, pais e alunos. No Reino Unido, as decisões em matéria de finanças, pessoal e currículo são tomadas pelo órgão diretivo. Com base na tomada de decisões, os diretores assumem o papel de Diretor Executivo. A estrutura de governança distribuída existe no ensino público em cada país, e há diversos atores que dirigem as escolas com diferentes responsabilidades.

Key words: School leader, Governance structure, International comparative study. **Palabras clave:** Liderazgo escolar, Estructura de gobierno, Estudio comparativo internacional.

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1. Introduction

1. 1. Purpose of this Study - Future for School Management? -

The inundation of educational reforms has impacted school systems in most countries. In the current 'managerialist' era (THRUPP & WILLMOTT, 2003), the radical reform of school management is one of the common agendas among politicians. Paradigms such as "Our schools are failing, so we must reform them" are gaining popularity. However, have the schools been managing themselves with autonomy under the system so far?

Today among so-called 'industrialised countries', it is a common policy such

as management circle, i.e. 'Plan-Do-Check-Action', in school organisation, promoting leadership of headteachers (school principals), enhancing competencies of teachers, collaborating among school inside-outside actors, developing standards, implementing school evaluation and so on. However, what is often overlooked in such trend is the question "What is the limitation that school cannot improve as a single unit organisation?". This research focuses on the overall structure of public education system beyond a unit school. The feature of the whole system surrounding school, however, is often to be overlooked, since school and its system are too familiar to people inside a country. In this research, therefore, through comparative study among Japan, Germany and UK (England) is conducted in order to clarify "familiar patterns strange" as well as "strange patterns familiar" (BRAY, 1999).

We first review the international researches on school leader and then summarise the system conditions where schools stand on in those three countries. The viewpoints to capture the discourse on "school management" in relation to the macro overall contexts are explored and discussed.

2. Theoretical Framework for Analysis

2. 1. Ambiguity of "School Leader" and its Implications

Ambiguity of the concept of "school leader" has been pointed out as follows; "there is no clearly defined, specific 'role' of school leadership, but at best a coloured patchwork of many different aspects" (HUBER, 2004, p. 5). The "terms educational leader, manager, and administrator are used quite differently from nation to nation" (HALLINGER, 2003, p. 4).

Though "leadership is a highly contested concept" (LUMBY *et al.*, 2009, p. 157), it implies not only just complicated but also meaningful one to discuss as such; "Our view in relation to school leadership views the field of influence as wider, not just contributing to the effectiveness of the organization, but also directly interacting with and contributing to the community" (LUMBY *et al.*, 2009, p. 157).

While we cannot clearly define "school leader", we need to think deliberately about who are able to make a good school. We could engage with these questions diversely and controversially.

2. 2. Beyond the "Educational Management Industry"

Besides decentralisation, there are increasingly corresponding efforts to centralise with legislative movements towards stronger central influence and control by means of intensified accountability, quality control through school inspections, national curriculum & tests, which allow for a direct comparison of pupil and school performances. "Hence, the roles and functions of school leaders have changed in many countries of the world". "As a result, school leaders are confronted with an altogether new range of demands and challenges" (HUBER, 2004, p. 5).

"Although government policy is to give schools greater freedom through policies of devolution and 'cutting red-tape', many headteachers and teachers perceive only greater bureaucracy" (HOYLE & WALLACE, 2005, p. 7). In this situation, to make matters worse, most of researches on school leadership are done with the perspective of "functionalist". Perhaps of most concern is that very little of the published work on school leadership is theorized (SIMKINS, 2012, p. 627-628).

Although such functionalist perspectives that are based on 'quick fixes' and

oriented to problem-solving are getting very popular, they reflect ahistorical, monocultural views about the purpose and problems of schooling (THRUPP & WILLMOTT, 2003). These styles of researches are called "educational management industry" (GUNTER, 1997). Researches that are more educational and politically wise are needed.

For example, the evolving leadership preparation programs in U.S has been criticised regarding their ethnocentric and isolationist perspectives, as they have little cognizance of developments outside North America. A North American perspective is taken for granted, its cultural implications unexplored. "A lack of awareness of one's own culture may be evident globally" (LUMBY *et al.*, 200, p. 158). Therefore, an international perspective on school management is very important.

3. International comparison of school management conditions I – Japan –

3. 1. Governance Structure of Japanese School Management

For Japanese society, it has been less familiar with school autonomy, local autonomy, and even school competition or evaluation. One central government in Tokyo and also one Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) have taken the initiatives of the standardized educational policy.

Since in the 2000s, however, Japanese government has stepped forward its educational reforms to neoliberal direction with decentralization, deregulation and competition. While seeking the school autonomy, promoting performance-based policies affected by PISA are on going in a top-down way nationwide.

MEXT sets Basic Plan for Promoting Education (*KYOIKU- SHINKO-KIHON-KEIKAKU*) and draw up the Course of Study (*GAKUSYU-SHIDO-YORYO*) as national curriculum which regulate school textbooks and educational contents from school subjects to lesson hours. In addition, the tendency of the reforms through the Education Rebuilding Council (*KYOIKU-SAISEI-JIKKO-KAIGI*) directly under the prime minister leads educational reforms by way of MEXT is becoming stronger.

Although the central initiative by MEXT plays a big role in the governance structure in Japan, local boards of education have still certain influence on their schools. Prefectural governor makes an educational plan as an outline. A detailed program is made by the Board of Education. The prefectural Board of Education is partially independent of its prefectural government's polity. It has strong authority over personnel affairs of teachers and other staff in each school. It doesn't have authority for budgetary process but decides a school management regulation that contains a basic matter of an equipment of facilities, organisation and handling of a curriculum and courses at school.

The municipal Board of Education designates the school where a child studies in the compulsory education stage. It has particularly strong authority on school facilities and equipment. Today, while some municipal Boards of Education introduced school choice system, it is not very common in nationwide.

While Japanese headteacher in a public school is a life-long stable job and doesn't always get pressure to gather pupils, school and head teacher have little authority (IMOTO *et al.*, 2015). Since the prefectural board of education holds the authority for personnel affairs of headteachers and headteachers transfer even beyond the municipality every few years, the given time to a headteacher to manage a school is very limited and unexpectable. This rule of the personnel affairs also applies to teachers. Headteachers have no authority to employ or fire teachers. In

addition, schools have no independent revenue sources and headteachers must manage their schools within the budget which is conditionally distributed by the municipal board of education. The amount of headteacher's discretion is very little. Despite that, school management reform in recent years is reinforcing leadership of headteacher, so headteachers are to manage their schools under the limited condition with respect to authority, resources and time.

3. 2. School Management Reform

In 2000, the position of teacher's conference was made clear at legal level as an advisory board, instead of a decision-making organisation inside a school. In 2007, the new positions of vice-principal, senior teacher and chief supervising teacher have been set up and strengthened hierarchy of teachers' organisation.

In Japan, school organisation was metaphorically called "a lid of pot" because all teachers except headteacher had been positioned on equal rank. And not commanding but cooperative relationship had been regarded as the characteristic organisational climate of school. This characteristic climate is not suitable for top-down decision-making, but rather suitable for bottom-up one. The hierarchy of the teachers' posts was intended to enforce the governmental educational policy. These reforms resulted in the formation of organisational structure for top-down decision-making through the concentration of authorities to the headteacher in school.

These reforms, however, were not accompanied with the 'delegation of authority' from at the administrative level to school one. Such policies as reinforcing the leadership of headteacher didn't promote the autonomous school management by headteacher while strengthening the role of headteacher as an agent of the board of education or the state. A series of such school management reforms were carried out on a nationwide in the past as well (though in different ways).

Another important policy in the 2000 reform is the participation of local residents and parents in school management. Parents and teachers association called 'PTA' used to be a voluntary organisation without a legal participation right. But the "school council system (GAKKO-HYOGIIN-SEIDO)" was introduced in 2000, which school council committees appointed by the school establisher (the board of education). The aim of school council is to give advice to the headteacher according to her/his requests. In 2004, a "community school system (GAKKO-UNNEI-HYOGIKAI-SEIDO)" was introduced. This reform made it possible to set up the school management board at each school which the board of education appoints as a "community school". The members of the board include parents and community members are appointed by the board of education. The school management board has the authority to approve the headteacher's basic policy of school management and to give opinions about it. The school management board can also propose the personnel plan to the local authority. Legally, school councillors are advisors for headteacher on their school management and the school management board is a partner of headteacher. These reforms aimed to promote the participation of community members in school management. However, in the series of school management reforms, the participation of teachers and children was not assumed.

The certain distance between legal situation and actual school life still remains being some gaps. For instance, it is explored that the relationship between teacher and students in Japan is more friendly than it is imagined, as expressed 'horizontal relationship' (TSUNEYOSHI, 2001). This situation is

contradictory, because the photographs taken from Western perspective often "depicting rows of black-haired schoolchildren, bowing unison in a classroom with the top of their heads facing the camera, end up in magazines" (TSUNEYOSHI, 2001, p. 5). Since the political decision or legal system do not always fix actual situation immediately, school management is rather active work than passive one in Japan as well.

In recent reforms in Japan, it cannot be said that the conditions of school management with autonomy have been well-developed. While Japanese headteachers formally and legally have got more authority to be a school leader, the substantial basis for school management is not much enough, with many limitations existing. It is reported that the linking informally with local community plays a big role in school management in Japan, especially in rural areas (SUEMATSU *et al.*, 2016; IMOTO *et al.*, 2015). The above is summarised as shown in Figure 1.



Figure 1 - Governance Structure in Japan

4. International Comparison of School Management Conditions II – Germany –

4. 1. Governance Structure of German School Management

In German school system, schools and school establishers (municipalities) traditionally have limited authorities and there is a strong tendency of the state's authorities. However, since the 1970s, schools have gained greater autonomy and educational participation by teachers, parents and students has been legally set.

First of all, 'state' plays the biggest role in educational administration. It is symbolized in German constitution (*Grundgesetz*): "The entire school system shall be under the supervision of the state" (article 7, clause 1). This traditional principle is called 'state supervision of school'. After the WWII, however, each German state was entrusted with the authority relevant to education and cultural administration (*Kulturhoheit*: Independence in matters of education and culture). Germany is a federal republic nation made up of 16 federal states (*Länder*), so the authority for 'state supervision of school' belongs to each 16 state today.

Source: Imoto, Kobayashi, Tsujino, Yamazaki, Tsujimura & Ando, 2015.

Instead of the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (*Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung*) which has very limited authority, the conference of ministers of education from all states (*Kultusministerkonferenz*: KMK) plays a greater role in school policy on federal level. It is although limited because of the independence of each federal state.

4. 2. State Supervision of School' and School Autonomy

Within a federal state, there is the school supervision structure with two or three stages of supervision, 'Ministry of Education' as supreme School Supervisory Authority, then 'Regional Government Bureau' as senior school supervisory authority, and 'State School Office' as lower school supervisory authority.

In addition to diverse school policies and school systems depending on each state, there is a branched school system with several secondary school types after primary education. Because of such diverse school conditions, there are limitations of understanding 'Germany' as a whole. However, school autonomy is legally guaranteed in each state's school law in any federal state and for any school type. At the same time, educational participation of teachers, parents and students is guaranteed legally. This is a reform that has spread nationwide since the 1970s, and it is already very common today.

Since so-called 'PISA Shock' in 2001, which derives from the relatively low results of German students' achievements in the first PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) by OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development), the trend of standardization has been expanding. It is symbolized that the educational standards at the federal level were introduced by KMK since 2004. These can be said to be a new form of 'state supervision of school', but the relationship between this and the school autonomy is being questioned.

4. 3. Who are the "School Leaders" in Germany?

The headteacher is basically located as head of among equals of colleagues, and so her/his authority is limited. The supreme decision-making organisation inside school is a 'school conference' (Schulkonferenz) in which teachers, parent representatives, student representatives participate. This educational participation is another important system that has been established since the 1970s. One of the big impact then was the recommendation of German Education Council, Education Commission (*DEUTSCHER BILDUNGSRAT, BILDUNGSKOMMISSION,* 1973). Another important policy document was "Future of education, school of the future" from Education Council in North Rhine Westphalia (*BILDUNGSKOMMISSION NRW,* 1995).

For, German headteacher is not a decision-maker, but rather a coordinator of various ideas and thoughts between teachers, parents and students. There is a tendency in some federal states in recent years that reinforcing authority of headteachers. However, people feel that the headteacher's job is not appealing, and there is a problem that candidates are very few.

In addition, the 'state supervision of school' clearly restricts the autonomy of each school. Today it differs from 'administrated school' in the past (Becker, 1954) that directly controling the school. However, indirect new controlling has been expanded with the policy under the name 'quality assurance' (*qualitätssicherung*), Education Standards (*Bildungsstandards*), achievement tests, school evaluations

(Schulevaluation), 'goal agreement' (*Zielvereinbarung*) with administration and so on. It can be said that these reforms are more or less influenced by NPM (new public management), neo-liberalism or new-controlling (*Neue Steuerung*). These are the phenomena of today's 'state supervision of school' (TSUJINO, 2016).

Against the tendency of the state-led reform, 'municipal responsibility' is getting emphasized (DGBV, 2014). 'Regional network' (Suthues, 2006) is gaining attention as a new movement. The school development theory (*schulentwicklungstheorie*) (BUCHEN & ROLFF, 2006; ROLFF, 2013) which has been also adopted in German education policy has historically been a theory rooted in the criticism of 'administrated school'.

Trying to understand German "school leaders", it should be analysed in relation to the principles of 'state supervision of school', 'school autonomy', 'educational participation' by teachers, parents and students. The above is summarised as shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2 – Governance Structure in Germany (Baden-Württemberg state)



Source: Suematsu, Iberer, Tsujino & Stricker, 2017.

5. International Comparison of School Management Conditions III – UK –

5. 1. Radical Reconstruction of Public Educational System since 1988

The schools in UK, one of the leading welfare states, have been run as "national system locally administered" (SIMKINS, 2012). But the Margaret Thatcher has reinforced the authority of central government in the face of economic stagnation in 1970s. The basic framework has been enacted through the Education Reform Act 1988 and the specific reforms were introduced as follows:

- National curriculum
- National test

- School league table based on the national test
- School choice by parents
- The per capita funding based on the number of students

• "Local Management of Schools" that gives schools much authority to manage finance and personnel, while the role of Local Education Authority is quite reduced.

- · Reinforcement of the role of "School Governing Body"
- School inspection
- National strategy for numeracy and literacy

"This has established a clear trend towards the decentralization of services within a framework of increasingly detailed target-setting and monitoring by central government. There has also been striking growth in private sector involvement within the public education system" (WHITTY, 2008, p. 178). The style of how the schools are run has been drastically changed, and the government has made much of the role of school leaders (*i.e.* headteachers and head of departments) as the change agents.

5. 2. Introducing "Self-Improving School System" since 2010

Although surplus competitive system for schools has been evolving in UK since 1988, many people including politicians raised questions about the way of governance for schools and they started to discuss the possibilities of a system where power is polarized between centre and local (STRAIN & SIMKINS, 2008).

In 2010, David Cameron said that "In the most recent OECD PISA survey in 2006 we fell from 4th in the world in the 2000 survey to 14th in science, 7th to 17th in literacy, and 8th to 24th in mathematics. The only way we can catch up, and have the world-class schools our children deserve, is by learning the lessons of other countries' success" (DFE, 2010, p. 3). Then the government advocated to introduce the "Self-Improving School System" while thinking the centralised system for schools as "wrong approach" and stated:

The attempt to secure automatic compliance with central government initiatives reduces the capacity of the school system to improve itself. Instead, our aim should be to support the school system to become more effectively self-improving. The primary responsibility for improvement rests with schools, and the wider system should be designed so that our best schools and leaders can take on greater responsibility, leading improvement work across the system. (DFE, 2010, p. 13).

"Government cannot determine the priorities of every school, and the attempt to secure compliance with its priorities reduces the capacity of the system to improve itself...It is also important that we design the system in a way which allows the most effective practice to spread more quickly and the best schools and leaders to take greater responsibility and extend their reach...We will make sure that schools are in control of their own improvement and make it easier for them to learn from one another...

We will expect schools to set their own improvement priorities. As long as schools provide a good education, we will not mandate specific approaches. Schools

will determine what targets to set for themselves, choose what forms of external support they want and determine how to evaluate themselves. We will make sure that they have access to appropriate data and information so that they can identify other schools from which they might wish to learn, that there is a strong network of highly effective schools they can draw on for more intensive support, and that schools can identify other useful forms of external support as necessary." (DfE 2010: 73-74).

5. 3. School to School Support

Moreover, the government mentioned "After the quality of teaching, the quality of school leadership is the most important determinant of pupils' success". "We know that teachers learn best from other professionals" (DFE, 2010, p. 26).

So "Self-Improving System" makes much of school-to-school support and the person in charge of managing its support system is called "system leader". "System leaders exercise leadership beyond their own schools, sharing their expertise and their school's practice with other less-effective schools through school improvement partnerships" (EARLEY, 2013, p. 159). The above is summarised as shown in Figure 3.



Figure 3 - Governance Structure in UK (England)

6. Research Implications: By Questioning "Who are the 'School Leaders'?"

"We need a map that both pathways reality and simplifies reality in a way that best serves our purposes" (HUNTINGTON, 1996, p. 30). The main theme of this research – "Who are the 'School Leaders'?" – implies the significance to understand the overall structure of education system beyond a unit school as there are certain limitations that school cannot improve as a single unit organisation. As we pointed out already, it is not easy for cultural insiders to describe those macro conditions, therefore international comparative study was conducted in this research.

According to our comparative study as in Figure 1 to Figure 3, there are much diversities in management conditions among three countries. Table 1 which summarises the differences and commonalities in three countries indicates that the

Source: Drawn by author, 2020.

realities of school management are strongly influenced by the overall governance structure in each country. With no consideration of such school management conditions under the complex overall structure, therefore, "school leader" is just regarded as only "head teacher". In such superficial viewpoints, ahistorical and monocultural thinking and practice are to be expanded. The leadership of headteacher is merely paid attention with a short term viewpoint as the wide and diverse activities in and around schools are rarely understood. With such premises, to borrow and apply one successful practice to another school is taken granted and "how-to" methods are easily produced and widespread.

		Germany	Japan	U.K. (England)
school administration	national level	 Federal ministry of education (BMBF) has almost no authority for school education. Activities based on agreements with each state are possible. Conference of ministers of education from all states (KMK) sets the education- standards. 	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) has authority for educational contents (Ex.) Course of study, official approval of textbooks, nationwide achievement tests, basic plan for education promotion, etc.	Department for Education (DfE) National College for Teaching & Leadership (NCTL) Office for Standards in Education (OfSTED) →authority of governmental body was supreme, but it has been changed through as licencing. →from the style of direct influence to schools, to the indirect one. (Ex.) National Curriculum & Test, National Standards for School Leaders, and School Inspection
	state level	Supreme Supervising Agency = State Ministry of Education (Ex.) Educational plan, Educational standards, official approval of textbooks, etc.	Prefectural Board of Education (Ex.) Personnel affairs	
	municipal level	Senior Supervisory Agency = School Supervision Agency Subordinate Supervisory Agency = Bureau of School * Some states do not distinguish between the two. Mission: 'state supervision of school' to each school	Municipal Board of Education (Ex.) Authority for facilities and equipment	Much reduction of the role of Local (Education) Authority (LEA)
school management	decision making	Supreme decision-making body = school conference School conference consists of teachers, parents and students.	Supreme decision-making body = headteacher Teacher's conference is unified by headteacher PTA and student council has no legal participation right.	Decision-makings on finance, personnel and curriculum are made by governing body. Based on those decision- makings, headteachers undertake the role of CEO.
	headteacher' s authority	Headteacher is the chairman of school conference.	Headteacher has supreme authority.	Each school governing body can recruit and employee teachers by itself.
	teachers's authority	Participation in school management with voting rights. 'pedagogical freedom' is legally secured. Teacher status is a public official with lifelong employment. * Employment contract under private law also expanded ('Angestellte').	Teacher's conference is a subsidiary organisation. The teacher is a local public official with lifelong employment. X Teacher has no authority for participation in school management legally. In reality teacher's conference has a certain influence.	Based on the contract with school governing body, teachers do their work and professional development.
	educational participation	Parents and children have rights for educational participation. * Participation by local residents is not assumed.	Educational participation is partly legislated (school councilor system etc.) When a school designated as a 'community school', parents and local residents also have the rights for participation and deliberatrion.	LA, parents, teachers and the community members can participate to it as school governors.

 Table 1 - School Administration and Management Structure among Japan, Germany and UK

Source: made by author, 2020.

The expansion of such perceptions causes not only the overlooking of the diversities and richness of school management but also the understandings that the problems can be solved only by a school as a single unit or by headteacher's leadership alone even if the educational reform itself contains some degree of contradictions. As a result, there is few chances to redesign the reform policies itself from the side of school in a bottom-up way as a front-line of public education and it occurs the flattenisation and trivialising of school management.

The further research that explores into the reality of school is needed with considering the school management conditions. It is not until we do so, the research (for example, the comparison of the role of headteachers among different countries in relation with the overall governance structures) can capture the reality of school management more deeply.

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