Decentralisation Reforms of Education Management: Theoretical and Practical Issues

Jolanta Urbanovič, Aleksandras Patapas

Mykolas Romeris University Valakupių str. 5, 10101 Vilnius, Lithuania

Abstract. The system of education management in Lithuania is being gradually decentralised and de-concentrated on the basis of the subsidiarity principle, as decentralisation is seen as one of the key strategies for reforming and reshaping educational institutions. The present paper tackles the questions about how the interaction of education subjects changes in the process of decentralisation, what changes occur in the process of school management with the increase of school autonomy and what are the conditions for the process of effective school autonomisation. The findings of the qualitative study provide a deeper understanding of current Lithuanian management problems related to decentralisation of education. Moreover, the presented findings and the analysis of field literature on decentralisation reveal the advantages and disadvantages of decentralisation of education management.

Keywords: decentralisation of education management, education decentralisation reforms, school autonomy, interaction of education subjects, school autonomisation process.

Raktažodžiai: švietimo valdymo decentralizacija, švietimo decentralizacijos reformos, mokyklos autonomija, švietimo subjektų sąveika, mokyklos autonomizacijos procesas.

Introduction

In many countries around the world many strategies have been developed to improve public services funding and their delivery, by increasingly emphasising the improvement of the quality of public services. In the education system, one of such strategies is the decentralisation of decision-making in order to increase parental and community involvement in schools.

The process of the education decentralisation reform has reflected the concepts of public administration: with the eighth decade of political tendencies in "democratic

participation", the ninth decade of the new public management programme, most recently it has been aimed at improving the quality of public services. The decentralisation reforms are supported by a recently growing concept of New Governance approach, fostering citizens' co-participation and supporting civic values. Thus, the decentralisation reforms influence not only changes in the inter-institutional relationships but also the relationships between educational institutions and external partners.

The specific feature of the decentralised school management model is that the consumers become participants in the management process, next to direct providers (leaders, teachers). Parents of students or community representatives granted with certain freedom in making decisions can directly affect the upbringing process. The student himself or herself becomes a participant in the process of providing and using services. Thus, it can be contended that, on the one hand, this type of system can guarantee the culture of higher responsibility, while, on the other hand, long-term ties with consumers/partners help expand the supply of services, create preconditions to improve quality and encourage innovation.

This leads to the following problematic **research questions**: How does the interaction of education subjects change in the process of decentralisation? What changes occur in the school management process with the increase of school autonomy? What are the conditions for effective school autonomisation process?

To tackle these problematic issues, a case study of the school autonomisation process in Lithuania has been chosen.

Education decentralisation reforms in the European countries

Education reformers of the mid-seventies of the last century introduced the idea that schools would work better if a number of formal restrictions were reduced in the management process. The decentralisation of management (i.e. the effect of increasing school autonomy) lightens the burden of the public sector as it eliminates an unnecessary burden of middle management level [14]. The reduction of State control promoted the ideas of self-government in schools. *Charter schools* in the USA developed as an attempt to reorient the traditional school. At the same time, *grant-maintained-schools* appeared in Great Britain and then schools functioning under similar principles were established in New Zealand. There is a peculiar paradox: the school, which is local in nature, prepares students for life in a global society.

It should be noted that school autonomy is not a tradition in the European countries. This type of school management was implemented only in a few pioneering countries from the 1980s onwards and in a limited way. The school autonomy movement did not actually become widespread until the 1990s. The trend continues in the current decade with new countries adopting this type of school management whilst the trail-blazers of the 1980s and 1990s are increasing the range of responsibilities held by schools [3].

According to Eurydice data (2007), during the 1990s the policy of school autonomy became more or less widespread. The Nordic countries have all now adopted a system that

couples political decentralisation with school autonomy. Following a political consensus, Austria adopted its first school autonomy reform in 1993. The breakdown of the former Soviet Union was the signal for the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia as well as the Baltic States to adopt this method of school management.

In CEE countries the changes in education management, governance and financing are closely linked to the transformation of the political systems. In fact, these changes are the direct consequence and corollary of the general transformation [9]. Political and economic systems also underwent transformation and changes in these systems affected social structure in turn. During one decade the Baltic States, including Lithuania, had to model and create a new concept of educational objectives and tasks, structures, the content of education, methods and strategies, while Western European countries were creating all this for many decades by constantly making changes, improving and undergoing reforms.



Fig. 1. Dates of the first large-scale reforms that sanctioned school autonomy ISCED levels 1 and 2, 1985-2007

Source: Eurydice, 2007.

Conceptually, school autonomy should run in tandem with local participation. Indeed, historically this principle of school management is strongly linked to the demand for teaching freedom by local stakeholders (school managers, parents, etc.). However, since the 1980s in Europe, these reforms are largely laid down under national legal frameworks which demonstrate a top-down model of decision-making process without any identifiable driving force coming from schools themselves.

The analysis of education decentralisation process reveals the parallels with public management concepts, which, depending on the period, influenced education management changes: the 1970s are associated with political trends, oriented towards "democratic participation", and emphasising the need for schools to be more open to their local communities. The 1980s were associated with more effective management of resources for schools, forming a market for educational services. Education management reforms became strongly linked to a dual movement towards political decentralisation and implementing the "New Public Management" agenda. New Public Management seeks to apply private sector principles to the management of public services. Decentralising responsibilities to local communities and school autonomy are therefore linked in order to increase the efficiency of school management – it is taken for granted that decisions made at the level closest to operations will guarantee the best use of public resources.

The vision of school autonomy has evolved in the present decade since the transfer of new responsibilities to schools is no longer built into a global process of political and administrative structural renewal. In most countries, school autonomy is now seen largely as a tool to be used to improve the *quality of education* [3]. During recent years, *New Public Management* ideas were continued and were partially modified by the *New Governance* concept, providing priority not for the business management techniques in the public sector but for the introduction of democratic values in the public sector management. The focus is on the principles of community government which means that the government should encourage citizens to participate in solving their problems. Thus, in accordance with the concept of *New Governance*, the influence of school community on school management is emphasised.

Arguments on the advantages and disadvantages of decentralisation of education management

The results of theoretical analysis allow the formulation of the main characteristics of the education decentralisation process. First of all, decentralisation causes the decrease of the influence of central authority in making decisions regarding school education. The state's competence merely issues education guidelines [9]. An autonomous institution determines the limits of its independent activity by coordinating them with governmental institutions [6]. Thus, school communities assume greater responsibility for the school's activity so that the school activity would be more transparent and efficient [1]. This encourages the increase of the involvement of more persons concerned into the process of organisation of school activity. Thereby democracy is developed in the school, the participation opportunities are provided for the community and the persons concerned and self-government is strengthened.

The authors of the article stress that an autonomous institution becomes an institution integrated into the society in which it defines its functions and combines with norms and social groups. This leads to the socialisation of the school [9] and to the orientation of the needs of citizens/community – an autonomous action programme adjusted to the needs of the local community is drafted, thus the school gains its particular/specific profile [13].

As the community participates in the organisation of school activity, it becomes more interested in the process of implementation and education, thus, this means that the community performs activity monitoring. This leads to higher quality of the school's activity.

Yet, it is worth noting that decentralisation does not necessarily mean more democracy. It can happen that giving more power to schools will only legalise more power for educational workers – teachers and school leaders – and that would not at all be related to a wider participation of the society in educational matters [19]. On the other hand, central government is very rarely interested in real decentralisation, while local leaders and school communities are usually uninterested in accepting more responsibilities. In addition, scientist Zajda J. [18] has noted that split government can complicate the decision-making process, mainly because of the conflict of interests and the weakened responsibility for decisions made.

It could be contended that one of the merits of school autonomy is more attention to the needs of the community. But as Michiel S. de Vries [11] says, "the possibility of tailor-made policies, which was seen as one of the major advantages of decentralisation, is under discussion since equality before the law deceases when provision of goods and services differs in different municipalities". Meanwhile, "centralisation allows for administrational actions to be made uniform," meaning that the equality principle is unharmed [10].

It should not be forgotten that the school is still financed out of public resources as only this way equal education opportunities can be ensured. The counter argument could be that concentrating government at the school level helps managing the educational structures and use the resources more effectively or simply decrease the expenditure because it has been noticed that it is centralisation that allows more effective sharing of resources and lessens the differences between richer and poorer regions.

Therefore, school autonomisation is not an absolutely perfect and indisputable merit. It has its strong and weak characteristics. Furthermore, the problem is much more difficult than it may seem at first glance. Sometimes the same arguments are used for statements supporting one or another reform, and different countries use different arguments or support the same regulations.

Of course, sometimes it is difficult to ascertain the characteristics that differentiate centralisation and decentralisation, especially in the school context, where both ruling principles are coordinated. Education theorists claim that education system reformers should formulate the question of not whether to centralise or decentralise all education, but rather which educational functions should be centralised, and which should be decentralised [20].

Methods

The data, such as document analysis and face to face interviews, were collected by using the qualitative research approach. The research involved 42 individuals who represented a range of actors in the Lithuanian education system. The respondents included 11 experts – government officials, scientists, 13 school leaders, 18 school board/committee representatives. Respondents of the research were selected proportionally from each region of Lithuania and each type of school (except kindergartens and primary schools), with the purpose to objectively reveal the school autonomy management perspectives in Lithuania.

The interview guide and methods were specifically developed to find the answers to the research questions. The research was performed by applying *individual* and *group* interviews. The *individual* interviews (11 experts) were conducted in two stages: the first, the *lookout* research stage, was about collecting general information on the researched object: the decentralisation process, its environment, contents, object, understanding, etc. The second, *systemic* stage, was used when several interview questions were rigidly standardised, seeking to better analyse particular aspects of the decentralisation process.

Other research stages were conducted by using group interview types: group (focus group) discussions and "delfi" method. Group discussions were organised by conducting

research with the school board representatives (18 members), in order to find out their hopes regarding school work, their understanding of the concept of school autonomy and the need to take part in the school management processes. The group interview "delfi" method was conducted with school leaders (13 school leaders).

Research validity of this paper is guaranteed by using triangulation when data is collected and analysed from various sources by various methods.

Results

The first stage of quality research has the task of exploring education experts' understanding of the school management decentralisation process. On the basis of critical opinions of education experts it could be contended that education experts understand school autonomy and the changes in the coordination of the subjects of education system, which determines the increase of school responsibility. According to education experts, the main elements of school autonomy are "the decrease of the role of governmental management" and "the increase of school responsibility".

The experts participating in the research (especially school leaders) indicated the lack of consistent national and municipal education policy as one of the barriers to successful implementation of school autonomy. For example, due to vague prospects for the school network, it is difficult for schools to predict the future or to develop strategies "because some of the schools are suspended, they do not know their future. So how can there be autonomy?"

The respondents also mentioned the importance of the support of state institutions, especially for schools that have difficulty in self-managing due to shortage of management skills.

The respondents noted that aiming for a smooth process of school autonomisation, the central government's trust in the local government, and *vice versa*, is necessary. "Here, confidence in the school is important, more responsibility is granted, and, apparently, we will arrive towards this slowly... Pupil financial aid packages [funding method] should be liberalised, the school should reach a decision autonomously."

However, most respondents have noted that whatever the degree of school autonomy, school systems are, in a certain context, limited by certain political and economic factors, and school autonomy always has certain limitations.

The next stage of the research was to determine the conditions necessary for schools to effectively deal within the limits of the autonomy provided. The informants/respondents pointed out the main conditions, emphasising the school manager's managerial expertise and the community's active participation in school life (see Table 1.).

Table 1. Conditions for effective autonomisation

Scope	Content
Consistent state education policy	 a clear vision of the education system consensus on the vision and goals clear performance targets favourable legal framework consistency of reforms sufficient resources constraints on fund spending reduction application of the principle of solidarity
Management expertise	 manager expertise manager readiness to assume additional responsibility improving the managers' academic preparation manager professionalism specialist support ability to participate in a competitive environment
Incremental increase of school autonomy	 preparation for self-management understanding of the potential difficulties of implementation gradual expansion of independent areas
Maturity of the community and its empowerment	 bottom-up initiative promotion community's readiness to assume responsibility clear limits of responsibility autonomy/freedom to set goals sharing of responsibilities trust delegation of responsibility to parents
Support for schools	 establishing the need for adequate support mentoring financial support development of professional qualifications organisation of co-curricular activities

Stressing the need for management skills, the respondents argued that "decentralisation is a new step but it requires higher level of competence." "The head of school is the main initiator of the change in the school process. Everything frequently depends on the will, decision-making or managerial expertise and desire of the head of school that the school is more self-sufficient. If the head lacks competence or managerial characteristics, he or she will be afraid to take responsibility for his or her decisions, actions, and therefore will not want to deal with anything independently."

Thus, the respondents pointed out that the successful implementation of autonomy requires the manager to be prepared to assume additional responsibility. Experts point out

that if behind decentralisation "lies such frugality, inability and lack of competence, it's even worse than a centralised system."

According to the research results, it could be stated that one of the main tasks of the school leader in the implementation of school autonomy is the involvement/mobilisation of school community. This is not an easy task since the research shows the initiative's "bottom-up" deficiency. The respondents stress the avoidance of responsibility. Problems arise due to "lack of ability and willingness to take responsibility for failures." Some of the respondents mentioned distrust of their own abilities "Talking about school autonomy, the school's and their own inner reluctance and fear of being independent". School leaders were complaining about the passivity of the school community "... impeded by the thought that everything is fine, if a student is present at the lesson, then that is good of itself ..."

Thus, the respondents linked autonomous school effectiveness with the relations between the community and administration. The school community interests are represented by the school board – the school's primary institution of self-governance. The school board in the Lithuanian schools usually consists of parents, students, teachers, administrators, and more often of social partners/local community representatives in equal parts. It is obvious that school leaders play an intermediary role in this system, "the director becomes the mediator between the community and the council," although the main responsibility for the activities of the school is given to the director. The head of school is the only external person in the board, but, as emphasised by the respondents, "the council cannot function without the head of school, as indeed it is very difficult to understand what is actually going on at school …"

The respondents stated that "there must be a close relationship with the community and the head of school." "The school board is effective only if it or its representatives work closely with the administration. The council's efficiency depends on this cooperation: all the information about the school is usually provided by the administration". The research revealed that sometimes there was a conflict between the school board and the director. "Conflicts happen when the school board wants to overthrow the director because he or she refuses to show all the accounts and other matters, and so on [...]."

The respondents argued that "school community must have as much information as possible about the processes and the possibility to propose, to refuse, and to discuss. School autonomy means the autonomy of its people. The school council should be an advisory, but not a decisive voice, that responsibility lies with the head of school." "At the moment, again, many rights are transferred to the community, but still the responsibility lies with the school leader. The head of school is the only one responsible for the school's results. Today, neither the community nor the teacher is practically responsible for the results. Only the head is punished if the school's results are poor. Thus, transferring of power, but not responsibility, would be wrong."

Discussion and Results

By summarising the results of theoretical and empirical analysis it can be stated that decentralisation of education causes changes in the coordination of the subjects of education system which determine the increase of school responsibility (see Fig. 2). According to education experts, the main elements of school autonomy are the decrease of the role of governmental management and the increase of school responsibility.

The competency on the national level entails consistent formation of national educational policy, based on an agreement between stakeholders, general educational goals and tasks, the formation of activity standards. The main function of local administration departments, as seen by education experts, becomes rendering aid to schools, while schools should be given the opportunity to implement those goals freely, independently, by using all possible resources and involving the school community and social partners. Therefore, schools become responsible for their activity results.

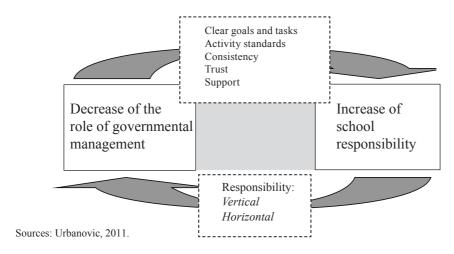


Fig 2. Changes in the relationship between governmental and school level management

It is imperative to mention that if the implementation of school autonomy is left to drift, community members would not be able to adopt collective solutions and would lack organisational management experience. The lack of such experience is associated with the experience of education management in many European countries [16], especially in CEE countries where education policy historically was characterised as a management system working on the basis of centralisation, bureaucracy and control. The control of such a system was oriented towards regulation: laws, decisions and indications. This means that schools totally lacked autonomy, their leaders were only implementers of the centrally accepted solutions and did not need any special abilities necessary for adopting decisions on the organisation of services.

It is worth mentioning that the influence of educational institutions, communities and other stakeholders in the management of education is gradually increasing. It has become manifest that where a school community is involved in school activities, it becomes more interested in the processes going on at school, thus it means that, in a way, they perform school activity monitoring, and this determines the improvement of school activities.

On one hand, school communities and the involvement of interested groups prompt the expansion of school independence and form new school leaders; school activities become more public. On the other hand, if the decision-making process includes more and more members of different organisations, groups, individuals all having different needs and hopes, the process of school management becomes more difficult. The school autonomy management process is complicated by the fact that school independence is achieved by a school community, although most European schools implement their independence policy from "top to bottom." This means that school communities have not been the initiators of this process and therefore this could have determined their indifference to the process of increase in school independence. Therefore, the role of the head of the school becomes important, the head being the leader, the negotiator in collaboration with social partners to achieve common goals, building trust and commitment to the atmosphere of common goals.

As the result of the research shows, such factors as the school leader's leadership competence, participation and support of the school community, national policy support and trust are essential for school autonomisation. Based on the research results it can be stated that the coordination of all of these factors is based on the formation of trust culture in the school (see Fig. 3).

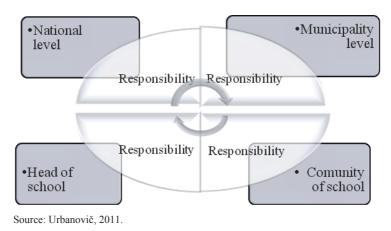


Fig. 3. The formation of trust culture in education system

The competence of the school leader determines whether he or she will be able to share the increased responsibility at school and whether he or she will be trusted by the school community members and whether they will agree to accept part of the responsibility. In other words, a certain level of trust has to be developed at school, so that each school community member could feel individual responsibility for the school activity. This level of responsibility culture is trusted by central and territorial management institutions as they expand the limits of independence of school work. On the other hand, higher level of responsibility culture is expected from central and territorial level institutions in terms of responsibility for establishing educational policy, the consistency of that policy and constant support for schools in the process of fostering autonomy.

With the increase the autonomy of schools, the role of the head of school as a leader in school management has increased as well. The leader must be able to go beyond merely using or enhancing their capabilities, i.e. he or she must inspire others to do the work instead of controlling them based on a to-do list. Therefore, the leader is a person who, as F.E. Fiedler [4] claims, can direct and coordinate all the activities towards the common goal.

For decentralised school management it is important to perceive *leadership* as a process, whether a naturally rising or appointed leader influences the group while aiming for common objectives [12, p. 145]. However, autonomous school management is an important perception that "sustainable leadership must develop and be shared" [7, p. 24]. For this approach we can use the concept of "distributed responsibility." Presumably, the idea of "distributed responsibility" encourages the staff, pupils and parents to search for, develop and exploit leadership capabilities, enabling students to deepen and broaden their knowledge by learning. Thus, conditions are created for the development of trust culture. However, the question arises whether it is possible for "distributed responsibility" to appear in an "environment where power and responsibility for leadership is given to persons designated in accordance with the established hierarchies?" [5, p.7]. The question is relevant because, as emphasised by school leaders in the above-mentioned research, responsibility remains largely with the school leaders, thus they are not inclined to share their decision-making power because they have to answer personally for the results. This is confirmed by international studies [2], indicating that managers remain personally responsible for activities in the school that they control although they no longer have full management control. In fact, they are asked to give some power without a corresponding decline in personal responsibility.

However, as noted by educational policy makers, accountability is an integral element of the autonomisation process in schools. School leaders basically agree with this, but point out to the need for support, counselling, competent managers not only on the local, but also central education management control system level. As such, "accountability is not a bad thing if it is properly applied" [8, p.16]. According to education experts, accountability makes schools improve.

Thus, it is obvious that decentralisation is a multi-dimensional phenomenon which is differently understood by various stakeholder groups and even if rapid decentralisation processes are noticed in different countries, it should be emphasised that the move from centralised towards decentralised management is still a complicated and long-term process.

Conclusions

- 1. Decentralisation of education causes changes in the coordination of the subjects of education system which determine the increase of school responsibility. The main elements of school autonomy are the decrease of the role of governmental management and the increase of school responsibility.
- 2. Such factors as the school leader's leadership competence, participation and support of the school community, national policy support and trust are essential for school autonomisation. The coordination of all of these factors is based on the formation of trust culture in the school.
- 3. The competence of the school leader determines whether he or she will be able to share the increased responsibility at school and whether he or she will be trusted by the school community members and whether they will agree to accept part of the responsibility. In other words, certain level of trust has to be developed at school, so that each school community member could feel individual responsibility for the school activity.

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Jolanta Urbanovič, Aleksandras Patapas

Decentralizacijos reformos švietimo vadyboje: teoriniai ir praktiniai aspektai

Anotacija

Švietimo valdymo sistema Lietuvoje yra laipsniškai decentralizuojama ir dekoncentruojama, vadovaujantis subsidiarumo principu. Straipsnyje nagrinėjama, kaip decentralizacijos sąlygomis keičiasi sąveika tarp švietimo subjektų, kaip keičiasi mokyklos valdymo procesas ir kokios sąlygos reikalingos efektyviai mokyklų autonomizacijai. Kokybinio tyrimo duomenys leidžia nuosekliau suvokti valdymo problemas, susijusias su švietimo decentralizacija Lietuvoje. Remiantis teorine decentralizacijos reformų analize bei kokybinio tyrimo rezultatais straipsnyje nagrinėjami švietimo decentralizacijos privalumai ir trūkumai bei pabrėžiama pasitikėjimo formavimo svarba autonomizacijos sėkmingumui.

Jolanta Urbanovič – Mykolo Romerio universiteto Politikos ir vadybos fakulteto Viešojo administravimo katedros docentė, socialinių mokslų daktarė.

E. paštas: jolanta.urbanovic@gmail.com

Aleksandras Patapas – Mykolo Romerio universiteto Politikos ir vadybos fakulteto Viešojo administravimo katedros docentas, humanitarinių mokslų daktaras.

E. paštas: patapas@mruni.eu

Jolanta Urbanovič, Doctor of Social Sciences, is an Associate Professor at the Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Policy and Management, Mykolas Romeris University.

E-mail: jolanta.urbanovic@gmail.com

Aleksandras Patapas, Doctor of Humanities, is an Associate Professor at the Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Policy and Management, Mykolas Romeris University.

E-mail: patapas@mruni.eu

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