

Successful leadership:

a review of the international literature

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School improvement: international reviews of best practice

Working with partners including the Department of Education at Oxford University, the Centre for Equity in Education at the University of Manchester, the University of Glasgow, the University of Nottingham and the Hong Kong Institute of Education, CfBT Education Trust has commissioned a series of reviews of international literature. These reviews cover a range of topics related to school improvement including assessment for learning; the inclusion of students with special educational needs; effective teaching practice; school self-evaluation; and successful school leadership.

The idea that schools can impact positively on student outcomes is a crucial driver in the rise of interest in school improvement research and practice. These reviews highlight international examples of best practice in order to effect change and identify how effective school improvement manifests itself. It forms a useful tool for schools and school leaders, but also acts as a lesson for policymakers in terms of what works around the world.

This review focuses on: Successful leadership

School leaders are under considerable pressure to demonstrate the contribution of their work to school improvement, which has resulted in the creation of a wide range of literature which addresses leadership in the context of school improvement. This review pays particular attention to issues including transformational leadership, instructional/pedagogical leadership and distributed leadership.

The other four reviews in this series focus on:

Assessment for learning

Assessment for learning – where the first priority is to promote learning – is a key means of initiating improvement. The features, strategies and principles underpinning assessment for learning form the basis of this review.

From exclusion to inclusion

With a specific focus on children with special educational needs (SEN), this review addresses the forms of classroom practice that can help all children to participate. The review particularly focuses on elements of inclusive education and the implications for schools and school leaders.

Effective teaching

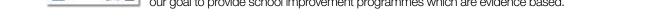
Teachers are one of the key elements in any school and effective teaching is one of the key propellers for school improvement. This review is concerned with how to define a teacher's effectiveness and what makes an effective teacher. It draws out implications for policymakers in education and for improving classroom practice.

School self-evaluation for school improvement

School self-evaluation can be a fundamental force in achieving school improvement and this review establishes what the key debates are in relation to school self-evaluation, what principles and processes

are associated with it, and what the implications are for school self-evaluation as a means of leading school improvement. The review also incorporates a framework for conducting self-evaluation and case study examples from systems and schools that have previously undergone the process.

CfBT is a world authority on school improvement. We work directly with schools and governments improving education outcomes through evaluation, training and professional development programmes. This series of reviews fits into our aim to develop evidence for education and supports our goal to provide school improvement programmes which are evidence based.





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Executive summary

The evidence examined by this review indicates that effective school leadership is important but, in isolation, is not a sufficient condition for successful schools.

The review draws particular attention to two concepts of leadership: instructional/pedagogical and transformational. While there is evidence that instructional/pedagogical leadership has been shown to be important for promoting better academic outcomes for students, it is concluded that the two forms of leadership are not mutually exclusive. A combination of strategies can be most beneficial in ensuring school success and most leadership effects operate indirectly to promote student outcomes by supporting and enhancing conditions for teaching and learning through direct impacts on teachers and their work.

School leaders, particularly principals, have a key role to play in setting direction and creating a positive school culture including the proactive school mindset, and supporting and enhancing staff motivation and commitment needed to foster improvement and promote success for schools in challenging circumstances.

The challenges facing school leaders include:

- ensuring consistently good teaching and learning
- integrating a sound grasp of basic knowledge and skills within a broad and balanced curriculum
- managing behaviour and attendance
- strategically managing resources and the environment
- building the school as a professional learning community
- developing partnerships beyond the school to encourage parental support for learning and new learning opportunities.

The key dimensions of successful leadership are identified as:

- · defining the vision, values and direction
- improving conditions for teaching and learning
- · redesigning the organisation: aligning roles and responsibilities
- enhancing teaching and learning
- redesigning and enriching the curriculum
- enhancing teacher quality (including succession planning)
- building relationships inside the school community
- building relationships outside the school community
- placing an emphasis on common values.



Introduction

Countries increasingly use a range of approaches for the evaluation and assessment of students, teachers, school leaders, schools and education systems. These are used as tools for understanding better how well students are learning, for providing information to parents and society at large about educational performance and for improving school, school leadership and teaching practices.¹

The past 15 years have witnessed a remarkably consistent, worldwide effort by educational policy-makers to reform schools by holding them more publicly accountable for improving student performance in state or national tests.² For school leaders, and for those who study what they do, the main consequence of this policy shift has been considerable pressure to demonstrate the contribution that their work makes to such improvement. Curiously, this pressure has not actually emerged from a widespread scepticism about the value of leadership; quite the opposite. Indeed, it would be more accurate to characterise this as a demand to 'prove' the widely-held assumption that leadership matters a great deal. However, the empirical evidence in support of this assumption, while reasonably robust now, has been slow to accumulate.

The pervasiveness of the assumption that leadership matters seems much more likely to have been rooted in what has been termed 'the romance of leadership';3 it offers a simple explanation for some very complex organisational puzzles. By now, however, it is reasonably certain that there is more to the work of leaders than romance. International examples of original research provide consistent evidence that demonstrates the impact of leadership on school organisation, culture and teachers' work.⁴ Comprehensive and increasingly systematic reviews of such evidence,⁵ a major US study carried out for the Wallace Foundation,⁶ a large-scale mixed-methods empirical research study on the impact of effective leadership on student outcomes in English schools⁷ and the extensive research over a decade carried out by members of the 14-country International Successful School Principals Project (ISSPP) all provide considerable empirical evidence that the quality of leadership can be a critical factor in explaining variation in student outcomes between schools. Recent OECD country evaluations have also highlighted the importance of leadership in supporting school improvement.⁸ However, the question of the size of leadership effects and how they operate (directly or indirectly) to raise student outcomes remains a subject of debate.

¹ OECD (2013: 17).

Hallinger & Huber (2012).

Meindl, Ehrlich & Dukerich (1985).

Leithwood & Jantzi (1999a); Leithwood & Jantzi (1999b); Silins & Mulford (2002a); Day et al. (2009); Hallinger & Huber (2012).

⁵ Hallinger & Heck (1996); Marzano, Waters & McNulty (2005); Leithwood et al. (2008); Robinson, Hohepa & Lloyd (2009); Hallinger & Heck (2010).

⁶ Louis et al. (2010).

Day et al. (2010).

⁸ OECD (2013).



This review uses both the terms 'effective' and 'successful' in reviewing school leadership research. School effectiveness research has had a strong focus on student outcomes; a more effective school is generally defined as one that promotes better student outcomes than would be predicted on the basis of student intake characteristics. It can be argued, however, that creating the conditions that promote greater school effectiveness is a necessary but not sufficient condition for successful school leadership. Thus, although it is acknowledged that measurable outcomes such as student progress and achievement are key indicators of effectiveness, they are insufficient to ensure success. In order to achieve the latter, schools must strive to educate their students by promoting positive values (integrity, compassion and fairness), love of lifelong learning, and fostering citizenship and personal, economic and social capabilities. For successful leadership, these social outcomes are likely to be deemed as important as promoting students' academic outcomes. Indeed the concept of student well-being is receiving increasing attention in many contexts.

This review seeks to increase knowledge and understanding of school leadership and its relationship with school improvement and student outcomes. It will examine definitions, concepts and models of leadership and examine the outcomes of recent research on successful leadership of effective and improving schools. Much of the research on school leadership has focused on the role of the principal or headteacher, but it is increasingly recognised that the distribution of school leadership more widely within schools is important and can promote improvement. This review pays particular attention to the concepts of *Transformational leadership, Instructional/pedagogical leadership and Distributed leadership*.

⁹ Teddlie & Reynolds (2000); Sammons (2007).

¹⁰ Putnam (ed.) (2002).



Defining leadership

The concepts of leadership, management and administration overlap and have been accorded different emphases over time and in different contexts. Their usage varies across countries and professional cultures. In English-speaking countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the UK and the US, the role of leader is seen as of prime importance in raising standards and promoting school improvement, but this is not so in other countries, for example the Netherlands and Scandinavian countries. This difference in emphasis reflects variations in the functioning of education systems and their historical, national and regional policy contexts that will exert different degrees of influence on institutions' work and therefore on the role of leaders in schools.

The distinction between the focus or concerns of organisational leadership and management has been summarised as follows.¹¹

Leading concerns

- Vision
- Strategic issues
- Transformation
- Ends
- People
- Doing the right thing

Managing concerns

- Implementation
- Operational issues
- Transactions
- Means
- Systems

Doing things right

A more detailed delineation of characteristics which are identified as important in relation to leadership in Australia, that build on the above, include:

- providing vision
- developing, consultatively, a common purpose
- facilitating the achievement of educational and organisational goals
- being responsive to diverse needs and situations
- having a future orientation
- providing educational entrepreneurship
- linking resources to outcomes
- supporting the school as a lively educational place
- working creatively with, and empowering, others
- ensuring that the processes and content of the curriculum are contemporary and relevant.

¹¹ West-Burnham (1997a).



The important characteristics for management include:

- ensuring that management practices reflect leadership actions
- carrying out restructuring so that the school organisation is more effective and efficient
- collaboratively designing and carrying out strategic plans
- meeting accountability requirements
- getting things done
- making sure the organisation is running smoothly
- working effectively with people
- · providing effective financial management
- marketing and promoting the school.¹²

These can be combined into a set of four linked skill areas:13

Influencing skills e.g. motivating people, negotiating, public speaking and entrepreneurial Learning skills e.g. rapid reading, thinking skills, information processing and anticipation Facilitating skills e.g. listening, recognising potential, team building, building alliances Creative skills e.g. envisioning, inspiring, empowering and aligning

Example of definitions of the role of school leaders in England and links with policy context

The role of school leadership has received a particularly strong policy emphasis in England for over a decade with the creation of a National College for the Leadership of Schools and Children's Services (formerly NCSL), and an increased focus on training, qualification and professional development for school leaders within a national qualification framework. More recently the links between leadership and teaching have been highlighted with the amalgamation of the Teaching Agency and the National College. The newly formed National College for Teaching and Leadership (2013) has emphasised its two key aims as: improving the quality of the workforce; and helping schools to help each other to improve. A consistent theme has been strong external accountability pressures, with school leaders increasingly held responsible for raising standards of achievement, leading school improvement and enhancing the quality of teaching in schools.

¹² Australian Principals Associations Professional Development Office (APAPDC) (2000: 4).

¹³ Lessem (1991).



A useful starting point in understanding how school leadership and its relationship to student learning has been conceptualised is provided by the following extract from the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) Framework. Ofsted is the national inspection agency responsible for inspecting schools and providing quality assurance and public accountability in England and it has played a very influential role in shaping schools' approaches to improvement.¹⁴ This extract emphasises the connection between what leaders do and what happens in the classroom:

Effective headteachers provide a clear vision and sense of direction for the school. They prioritise. They focus the attention of staff on what is important and do not let them get diverted and sidetracked with initiatives that will have little impact on the work of the students. They know what is going on in their classrooms. They have a clear view of the strengths and weaknesses of their staff. They know how to build on the strengths and reduce the weaknesses. They can focus their programme of staff development on the real needs of their staff and school. They gain this view through a systematic programme of monitoring and evaluation. Their clarity of thought, sense of purpose and knowledge of what is going on mean that effective headteachers can get the best out of their staff, which is the key to influencing work in the classroom and to raising the standards achieved by students.¹⁵

A set of National Standards for Headteachers was established in 2004 which identified core professional leadership and management practices in six key areas. These apply to all phases and types of schools and are in turn subdivided into the knowledge, professional qualities (skills, dispositions and personal capabilities) and actions needed to achieve them. These include:

- Shaping the Future: creating a shared vision and strategic plan for the school (in collaboration with governing body) that motivates staff and others in the community;
- Leading Learning and Teaching: headteachers taking responsibility for raising the quality of teaching
 and learning and for students' achievement. This implies setting high expectations and monitoring and
 evaluating the effectiveness of learning outcomes. A successful learning culture will enable students to
 become effective, enthusiastic, independent learners, committed to life-long learning;
- Developing Self and Working with Others: building effective relationships and building a professional learning community through performance management and effective professional development for staff;
- Managing the Organisation: improving organisational structures through self-evaluation, organisation
 and management of people and resources in order to build capacity across the workforce and deploy
 cost effective resources;
- Securing Accountability: headteachers are accountable to students, parents, carers, governors, the local authority and the whole community to provide a high quality of education for promoting collective responsibility within the whole school community and for contributing to the education service more widely;
- Strengthening Community: creating links and collaborating with other schools, parents, carers and other agencies to share expertise and ensure children's well-being.¹⁶

¹⁴ National College for School Leadership (2001); Matthews & Sammons (2004).

¹⁵ National College for School Leadership (2001).

¹⁶ Department for Education and Skills (2004).



England has a relatively decentralised education system with many leadership and management decisions taken at a school level. This is a consequence of the introduction of Local Management of Schools (LMS) that devolved autonomy on resource allocation and priorities from local authorities to school governors. A 2007 research study¹⁷ outlined six main areas of responsibility that headteachers identified by themselves: *accountability* (time spent fulfilling the legal and other responsibilities of headteachers); *strategy* (setting the strategic ethos of the school and improvement planning); *managing teaching and learning; staffing issues* (including recruitment and staff's professional development); *networking* (with other schools and other appropriate organisations); and *operations* (the day-to-day management of the school).

In England, headteachers are held accountable for school performance through a highly developed national accountability framework. This framework includes individual target-setting for each school, the publication of exam results and a national inspection regime where reports on the performance of individual schools are publicly available and parents are encouraged to examine these reports when choosing a school for their child. The considerable autonomy and control that school leaders have in some areas is thus linked to high levels of accountability and areas of national guidelines and prescription. Headteachers' professional associations have called for more intelligent accountability, more flexibility on staff pay and conditions and, in particular, 'more support and less pressure' for school leaders from national agencies, Ofsted and central government.¹⁸

The challenges facing school leaders

These include: ensuring consistently good teaching and learning; integrating a sound grasp of basic knowledge and skills within a broad and balanced curriculum; managing behaviour and attendance; strategically managing resources and the environment; building the school as a professional learning community; and developing partnerships beyond the school to encourage parental support for learning and new learning opportunities.

¹⁷ PricewaterhouseCoopers (2007).

¹⁸ SHA (2004).



Models of leadership that promote successful schools

Most school variables, considered separately, have only small effects on student learning. To obtain large effects, educators need to create synergy across the relevant variables. Among all the parents, teachers and policymakers who work hard to improve education, educators in leadership positions are uniquely well positioned to ensure the necessary synergy...¹⁹

This statement by the authors of a large-scale research study in 180 schools in 43 school districts in North America which focused upon 'Learning from Leadership: Investigating the Links to Improved Student Learning', provides further confirmation of the research findings reported throughout this review that leadership, particularly that of the headteacher, counts. Indeed, the authors of the study claim that they did not find one case of a school which was improving its student achievement 'in the absence of talented leadership'.

The above study cites a review of leadership theory which identified 21 leadership approaches²⁰ each preceded by a different adjective: for example, 'constructivist leadership',²¹ 'change leadership',²² 'learning leadership',²³ 'democratic leadership',²⁴ and even 'teacher leadership'.²⁵

The findings of this study were echoed in another study²⁶ which found that leaders have direct and indirect effects on student learning – direct effects through the building of 'organisational learning' through work with staff and leadership capacity that has a clear focus on teaching and learning and subsequently indirectly affects students' motivation, behaviour, engagement, learning and achievement. Similar conclusions were drawn in other studies focused on Australia and England respectively.²⁷ In short, it appears that it is the collective leadership effects that count. Such leadership effects do, it seems, draw primarily upon two models or theories of effective leadership which are set out below.

For the purposes of this review, therefore, we will draw upon these two main theories of leadership – transformational and pedagogical/instructional which a range of research now acknowledges provide a 'best fit' with notions of the kinds of collective leadership which are inescapable in schools of the 21st century, defined as:

... a shift away from the conventional, hierarchical patterns of bureaucratic control toward what has been referred to as a network pattern of control, that is, a pattern of control in which line employees are actively involved in [making] organisational decision[s] [and] staff cooperation and collegiality supplant the hierarchy as a means of coordinating work flows and resolving technical difficulties.²⁸

What the definition and the combination of transformational with pedagogical/instructional leadership approaches also signal is the shift, over the last two decades, from principal as manager to principal as both manager *and* leader.

¹⁹ Louis et al. (2010: 9).

²⁰ Yammerino et al. (2005).

²¹ Lambert et al. (eds.) (1995).

²² Wagner et al. (2006).

²³ Reeves (2006).

²⁴ Møller et al. (2007).

⁵ York-Barr & Duke (2004).

²⁶ Robinson, Hohepa & Lloyd (2009).

²⁷ Silins & Mulford (2002b); Day et al. (2009).

²⁸ Miller & Rowan (2006).



Transformational leadership

This model of leadership is most often associated with vision; setting directions; restructuring and realigning the organisation; developing staff and curriculum; and involvement with the external community.²⁹

Much of what has been discovered about such leadership in this body of research reinforces the validity of four core sets of leadership practices.

Building vision and setting directions

This category of practices carries the bulk of the effort to motivate leaders' colleagues. It is about the establishment of shared purpose as a basic stimulant for one's work. The more specific practices in this category are building a shared vision, fostering the acceptance of group goals and demonstrating high performance expectations.³⁰ These specific practices reflect, but also add to, three functions of managerial taxonomy³¹ derived from non-educational organisations: motivating and inspiring, clarifying roles and objectives, and planning and organising. Direction-setting practices of principals significantly influence teachers' stress, individual sense of efficacy and organisational commitment. One of these practices, helping the staff develop and inspiring a shared sense of purpose, enhances teachers' work, whereas holding (and expressing) unreasonable expectations has quite negative effects.

Understanding and developing people

While practices in this category make a significant contribution to motivation, their primary aim is building not only the knowledge and skills that teachers and other staff need in order to accomplish organisational goals but also the dispositions (commitment, capacity and resilience) to persist in applying the knowledge and skills. The more specific practices in this category are providing individualised support and consideration, fostering intellectual stimulation, and modelling appropriate values and behaviours. These specific practices not only reflect managerial behaviours in the managerial taxonomy (supporting, developing and mentoring, recognising, and rewarding) but, as more recent research has demonstrated, are central to the ways in which successful leaders integrate the functional and the personal. Included among these practices are being collegial, considerate and supportive, listening to teachers' ideas, and generally looking out for teachers' personal and professional welfare. Acknowledging and rewarding good work and providing feedback to teachers about their work also mean positive working conditions for teachers. Headteachers assist the work of teachers, in addition, when they provide them with discretionary space, promote regular access to a range of professional learning and development opportunities, distribute leadership across the school and 'practise what they preach' (model appropriate values and practices).

Redesigning the organisation

The specific practices included in this category are concerned with establishing work conditions which, for example, allow teachers to make the most of their motivations, commitments and capacities. School leadership practices explain significant variations in teachers' beliefs about and responses to their working conditions.³³ Specific practices are building collaborative cultures, restructuring and reculturing the organisation, building productive relations with parents and the community, and connecting the school with its wider environment.³⁴ Comparable practices in the managerial taxonomy include managing conflict and team building, delegating, consulting, and networking.

²⁹ Burns (1978); Bass (1985); Leithwood & Jantzi (2005).

³⁰ Hallinger & Heck (2002).

³¹ Yukl (1989).

³² Bass & Avolio (1994).

³³ Leithwood (2006).

³⁴ Louis & Kruse (1998); Chrisman (2005).



Managing the teaching and learning programme

As with the last category, the specific practices included in this category aim to create productive working conditions for teachers, in this case by fostering organisational stability and strengthening the school's infrastructure. Specific practices are staffing the teaching programmes, providing teaching support, monitoring school activity, and buffering staff against distractions from their work.³⁵ The taxonomy includes monitoring as a key part of successful leaders' behaviours. Providing resources for teachers and minimising student misbehaviour or disorder in the school are highly valued conditions of work which headteachers are also in a position to provide.

Other practices

Four influential practices by headteachers emerged from the review which could not readily be classified among the four sets of core leadership practices. Positive effects on teachers' individual and collective efficacy, organisational commitment and stress were reported for headteachers who were able to influence the decisions of senior leadership colleagues to the benefit of the school, communicate effectively and act in a friendly manner. By contrast, it was found that excessive stress and loss of trust on the part of teachers resulted from inconsistent behaviour on the part of headteachers and frequent failure to follow through on decisions.

While some studies have suggested that transformational leadership practices primarily emphasise relationships,³⁶ it is clear from this body of literature that effective transformational leaders also place an emphasis upon promoting better student outcomes through the use of pedagogical/instructional leadership, also sometimes referred to as 'leading for learning'.³⁷

Pedagogical/instructional leadership

While transformational leadership has traditionally emphasised vision and inspiration, pedagogical leadership has emphasised the importance of establishing clear educational goals, planning the curriculum and evaluating teachers and teaching. It sees the leader's prime focus as responsible for promoting better outcomes for students, emphasising the importance of teaching and learning and enhancing their quality.³⁸

The more leaders focus their influence, their learning and their relationships with teachers on the core business of teaching and learning, the greater their influence on student outcomes.³⁹

This has its origins in a work⁴⁰ which itself has been criticised on the grounds that it is an unrealistic expectation that headteachers should have expert knowledge in all areas of teaching and learning, particularly at the secondary level.

³⁵ Duke (2004), Hallinger (2003).

Robinson, Hohepa & Lloyd (2009).

³⁷ Hallinger (2010).

Robinson, Hohepa & Lloyd (2009).

³⁹ Robinson, Hohepa & Lloyd (2009: 28).

⁴⁰ Bossert et al. (1982).



Yet, in order to exercise leadership of learning, headteachers need to be knowledgeable about it.

Without an understanding of the knowledge necessary for teachers to teach well – content knowledge, general pedagogical knowledge, content-specific pedagogical knowledge, curricular knowledge and knowledge of learners – school leaders will be unable to perform essential school improvement functions such as monitoring instruction and supporting teacher development.⁴¹

While this would seem to be an impossible task for one person, it provides a sound justification for the distribution of leadership responsibilities. It also links closely with the leadership functions of setting directions and developing people.

A meta-analysis of leadership identified five key dimensions (see below) which influence success in promoting better student outcomes. These are not entirely dissimilar to those identified in the earlier review of empirical studies on transformational leadership.⁴² The figures in brackets indicate the relative 'effect size' impacts where 0.2 and below is small, 0.4 is medium and 0.6 and above is large. Associated with each of these dimensions is leaders' enthusiasm, optimism, willingness and ability to 'walk the talk'.

- 1. Establishing goals and expectations (0.42)
 - establish the importance of the goals
 - · ensure that the goals are clear
 - develop staff commitment to the goals.
- 2. Resourcing strategically (0.31)
 - use clear criteria that are aligned to pedagogical and philosophical purposes
 - ensure sustained funding for pedagogical priorities.
- 3. Planning, coordinating, and evaluating teaching and the curriculum (0.42)
 - promote collegial discussions of teaching and how it impacts on student achievement
 - provide active oversight and coordination of the teaching programme
 - observe in classrooms and provide feedback that teachers describe as useful
 - ensure systematic monitoring of student progress and use of assessment results for programme improvement.
- 4. Promoting and participating in teacher learning and development (0.84)

According to this meta-analysis⁴³ this dimension of leaders' work produced the 'largest estimated effect size' i.e. a significant effect on student outcomes. In this dimension, leaders:

- · ensure an intensive focus on the teaching-learning relationships
- promote collective responsibility and accountability for student achievement and well-being
- provide useful advice about how to solve teaching problems.
- 5. Ensuring an orderly and supportive environment (0.27)
 - protect teacher time
 - ensure consistent discipline routines
 - identify and resolve conflicts quickly and effectively.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Spillane & Louis (2002).

⁴² Leithwood et al. (2006a).

⁴³ Robinson, Hohepa & Lloyd (2009).

⁴⁴ Robinson, Hohepa & Lloyd (2009: 39-43).



The meta-analysis also identified three dimensions of effective pedagogical leadership drawn from indirect evidence. These are:

- 6. Creating educationally powerful connections by:
 - establishing continuities between student identities and school practices
 - developing continuities and coherence across teaching programmes
 - ensuring effective transitions from one educational setting to another
 - building and enhancing home-school connections.
- 7. Engaging in constructive problem talk by:
 - · discovering the reasons why teachers do the things they seek to change
 - leading discussions of the merits of current and alternative practices.
- 8. Selecting, developing and using smart tools by:
 - ensuring they are based on valid theories
 - ensuring they are well designed.⁴⁵

This is particularly important knowledge about effective, successful leaders' work, since it highlights the importance of emotional literacy,⁴⁶ continuing 'close-up' participation in teachers' work and attending to parental participation to ensure active engagement in support of students' learning. Indeed, this sobering reflection attempts to illustrate what one researcher refers to as a kind of 'spirituality' required of leaders – a self-understanding or 'world-view':

Most educational leaders will experience failure, disappointment, frustration, rejection and hostility at some time during their professional lives. The lack of a set of fundamental principles makes such reverses almost impossible to bear and may actually give rise to acute dysfunction. When faced with personal rejection we can either seek to reaffirm the principles by which we work or become reactive, pragmatic and expedient.⁴⁷

The meta-analysis results suggest that transformational leadership is less likely to result in strong effects upon student learning and achievements (because it focused originally upon staff relationships).⁴⁸ By contrast, because pedagogical/instructional leadership is focused on the core business of schools in enhancing effective teaching and learning it is likely to have a larger impact on student outcomes. The meta-analysis indicated that the impact of pedagogical leadership is nearly four times that of transformational leadership.

⁴⁵ Robinson, Hohepa & Lloyd (2009: 43-44).

⁴⁶ Harris (2006).

⁴⁷ West-Burnham (1997b: 239).

⁴⁸ Harris (2006).



Key question: How far can the features of pedagogical/instructional leadership and those of transformational leadership be identified and distinguished in the work of leaders in your school system?

Research in English schools identified as highly effective and improved⁴⁹ found, however, that such a distinction is not necessarily applicable. In successful schools, headteachers were able to combine 'collaborative capacity building with a keen pedagogical focus'.⁵⁰ In short, they were found to exercise leadership that was both transformational and pedagogical in its focus.

A recent national survey in the US also explored the ways that specific attributes of leadership behaviour affect teachers' work with each other and their classroom practices. In addition it sought to model the relationship with student achievement in mathematics. This research, like that in England, found that school leadership effects on student outcomes operate largely indirectly via their effects on instruction and classroom environments. It can be concluded that both shared and instructionally focused leadership are complementary approaches for improving schools.⁵¹

Longitudinal studies examining how school leaders spend their time may also shed light on the variation of activities that takes place and how this may relate to student outcomes. Another study in the US followed principals over a three-year period and asked participants to log their primary activity at 15-minute intervals. One of the more interesting findings to emerge from the research was that principals that spent relatively more time on finance and personnel issues tended to be associated with schools with higher test scores in English and Maths. Those that appeared to spend more time setting goals, planning and activities related to instructional leadership were associated with schools with lower test scores. The researchers acknowledge, however, the importance of recognising possible reciprocal effects between leaders and context (for example social disadvantage, school size and level). The results also indicated that principals in lower-performing schools were often forced to be more reactive than proactive in their daily activities. ⁵²

⁴⁹ Day et al. (2011).

⁵⁰ Robinson, Hohepa & Lloyd (2009: 93).

⁵¹ Louis, Dretzke & Wahlstrom (2010).

⁵² May, Huff & Goldring (2012).



Research findings on effective and successful leadership in English schools

Reviews of international evidence point to the presence in effective and improving schools of both transformational and pedagogical/instructional leadership at all levels, but especially that of the headteacher, as being a critical determinant in the quality of the psychological, physical and social environments and conditions in which teaching and learning take place. This in turn influences the motivations, expectations, attitudes and conduct of students in classrooms and student outcomes. While much of the research on effective schools has identified their leaders as 'strong', 'purposeful' etc.,⁵³ it is research which focuses upon the work and lives of successful school leaders themselves, their values, knowledge, skills, dispositions, capacities and practices which supply direction for those who provide programmes for their preparation and development and for school leaders themselves who wish to grow and sustain their success.

The IMPACT research is an example of a recent, national, empirical, mixed-methods, multi-perspective study of the impact of headteachers in effective and more effective English primary and secondary schools. Its conceptual base drew upon a review of selected empirical studies of research on transformational leadership⁵⁴ and found that:

- · headteachers are central to school improvement
- headteachers are second only to classroom teachers in their influence upon student outcomes
- while headteachers influence student outcomes indirectly, they do so through their selection, timing, combination and accumulation of strategies and actions which are appropriate to individual, organisational and external social and policy contexts
- headteachers and their staff measure success both in terms of student test and examination results and broader educational purposes
- headteachers are not charismatic in the traditional sense; however, they possess a number of common traits (for example flexibility, openness, fairness) and their work is informed and driven by strong, clearly articulated moral and ethical values which are shared by their colleagues
- headteachers are respected and trusted by their staff and parental bodies and they work persistently, internally and externally, in building relational and organisational trust⁵⁵
- headteachers build the leadership capacities of colleagues through the progressive distribution of responsibility with accountability
- headteachers place emphasis upon creating a range of learning and development opportunities for all staff
- headteachers whose schools draw their students from highly challenging socio-economically disadvantaged communities face a greater range of challenges in terms of staff commitment and retention and student behaviour, motivation and achievement than those in more advantaged communities.⁵⁶ Headteachers of primary and secondary schools in all contexts are able to achieve and sustain successful student outcomes, but the degree of success is likely to be influenced by the relative advantage/disadvantage of the communities from which their students are drawn
- headteachers in schools in disadvantaged communities are likely to be less experienced and stay for shorter periods than those in more advantaged communities.

⁵³ Sammons (2007).

⁵⁴ Leithwood et al. (2006b).

⁵⁵ Bryk & Schneider (2002); Louis (2007).

⁵⁶ Day and Johansson (2008).



Figure 1, below, illustrates eight key dimensions of effective leadership identified by the IMPACT research.⁵⁷ The inner circle illustrates the core focus of leaders' attention, the inner ring their core strategies, and the outer ring the actions they take in support of these strategies. The building of trust is an intrinsic part, embedded within each of the core strategies and an essential part of the actions in the outer ring. The eight dimensions are described below.

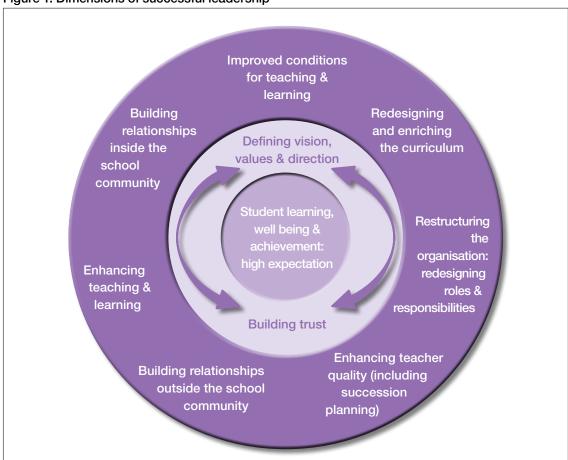


Figure 1: Dimensions of successful leadership⁵⁸

Defining the vision, values and direction. Effective headteachers had a very strong and clear vision and set of values for their school, which heavily influenced their actions and the actions of others, and established a clear sense of direction and purpose for the school. These were shared widely, clearly understood and supported by all staff. They acted as a touchstone against which all new developments, policies or initiatives were tested.

Improving conditions for teaching and learning. Headteachers identified the need to improve the conditions in which the quality of teaching can be maximised and students' learning and performance enhanced. They developed strategies to improve the school buildings and facilities. By changing the physical environment of the schools and improving the classrooms, headteachers confirmed the important connection between high-quality conditions for teaching and learning and the well-being and achievement of both staff and students.

⁵⁷ Day et al. (2008; 2009a).

⁵⁸ Day et al. (2010).



Restructuring the organisation: redesigning roles and responsibilities. Headteachers purposefully and progressively redesigned their organisational structures, redesigned and refined roles and distributed leadership at times and in ways that promoted greater staff engagement and ownership which, in turn, provided greater opportunities for student learning. While the exact nature and timing varied from school to school, there was a consistent pattern of broadening participation in decision-making at all levels.

Enhancing teaching and learning. Successful headteachers continually looked for new ways to improve teaching, learning and achievement. They provided a safe environment for teachers to try new models and alternative approaches that might be more effective. Where this was done, staff responded positively to the opportunity. It affected the way they saw themselves as professionals and improved their sense of self-efficacy and job satisfaction. This, in turn, had a positive impact on the way they interacted with students and other members of staff.

Redesigning and enriching the curriculum. Headteachers focused on redesigning and enriching the curriculum as a way of deepening and extending engagement and improving achievement. Academic attainment was not seen to be in competition with personal and social development: rather the two should complement each other. They adapted the curriculum to broaden learning opportunities and improve access for all students, with the emphasis on 'stage, not age' learning. Changes to build students' creativity and self-esteem featured heavily in the curriculum, as did a focus on developing key skills for life, without neglecting the academic. There was recognition that when students enjoy learning, they are more effective learners. Headteachers also emphasised the provision of a broad range of extra-curricular activities, including lunch-time and after-school clubs, as well as activities during school holidays.

Enhancing teacher quality (including succession planning). Headteachers provided a rich variety of professional learning and development opportunities for staff as part of their drive to raise standards, sustain motivation and commitment and retain staff. They placed a high premium on internally led professional development and learning, and teachers and support staff were also encouraged to take part in a wide range of in-service training, and were given opportunities to train for external qualifications. This combination of external and internal continuing professional development (CPD) was used to maximise potential and develop staff in diverse areas. Succession planning and targeted recruitment were also adopted by effective headteachers.

Building relationships inside the school community. Headteachers developed and sustained positive relationships with staff at all levels, making them feel valued and involved. They demonstrated concern for the professional and personal well-being of staff. The relationship between headteachers and senior leadership teams (SLTs), in particular, indicated trust and mutual respect.

Building relationships outside the school community. Building and improving the reputation of the school and engaging with the wider community were seen as essential to achieving long-term success. Headteachers and their SLTs developed positive relationships with community leaders and built a web of links across the school to other organisations and individuals. Strong links with key stakeholders in the local community were seen to benefit the school.

Common values. Successful headteachers achieved improved performance, not only through the strategies they used but also through the core values and personal qualities they demonstrated in their daily interactions. As Figure 1 illustrates, they placed student care, learning and achievement at the heart of all their decisions.



International research perspectives

In this section, key themes arising from a 14-country international research project (ISSPP) as well as a range of educational leadership studies from different international perspectives are discussed. The cultural lenses used by the principals, the contexts in which they work, and the external criteria for their success, appear to differ between countries and groups of countries with different social and policy histories, and they demonstrate different identities in relation to these. In an effort to better understand the influence of societal cultures on educational leadership, there have been calls for more in the way of international perspectives, particularly those beyond European and English-speaking contexts.

Culture exists at multiple levels. [There are differences] between societal and organisational culture. Societal culture is deeply rooted, based on values and taken for granted usually across a whole country. Organisational culture is made up of more malleable practices that leaders can work to change.⁵⁹

Nonetheless, it is striking that the values, aspirations, qualities, achievements and ways of enacting, achieving and sustaining success are similar across all countries and all school phases, regardless of size. Where there are differences, these were found to relate to the application of initial short-term strategies designed in order to remedy long-term problems which these principals had inherited. Such strategies were selected in order to create the conditions for improvement. While there are, therefore, differences in context, style and initial management strategies, there are also important similarities across the countries in both the values that the principals hold and in the strategies or range of behaviours they use consistently in order to embed and sustain sets of common values, almost regardless of context. The research identified five key themes of similarity across countries and differing contexts.

Key themes from international research on successful principals

- 1. Sustaining passionate commitment and personal accountability
- 2. Maintaining moral purpose and managing tensions and dilemmas
- 3. Being 'other centred' and focusing on learning and development
- 4. Making emotional and rational investment
- 5. Emphasising the personal and the functional

These suggest that successful leadership requires a combination of cognitive and emotional understandings allied to clear sets of standards and values, the differential application of a cluster of key strategies, and the abiding presence of a passion for people and education. It is the identification of these multiple but coherent combinations of values, understandings, key strategies and commitments internationally which is the unique contribution that this research makes to knowledge of successful principalship internationally. Principals had different starting points but the same visions.



Analysis of quantitative studies from North America based around the 'Urban Schools Framework' suggested that school leadership influences student outcomes more than other factors bar socioeconomic background and quality of teaching. The report states that 'nearly 60% of a school's impact on student achievement is attributable to principal and teacher effectiveness' with principals accounting for 25%. 60 One of the main factors seen to contribute substantially towards the improvement of schools in this study was principals' recognition of the different progress faced by schools trying to improve:

Highly effective principals understand this trajectory and constantly diagnose their school's practices against it. They have a clear picture of their current state, future goals, and the path in between. Principals use this information to identify the few, focused, and highest impact actions they can take to move their schools into the next stage and achieve breakthrough outcomes for children. They recognise that key dimensions of leadership in an early turnaround situation are quite different than in a highly successful, well-functioning school.⁶¹

A recent review of school leadership practices in international contexts was recently carried out in eight regions: Alberta (Canada), England, Ontario (Canada), New York (United States), New Zealand, The Netherlands, Singapore, and Victoria (Australia). This analysis indicated that 'high-performing' principals did not necessarily work longer hours than other principals; however, more time was spent with other people in their schools: 'they walk the halls more, spend more time coaching teachers, interact more often with parents and external administrators, and spend more time with students.¹⁶² Another review of leadership in various national settings that looked specifically at principals' time allocation found, perhaps unsurprisingly, that how principals use their time can be influenced by societal factors such as economic, sociocultural and institutional features of the particular systems in which they participate. 63 Using the PDI (Power Distance Index) as an indicator of the level of hierarchy in a society, these researchers found that principals from lower PDI or less 'hierarchically organised' societies indicated spending more time on instructional leadership, collaborating and establishing collegial relationships with teachers and interacting with parents and the wider community.⁶⁴ A recent Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) of 23 countries by the OECD found that while varying degrees of instructional leadership exist in different national settings, school leaders who adopted a stronger instructional leadership focus were associated with more collaboration between teachers, more positive teacher-student interactions, and greater recognition of teacher innovation.65

Some mention should also be made here of educational policy. A study of 14 OECD countries and their school leadership practices and policies yielded four levers for improvement:66

- the redefining of school leadership responsibilities (and the recognition that autonomy does not automatically lead to improvement unless adequately supported at a higher level)
- the distribution of leadership within and between schools
- an awareness of the importance of leadership development and effective initial leadership training
- making school leadership an attractive profession and providing options for career development.

⁶⁰ New Leaders for New Schools (NLNS) (2009: 5).

⁶¹ New Leaders for New Schools (NLNS) (2009: 7). 62 Barber, Whelan & Clark (2010).

⁶³ Lee & Hallinger (2012).

⁶⁴ Lee & Hallinger (2012).

⁶⁵ OECD (2009).

⁶⁶ OECD (2008).



The follow-up to the first installation of this report discussed system-wide leadership and international practice:

In this new environment, schools and schooling are being given an ever bigger job to do... One of school leaders' new roles is increasingly to work with other schools and other school leaders, collaborating and developing relationships of interdependence and trust. System leaders, as they are being called, care about and work for the success of other schools as well as their own. Crucially they are willing to shoulder system leadership roles because they believe that in order to change the larger system you have to engage with it in a meaningful way.⁶⁷

The study concluded that systemic leadership needs to develop and emerge from principals themselves and from agencies committed to working with them (an example of which might be the National College for Teaching and Leadership in England). Collaboration at all levels and sharing of expertise, resources and skills can create more opportunities for educational transformation than isolated practices and institutions: 'Attaining this future demands that we give school leaders more possibilities in taking the lead.' 489

⁶⁷ OECD (2008: 6).

⁶⁸ OECD (2008).

⁶⁹ OECD (2008: 7).



Leadership values: ethical/moral leadership

An area of leadership so often overlooked in the more recent empirical mainstream leadership research – perhaps because it is more difficult to quantify – is the key role which values- and ethics-driven purposes play in leadership decisions, staffroom relationships, classroom pedagogies and 'can do' cultures or 'mindsets' of school improvement.⁷⁰

The most successful school leaders are... flexible rather than dogmatic in their thinking within a system of core values including persistence, resilience and optimism, [and] such traits help explain why successful leaders facing daunting conditions are often able to push forward when there is little reason to expect progress.⁷¹

Research internationally confirms these two statements and demonstrates the nature of such values-led, flexible, persistent, resilient and optimistic leadership in the face of the challenge of parental passivity, emotionally and intellectually alien community environments and, in some cases, national policies which are not perceived by the headteachers to be of particular benefit to the school.

Much literature has long acknowledged the strong sense of vocation which the best leaders (and teachers) demonstrate through their presence and their work. The evidence is unambiguous – the most effective leaders have strong moral and ethical purposes and a strong sense of social justice. They care passionately about improving educational experiences for all groups of students, especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds. These are evidenced in the ways in which effective leaders ensure that ultimately all stakeholders (teachers, non-teaching staff, students, parents, governors and the broader community) participate through forms of capacity building, distributed leadership, and along with these, increased collective responsibility and accountability for promoting student progress and achievement. Research also tells us that moral/ethical purposes in action are evidenced by:

- regular professional dialogue about teaching and learning
- strong social support in problem solving (care)
- shared goals and collective responsibility
- individual and collective efficacy
- norms of equity and justice.

⁷⁰ James et al. (2006).

⁷¹ Day et al. (2010: 14).

⁷² Starratt (1991); Begley & Johansson (2003).



Table 1: The organisational and communal orientation of schools⁷³

Schools as impersonal organisations	Schools as affective communities	Schools as high performance learning organisations	Schools as person- centred learning communities
The functional marginalises the personal	The personal marginalises the functional	The personal is used for the sake of the functional	The functional is for the sake of/expressive of the personal
Mechanistic organisation	Affective community	Learning organisation	Learning community
Community is unimportant/destructive of organisational purposes	Community has no/ few organisational consequences or requirements	Community is a useful tool to achieve organisational purposes	Organisation exists to promote community
Efficient	Restorative	Effective	Morally and instrumentally successful

Successful principals achieve their success because they are able to enter into two kinds of relations with their worlds - the personal and the functional. It is argued that functional relations are essentially instrumental in nature whereas personal relations have no purpose other than to enable us to be ourselves.⁷⁴ A fourfold typology of schools has been used to illustrate the different possible combinations of emphasis in these relationships (see Table 1).

The interdependence of the functional and personal is seen as both inevitable and desirable. The functional provides the concrete, instrumental means by which the personal expresses itself.⁷⁵ It is further suggested that 'not only is the functional for the sake of the personal, and the personal achieved through the functional, but the influence of the personal on the functional is transformative of it: the functional should be expressive of the personal.'76

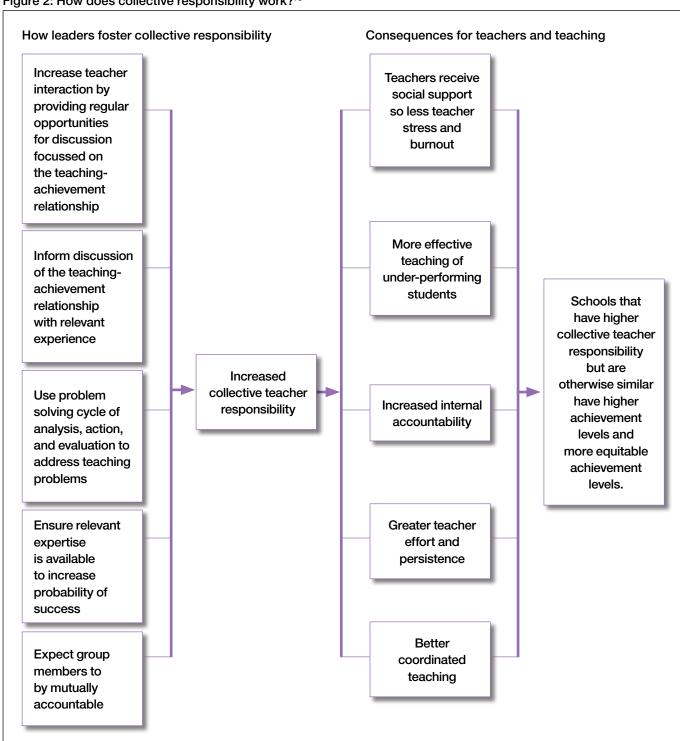
Figure 2, from a meta-analysis of 73 international and 61 New Zealand research studies,77 illustrates the concept of collective responsibility in action and its hypothesised consequences for teaching, learning, equity and achievement.

Fielding (2006: 354).
 Fielding (2001: 11).
 Fielding (2003: 3).
 Fielding (2003: 5).

⁷⁷ Robinson, Hohepa & Lloyd (2009: 126).



Figure 2: How does collective responsibility work?⁷⁸



⁷⁸ Robinson, Hohepa & Lloyd (2009: 126).



It may be useful to remember at this point that:

Without effective teacher guidance and instruction in the classroom, learning and progress cannot be achieved. The underlying rationale is that while organisational aspects of schools provide the necessary preconditions for effective teaching, it is the quality of teacher-student interactions that principally determines student progress.⁷⁹

Even so, a recent meta-analysis of leadership research in various international contexts suggested that under 'normal' operating conditions in average schools, leadership can be described as more 'indirectly facilitating':⁸⁰ hence the researchers' proposed concept of 'meta control' whereby effects of distributed leadership and organisational leadership are examined along with 'substitutes for leadership' or how control is orchestrated by leaders through other 'actors on the school scene'.⁸¹ Other researchers echo this sentiment noting that 'school improvement may be better served by teacher leadership that does not act alone, but is part of a broad system of leadership influences and tasks performed by multiple actors'⁸² (which would include students and parents).⁸³ Leadership for school improvement then emerges as a 'shared social-influence process' aimed at achieving an organisational end.⁸⁴

Key questions: What is the appropriate balance between the functional and the personal in schools in my education system? How far do schools demonstrate different positions in the typology of organisational and communal orientations?

⁷⁹ Antoniou (2013: 126).

⁸⁰ Antoniou (2013).

⁸¹ Scheerens (2012).

⁸² Smylie, Conley & Marks (2002).

⁸³ Foster (2005).

⁸⁴ Yukl (1998).



New research knowledge about how leaders succeed in different contexts

Recent research in England that studied the relationship between leadership and improvements in student outcomes (the IMPACT study noted earlier) provides robust evidence-based responses to four fundamental questions that are discussed below.

Question 1: What is it about headteacher leadership in schools in the IMPACT study which enabled the school's effectiveness to increase or be sustained over several years in terms of student outcomes?

The primacy of the headteacher

Headteacher leadership remains the major driving force and underpins the school's increased or sustained effectiveness and improvement. His or her leadership 'serves as a catalyst for unleashing the potential capacities that already exist in the organisation'.85

Alignment: a key strategy

A key strategy in the endeavours of headteachers to improve the cultures of teaching, learning and achievement in their schools is the alignment of structures and cultures with 'vision' and 'direction'. In effect, they reposition their schools internally through changing expectations, aspirations, structures and cultures so that they are able to build and sustain performance. They increase effectiveness through a sustained focus upon raising the quality of teaching and learning while at the same time raising the levels of individual and collective efficacy and involvement of staff.

Positioning for improvement: more than a repertoire of basic leadership practices

Successful headteachers engage in, and are acknowledged to demonstrate four core sets of leadership qualities and practices: building vision and setting directions; understanding and developing people; redesigning the organisation; and managing (directly or through others) the teaching and learning programmes. However, there are differences in the degree of their perceived emphasis between leaders in primary and secondary schools and teachers in relatively advantaged and relatively disadvantaged schools.

Improving the teaching and learning

In the IMPACT research the vast majority of primary headteachers (81%) focused on improving the teaching and learning programme, in combination with a range of other foci, the most common of which are related to: redesigning the organisation (44%); setting directions (31%); developing people (36%); increasing the academic emphasis (34%); and distributing leadership (16%). For secondary headteachers, 89% reported a priority action related to improving the programme; 46% to setting direction; 25% to the academic emphasis; and 23% to developing people. Further analysis of the items related to improving the teaching and learning programme indicated that this included a wide range of actions that are further subdivided.

⁸⁵ Leithwood et al. (2006a: 5).



Question 2: How did headteachers in the IMPACT study contribute to sustained school effectiveness?

Diagnosis and differentiation

Headteachers do not engage simultaneously in developing, implementing and sustaining all the strategies recognised in the literature as being necessary for effective leadership, but they prioritise according to context. It is their ability to identify the most important changes and to ensure that these are made which forms the key characteristics of successful headteachers. They do not pursue only one strategy in their quest for success. Rather, they combine a number but prioritise within them. In other words, they are able to diagnose (needs), differentiate (in levels of importance and timing of strategies to meet these) and actively coordinate these strategies. Successful headteachers apply their judgements about the timing and nature of change and prioritise the change strategies in their schools in different ways according to their diagnosis of need in relation to purpose and context.

Although headteachers draw upon the same range of qualities, strategies and skills, then the combinations will vary, as will the way they are applied or enacted, since this relates closely to their personal qualities and traits. This helps to account, for example, for the different ways in which they distribute leadership influence among staff.

Building care, learning and achievement cultures: changing expectations and improving the quality of practice

Headteachers sought to build cultures that both promoted student engagement in learning and raised students' achievement levels in terms of value-added test and examination results. The IMPACT study data suggests that headteachers are perceived by their staff to focus primarily upon:

- i. creating and sustaining cultures of high expectations for themselves and others by staff and students
- ii. distributing responsibilities and accountabilities, particularly in disadvantaged contexts (schools with a large number of students eligible for free school meals (FSM))
- iii. nurturing care and trust with collegiality
- iv. improving relationships between staff and students
- connecting student behaviour with student outcomes all headteachers were perceived to have influenced the quality of classroom practice through encouraging more consistency in classroom teaching approaches (for example adopting the 'three-part' lesson espoused in national policy documents
- vi. engaging productively with external agencies in ways which provided additional benefits to the school.



Leading the learning: being responsive to context

The claim that school leaders improve teaching and learning indirectly and most powerfully through their influence on staff motivation, commitment and working conditions is well substantiated in all the research reviewed here. The IMPACT study provided many examples of headteachers:

- i. aligning CPD to the school development plan
- ii. improving the physical working conditions for staff and students
- iii. nurturing staff self-efficacy and motivation
- iv. engaging in succession planning through, for example, clarifying roles and distributing responsibilities to selected staff
- v. building inclusive teams of staff in order to break down barriers to the commitment to whole-school vision.

The timing and application of these strategies are always sensitive to context but all are used. It was found that when school leaders promote and/or participate in effective professional learning, this has twice the impact on student outcomes across a school than any other single leadership activity.⁸⁶

Broadening staff participation in decision-making processes

The IMPACT research revealed that headteachers recognised the importance to the success of the school of broadening the participation of staff, consulting with them on a regular basis and, in some cases, the increased involvement of students in school-wide decision-making processes. There was evidence also of much effort to reshape and broaden the senior leadership team into a group which represented more strongly the 'core' business of raising teaching and learning standards.

Question 3: What are the differences in the IMPACT study between headteachers in different experience phases, different school sectors, different socio-economic contexts and in schools in different improvement trajectories?

Similarities across improvement groupings

Schools in the IMPACT research were drawn from three improvement groups: those improving from 'Low' to 'Moderate' achievement levels and identified as highly effective in terms of student progress (these often served highly disadvantaged student intakes); those improving from 'Moderate' to 'High'; and those that were stable or 'High Effective'. Overall, there appear to be more similarities than differences between schools serving different communities, particularly in relation to:

- i. the extent to which leadership practice in school is provided by other people or groups
- ii. the way that leadership tasks are distributed or shared within schools and
- iii. the kinds of leadership practice provided by the SLT in school.

⁸⁶ Robinson, Hohepa & Lloyd (2009).



Differences by improvement groupings in the extent of change

Nonetheless, some significant differences were found in both primary and secondary schools between the three improvement groups in terms of the extent to which headteachers reported change or improvement across their schools, including aspects related to disciplinary climate, reduction of staff mobility and enhanced commitment and enthusiasm of staff. More improvements or changes were likely to be reported by headteachers in the 'Low' to 'Moderate' or 'High' improvement groups. This finding provides evidence that effective headteachers have a positive influence on the 'mindset' of the school and its culture, including fostering positive staff and student relationships in the school. School leaders tended to improve teaching and learning and student outcomes indirectly and most powerfully through their influence on staff motivation, commitment and working conditions. This is likely to be especially important for schools in challenging circumstances which start from a low base in terms of student attainment.

In both primary and secondary sectors there were significant differences between the three school improvement groups in relation to the reported use of data to improve the quality of teaching and learning. Analysis provides evidence for the hypothesis that effective headteachers in English schools use and ensure that staff adopt evidence-based approaches to the use of assessment data, intervening early and monitoring and evaluating continually at school, department and classroom level. In addition, while the use of data to inform individual student target-setting was widespread, it was a particular feature of the 'Low'/'Moderate'/'High' improvement groups. These features seem to be particularly important for the improvement strategies of schools improving from a low attainment base.

Differences by socio-economic status (SES) context

The finding that headteachers in high-disadvantage schools were more likely to report change in leadership practice in their schools supports the hypothesis that effective headteachers in challenging circumstances have to be more responsive to school cultural and policy contexts in order to improve student outcomes. They also have to make greater efforts to effect improvement in a range of ways.

This finding is consistent with earlier evidence which indicates that a change of headteacher can act as a catalyst for improvement for schools in difficulty. These results support the findings of a recent study of improving secondary schools,⁸⁷ which noted that both tactical and more deep-seated changes were needed and that more successful schools used a range of approaches to support continued improvement (in policies, practices and culture).



Question 4: Are there identifiable sequences or patterns of actions taken by incoming headteachers in the IMPACT study?

There is now a growing body of research which suggests that successful headteachers use the same basic leadership practices, but that there is no single model for achieving success. Rather, successful headteachers draw equally on elements of both instructional and transformational leadership. They work intuitively and from experience, tailoring their leadership strategies to their particular school context. Their ability to respond to their context and to recognise, acknowledge, understand and attend to the needs and motivations of others defines their level of success.

It is the way in which leaders apply leadership practices, rather than the actual practices themselves, that demonstrates their ability to respond to the context in which they work. New evidence of how these core leadership practices are used sensitively according to context relates not only to school turnaround scenarios (typically schools serving highly accountable policy contents:⁸⁸ studies forming part of a five-year study of leadership and learning in the US⁸⁹ indicate that student poverty, diversity and school phase (primary or secondary) can significantly moderate the positive effects of school leadership on student achievement).⁹⁰

Overall, it was concluded that success is built through the synergistic effects of values and qualities of the headteacher and the combination and accumulation of a number of strategies which are related to the headteacher's judgements about what works in the particular school context; in other words, regardless of the 'model'.

⁸⁸ Day & Leithwood (eds.) (2007).

⁸⁹ Louis et al. (2010).

⁹⁰ Wahlstrom & Louis (2008); Gordon & Louis (2009).



Combining transformational and pedagogical/instructional leadership

Research suggests that within-school variation in student outcomes is often considerably greater than the variation between schools. Highly effective and improving schools tend to reduce within-school variation by building common goals and being consistent in their approach.⁹¹ Although most school-level variables have small effects on student outcomes when examined independently,⁹² the combination of their impact tends to be stronger.

Figure 3 shows how student learning and achievement are shaped by a combination of leadership strategies which, taken together, address school culture and staff development, and reveal a strong focus on enhancing the processes of teaching and learning. It presents an explanation of the relationship between leadership practices and changes in secondary student outcomes over three years and is the result of detailed analysis of the quantitative evidence gathered from successful headteachers in secondary schools. In all cases, examination results had improved over at least three consecutive years under their leadership, and their performance was identified as highly effective in value-added analysis of school results.

The influence of variables on students' learning and behaviour is indirect, but there is clear evidence of their effects on retention and attendance of staff, improvements in student attendance and behaviour, and increases in student motivation, engagement and sense of responsibility for learning, all of which are themselves the result of leadership values, strategies and actions.

While all the links between the different dimensions are statistically significant, some are stronger than others. The strength of these connections indicates which features of leadership practice are most closely linked. Figure 3 shows that the school processes directly connected with headteachers' leadership strategies are the ones that also connect most closely with improvements in aspects of teaching and learning and staff involvement in leadership; these in turn help to predict improvement in school conditions and improvement in student outcomes.

The analysis provides new empirical data that shows that it is the combination and accumulation of actions and strategies over time that results in school improvement: the headteachers' leadership directly both creates and influences improvements in the school organisation, the teachers, and in the teaching and learning environment, which in turn indirectly improves student outcomes. The results are important because they show the complexity of the leadership strategies used by these successful headteachers over time and their contribution to improving student outcomes over three school years.

⁹¹ Stringfield, Reynolds & Shaffer (2008).

⁹² Creemers & Reezigt (1996).



Of particular note are:

- the role played by headteachers' trust in teachers, both in relation to the SLT and broader staff leadership
- the important link between redesigning the organisation and setting directions
- the way in which redesigning the organisation predicts improvement in school conditions
- the way in which leadership strategies to develop people link with the teacher collaborative culture, and with high academic standards, positive learner motivation and a learning culture
- the positive associations between improvement in school conditions for teaching and learning and better outcomes in terms of student behaviour, attendance and motivation, and a learning culture.

Among the most powerful variables are:

- influencing student outcomes and improvements in school conditions, such as an emphasis on raising academic standards
- assessment for learning
- collaborative teacher cultures
- monitoring of student and school performance
- coherence of teaching programmes
- the provision of extra-curricular activities.

The IMPACT research questioned headteachers about their school improvement strategies and the actions that they believed had helped improve student attainment. The results pointed to the importance of instructional/pedagogical leadership approaches. The most frequently cited foci for improvement actions/strategies by primary headteachers were:

- improved assessment procedures (28.1%)
- encouraging the use of data and research (27.9%)
- teaching policies and programmes (26.0%)
- strategic allocation of resources (20.4%)
- changes to student target-setting (20.2%)
- providing and allocating resources (19.4%)
- promoting leadership development and CPD (15.9%).

Similarly, actions/strategies most frequently cited by secondary headteachers were:

- encouraging the use of data and research (34.0%)
- teaching policies and programmes (27.7%)
- improving school culture (21.1%)
- providing and allocating resources (19.5%)
- improved assessment procedures (18.6%)
- monitoring of departments and teachers (15.9%)
- promoting leadership development and CPD (15.1%).⁹³

⁹³ Sammons et al. (2011).



School development phases

The IMPACT research in English schools identified three broad phases of leadership success. While the number of phases differed, they could be classified under three broad headlines – early (foundational), middle (developmental) and later (enrichment). In the early phase, headteachers prioritised:

- improving the physical environment of the school to create more positive, supportive conditions for teaching and learning, and for teachers and students
- setting, communicating and implementing school-wide standards for student behaviour
- restructuring the senior leadership team, and redefining its roles and responsibilities
- implementing performance management systems for all staff; there were differences in timing and emphasis between sectors, but in general this had the effect of distributing leadership more and led to the development of a set of organisational values.

In the middle phase, headteachers prioritised:

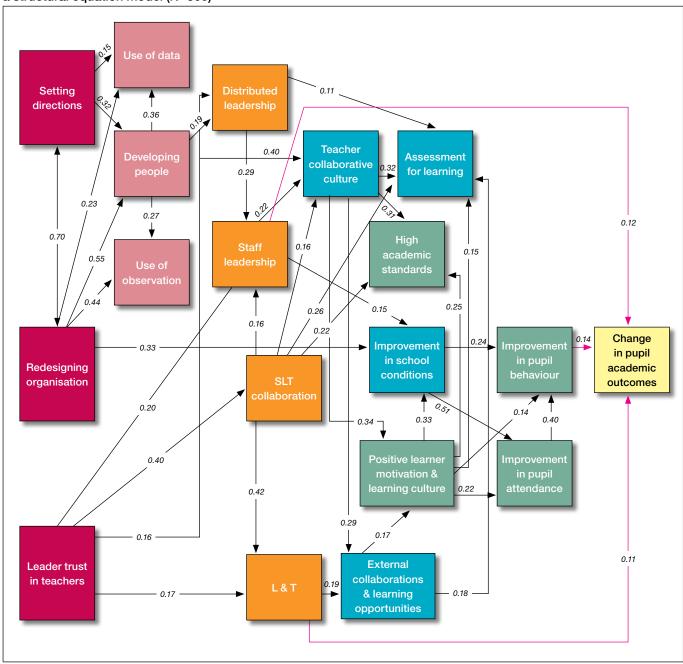
- the wider distribution of leadership roles and responsibilities
- a more regular and focused use of data to inform decision-making about student progress and achievement; learning objectives and target setting were important practices in all case study schools.

In the later phase, headteachers' key strategies related to personalising and enriching the curriculum, as well as the wider distribution of leadership.

In schools in more challenging contexts, greater attention and efforts were made in the early phase to establish, maintain and sustain school-wide policies for student behaviour, improvements to the physical environment and improvements in the quality of teaching and learning than in other schools.



Figure 3: Example of leadership practices and changes in secondary student outcomes over three years: a structural equation model (N=309)⁹⁴



This figure shows how student learning and achievement are shaped by a combination of leadership strategies. Whilst all connections between strategies and outcomes are statistically significant, the higher the number, the stronger the connection (and the closer the link).

33

⁹⁴ Day et al. (2010).



The layering of leadership strategies

Headteachers grow and secure success by layering leadership strategies and actions. Effective headteachers make judgements, according to their context, about the timing, selection, relevance, application and continuation of strategies that create the right conditions for effective teaching, learning and student achievement within and across broad development phases.

Some strategies do not continue through each phase; an example being restructuring, which is a particular feature of the early phase. Others grow in importance and form significant foundations on which other strategies are built. For example, growing confidence in using data, which began in phase 2, is a necessary step on the way to developing a complex personalised curriculum in phases 3 and 4. The two strategies then continue to develop in tandem. By the later phase, a range of strategic actions are being implemented simultaneously. Some have a higher priority than others, but it is the combination of actions, along with gradual broadening and deepening of strategies, that enables the later strategies to succeed and makes it possible for the headteacher's leadership to have such a powerful impact on student outcomes.

The ways in which leaders apply these leadership practices – not the practices themselves – demonstrate responsiveness to, rather than dictation by, the contexts in which they work. Much has been written about the high degree of sensitivity that successful leaders bring to the contexts in which they work. Some would go so far as to claim that 'context is everything'. However, based upon this review of the evidence, it is suggested that this reflects a superficial view of what successful leaders do. Without doubt, successful leaders are sensitive to context, but this does not mean they use qualitatively different practices in every different context. It means, rather, that they apply contextually sensitive combinations of the basic leadership practices described earlier in this review.



Distributed leadership

In terms of origin, the idea of distributed leadership (most often the expression of distributed influence) has been derived from cognitive and social psychology, drawing particularly upon distributed cognition and activity theory. It was suggested that cognition is better understood as a distributed phenomenon across individuals, artefacts and internal and external representations. ⁹⁵ A contemporary distributed perspective on leadership, therefore, implies that the social context and the inter-relationships therein form an integral part of the leadership activity. ⁹⁶

Current conceptions of distributed leadership do not imply that the formal leadership structures within organisations are removed or redundant. Instead, it is assumed that there is a relationship between vertical and lateral leadership processes and that attention is paid to the leadership as *interaction* rather than just leadership as action. In certain research⁹⁷ distributed leadership is seen as an emergent property of a group or a network of interacting individuals. The implication, largely supported by the teacher development and school improvement literature, is that organisational change and development are enhanced when leadership is broad based and where teachers have opportunities to collaborate and to actively engage in change and innovation.⁹⁸

Key idea: Distributed leadership can be seen as a form of concerted action which is about the additional dynamic that occurs when people work together or that is the product of joint agency.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s the contemporary concept of distributed leadership emerged (i.e. as being a web of leadership activities and interactions stretched across people and situations⁹⁹). A recent empirical study¹⁰⁰ of distributed leadership practice suggests that distributed leadership is best understood as 'practice distributed over leaders, followers and their situation [which] incorporates the activities of multiple groups of individuals'. It implies a social distribution of leadership where the leadership function is 'stretched over the work of a number of individuals and the task is accomplished through the interaction of multiple leaders'.¹⁰¹

The effects of distributed leadership

While it is acknowledged that there is very little systematic evidence about the relative contribution to the achievement of organisational goals of different patterns of distributed leadership, there is empirical evidence to support a strong relationship between distributed patterns of leadership and organisational performance. Work which offers a view of distributed leadership as a positive channel for change notes that:

... organisations most successful in managing the dynamics of loose –tight working relationships meld strong personalised leadership at the top with distributed leadership.¹⁰²

⁹⁴ Hutchins (1995).

Spillane, Halverson & Diamond (2001).

⁹⁶ Gronn (2000).

Hopkins (2001); Little (1990); MacBeath (ed.) (1998); Murphy & Datnow (2003); Copland (2003).

⁸ Camburn, Rowan & Taylor (2003); Heller & Firestone (1995); Smylie & Denny (1990); Spillane, Halverson & Diamond (2004).

⁹⁹ Spillane et al. (2001: 2004).

¹⁰⁰ Spillane et al. (2001: 20).

¹⁰¹ Graetz (2000).



Similarly, a study of ten 'outstanding' school leaders, points towards the development of leadership capacity within the school as a key lever of success. While they do not use the term 'distributed leadership' there are strong indications that the form of leadership practice they are describing is widely distributed.

It is worth noting that leadership distribution may operate differently in non-Western cultures (for example in Asian cultures). The GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organisational Behaviour Effectiveness) research project conducted in 61 nations in the world found that Anglo cultures (Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, white South Africa, the UK and USA) view participative leadership more positively than Confucian Asian cultures (mainland China, Japan, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan¹⁰⁴). In Confucian cultures which value power distance and practise relatively high levels of societal collectivism, a leader is trusted to get on with the job on behalf of his subordinates. In East Asia, persons of lower status 'naturally defer to those of higher status, accepting differences in power as a normal feature of social relations'.¹⁰⁵

Influenced by this societal culture, principals there are often expected to take a strong, personal stand while teachers and parents tend to be more reluctant to engage in shared decision-making.¹⁰⁶

In terms of building professional learning communities in schools it would appear that distributed leadership also plays an important part. Research¹⁰⁷ concludes that extending leadership responsibility beyond the principal is an important lever for developing effective professional learning communities in schools. A range of other studies¹⁰⁸ also points towards a positive relationship between organisational change and distributed forms of leadership practice.

The school improvement literature has consistently underlined the importance of teacher involvement in decision-making processes and the contribution of strong collegial relationships to positive school improvement and change. ¹⁰⁹ It has been shown that effective schools have tighter congruence between values, norms and behaviours of principals and teachers and that this is more likely to result in positive school performance. ¹¹⁰ The implication from these empirical studies is that improvement is more likely to occur when there are opportunities for teachers to work together to lead development and change. There is an increasing body of evidence that points towards the importance of capacity building as a means of sustaining school improvement. ¹¹¹ At the core of the capacity-building model, it has been argued, is distributed leadership, along with social cohesion and trust. Leadership, from this perspective, resides in the human potential available to be released within an organisation. It is what has been termed an emergent property of a group or network of individuals in which group members pool their expertise. ¹¹²

¹⁰³ Gold et al. (2002).

¹⁰⁴ Pittinsky & Zhu (2005).

¹⁰⁵ Hallinger & Kantamara (2000b: 49).

¹⁰⁶ Walker (2003).

¹⁰⁷ Morrisey (2000); Chapman & Allen (2006).

¹⁰⁸ Blase & Blase (1999); Hallinger & Kantamara (2000b); Portin (1998).

¹⁰⁹ Rosenholtz (1989).

¹¹⁰ Nias, Southworth & Yeomans (1989).

¹¹¹ Fullan (2001); Newmann & Wehlage (1995); Sergiovanni (2001); Chapman & Allen (2006).

¹¹² Gronn (2000).



Nonetheless, research has also pointed at possible drawbacks and caveats associated with distributed leadership:¹¹³ 'it would be naïve to ignore the major structural, cultural, and micro-political barriers operating in schools that make distributed forms of leadership difficult to implement'.¹¹⁴ The same research offered three major barriers to distributing leadership. First, it is argued that distributed leadership can be considered threatening to those in formal power positions, not only in terms of ego and perceived authority, but also because it places leaders in a vulnerable position by relinquishing direct control over certain activities. Second, it was argued that current school structures, such as department divisions or rigid top-down hierarchies which demarcate role and responsibility, prevent teachers from attaining autonomy and taking on leadership roles. Finally, it was suggested that top-down approaches to distributed leadership, when not executed properly, can be interpreted as misguided delegation. Some of these same themes are echoed in a study of the distribution of leadership to teachers for teacher appraisal conducted in a large urban district in the United States.¹¹⁵ Hierarchical norms, district leaders' expectations and attitudes, difficulties associated with evaluation, and ambiguities surrounding the evaluation process all emerged as challenges to leadership distribution in this study.

Despite such difficulties in the implementation process associated with distributing leadership, the large-scale studies of leadership effects on student learning point to significant benefits. Two of the most thorough examinations of the relationship between leadership and student learning outcomes have been conducted in Canada¹¹⁶ and in Tasmania.¹¹⁷ The Canadian results conclude that distributing a larger proportion of leadership activity to teachers has a positive influence on teacher effectiveness and student engagement. They also note that teacher leadership has a significant effect on student engagement that far outweighs principal leadership effects after taking into account home family background.

In Australia,¹¹⁸ a comprehensive study of leadership effects on student learning has provided some cumulative confirmation of the key processes through which more distributed kinds of leadership influence student learning outcomes. The work collected survey data from over 2,500 teachers and their principals, and concluded that student outcomes are more likely to improve when leadership sources are distributed throughout the school community and when teachers are empowered in areas of importance to them. Similarly, a study of teacher leadership conducted in England found positive relationships between the degree of teachers' involvement in decision-making and student motivation and self-efficacy.¹¹⁹ This study explored the relationship between teacher involvement in decision-making within the school and a range of student outcomes. It was clear from the study that a relationship between more distributed forms of leadership and certain positive student outcomes existed. Both teacher and student morale levels improved where teachers felt more included and involved in decision-making related to the process of school development and change.

The new evidence indicates, therefore, that leadership distribution is common in schools but that patterns of distribution vary; and that the distribution of leadership responsibility and power varies according to local context. Moreover, research suggests that the pattern of progressive and selective leadership distribution over time is determined by four factors:

- the headteacher's judgement of what is right for the school at different phases of its development
- the headteacher's judgement about the readiness and ability of staff to lead
- the extent to which trust has been established
- the headteacher's own training, experience and capabilities.

¹¹³ Colwell & Hammersley-Fletcher (2004).

¹¹⁴ Harris (2004a: 19).

¹¹⁵ Goldstein (2004).

¹¹⁶ Leithwood & Jantzi (2000).

¹¹⁷ Silins & Mulford (2002a).

¹¹⁸ Silins & Mulford (2002a).

¹¹⁹ Harris & Muijs (2004).



Key question: What factors would a headteacher need to take into account in decisions about the timing and extent to which he/she distributed leadership in the school?

Leadership trust

There is now a growing body of research evidence which reveals that the successful distribution of leadership depends on the establishment of trust. Trust is essential for the progressive and effective distribution of leadership. It is closely associated with a positive school ethos, improved conditions for teaching and learning, an enhanced sense of teacher autonomy in the classroom and sustained improvement in student behaviour, engagement and outcomes. In a Chicago study¹²⁰ teachers in schools where trust had increased over the three-year period reported a greater willingness to try new things; a greater sense of responsibility for their students; more outreach to parents; and a stronger professional community (more shared work, more conversations about teaching and learning, and a stronger collective focus on student learning).¹²¹

Previous research has established strong links between school improvement and trust between headteacher and teacher, teacher and teacher and school professionals and parents. Research has also claimed that trust in leaders both determines organisational performance and is a product of organisational performance. The IMPACT research confirms and extends these findings. The distribution of leadership over time by headteachers in this research was a clear expression of the importance they placed on gaining the trust of others and extending trust to them. The headteachers played an active and instrumental role in the distribution of leadership and this increased the commitment and self-efficacy of staff.

Effective distributed leadership depends upon five key factors of trust:

- values and attitudes: beliefs that people cared for their students and would work hard for their benefit
 if they were allowed to pursue objectives they were committed to
- disposition to trust: experience of benefits derived from previous trusting relationships
- trustworthiness: the extent to which others trusted them
- repeated acts of trust: enabling the increasing distribution of leadership roles, responsibilities and accountabilities, and the broadening of stakeholder participation
- building and reinforcing individual relational and organisation trust: through interactions, structures and strategies that demonstrated consistency in values and vision and resulted in success.

Recent research also finds a significant relationship between a coordinated form of leadership distribution described as planned alignment and teachers' academic optimism. Planned alignment involves members of a leadership group planning their actions together, periodically reviewing the impact of these actions and revising them accordingly. Academic optimism is a composite of teacher trust, teacher efficacy and organisational good citizenship, all of which are associated with student achievement.

Distributed leadership is a concept which is very much 'in vogue' with researchers, policymakers, educational reformers and leadership practitioners alike, 122 and there is a growing confidence that this contributes to the effectiveness of the organisation. However, while there seems to be widespread interest in the idea of 'distributing leadership', there are competing and sometimes conflicting interpretations of what distributed leadership actually means. The definitions and understandings vary from the normative to the theoretical and, by implication, the literature supporting the concept of distributed leadership remains diverse and broad based. 123

¹²⁰ Bryk & Schneider (2002).

¹²¹ Robinson et al. (2009: 185).

¹²² Hammersley-Fletcher & Brundrett (2005); Storey (2004).

¹²³ Bennett et al. (2003).



Enhancing staff motivation and commitment

School leaders improve teaching and learning indirectly and most powerfully through their influence on staff motivation, commitment and working conditions. A key task for leadership, if it is to influence student learning and achievement, is to improve staff performance. Such performance is a function of staff members' motivations, commitments, capacities (skills and knowledge) and the conditions in which they work. Considerable emphasis has recently been placed on school leaders' contributions to building staff capacity in particular. This emphasis is reflected, for example, in the popularity in many countries of the term 'instructional leadership' and in fledgling efforts to discover the curriculum content knowledge that successful school leaders should possess (as discussed earlier in this review). Recent research in the US demonstrates that the exercise of instructional leadership was much easier in elementary than in secondary schools, reflecting the greater complexity and size of secondary schools and the range of curriculum knowledge required.¹²⁴ In secondary schools it is likely that the Head of Department plays a more important instructional and curriculum leadership role.¹²⁵

The nature of the evidence of leaders' strong and positive influences on staff motivation, commitment and beliefs about supportiveness of their working conditions has been illustrated by the results of a study carried out across England.¹²⁶

Based on a national sample of teacher survey responses, the study enquired about the effects of most of the basic or core transformational leadership practices, as enacted by headteachers, on teachers' implementation of the Primary Strategies (originally the National Literacy Strategy and National Numeracy Strategy) and the subsequent effects of such implementation on student learning and achievement. The model indicates that the more headteachers enacted the core leadership practices described earlier, the greater was their influence on teachers' capacities, motivation and beliefs about the supportiveness of their working conditions. In turn these capacities, motivations and beliefs had a significant influence on classroom practices. The influence of leadership practices was strongest on teachers' beliefs about working conditions, followed by their motivation to implement the Primary Strategies and then by their views of their preparedness to implement those strategies.

Further evidence on these relationships has been found in a recent American study¹²⁷ and a separate English study. The four-year mixed-methods national study of variations in the work, lives and effectiveness of teachers in English schools points to the importance of leadership – alongside other mediating influences – in shaping teachers' commitment, resilience and effectiveness, and highlights the key role of emotional understanding in successful leadership. In this light of such evidence, it is argued that leaders ought to make greater direct contributions to staff capacities, and that this is a challenge to be addressed in the future.

¹²⁴ Louis, Dretzke & Wahlstrom (2010).

¹²⁵ Sammons et al. (1997).

¹²⁶ Leithwood & Jantzi (2006).

¹²⁷ Mascall & Leithwood (in press).



Conclusions

This review has provided an overview of the growing body of international literature that examines the nature and purposes of school leadership and its relationships to school improvement. It has provided a particular focus on the links between leadership and school and classroom processes, in particular examining how leadership can enhance and support better teaching and learning and thus promote better outcomes for students. It is argued that effective leadership is important but not a sufficient condition for successful schools. The review has drawn particular attention to two concepts of leadership: instructional/pedagogical and transformational. While noting particular evidence that instructional/pedagogical leadership has been shown to be important for promoting better academic outcomes for students, it is concluded that the two forms of leadership are not mutually exclusive. It presents recent evidence which reveals that a combination of strategies can be most beneficial in ensuring school success and that most leadership effects operate indirectly to promote student outcomes by supporting and enhancing conditions for teaching and learning through direct impacts on teachers and their work.

The review draws attention to the growing demands on school leaders, reflecting increased expectations of the education system in many countries, including greater accountability pressures and emphasis on both raising standards and widening the social goals of schooling.

Models of successful schools have been examined and the role of leadership values, practices and emotions highlighted. The evidence suggests that school leaders, particularly principals, have a key role to play in setting direction and creating a positive school culture including the proactive school mindset, and supporting and enhancing staff motivation and commitment needed to foster improvement and promote success for schools in challenging circumstances.

It is beyond the scope of this review to examine other emerging areas of leadership research but in a few countries, experiments such as consultant leader models, school improvement partnerships, executive leaders of groups of schools and the example of National Leaders in Education are being adopted. It is too early to establish the impact of such models although early indications suggest they may hold some promise.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Chapman et al. (2007); Hill & Matthews (2008); Higham, Hopkins & Matthews (2009); Harris (2010).



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