

Inspiring leaders; improving children's lives

ECM Premium Project

School leadership, Every Child Matters and school standards

A research report prepared by QiSS, Canterbury Christ Church University and Leadership for Learning, University of Cambridge for the National College for School Leadership

SCHOOL LEADERS

Report

Contents

Introduction	3
Connecting leadership and learning	5
Extending schooling	7
High leverage leadership actions	9
Working in clusters	29
Outcomes and success indicators	35
Conclusion	39
Appendix A: List of schools	43

With thanks to the Research Team

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Introduction

Project aims

The aim of the project was to support the continued development of leadership in *Every Child Matters* (ECM) and extended schools by identifying and building an evidence base for the ECM Premium on standards that clearly identifies the links between ECM standards and achievement. The project was designed to provide us with a deeper understanding of the leadership implications of this to support leaders who wish to accelerate their progress in this area.

We have looked to some extent at the potential impact of ECM as a national and local strategy on standards in the medium to long term, but the primary focus of the project has, however, been on the impact that projects and programmes in individual schools and clusters have on standards in their own school(s).

Through exemplars of innovative practice and by documenting underlying high leverage leadership actions we have identified and explored the links between the nature of leadership in extended schools and pupil achievement. This has led to early success indicators being defined and elaborated on, and a consideration of the transferability and sustainability of these in more problematic contexts.

Research questions

- What evidence do we have that a planned focus on ECM leads to a rise in standards of achievement and attainment? And where do they occur?
- What evidence is there that leaders adopt common strategies and approaches to promoting the ECM Premium? Which of these seem to have the greatest effect on

- outcomes and do they have a locality dimension?
- What are the implications of the outcomes of this study for the professional development of school leaders?

Methodology

The research was undertaken by staff and associates of Quality in Study Support (QiSS), Canterbury Christ Church University and Leadership for Learning, University of Cambridge, under the direction of Tony Kirwan and Professor John MacBeath.

There were three aspects to the work:

- A literature review covering academic research, Ofsted reports and frameworks, and other published material such as case studies.
- 2. Fieldwork carried out on eight sites covering 14 schools.
- 3. The development of case studies and other appropriate materials to support leadership development.

The schools and their communities

The sample of schools in this study was selected from a list of 25 schools that met the following criteria:

- Engagement with the QiSS quality assurance processes for both study support and extended services, through which a soundly established provision of extended services has been demonstrated.
- 2. In receipt of a good or outstanding grading in a recent Ofsted report for overall effectiveness and for leadership and management.
- 3. With a contextual value-added score that demonstrates significant progress in raising standards of attainment.

In selecting the sample it was perhaps inevitable that schools with interesting practice would be predominantly those that had been required to rise to the challenge of disadvantaged neighbourhoods. While not true of all schools in the sample, it underlines the inter-relationship between extended schools and inter-agency initiatives in disadvantaged communities. Their 'community orientation' and extended status constitute both a survival strategy and a moral commitment to children and families deprived of what others in more privileged circumstances are able to take for granted.

The sample comprised two primary schools, three secondary schools, two clusters and one special school. The clusters, which represent two very different models, were included so as to investigate the variables introduced by this now predominant arrangement for delivery of the core offer of extended services. The fieldwork was carried out by teams of up to three researchers over three to four days on each of the eight sites. In all cases school visits included detailed interviews with members of leadership teams, other staff, pupils, parents and external partners as well as the observation of lessons and school routines and procedures and a review of school documentation.

The following approaches were used during the fieldwork, allowing the research teams to identify the leadership practices in extended schools that are associated with raised student achievement:

- Through triangulation of the views of pupils, teachers and senior leaders, identification of what may be described as 'ethos indicators', that is, aspects of school culture which appear to be directly related to pupil engagement with learning.
- Examination of the provision of, and support for, in-school and out-of-school learning activities. This includes study

- support, family learning, parenting support and links with childcare in primary schools, and with community use of sports and information and communications technology (ICT) resources in secondary schools.
- Analysis of the relationships between the school and:
 - other schools in the cluster (where these arrangements exist);
 - other agencies and their staff such as social workers, family liaison officers, police and community health workers.
- Review of the procedures and routines in the school which foster collaboration and the impact of these on ethos and on learning.
- Observation of cultural routines with these as a focus for discussion with teachers and middle and senior leaders.

Outputs

We have drawn together the findings from the literature review and the fieldwork to produce the following:

- A set of five case studies with analysis and applicability to other settings.
- An analysis of the high leverage leadership actions and interventions that are seen as having contributed to raising standards of pupil achievement.
- An analysis of early success indicators that can be tracked to evidence progress.
- A set of resources to support leaders to identify the ECM Premium on standards and to enable them to lead change in this area.

Connecting leadership and learning

Understanding the inter-relationship between leadership and learning and the ECM agenda is vital to policy makers, to researchers and to school leaders for whom that inter-relationship presents itself as a daily challenge. While there is a large and increasing body of studies exploring the connections between leading and learning there remains work to do in explaining how leadership connects with learning and plays out in extended schools.

There is, nonetheless, a widely shared assumption by politicians, policy makers and the public at large that good leaders make good schools. While there is ample evidence from case studies and anecdotes to support the contention, 'hard' data from controlled and long-term studies has not succeeded in providing unequivocal evidence as to the relationship between leadership and student outcomes (for example, Witziers et al 2003; Leithwood et al 2004). The failure to pin down the nature of the links is suggested by the title Witziers et al gave to their paper, 'the elusive search for an association'. On the basis of her own extensive review. Levacic concludes:

"Given the vast literature on educational leadership and management and the presumption of policy-makers that the quality of educational leadership affects student outcomes, the actual evidence for a casual relationship is relatively sparse." (Levacic 2005: 198)

Nonetheless, the multiplicity of studies over the last decade makes widely differing claims as to the leadership 'effect'. Vivienne Robinson's 2007 meta study, which draws on the most empirically robust of research studies, identified 'effect sizes' which she describes as 'moderately educationally significant', and concludes: "... these connections need to be substantially strengthened if leadership literature is to deliver more reliable and more useful insights into the particular leadership practices that create the conditions that enable teachers to make a bigger difference to their students."

(Robinson 2007: 22)

The typical conclusion from numerous studies (for example, Hallinger & Heck 1998; Silins & Mulford 2002) is that school leaders have small and indirect effects on student outcomes as effects are located at classroom level and through the activities of teachers. Nonetheless, there is a general consensus that effective leaders are instrumental in creating conditions for teachers to do their job more effectively and that the professional capacity of teachers may be inhibited or enhanced by a combination of structural and cultural factors. Ken Leithwood and colleagues acknowledge the remaining ambiguity as to the nature of causal links between what leaders do and how children learn, but offer seven 'strong claims' for the connections between leadership and student outcomes (Leithwood et al 2006).

Leithwood and colleagues acknowledge, however, that assuming leadership as equivalent to the headteacher or principal is problematic as the growing emphasis on distributed leadership makes effects harder to pin down. In a review of the literature on distributed leadership Bennett et al (2003) characterised it as:

- Not a set of individual actions or something done by one individual to others, but an emergent property of a group or network of individuals in which group members pool their expertise so that the amount of energy created is greater than the sum of the individual actions.
- Not limited to a small number of people with formal senior roles, calling into question the attachment of leadership roles exclusively to people with posts such as head of department.

 Expertise as coming from many people in an organisation. Drawing many people into the leadership group means that initiatives can be developed from all over the organisation and then adopted, adapted and improved by others in a culture of support and trust.

A 2004 study for NCSL (2004a: 12) suggested five dimensions of distribution:

- **Instruct:** staff are generally told what to do.
- Consult: views of staff are actively sought and listened to.
- Delegate: staff are given clear areas of responsibility within which they can take decisions and exercise initiative.
- **Facilitate:** staff are helped to make a wider impact on the school; ideas from every level are taken up and championed; it is easy to share ideas and people are aware of what is happening elsewhere.
- Neglect: staff are forced to take the initiative and responsibility because nobody is interested in what they are doing.

The NCSL study explains that 'the facilitate category ... most clearly enables people to exercise true leadership, because it creates the conditions where people can bring others with them' (NCSL 2004b: 17).

How facilitation works, who facilitates and who creates the conditions, may not always rest with the headteacher or senior leadership team. The diffuse nature of leadership, which lies within and beyond the extended school, brings a new meaning to 'mediation' of leadership effects. Many of the contextual and compositional (or 'social mix') factors that have been identified by researchers assume particular relevance when the focus is turned towards the external environment rather than simply the internal environment of the school.

A further problem remains that outcomes have taken measures of student attainment on tests

and exams limited to curricular content. Thus, those most susceptible to quantitative measurement, in particular subjects such as mathematics, become powerful but hugely limiting proxies. Such 'hard' measures have endeared themselves to school effectiveness studies whose consistent focus within the 'black box' has prevented them from entering the messy territory that lies between schools and their communities. They are thus unable to offer little evidence as to the impact on more substantive quality of life factors as contained in the five ECM outcomes, for example. When we do venture beyond the confines of the black box it becomes apparent that there is a richer and more complex story to be told.

Extending schooling

Extended schools are a response to a persistent research finding that for many children, particularly those in challenging circumstances, conventional schooling is inadequate. For four decades research into the school effect has demonstrated that what happens outside schools has a greater impact on achievement than what happens within them (Coleman et al 1966; Mortimore at al 1988; MacBeath & Mortimore 2001). Over those four decades there has been a stubborn resistance to closing the gap between the most and least privileged children and the most privileged and least privileged schools. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that the gap is widening rather than narrowing (Brewer et al 2005). This is explained by a combination of factors including social capital in the home, access to tutoring and other forms of support, the compositional effect of peer group and the push and pull of parental choice in a more open and competitive 'market'.

Extended schooling, aimed at meeting that challenge, may be somewhat of a misnomer as its central purpose is not to replicate what has failed in the past but to extend opportunities for learning in new and imaginative ways. Extending the purpose and functions of schools has a range of meanings and encompasses a number of different dimensions:

- **Time:** schools opening for longer hours, for example from 6.30am to 6.30pm.
- **Curriculum:** broadening the range of activities available beyond the curriculum.
- Place: making available a wider range of sites and contexts for learning.
- **Clientele:** catering to a wider rage of children, young people and adults.

- Agencies: extending the role of the 'educator' to staff of other social and community agencies.
- Conceptual: changing mindsets about purposes and nature of learning and welfare.

The conception of the extended school owes its origins to work in the US by Joy Dryfoos (1994) on full service schools, premised on the need for a one-door entry to the range of welfare services that some families require if children are to gain meaningful access to what the school has to offer.

While many schools in England were already providing a range of extended services, the idea was given more formal status and impetus by the Department for Education and Skills' (DfES) School Plus initiatives in 1999, followed by the 2002 Education Act which required schools to consult with pupils, staff, parents and carers, local communities and the local authority to ensure that the services they provided were shaped around the needs of children and young people.

The subsequent publication of ECM and its five outcomes (be healthy, stay safe, enjoy and achieve, make a positive contribution, achieve economic well-being) provided the framework for placing achievement in a larger frame, the five outcomes considered as essentially unachievable without effective inter-agency collaboration. The three key benefits were couched by the Department for Children, School and Families (DCSF) (2007) as:

- tackling the underlying causes of underachievement by some pupils;
- improving children's resilience;
- enriching the learning experience of children and families.

Muijs (2007) adds a further benefit, suggesting that engaging with other agencies can help the school become more central to the community and involve parents more fully than is often the case in many disadvantaged communities. "We are the hub of the community", says the chair of governors in a Nottinghamshire secondary school.

However, the challenges are recognised as formidable and include:

- external pressures and initiative overload
- insufficient resources to address the ECM agenda
- short-term demands and competing priorities

- inter-agency mistrust and lack of communication
- · lack of time to manage change
- poor local authority support
- weak and/or unfocused leadership (Harris et al 2007).

In this context what is distinctive about leadership and where is the common ground with what we already know?

Figure 1 summarises our findings from the schools in this study in answer to that question. It sketches the contingent interconnection between values, policy, purposes, judgements, structures and leadership that we examine in detail in the following sections.

Figure 1

Vision and shared purpose

based on

shared moral values, professional judgements and competence

Individual and collective efficacy

in a remodelled trusted workforce with

differentiated roles with common purposes

holding in balance the interplay of

internal development of the school and external change

with different timescales and levels of control

Focused on pupils' learning and enhanced family/social circumstances

supported by a range of external partners

Improving learning dispositions, engagement and achievement

High leverage leadership actions

Our analysis of how leadership teams in the 14 schools addressed the challenges produced eight leadership actions that connect the ECM agenda with raised pupil attainment and improved professional standards:

- Developing a shared understanding of national, local authority and community politics and how to navigate a pathway through them with a clear focus on what matters.
- 2. Engaging the commitment of staff, students and partners in a vision of the purposes and ethos of the school.
- 3. Shaping school culture and ethos proactively around children's needs.
- 4. Creating structures that distribute leadership, spread responsibility and foster trusting relationships.
- 5. Managing workforce remodelling with a clear understanding of, and sensitivity to, professional expertise and capacity.
- 6. Placing a high priority on the professional development of the whole staff.
- 7. Managing external relationships and permeable boundaries between school and community.
- 8. Ensuring sustainability of commitment, finance and resourcing.

Navigating national, local authority and community politics

The ability to successfully address both the ECM and standards agendas in extended schools demands of leaders an acute grasp of national, local authority and community politics. Navigating a pathway through this political thicket requires a blend of pragmatism and idealism, knowing when to compromise and when to stand one's ground. The policy context within which these schools work, rates of change and levels of autonomy differ markedly from those of other statutory and voluntary agencies with which school leaders work, combining to make collaboration problematic.

Some of the differences to be negotiated include:

- working practices and institutional conventions
- hierarchies and nature of authority
- professional norms and values
- use of language and language codes
- · lines and modes of accountability
- clashes of culture
- short-term aims of schools as against longer-term aims of social and health agencies
- an accountability focused on academic attainment as against affective and social outcomes.

Negotiating this complex territory requires a high level of inter-agency intelligence and diplomacy. As members of school staff admit, it is a steep learning curve to see oneself and one's institutionalised habits of a lifetime through a new lens. Much of the terminology

embedded in 'education speak' cannot simply be taken for granted. Common terminology such as 'assessment', 'standards', 'achievement', 'potential' and 'value-added' have to be revisited with broader understanding and a more critical eye.

In disadvantaged neighbourhoods economic and social instability and a constantly shifting population demand an enhanced level of flexibility and resilience. Many of the schools in this study serve multiethnic neighbourhoods in which families represent a spectrum of values and attitudes to school education. Mother tongue, ethnicity and religious affiliation impact not only on the internal dynamics of the school but affect relationships with community agencies, requiring of leadership an in-depth understanding of cultural sensitivities and the nature of personal, cultural and institutional racism. Systematic efforts to work with community and religious leaders are at a premium, while at the same time keeping an eye on the big policy picture. While these issues play out differently in predominantly white working-class neighbourhoods, confronting institutional racism and dealing with diversity in cultural values make similarly challenging demands on leadership.

Resilience also comes to the fore in dealing with the changing financial status of schools, the constantly shifting nature of provision and the greater financial autonomy for schools over their budgets together with a greater commissioning role for local authorities. While in the past these schools may have enjoyed privileged financing, senior leaders reported increasing difficulty in getting the same level of support from external partners due to many more schools making similar demands.

Senior leaders in both primary and secondary schools expressed frustration at the lack of funding for the kinds of innovation and change required in an extended school and in realising ECM and personalisation priorities.

One headteacher's reference to strategic opportunism posited a need for a continuing creative approach to policy initiatives and funding opportunities. These qualities were seen to be at a premium in a climate of continuous innovation and changes of direction under a new Labour government. Creative, flexible and strategic opportunism entailed an ability to address what appear as inherent contradictions among policy priorities, requiring support in the leadership team of expert financial managers.

Extended services are most likely to be effective in enhancing learning and raising standards of attainment when school leaders:

- are in touch with national, local authority and community politics;
- are able to steer a course through both macro and micro politics with diplomacy and skill;
- are led by a conviction that every child can be made to matter when local agencies pull together with a shared set of goals.

ECM Premium project 10

2. Engaging the commitment of staff, students and partners in a vision of the purposes and ethos of the school

A consistent strand within the leadership literature is a shared ownership of the school's vision, essential values and key purposes. In the schools involved in this study, engaging staff in crafting and revising the school's direction emerged clearly as a priority among school leaders. It was taken as a fundamental precept that the direction was guided by a moral purpose common to the senior leadership team and shared more widely among the whole staff. This has clear implications for the appointment and induction of new staff, with selection criteria drawn around the ability of incomers to work with young people and with adults in non-traditional ways. This is allied with the encouragement of new staff to grasp leadership opportunities through secondments, taking further qualifications such as Master's degrees in which teachers use key focus areas in the school for their research. The return on investment is the impact on school, classroom and community-related practice.

In these schools there is a shared belief that student learning and enhancement of potential cannot be vouchsafed without addressing the obstacles to learning – poverty, and family and community impediments. The ECM agenda is, for most, a confirmation of what staff in these schools already believed and were working towards. ECM is thus seen not as another initiative but as legitimating the staff's vision of the school and offering a further impetus and common strategic direction. If ECM outcomes are to be valued as ends in themselves they should not be seen as simply instrumental to student attainment,

it is said. ECM outcomes are standards in their own right: every member of staff assumes responsibility for encouraging and targeting student participation in learning and in leading the learning of others.

It was widely accepted that this could not be achieved, however, without knowledge of, and support for, the work of other agencies.

The importance of such support rested on two complementary purposes. These may be described as humanitarian and instrumental:

- a moral duty to ameliorate the circumstances of children's lives and improve well-being;
- a belief that children could not learn effectively unless the underlying social and emotional issues were being addressed.

Both may be seen as serving the same purpose. Intervening in cases of poverty and homelessness, domestic violence, mental health, physical and emotional abuse is first and foremost a moral duty to the child, while at the same time helping to remove some of the barriers to learning.

Both of these are longer-term goals. There was within these schools at their most optimistic a shared belief that children could learn even while their lives were in turmoil. It was seen as the school's job, therefore, to adjust the context and to provide the support structures that would enable learning to take place almost whatever the circumstances. The degree of optimism and the emphasis on purposes of intervention not only differs both in and between schools but comes to the fore in response to cumulative crises and unforeseen events that could derail plans and undermine the confidence of even the most committed of school staff. Encouraging and supporting staff to "keep the faith", as one headteacher put it, is a demanding but high priority task for leadership in challenging circumstances.

Included within discussions of leadership were references to student 'voice', agency and initiative through activities such as:

- pupil, or student, councils
- students organising Saturday morning events, student conferences, parents evenings, the school prom, the annual student conference
- running tuck shops or restaurants
- running the school newspaper
- mentoring younger children
- interviewing for staff appointments
- acting as receptionist and answering telephones
- observing and evaluating lessons
- reviewing the school's behaviour and welfare policy.

Encouraging more proactive student leadership is seen as a shared challenge for all staff, particularly in secondary schools where opportunities for real decision making appear to be less easy to realise than in primary schools.

The need for an inward focus in leadership has to be weighed in the balance against the competing demands of the external world. Keeping the faith, maintaining commitment and morale among partner agencies may not be solely the task of senior leaders but they do play a pivotal role in making relationships work. This may be in the face of their prospective collaborators bringing to the task their own stereotypes of school purposes and priorities. In the case of voluntary community agencies, negative views of school and of teachers is often drawn from their own unfulfilling experience as pupils. Eroding prejudice and forging new joint aims and new commitments is a long-term goal.

Extended services are most likely to be effective in enhancing learning and raising standards of attainment when:

- there is a wide shared belief among staff as to the purposes and priorities of the school;
- staff believe that children's sense of well-being and their enjoyment and achievement is enhanced when underlying social and emotional issues are addressed;
- the five ECM outcomes are seen as worth pursuing in their own right, not simply as instrumental to raising attainment.

3. Shaping school culture and ethos proactively around children's needs

Leadership in these schools and clusters is committed to instilling a culture and belief that children and young people can learn, even in turbulent circumstances. This means creating the context and support structures that enable deep and meaningful learning to take place. It means looking beyond the conventional classroom, placing learning opportunities where children, young people and adults feel most predisposed to learn, where they feel most comfortable but also most stimulated. The ability to work flexibly, fluidly and spontaneously across boundaries of classroom, school and community characterises the best of teaching in extended schools. When the ECM agenda is neither an extra initiative nor an imposition, decisions about programmes of activity are therefore not made on the basis of predetermined curriculum planning but with fresh thinking as to how the five key outcomes may be addressed in ways that re-engage young people with learning and raise their aspirations. ECM outcomes then tend to be seen as having intrinsic value and planning has to take account of how they may be realised. Identifying alternative forms of provision and managing emergent needs requires knowledge of where expertise may lie, both within the school and external to it, extending the pedagogic repertoire and drawing on the skills of counselling, mentoring and coaching, and redressing the imbalance between talking and listening, instruction and facilitation.

However, not all schools know how to realise such ambitious objectives within the day-today pressures from the community on the one hand, and policy directives on the other. Even within the highly committed schools selected for this project, there was a spectrum of beliefs ranging from an acceptance of the wider community agenda as simply inevitable to a proactive embrace of the opportunities it offered to raise standards of achievement in the most comprehensive sense of that term. While the distinction between low and high implementation schools (Harris et al 2007) is clearly relevant in this context, even in what may be termed 'high implementation schools', embedding a shared belief among all school staff was a continuing challenge to leadership. In one secondary school the headteacher found it a continuing struggle to resolve the tension between whole-school objectives and the competitive targets of subject departments.

Learning in and out of school

One way in which schools are 'extended' is in the opportunities they offer for learning 'outof-hours' through breakfast clubs, homework clubs, Saturday schools, residential weekends and Easter and summer schools, all of which are encompassed under the umbrella term 'study support'.

The alignment between the curriculum and study support activities is frequently couched in terms of content objectives – extension of opportunities for remedial work, individual or peer tutoring with curriculum-related problems, in maths, English or science, for example. Study support programmes at schools in this study also provided opportunities for learning unavailable in the formal curriculum, but with the additional and deeper aim of building self-efficacy as a learner. Effective programmes built on pupils' motivation and talents and in many cases in the schools in London deliberately reflected the cultural diversity in the neighbourhoods served by the school. The wide range of activities on offer before and after school, at weekends and in holiday periods include, for example:

oject 13

- boccia, an activity for pupils with locomotor difficulties
- drama, Asian dance, skipping, running, aerobics
- sewing, cookery, photography, art and design
- tag rugby, badminton, football, tennis, netball, T ball, basketball, athletics, hockey
- Key Stage 1 music, multi-skills, creative club
- library, homework
- · computer clubs.

These are complemented by a range of off-site activities such as gymnastics and ICT at the Playing for Success Centre at the East London Gymnastics Centre, for example. In one primary school we visited, an attitude test for children who had participated reported a 30 per cent increase in positive attitudes and a 25 per cent increase in access to the curriculum after 10 weeks attending partnerships for schools (PfS). As one member of staff put it, these pupils had become more attentive and wanted to learn.

Another London primary school had begun for the first time this year to monitor and evaluate its extended school provision against ECM outcomes and to explore potential links between extended school provision and academic achievement. Data was collected from a sample of 13 Year 6 pupils (2006/07) who had National Curriculum levels below 3b in October 2005/06 (optional SATs scores). All pupils in the sample made gains between 0.6 of a level and 2 levels in maths, English and science. Three pupils with 98–100 per cent attendance, high levels of involvement in after-school clubs and two or more sporting activities made gains between 1–1.3 levels in literacy, 1.3–1.6 in numeracy and 1.3–2 levels in science. Other statistical analysis, undertaken by the Year 6 teacher using 2006/07 Year 6 data, reported significant

relationships between completing homework, attending after-school clubs and improvement in maths from Year 2.

Other reported benefits of study support were improved behaviour, raised attendance, enhanced self-esteem, children learning about rules and codes of conduct and increased partnership with parents. A secondary school vice principal attributed the expanding sixth form and raised SATs to access to the wide range of supportive activities on offer, including the integral part played by social and health services, with transport provided for access to counselling, bereavement help and advice on smoking and contraception.

As well as offering opportunities for children and young people, out-of-hours learning allowed teachers to work with pupils in a context and relationship other than the classroom. This was described by school staff (teachers and teaching assistants) as helping to cast a new light on the nature of learning, the suitability of the curriculum and the extent to which it may need reframing to meet a diversity of needs. It has led back to auditing and revision of curriculum structure and in some schools it is claimed that content is scrutinised for relevance on an ongoing basis. In the process of such review the best locations for learning may also need to be recast, since the more relaxed environment of the youth wing or residential centre offers greater room for expression. Based on evidence of difficulties in primary–secondary transition, for example, one school runs a three-day residential camp for Year 6–7 students as part of induction.

In these schools learning is frequently cast as a partnership between teachers, students and support staff with a continuing alertness to the learning moment, seizing opportunities to enhance students' self-esteem, sense of efficacy and well-being.

Extension and inclusion

The ethos of the extended school, almost by definition, embraces a principle of inclusion. This does, however, create a further layer of complexity as it requires negotiation with local authorities, psychological and social services and close attention to staff appointments and training able to cater to children with a wide spectrum of needs. While in one school cluster the campus principal made a virtue of

accepting children that other schools had rejected, dealing with a high percentage of young people with complex needs and from disturbed backgrounds makes heavy demands on school staff. Admission policies and knowledge of alternative placements has to pay attention to the critical mass of students with special needs, the potential pressures of teachers and a balance of staffing which is able to cater effectively and flexibly to the diversity of abilities and aptitudes.'

Extended services are most likely to be effective in enhancing learning and raising standards of attainment when:

- leadership is committed to instilling a culture in which all pupils can learn, even in the most turbulent circumstances;
- there are sites for learning in which children, young people and adults feel comfortable but also stimulated and challenged;
- there is both commitment and ability among staff to work flexibly, fluidly and spontaneously across boundaries of classroom, school and community.

ECM Premium project 15

4. Creating structures that distribute leadership, spread responsibility and foster trusting relationships

One of the leadership challenges of extended schools is re-engineering structures, routines, working habits and perceived priorities, keeping the needs of the child in the foreground both internally in the school and externally with other agencies. Internal restructuring may be driven by external contingencies while internal structures may also act as a brake on what can be accomplished beyond the school gates. Remodelling staffing structures has to be approached with a keen eye on the purposes of roles within the school and the changing demands of the external world. All the schools had engaged in workforce remodelling and most had grasped it as an opportunity to allow the internal distribution of responsibilities to be aligned with the working practices of partner agencies. The difficulties for form tutors with normal teaching loads in liaising with social services over a pupil are well rehearsed, but among these schools new roles had been created to carry out functions such as child protection liaison, pastoral care of Year groups, management of extended services, family liaison, youth work and community development.

Distributed leadership has assumed the status of conventional wisdom in the last few years yet means different things to different people. It may be interpreted as formal delegation within a hierarchical structure, dispersed more informally or exercised spontaneously or jointly, underpinned by a strong sense of agency. Spreading autonomy and agency widely, or allowing it to flourish widely, assumes a higher priority in an extended school context where everyone may be

expected to carry out responsibility for the wide range of activities that the school undertakes.

Two quotes from two different schools are revealing. When questioned about leadership, one secondary teacher replied "there's a lot of it", while in a primary school, after much thought, a parent replied "there isn't any". These might be described in Peter Gronn's terminology as 'additive' and 'holistic' conceptions of leadership (2003), one referring to a proliferation of leadership roles, the other an expression of shared and embedded activity.

The distinction between these two forms of distribution is expressed in other schools as the difference between 'controlled distributed leadership', in which everyone knows and adheres to their role, as against a situation in which 'everyone mucks in', and there is a 'blurring of edges' of both status and area of responsibility. While teamwork is a feature of both, in the 'controlled' environment the structure of teams is underpinned by clear guidelines as to 'when staff may take the initiative and when they must consult with senior leaders'. Within the more flexible approach leadership is described as being "in everybody's hands, whether you are a newly qualified teacher (NQT), someone who runs the kitchen or a student".

"I was asked at interview what I would do and I have been allowed to get on with it." (teaching assistant, secondary school)

There is recognition, however, that as the 'density' of leadership (Sergiovanni 2001) widens, there is a danger that individuals or teams 'tackle the same issues' and communication failures become more salient. Without clear lines of communication within the school, relationships with external agencies can exacerbate situations in which making and

sustaining contact is rarely straightforward. The frustration expressed on both sides of the school community interface is typically ascribed to time invested in trying to locate the relevant person, the exasperation of electronic button pressing and 'telephone tag'. Trust can begin to founder when frustration and resentment begin to take hold. Evidence of success in overcoming those barriers is measured by one primary headteacher who testifies to being "very comfortable picking up the phone", a consequence of a trusting relationship and effective communication protocols being in place. Leadership of the inclusion team (a 'great network', consisting of social services, health, housing and police and with a child protection link) was entrusted to "a dynamic assistant head, a wonderful networker".

Trust is frequently cited as the social glue that underpins distributed leadership.

The importance of trust is endorsed by leadership studies. Sometimes described as 'relational trust' (Bryk & Schneider 2002), it encompasses interpersonal respect, personal regard for others, role competence and personal integrity. Taken together these involve a willingness to be vulnerable to others based on a belief that they will reciprocate with their mutual obligation to oneself and to the school. These are described by senior leaders in this study as embedded in lateral relationships with less necessity, therefore, for close monitoring by the head or senior leaders.

A secondary headteacher talked about "standing back and letting people, including students have their head, even if they are not doing exactly what is expected", with trust and risk taking seen as resting on a sense of reciprocal accountability. A deputy head in a primary school described the scope for initiative and trust invested in him, the only obligation to keep the head informed through

ad hoc briefings with senior leadership meetings kept to a maximum of two per term.

For some respondents latitude for staff risk taking implied a sense of professional trust while close monitoring and proscribing risks suggested a lack of trust. Fostering trusting relationships across the staff of the school, building teams, sustaining commitment and providing sustained support for staff in key positions of responsibility was cited as a prime concern in promoting and sustaining an ECM agenda. This was implied in one headteacher's reframing of distributed leadership as "contributive leadership".

Working in a cluster is another arena of work for school leadership teams. While developing multi-agency teams is rightly seen as important and challenging work, attention needs to be given to ways in which schools can collaborate effectively and what that demands of school leaders. It is clear that collaboration between secondary schools and their feeder primaries can assist in improved transition processes from Year 6 to Year 7 and that secondary staff, perhaps especially in science and modern foreign languages, can provide valuable additional expertise in the primary curriculum.

Being part of a cluster structure, with clusters at the centre of the delivery chain, as represented by the Birmingham model, represents a not insignificant change in the locus of control that school leadership teams have over the interventions designed to improve pupil achievements.

Extended services are most likely to be effective in enhancing learning and raising standards of attainment when:

- shared leadership is manifested in a climate where everyone is expected to carry some responsibility for the wide range of activities in which ECM priorities are embedded;
- there is latitude for staff risk taking based on a sense of professional trust;
- building teams, sustaining commitment and providing sustained support for staff in key positions of responsibility is a primary concern of leadership.

18

5. Managing workforce remodelling with a clear understanding of, and sensitivity to, professional expertise and capacity

Restructuring the workforce assumes a specific character in extended schools where staff may include social workers, counsellors, community and health workers and volunteers. One of the primary benefits has been to allow teachers to concentrate on learning and teaching while support staff take on other non-teaching duties such as child protection, management of extended services, family liaison and community development. In some cases pastoral care roles have been assumed by non-teaching Year managers, school counsellors and youth workers. In primary schools teachers have benefited from personal professional time, while this has been less easy to manage in secondary schools. The leadership challenge is to manage professional boundaries so that children are taught by qualified teachers and children with special needs receive an equally high level of professional support. While teaching assistants may exhibit high levels of skills and an ability to establish good relationships with children and young people, their remit needs to be scrupulously managed so as neither to exceed their capacity nor undermine the central place of qualified teaching staff.

One secondary school restructured the leadership team of 17 staff members into 'hard' and 'soft' interaction teams. The 'hard delivery team' is structured into:

- organisation
- student
- learning
- extended school
- staffing.

Each area is largely autonomous, with the power to drive development forward without recourse to the 'strategic policy team' if within its remit, and if it does not impact on other groups. The 'soft delivery team' is structured into:

- · operation
- school development plan
- research.

These teams have representation from all tiers in the school including principal teachers, heads of department and secondments, and are designed as 'think tanks' with direct recourse to the strategic policy team.

In the principal's words the soft delivery team "supports innovation" to encourage young and new members of staff to get involved and take a lead in the direction of the school. All teams have direct access to the strategic policy team chaired by the principal, with the overarching aim that it promotes informed educational discussion and does not get "bogged down in implementation pragmatics".

Cultural remodelling

There is no easy separation between structural and cultural remodelling as attitudes and ways of thinking may be reshaped by virtue of the structural opportunities and boundaries within which they work. This cannot, however, be taken as given and indeed structural change may actually inhibit initiative and agency.

The prerequisite of cultural remodelling was generally seen as having a shared vision of an extended school's essential purposes, resting on:

- a clear and succinct vision statement;
- a long-term view of how the school needs to develop in the immediate present and long-term future;
- a sense of moral purpose, collectively held within the leadership team.

It is generally agreed that these are framing conditions for a learning culture in which pupil learning is seen not simply as the province of teachers but as a responsibility of everyone. Senior leaders and teachers spoke of the attempt to create a three-way partnership within the school, encompassing teachers, pupils and support staff. Such a culture is marked by opportunism. A commitment to ECM implies being proactive in addressing issues of the needs of children with a sharpened awareness of the family and community legacies that children bring with them to their learning. This does not imply a lowering of expectations but rather a flexibility of response in which, as one headteacher put it, "All opportunities for learning are seized".

In a learning culture, embracing these aims translates into activities that distribute leadership by:

- encouraging and supporting innovation
- fostering trusting relationships among the staff of the school
- building teams and sustaining commitment
- promoting the commitment and resilience of all staff
- providing sustained support and development for coordinators.

The assurance that these activities are in place and have an impact is accounted for through school self-evaluation that is not simply a oneoff event in preparation for inspection but a sustained engagement, using frameworks relevant to the needs and priorities of school and community.

Often there are members of staff responsible for ECM whose job is to manage the extra projects on offer to the school. Having such a role means he or she is able to allocate resources appropriately, filter projects coming into the school and work alongside staff and other agencies to ensure coverage of all five strands. An ECM co-coordinator in one primary school claimed that as a result the school now has a more integrated curriculum, topic-based rather than Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) led, and is more relevant to the interests, aptitudes and abilities of the children.

Extended services are most likely to be effective in enhancing learning and raising standards of attainment when:

- pupil learning and well-being is seen not simply as the province of teachers but as a responsibility of *everyone*;
- there are systems for sharing understanding of the family and community legacies (both helps and hindrances) which children bring with them to their learning;
- there is a long-term view of how the school needs to develop in the immediate present and long-term future positions of responsibility is a primary concern of leadership.

6. Placing high priority on the professional development of the whole staff

As leadership is distributed it is, of itself, a powerful form of professional development. Taking initiative and exercising responsibility in the day-to-day life of the school within a supportive ethos is seen as having a greater impact than training events that do not necessarily confront the immediate dilemmas or engage direct experience in resolving them. Nor do such events normally allow the kind of delicate negotiation which is often required in dealing with ancillary and support staff, teaching assistants, parents and representatives of other professional and community agencies.

Staff meetings and professional development events within the school, in most cases. involved all of the staff and in one case included administrative, catering and premises staff. The purpose was to emphasise that all have a part to play in the education and welfare of children and that all can observe and share intelligence about individual children's behaviour. Learning what to see, what to see as significant, and what to share with others, required opportunities for all staff to learn together. This is what Eisner (1991) has described as connoisseurship – the ability to perceive what is salient amid the complexity and simultaneity of school and classroom life. It is easy and commonplace, writes Eisner, to see everything and see nothing. The connoisseur has learned how to suspend preconception and judgement, to know what they see rather than seeing what they already know.

The Mckinsey thesis that 'talented leaders create great organisations' is countered by Gladwell's proposition that 'great organisations create talented leaders' (Gladwell 2005). While these two positions are in fact compatible, the schools in this study offer evidence of ways in

which schools grow their own staff and leaders, building capacity, for example, by:

- the creation of task groups, allowing different members of staff to assume and practice leadership roles;
- promoting from within to teaching assistant roles and thence to more senior responsibilities;
- offering employment to parents, students and members of the local neighbourhood;
- fostering training links recruiting former students on to the staff.

"Finding time to listen" and "being enthused by others" were mentioned by headteachers as tangible demonstrations of professional learning and modelling. This was a powerful impact on their own learning and was an underpinning ethic and a form of modelling for the whole staff. It is a view that finds ample support from research studies that underline the capacity-building effect of staff listening to their colleagues in new ways, learning to accommodate and value difference, the beneficiaries of which are the children:

"Leaders who take others' views into account foster the social affiliation and co-operative activity needed to educate children."

(Robinson 2007: 59)

ECM Premium project 21

Extended services are most likely to be effective in enhancing learning and raising standards of attainment when:

- professional development events within the school involve all of the staff;
- taking initiative and exercising responsibility in the day-to-day life of the school is seen as a vital form of professional development;
- the ability of staff to accommodate and to value differences is encouraged because it is seen as enhancing capacity to manage change.

7. Managing external relationships and the permeable boundaries between school and community

As schools embrace the ECM agenda, collaboration with external agencies becomes the norm and other professions are welcomed into the school and their different perspectives and contributions are valued. Through shared conversations leadership builds genuine respect for other organisations, helping to diminish prejudices and stereotypical views of social, community or health workers. It engages in a slow but purposive building of inter-organisational relationships, working towards a genuine and longer-term partnership with common goals and coordinated working practices. Gestures such as the sharing of the school minibus with community organisations are a demonstration of goodwill.

The mutual benefit that can accrue from building powerful partnerships is illustrated by one primary school where collaboration with the Education Business Partnership has been instrumental in helping the school to identify resources beyond the school's immediate compass. For example, a trip to Paris and Versailles for 10–14 pupils was sponsored by KPMG as part of the French programme taught by a qualified KPMG languages teacher. On the other side of the partnership the KPMG coordinator spoke of how rewarding the partnership was in terms of the transferable skills and enhanced motivation their staff experienced. Their staff members were developing better communication skills through learning how to explain things clearly to children. They enjoyed being somewhere that "was a complete contrast to their workplace", and spoke of coming back into the work environment feeling refreshed after being in school.

As the headteacher of this primary school explains, such partnerships develop over time, or more often grow organically, in response to clear evidence of students' and their families' needs. Senior leaders are aware of the temptation to move too swiftly from a view that 'this is the need' to an assumption that 'therefore this is the required service', omitting the intermediary step of critical reflection on purposes and potential outcomes. Careful thought is given to the services that may be brought in to the physical premises of the school and those that go need to be located where people live or come together for social or recreational purposes. Some schools provide the site for access to health visitors, drop-in housing advice, speech therapists and childminding services and adult classes such as pre-natal and ante-natal classes. In other cases these may be situated closer to home. This issue looms larger in schools serving rural communities or with a wide catchment area, in the case of one school a 10-mile radius.

The effective extended school is a highly permeable one. It does not ignore the importance of boundaries but sets them beyond the traditional parameters of mainstream schools. Leadership has a clear view of what can and should flow across the boundaries of school and community. The spontaneity and flexibility of human traffic, the inflow and outflow of communication requires astute management, a heightened level of vigilance and a large number of staff to manage transactions across the school's boundaries.

Managing external relationships is a critical aspect of leadership in extended schools. These are myriad, complex and subject to constant change. Frequent turnover of personnel, sometimes unexpected and unexplained, means building new relationships all over again, travelling the same ground, as one headteacher put it, a game of snakes and ladders in which however far you have climbed there is the

ever present danger of slithering back to square one.

So, working practices may have to be renegotiated and the art of compromise has to be learned while maintaining the values that the school stands for. Astute leaders recognise that as a long-term goal, it will only be achieved in the face of tensions and setbacks. The ability to live with disagreement and conflict and to find a way through is a necessary skill in the leadership repertoire. Conflict management assumes a higher priority when the school takes a firm stand against aspects of local mores and expectations. Leadership is demonstrably intolerant of discrimination, racism and unacceptable attitudes to women and children. This is, however, hazardous territory as respect for religious and cultural practices has constantly to be balanced against issues of children's and human rights. This is both an individual and a distributed responsibility, one grounded in an informed understanding of the socio-economic context and the vitality of local networks formal and informal.

The language of involvement, participation, partnership and coalition may conceal more than it reveals and may create, rather than lower, barriers. Asymmetry in the balance of power can disenfranchise 'partners' while a genuine sense of reciprocity in relationships provides a common ground for dialogue and negotiation. These issues assume heightened relevance in relation to parents.

Parental 'involvement' is a sensitive and problematic issue as schools face increasing problems in enticing parents in to school. Parents tend to find it easier to relate to primary schools in part due to their size, scale and accessibility, in part due to the parents' own prior school experience. Secondary schools are seen as less parent-friendly, their ethos too redolent of their own school days, those in Nalakowkskis's words 'saturated with

immaturity' (quoted in Mendel 2003). These issues takes on extra significance in a multi-ethnic context where language may be a barrier, and religious considerations about gender can be inhibiting of mothers' attendance in mixed company.

Leaders in touch with their communities recognise that the large majority of parents find it difficult to attend parent meetings but will engage with school activity when it is manifestly to the benefit of their children, when they feel that they have an important part to play or when there is something in it for them personally. The schools in this study exemplify a range of ways of reaching out to parents, bringing parents in and going out to parents in their homes and community sites:

- baby chat: how to talk to your baby
- family literacy
- courses in nutrition
- computer course for children and parents/carers
- talking together
- family English for speakers of other languages (ESOL)
- childminder and friends advice and support group
- homework club where children must be accompanied by an adult.

The joint homework initiative in one primary school was seen as hugely important in helping parents to understand their children's learning, helping them to unpick blocks to learning and engaging parents in dialogue with their children. In a three-way collaboration between child, parents and teacher, or teaching assistant, staff modelled how to question, talk about and guide learning. Integral to these extended activities with parents and children together is the learning or rules and norms of behaviour, practised in school but transferable to the

home contexts. Observations of such sessions illustrated for the research team how much there was to learn for mothers, fathers or carers, and how far some still had to travel in order to effectively support their children's learning out of school.

In several of the secondary schools there was a long-term practice of growing parents into jobs in the school, for instance as mid-day supervisors or office staff and thence to teaching assistants. In one of these a number of parents had gone on to gain qualified teacher status. In other schools with strong traditions of adult education and parenting programmes, including English as an additional language (EAL) for parents, progression into further education was an explicit goal. In one of the schools parents were responsible for running parts of the community education programme and in preparing funding bids for extended services.

Saturday classes and induction for new entrants, pupils and parents, were popular and seen as effective in minimising stress for newcomers. Parents were also appreciative of the wide range of opportunities outside the formal curriculum on offer for their children. They recognised the open door policy and the welcome given to parents, helping to mediate their concerns and anxieties.

It was generally acknowledged that location in school, home or community centre was a factor to be taken into account in arranging meetings with parents. In East London the Docklands Club provided a venue for meeting with working parents and carers. In some cases home visiting was the preferred option, particularly in cases of physical disability or domestic circumstances that proscribed a school visit. Care and planning were important in advance, with safeguards in places particularly for lone female staff. Three issues loom large:

- **Territorial:** the importance of the power base.
- **Alignment:** whose side are you on the parents', the child's or the school's?
- Passport: who holds the best 'passport' into homes – teachers, community workers, social workers, or family support workers?

In one primary school home visiting was complemented by early intervention with parents, advising them on services and accompanying them on GP visits, acting as mediators and translators, as advocates and pointing them to other services such as education welfare officers. In this respect the school plays a facilitative role as the gateway to other services.

The success of these parent initiatives was measured by one primary head in terms of the increased number of parents responding to the Ofsted questionnaire, a rise from six in 2003 to over 200 in 2007. In a secondary school a member of staff pointed to the increasing number of parents gaining NVQs.

There was a general perception among school staff that parents were becoming more demanding and less easy to please, together with a growing expectation that 'the school will do it for you'. School staff are careful not to blame parents and every effort was expended to engage parents even when staff felt constantly let down and promises were not fulfilled. They were quick to acknowledge the difficulties and stresses which many parents face and that it is not always reasonable to expect parents to fit into a school timetable. It is in this context that comments about 'abusive', 'violent' and 'manipulative' parents have to be understood. These need to be set within broader social and economic issues and headteachers admitted to taking tough measures such as police intervention and banning parents from the school. It is in these circumstances that relationships with social, community and health workers are at a premium.

The gap between aspirations and day-to day practice presents a continuing challenge to school leaders. The guiding frame is expressed in the broad principles outlined but these

come to life and are tested within the need to be the unique context in which staff find themselves.

Extended services are most likely to be effective in enhancing learning and raising standards of attainment when:

- other professions are welcomed into the school and their different perspectives and contributions are valued;
- a wide range of staff are entrusted with representing and negotiating on behalf of the school;
- bringing parents in and going out to parents in their homes and community sites is seen as key to extending learning;
- a sense of reciprocity in relationships among community agencies provides a common ground for dialogue and negotiation.

8. Ensuring sustainability of commitment, finance and resourcing

Sustaining schools in challenging circumstances has been shown to be the most difficult and enervating of leadership tasks and accounts for attrition, high rates of turnover and a recruitment 'crisis' (MacBeath 2006; MacBeath et al 2007). There are a number of well-documented dimensions to this, including instability within the local community, high turnover of staff, political pressure on targets, competition with local schools and mounting incidences of indiscipline and violence. These dimensions are part of the context for two other sets of research findings. One, that few schools are able to maintain an upward trajectory of improvement over time (Gray 2005). And two, that schools are often destabilised by the departure of a headteacher or other key members of staff (Hargreaves & Fink 2006).

Sustainability of services is a continuing source of challenge to school leaders accustomed to having stable budgets with clear control over spending categories and priorities. New sources of challenge funding, cost benefit analysis of actual or potential programmes, short-term financing more characteristic of voluntary sectors, require both a different mindset and skills. Even three-year funding can be too short term if the goal is to seek to change community attitudes. Leadership skills are tested not simply by an ability to secure resources but to secure resources targeted specifically and strategically to priorities for learning, teaching or school improvement.

In disadvantaged communities school leaders recognise that success is the product of a long-term investment. They acknowledge that attitudes and patterns of behaviour do not change over night, rooted as they are in powerful influences outside school, in the peer

group, the family, by media and the virtual world in which young people spend more time than in the classroom.

Long-term strategies are directed at "building social capital in the community", as one headteacher put it. Opportunities for adults, children and young people to 'mingle together' and learn together was identified by James Coleman (the originator of research into social capital) as a key factor in promoting positive attitudes and high achievement. The importance of this 'vertical relationship' is reinforced by research into the 'compositional (or peer group) effect', which illustrates particularly the adolescent peer group's powerful capacity to lower aspiration, encouraging compliance to peer norms. Raising self-esteem and aspirations within the school relies on support and intervention 'out there' beyond the school walls, through longterm strategies that set inter-generational goals and targets.

With regard to longer-term change, the schools in this study were sustained by the clarity of their vision and commitment to values and goals, realised through practical approaches to innovation. These were significant in engaging the commitment of external partners and in gaining access to external funding. What distinguished most of the schools was their willingness to invest time in building relationships that could be turned into longerterm partnerships. Work with health, social services and local development agencies required detailed discussions so as to identify common objectives and targets, legitimating joint programmes and shared resourcing. Collaboration with business partners had, in many cases, gone beyond a philanthropic relationship, as commercial organisations benefited directly from the skill enhancement of their own staff.

Medium-term strategies focus more closely on what can be achieved within the compass of

school and classroom. A headteacher talked of recruitment of people prepared to "educate in novel ways", and the encouragement of students to learn in different ways, adding, "the school has a view of learning not constrained by the school day or the national curriculum". Monitoring of new appointments and of teacher-student relationships is allied with students having a voice in the evaluation of learning and teaching and in planning for more effective learning.

In the short term the approach is primarily pragmatic, maximising possibilities for examination success by providing extra time, space and support, for example for Year 11 students who do not have the benefit of private tuition or parental expertise. Breakfast clubs, homework clubs and Saturday clubs which focus on test taking and exam skills are seen both as tactically important but of limited long-term value.

Extended services are most likely to be effective in enhancing learning and raising standards of attainment when:

- school leaders recognise that success is the product a long-term investment and is founded on strengthening social capital in the school and community;
- there is a strategic approach to the recruitment of staff prepared to explore new ways of supporting pupils' learning and well-being;
- there is a strong spirit of collaboration among schools as competition is seen as detrimental to the interests of children and young people.

28

Working in clusters

In the development of extended services and the wider delivery of ECM outcomes the development of clusters of schools has come to be seen as the dominant model, in both central and local government strategy. This has superseded the earlier emphasis on the creation of full service extended schools (FSESs) as the key delivery hubs for a wide range of children's services.

Guidance from DCSF and the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) identifies extended services remodelling advisers (ESRAs) as the officers responsible in each local authority for supporting schools on the development of clusters, but we have not been able to find explicit guidance from central government on the establishment of effective clusters.

When children and young people are at the centre of a coherent network of services this helps to support all aspects of their development. In particular, it is expected that closer links between schools, families and local communities will support improved pupil motivation, behaviour and attendance and help to ensure that when pupils are in lessons they are ready to learn (www.tda.gov.uk/remodelling/extendedschools/mean/headteachers.aspx, accessed 19/2/08).

Local authority strategies and guidance tend to focus on the ability of clusters to (a) coordinate either access to or the provision of childcare, a range of study support programmes or specialist health and social care services or (b) to increase, through joint action (funding bids etc), the services available in the locality.

One West Midlands authority in a case study on the TDA website gives the purpose of clusters as:

Five geographically based school and community clusters whose primary aim is to

make services for those CYP and families showing signs of early difficulties ("vulnerable children") more available, accessible and responsive in the local area where children live/attend school.

In selecting the sample for this study we were interested in how working in clusters might influence the ways in which schools work to raise standards in the broadest sense of that term. We deliberately chose two very different types of clusters: The Canterbury Campus, an established federation of two schools and other services and the Border Busters Cluster in Birmingham, a large recently formed and looser group of schools. If clusters were ranked along a series of continua covering factors such as organisational tightness and diversity of client groups, then these two clusters would be at opposite ends of a continuum of practice.

Two very different clusters *Border Busters*

In Birmingham there is a clear and well-resourced plan for a phased establishment of 48 clusters covering the city's 400 schools. Detailed guidance, support and training and locally applicable data on needs and current provision is provided by a central team, which have also built in quality assurance procedures. Each cluster is granted funding to employ locally managed cluster coordinators as well as operational funding to develop and manage programmes.

Border Busters cluster consists of 14 schools and a children's centre that at the time of writing was still being built. There is one Roman Catholic secondary and six Roman Catholic primary schools. There is one non-denominational primary school and three pairs of infant and junior schools, one of which is Church of England voluntary-aided. The cluster covers a large socio-economically

diverse area of south west Birmingham. The pupil population of the schools is mostly white. The cluster was established in 2005 and became operational during 2006–07.

The steering group for the Border Busters cluster has a nominal membership of some 60 people. Meetings are attended on average by a third of the membership with 6 people being consistent in their attendance The annual action plan has to be approved by the authority's extended services steering group. Five task groups covering the five ECM outcomes were set up to review provision, identify needs and develop programmes to meet them.

Border Busters gives this as a statement of purposes:

Extended Services and Activities in the Border Busters cluster are being designed, developed and delivered with the main objective of meeting the Core Offer alongside providing the coordinated response demanded by the Every Child Matters Outcomes framework.

This response includes the identification of vulnerable children, young people and families, their needs and those of the wider cluster community and in turn provision of appropriate and effective solutions to address and fulfil those needs. The emphasis is on breaking the cycles of deprivation by empowering communities to achieve their goals and prosper in all areas of their lives. (QES Summary of Evidence)

The Canterbury Campus

The Canterbury Campus is an unusual federal organisation consisting of:

- Canterbury High School, a specialist sports college with foundation status
- Beauherne Primary School
- City View Nursery and Pre-school

- Canterbury adult education centre
- The Body and Mind Gym, (a private finance initiative [PFI] financed facility shared between the school and a commercial fitness centre, with the school having priority use 8.30am to 5.30pm)
- The Appetti tennis centre
- organised with the governing bodies of athletics, tennis, rugby, volleyball and women's football whose pupils are on the roll of Canterbury High School sixth form.

Also on the site are the authority's behaviour support service and staff of the hospital school service.

The Campus was created initially on the 'soft' federation of the high school and the primary school and then constituted formally when the commercial sports facilities were established. The adult education centre was subsequently incorporated into the Campus in 2006. The Campus is the unifying structure with a single governing body headed by a principal, who is the former headteacher of the high school. The two schools are now in a 'hard' federation, with one headteacher and senior leadership team. The various units of the Campus draw their 'clients' from differently bounded geographical areas: the primary school from the local estate of social housing but also more widely; the high school and the adult education centre from the whole of Canterbury and further across Kent. Pupils at the elite academies come from across South East England and further afield.

The purposes of the Campus are stated as providing:

... cradle-to-grave provision for all of its stakeholders, thereby enhancing opportunities for lifelong learning. All provision offered on and through the Campus links to the development of a strong community infrastructure and the development of high quality service provision in an area that is shown to be seriously disadvantaged.... The identification of priorities against the outcomes of Every Child Matters forms part of the improvement planning process of the Campus.

Contrasting purposes

The overall Birmingham model identifies the purposes of clusters as:

In order to deliver effective outcomes for children and young people in Birmingham – Extended School Provision is achieved when a network of schools and other providers recognise that in helping children and young people to achieve their potential, they must work together, and in partnership, with young people and their families, other agencies, organisations and the community.

In doing so, they aim to help meet not only the schools' objectives but also to share in helping to meet the needs of EVERY child, EVERY young person, their family and community. (emphasis in the original)

The tension between the purposes of a cluster and schools, as a major component of the cluster, is therefore recognised as inherent in the Birmingham model. In interviews with the heads of the schools in the Border Busters cluster they saw this distinction quite clearly. They reported that they saw the value of the cluster in the additionality of the services that were (a) supported and facilitated by the cluster coordinator and (b) supported by local authority funding or partnerships with other agencies.

On the other hand, for the schools on Canterbury Campus there was no tension between contrasting purposes. There was a clear and agreed focus on learning as the purpose of the campus with other services provided in support of learning. The additional services provided by the other organisations making up the Campus were seen as supporting their primary task of raising the achievement of their pupils. Other services, such as the police officer attached to the Campus, had their own purposes, in that instance diversion of young people from the juvenile justice system, but the focus was on children and young people at school or on the schools' rolls. This acceptance of the relevance of other agencies' purposes as being different from, but in harmony with, the schools' own purposes was significantly aided by the inclusiveness of both schools. Both the primary and secondary schools have a high proportion of pupils with special educational needs (SEN) and are willing to take pupils excluded from other schools.

Within a small cluster based on a single site and with a unified leadership and management structure such as The Canterbury Campus, the development of trust and respect between the staff of different units is, of course, much easier. Trust and respect do not just make for easier interprofessional relationships – trusting and respectful relationships between different professionals working with the same child are likely to make their interventions more effective. In The Canterbury Campus we had evidence of effective collaboration between youth workers and teachers in both the pastoral and curriculum arenas. The social and intellectual capital of the staff team of the campus was high.

Structures and change strategies

The tension between cluster objectives and activities, derived from overall city council purposes, and school objectives is, in the Border Busters cluster, made stronger by the numerical size and geographical spread of the cluster and by the large number of Roman Catholic schools within the cluster. Faith

schools recruit their pupils from a more geographically dispersed area and tend to define the community that they serve by faith and more particularly by active membership of parishes. Faith also impacted on the partnerships within the cluster; the Roman Catholic schools worked with one family support and welfare agency, the non-denominational schools with another.

Diversity in levels and types of need among children and families were seen to have two types of potentially negative impact. Concerns were expressed by schools that the high level of disadvantage among the pupil population would be masked by data aggregated across the cluster with data from schools with relatively low levels. Schools with low levels of disadvantage expressed concerns about "fighting for funding" for projects that met their particular needs.

There was a strong element of agreement among schools in the Border Busters cluster about how the existence of the cluster and the work of the cluster coordinator were affecting, for the better, the work of the school. Access by schools to the specialist support of health and social care professionals was easier. Case histories were given of children whose families were in crisis, and who, through rapid intervention of family caseworkers, had better school attendance, improved behaviour in class and who did not have to be taken into local authority care. Cluster-wide preventive initiatives such as parenting programmes and advice and assistance on opening up the school to parents were valued by the primary schools.

Other cluster-wide initiatives have included training for teaching assistants, buying in the specialist skills of a speech and language therapist and the establishment of a youth forum led by students from the secondary school.

It was emphasised by all the heads in the schools in the cluster that each of their schools

had been engaged in activities in furtherance of the ECM agenda prior to the establishment of the cluster. The impact of the cluster's work on school standards in the cluster was identified by respondents in three ways:

- freeing teachers, and school leaders, to focus on teaching and learning, by readier access to support services for families and pupils;
- by increasing general and daily readiness for learning by funding and supporting in other ways the establishment of programmes such as breakfast clubs;
- by specific and targeted study support interventions such as a maths breakfast club as part of SATs preparation.

These responses show that there are a number of different points of leverage that cluster activities can address:

- the domestic circumstances of individual pupils and their families which are impeding the ability of particular pupils to learn;
- the more general socio-economic circumstances and embedded cultural norms of groups of families within the cluster area which hamper the ability of pupils from these groups to learn;
- as a specific sub-category of the above, the daily lack of readiness for learning for significant numbers of pupils in some schools, as shown by lateness, coming to school without breakfast;
- the lack of opportunities to learn outside the classroom or to have in-class learning reinforced by other experiences;
- the capacity of staff in schools to make effective use of the resources of other agencies.

We did not find evidence of a clear causal connection between programmes or activities initiated by the cluster and tangible impact on learning and teaching in the classroom. Given the size of the cluster and the short time it had been in operation, adducing the evidence will need to be addressed in the longer term.

The cluster can be seen both as another external partner to the school and as another mediating strand between the school leadership and student achievements. The extent to which the activities of the cluster can influence what students achieve are subject to a number of processes within each school leadership team. Firstly there is negotiation within the cluster steering group in the drawing up of the action plan as to objectives, priorities and programmes for the cluster's work. Secondly there is the adoption (or rejection) of the programmes. Thirdly there is the manner of implementation of the programmes. Each of these processes will be influenced by existing values and practices within the school and by the skills of the cluster coordinator and by the attitudes of other school leaders within the cluster. Being part of a cluster can significantly help a school become more permeable, but a direct impact on learning and teaching requires a deliberate opening up to external influences of the internal discussion of curriculum and pedagogy.

The smaller scale and much greater cohesiveness of The Canterbury Campus made it possible for programmes to improve classroom practice and pedagogy to be closely linked to other support and intervention strategies. A restructuring of the curriculum at Key Stage 4 has led to ASDAN (Award Scheme Development and Accreditation Network) certificated programmes being offered in two curriculum routes and to being taught by staff of the school's youth work team. Students undertaking these curricular options are also those most likely to be attending the afterschool youth club also led by the same youth workers. In addition, because of its unified

leadership and management structure, negotiation about priorities and programmes has been completed quickly. Decisions receive assent and commitment, because this is allied to a distributed set of leadership functions and strong staff development programmes; issues of adoption and implementation did not arise. "We don't do pilots in this school", was the attitude of staff to innovation. Programme and projects are adopted quite quickly, reviewed and then amended.

The points of leverage for interventions were the same in both clusters but schools in the Campus can coordinate interventions more effectively.

Lessons about working in clusters from two polar opposites

In none of the schools in either cluster was its creation the prime mover in becoming a community-orientated school. However, schools in the early stages of the development of extended services regard the creation of clusters as both the driver and the principal mechanism through which extended services will be delivered. The danger is that it may hamper schools from examining their internal processes and routines and the extent and manner in which they are aligned with the work of external agencies and with their own school improvement objectives.

Being part of a cluster structure, with clusters at the centre of the delivery chain, as represented by the Birmingham model, represents a significant change in the locus of control that school leadership teams have over the interventions designed to raise standards of achievement.

Working in a cluster is another arena of work for school leadership teams. While developing multi-agency teams is rightly seen as important and challenging work, attention needs to be given to ways in which schools can collaborate effectively and what that demands of school leaders. It is clear that collaboration between secondary schools and their feeder primaries can assist in improved transition processes from Year 6 to Year 7 and that secondary staff, perhaps especially in science and modern foreign languages, can provide valuable additional expertise into the primary curriculum. It is less clear how clusters established as part of a local ECM strategy impact on standards and attainment as opposed to the more loosely framed ECM five outcomes.

Clusters of the Birmingham type are more likely to have an impact on achievement standards through long-term work on improving services to families in critical circumstances and through changing attitudes to learning and schooling.

Outcomes and success indicators

ECM has adopted the term 'outcomes' to describe its five key priority areas. It is a way of giving status to goals, processes and ways of being that may all too easily be taken for granted if not formalised and accorded equivalence to summative assessments of attainment. However, it has been left largely to schools themselves, and in particular to school leaders, to identify the relationship between ECM and SATs/GCSE outcomes and the relative priority given to these. It was recognised in all the schools studied that, however intrinsically valuable, high achievement on all five ECM outcomes would count for little without commensurate attainment measures.

The two key drivers in extended schools (a moral duty to ameliorate the circumstances of children's lives, and a belief that children cannot learn effectively unless social, emotional and economic issues are addressed) prioritise two forms of intervention and support: (a) directly through the school's own initiatives and (b) indirectly through support interventions by other agencies. ECM provides a framework against which schools are able to categorise their activities, but the challenge remains of adducing strong qualitative evidence and, more challenging still, quantitative measures that are seen as having substance and reliability.

One of the goals of this study was to 'identify the early success indicators that can be tracked to evidence progress'. This has proved difficult for a number of reasons.

Firstly, there was little evidence that schools were using the ECM five outcomes to define success. This was because for all the schools in the study the ECM agenda provided a legitimation of goals and actions that the

schools' leadership had already adopted. In addition, and more fundamentally, the ECM five outcomes are not outcomes but loose descriptions of states of being that form a partial picture of a child who is developing well, progressing in learning and en route to being an effective adult and citizen. The ECM five outcomes contain implicit values and have to be reinterpreted for different stages and contexts.

Secondly, schools were not using the ECM five outcomes in a systematic way to plan their strategies for school improvement or community engagement. Rather they were drawing on a range of different types of knowledge about the needs of pupils, families and communities and subsequently, in the self-evaluation form or other plans and reports, linking interventions or outcomes to one or more of the five outcomes.

Thirdly, because of the holistic way in which these schools perceived their responsibilities to pupil's learning, there was no common pattern of defining what counted as an extended service, or an ECM-prompted initiative. So, in contrast to schools which are beginning the journey towards becoming an extended school, schools in this study tended to see study support activities (even when provided at weekends and in the holidays) as part of school improvement and personalised learning strategies rather than as extended services. This is a measure of how far these schools had embedded the purposes of being an extended school into their thinking and planning.

Finally, the ECM five outcomes focus on the child. The schools in this study tended to see their role more widely as interventions with families and in community development with local residents as part of what was necessary to achieve the core purposes of the school.

The matrix shown in Table 1 describes the range of purposes and locus of change that these schools were addressing.

Change focus	Types of change					
	A. Remove obstacles to learning	B. Increase readiness for learning	C. Improve attitudes and aspirations	D. Improve behaviour and attendance	E. Raise attainment	F. Broaden achievement
Individual pupils	All	All	All	All	All	All
Groups of pupils	All	All	All	All	All	All
Whole school	Some	Some	All	Some	All	All
Families	Some	Some	Some	Some	Some	Some
Neighbourhood and wider area	Some	No evidence	Some	Some secondaries	Some secondaries	Some

This table oversimplifies the picture in a number of ways. Firstly, each of the columns may be divided into many categories of programmes or interventions, none of which would be applicable in all the foci for change and only some of which would apply to several key stages. Secondly, the grid layout suggests that interventions can be compartmentalised. The reality is that programmes are likely to:

- have multiple objectives, for example breakfast clubs which aim to provide nourishment so that the child can concentrate in lessons; and to improve attitudes and social skills;
- be targeted on one group of pupils but open to all for incidental benefits such as the Caring for Small Animal Project designed for socially isolated pupils;
- have different objectives for different groups of participants.

Furthermore, we are still lacking any substantial research evidence of what makes extended services programmes effective.

The findings of Cummings et al (2007) in their study of the impact of FSESs may further explain why we found so little evidence of success indicators for the ECM Premium. Their overarching finding was that there was no impact of FSES status on pupil attainment overall. They did find narrower attainment gaps between pupils entitled to free school meals and with SEN and pupils overall in FSESs than on other schools. They attributed this to the effects of these schools targeting pupils in serious difficulties with different types of mentoring and pastoral support programmes and family interventions.

Many FSESs put in place intensive support mechanisms for pupils in greatest difficulties and these seem to have created the conditions in which such pupils might achieve.

In explaining the absence of a discernible overall effect of FSES status on attainment they identified schools as having two types of strategies. The first was generic school improvement strategies, such as assessment, target setting, lesson planning and staff

development. They discounted these strategies as not being specific to FSESs (although we believe they need to be seen as potentially part of the ECM agenda). The second group of whole-school strategies they saw as more specifically part of FSES provision but lying on the periphery of the curriculum:

The aim of these activities was not raised measured attainment as such but greater levels of engagement in learning, happier and more settled pupils, raised levels of self esteem and motivation, higher aspirations and the development of transferable skills. (Cummings et al 2007)

These three broad strategies correspond to the types of change identified in the table above. Column A is Cummings et al's targeted FSES provision, Column E and features of column D are generic school improvement strategies and Columns B, C and F are Cummings et al's non-targeted provision.

They go on to analyse the mediated ways in which these forms of intervention impact on school standards:

Targeted provision, though often aimed at resolving a range of personal and family difficulties, created conditions under which pupils could begin to learn and hence had sometimes had dramatic effects on their attainment. Non-targeted provision, by contrast, had what might be called cultural effects. That is not to say it ignored pupil attainment. On the contrary, some aspects of it such as the provision of study support, mentoring or ICT opportunities seem likely to have had direct impacts on the attainment of those who participated in it. However, non targeted provision tended to focus principally on changing attitudes to learning, on increasing learning opportunities, or on curriculum enrichment rather than more narrowly on ensuring that pupils passed tests and examinations. Its direct effects on

attainment, at least in the short term were, therefore likely to be limited.

(Cummings et al 2007)

This analysis reflects what we found in approaches to evaluating the impact of their ECM activities of the schools in this study. All schools visited were able to offer case histories of pupils who, because of counselling, mentoring or interventions with the family, were now able to make progress at school, but more systemic evidence of overall progress was more problematic. Given the complexity of family problems and their interconnectedness with the work of health and welfare and housing, evaluating the effectiveness of interventions defies attempts to identify valid and reliable school level measures. An approach based on cases allied with measures of long-term outcomes for pupils may be possible at local authority level.

All the schools used the standard performance measures and methods to evaluate pupils' attainment and progress. All believed that, although there were some clear connections, they could not definitively attribute raised attainment to any single ECM-related programme or intervention. The indirect effects were mostly couched in terms such as creating a climate of learning in the school, and having a calm and purposeful atmosphere. Primary schools in particular linked the various forms of increased engagement with parents as contributing to improved attainment through supporting the children in their learning. Several of the primary schools visited had simple systems for measuring an increase in parental involvement. One reported an increase in the number of parental questionnaires returned to Ofsted inspectors from six to over 200.

Close monitoring of the progress of individual pupils was a feature in most of the schools; targeting pupils for study support and other programmes was a routine part of planning and target setting, combined in most cases with systematic evidence that for these targeted pupils participation had improved scores in SATs and GCSEs. The Sutton Centre has used Keele University over several years to evaluate students' and parents' attitudes to learning. For her PhD thesis, one member of staff did an evaluation of the Family Homework Scheme, which is an important part of the Centre's transition to the Key Stage 3 programme.

The monitoring and evaluation of pupils' progress towards the ECM five outcomes, and towards more learning-orientated goals such as increased readiness for learning or higher aspirations, is inherently more difficult than measuring progress towards academic attainment. It is not surprising therefore that we did not find any evidence in these schools or in the research literature of systematic use of success indicators. There are a few instruments such as Goodman's Strengths and Difficulties questionnaire and the Pupil Attitudes to Self and School (PASS) software suite that cover some of these affective issues. but they do not directly solve the problem that faces schools in this arena.

Schools generally want answers to the two practical questions: is this programme making a difference and if so, how could we refine it to make it more effective? Schools can arrive at 'good enough' answers to their questions because staff can both observe behavioural effects such as fewer latecomers or better behaviour in class and can get informal feedback on the reasons for programmes' effectiveness or lack of it through simply asking the pupils. Policy makers and researchers, on the other hand, want answers to two different questions: what effects are attributable directly to this programme and what are the explanations of the variance between schools in the effects? They seek evidence which can be generalised and which 'travel' from one context to another.

Further work needs to be done on the development of success indicators that would meet the needs of both schools and of local and national government. Because choosing to engage in something on a voluntary basis is a strong indicator of attitudes and values, we would suggest that the starting point for such development should be participation rates: of pupils in study support activities and of parents in both the conventional ways of engaging with the school such as target-setting meetings with tutors and in the informal and voluntary programmes such as family learning. Work done with QiSS by schools not in this study suggests that around 40 hours per year of voluntary participation in learning out of lesson time has an impact on attainment.

Participation data would be:

- relatively easy for schools to collect;
- could be incorporated into current systems such as RAISEonline;
- provide a basis for schools to do more focused evaluations on the impact of particular programmes on particular pupils and families;
- comparable between schools.

ECM Premium project 38

Conclusion

The research addressed three key questions:

- What evidence do we have that a planned focus on ECM leads to a rise in standards of achievement and attainment? And where do they occur?
- What evidence is there that leaders adopt common strategies and approaches to promoting the ECM Premium? Which of these seem to have the greatest effect on outcomes and do they have a locality dimension?
- What are the implications of the outcomes of this study for the professional development for school leaders?

The evidence from schools and clusters in this study suggest that a rise in standards of achievement and attainment is most likely to occur when there is/are:

- systematic pursuit of the ECM agenda, guided by a shared vision grounded in clear moral and educational purposes;
- auditing and revising curricula provision designed to meet the needs of students;
- opportunities for learning out of regular school hours, targeted on children and young people whose needs have been identified through systematic data monitoring;
- restructuring and re-culturing of the school, through remodelling of leadership teams, and creating new roles and responsibilities for staff to encourage 'doing differently' internally and 'collaborating innovatively';
- employing a range of strategies which help parents support their children's learning and empower parents as effective learners in their own right;

 close and sustained collaboration with statutory and voluntary agencies to extend expertise and resources that support children and families.

In supporting these kinds of initiatives there appear to be a cluster of common leadership strategies. These have been described as eight 'high leverage leadership actions' (see Figure 1) in which the word 'and' appears to emphasise that effective leadership in extended schools has to attend both to pupils' learning and to their family and social circumstances. While the impact of these is inseparable, the extension of sites for learning mediates home and school effects. This represents an ambitious and complex mix and is virtually impossible to realise without a quality of leadership able to share a vision and sustain moral energy in the long term.

While qualities of leadership clearly apply to headteachers it is apparent from these schools that vision, commitment and moral endeavour extend well beyond the head and senior leadership team. This is effected through two main routes, which may be described as 'distributed' and 'contributive'. The first is through clearly structured responsibilities, tasks and accountabilities. The second is more fluid, more shared, leaving room for spontaneity and initiative. These two types are, however, more separable in theory than in practice and the ideal approach would appear to be a judicious blend of both. The appointment and induction of new staff is a key element in 'buying in' to the wider purposes and challenges of extended schools.

Locality strongly influences schools, what they are and what they can become. The schools in this study recognised that changing themselves to become genuinely extended schools increased their capacity to influence the locality. Distributing widely the responsibility for managing the range of transactions

between the school and its neighbourhood was the common element in the way these schools responded to the challenge of a changed remit. The permeability resulting from this distribution, when allied with a clarity of purposes and values, enhanced their capacity to innovate and to respond flexibly and creatively.

The complexity of contextual influences, the ambitious challenge faced by extended schools carries far-reaching implications for the third research question – professional development for school leaders. Insight, acuity of judgement, managing conflict, micropolitical and negotiating skills, and all that is encompassed within the eight levers, are at a premium in extended schools and can really only be fully learned in situ and over a fairly extended apprenticeship. Leadership programmes need, therefore, to be complemented by day-to-day experience as a teacher, middle leader, deputy head, and preferably in schools with a strong commitment to succession planning and distributed leadership. As the adage goes, there is no substitute for experience, and for learning by mistakes as well as from successes. These are lessons to be learned within a supportive environment with coaching, mentoring or critical friends to keep the challenge at the cutting edge.

The 14 schools and clusters from which these conclusions are drawn are, in many ways, outstanding schools, selected purposively on the basis of their commendation by Ofsted, their trajectory of improvement in student achievements and their willing commitment to the study. By their own acknowledgement they are still on a journey to a more fully fledged realisation of a vision to make every child matter in the fullest sense of that big idea. They see this as a long-term capacity-building exercise while continuing to reconcile the short-term demands of competitive targets with the unpredictability of neighbourhoods in which each day brings a new challenge.

While the neighbourhoods in which these schools are situated and the communities they serve are in many ways unique, we believe that the challenges they face and the dilemmas they deal with have much wider application. We also believe that the eight high leverage actions drawn from their experiences have relevance to every school that strives, particularly for children and families in difficulties, to nourish learning in its broadest and most life-enhancing sense.

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Appendix A: List of schools

Primary	Seven Mills Primary School, Tower Hamlets Carpenters Primary School, Newham
Secondary	Lister Community School, Newham Homewood School & Sixth Form Centre, Kent Sutton Centre Community College, Nottinghamshire
Clusters	Border Busters Cluster, Birmingham (visits made to) St Thomas Aquinas Catholic School St Brigid's Catholic Primary School Wychall Primary School Bournville Junior School Bournville Infant School The Canterbury Campus, Kent Beauherne Community Primary School The Canterbury High School City View Nursery and Pre School
Special	Yeoman Park School, Nottinghamshire