DEVELOPING SCHOOL LEADERS:
WHAT THE U.S. CAN LEARN FROM ENGLAND’S MODEL

By Mark Toner
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INTRODUCTION

The myriad challenges facing school leaders—and school leadership—in the United States have been well documented. Limited opportunities for distributed leadership, inadequate training, a lackluster pipeline for new leaders, meager opportunities to collaborate with other building leaders, mounting obligations both to provide instructional leadership and to evaluate teachers, and, in many places, skepticism among teachers about principals’ ability to lead have all contributed to a collapsing model of school leadership.

In response to credible reports that the English education system has found superior ways of addressing these challenges, the Washington-based Thomas B. Fordham Institute teamed up with the London-based Education Foundation to seek a better understanding of England’s recent efforts to revamp school leadership. This joint effort led to a new paper by University of Pennsylvania professor Jonathan Supovitz and the Consortium for Policy Research in Education, Building a Lattice for School Leadership: The Top-to-Bottom Rethinking of Leadership Development in England and What It Might Mean for American Education. The collaboration also resulted in a short documentary film, Leadership Evolving: New Models of Preparing School Heads, and a fall 2014 conference that brought together nearly forty experts on school leadership from both countries, including principals and representatives of national and local leadership organizations and programs. These conference attendees are widely quoted below. (See Appendix for a full list.)

This report summarizes key elements of the English model, which provides a formal structure for distributed leadership within schools as well as systems for training and credentialing leaders at several levels. It then describes how these changes in leadership development reflect broader education policy shifts—first towards centralization, then away from it—and how the English system currently benefits from a combination of top-down and decentralized models. Finally, it examines potential implications for American public education and poses questions for policymakers and educators to consider.

There are obvious and significant differences between the two systems. With about twenty thousand schools, England has roughly the same number as California and Texas combined—all within a nation roughly the size of Wisconsin, whose central government in Whitehall makes most of the big policy decisions. Given the much larger and markedly more decentralized U.S. system, direct policy transfusions are unlikely. Yet England’s view of school leadership, combined with local models of support and development, may nonetheless provide a useful roadmap away from the present U.S. system. That system, as Supovitz depicts, typically features “a strong single actor with a weak supporting cast.”
THE ENGLISH MODEL

Efforts to update and revamp the single-leader model within schools are not new on either side of the Atlantic. Over the past decade, however, England has managed to create a well-differentiated system of distributed leadership in which responsibilities and accountability are effectively spread across multiple administrators and teachers. In contrast, school leadership in the United States remains largely unchanged. “While we’ve mostly jawboned the idea” of distributed leadership, Fordham President Michael J. Petrilli has written, “the Brits got busy doing it.”

England’s recent efforts have given rise to a three-tiered system of leadership at the building level. It includes:

- **Head teachers** (analogous to principals in the United States). While schools in both countries are led by individual leaders, English head teachers generally face steeper consequences for poor performance (as one English school leader attending the conference put it, “Heads will roll”). But they also wield greater authority and enjoy more autonomy than most U.S. principals.

- **Deputy heads/senior leaders** (analogous to assistant or vice principals). English schools traditionally split duties between two assistant leaders with both “pastoral” (social, athletic) and academic responsibilities. With the advent of additional levels of school leadership, however, deputy heads now often play supervisory roles within larger teams, focusing on both day-to-day and strategic roles.

- **Middle leaders** (analogous to department heads). Though this role bears some resemblance to that of a “department head” in (usually) large American high schools, its responsibilities diverge dramatically. Middle leaders in England have formal responsibility—and accountability—for the performance of a team of teachers and students, often by subject area or grade level. The middle leader is expected to be a curriculum expert, providing instructional support to teachers and monitoring the instruction of students.

This teacher-leader role is key to the English model. “They are highly accountable and highly autonomous for their area of responsibility,” James Toop, CEO of Teaching Leaders, an English leadership development program for middle leaders, explained in *Leadership Evolving*. “One of the big shifts we’ve seen has been that middle leaders have real accountability for their results. You hear a lot of heads say their heads of English and maths are more important than their deputy heads or senior leadership team.”

The middle leader position backs up the promise of distributed leadership with clearly defined roles, responsibilities, and accountability. It cements the identity of teacher-leaders as curricular and instructional resources. And it simplifies the workloads of head teachers and deputy heads, who must balance an ever-widening range of instructional and non-instructional responsibilities, just like their counterparts in the United States.
This is worthy of serious consideration in the context of American schools. As noted during the conference by Jonas Chartock of Leading Educators (a U.S. organization focused on teacher leadership), “By leveraging a middle leader, we would have stronger front-end teachers and a more sustainable load as a principal.”

The English leadership model diverges from the typical American version in other significant ways, including:

- **Universal teaching.** While instructional duties tend to decrease through ascending levels of leadership, leaders at every level continue to teach students. Head teachers often teach classes of their own, and even while middle leaders hold greater accountability for teaching and learning, school leaders still play an active role in observing teachers and directing instruction. “The idea that the principal would not know about teaching would blow my mind,” Robin Street, vice principal of the publicly funded, independent secondary school UCL Academy, observed during the conference.

- **A well-defined career ladder.** In the English model, teachers interested in administration progress through middle leadership into senior leader and head teacher jobs. This model deliberately increases leadership responsibilities as teachers move through a diverse range of leadership posts, as seen in Figure 1 below.

![Figure 1. Percentage of time spent leading and teaching by role](source: Smith, B. Leadership Role in English Secondary Schools (Working paper, 2010).)

- **Integration into England’s accountability system.** Perhaps most significantly, the quality of a school's leadership is one of four domains measured by England's Office of Standards in Education (Ofsted) school inspection system (along with student behavior, quality of teaching, and student outcomes). The inspection process centers on site visits, which are the
primary determinant of school ratings. Teams ranging from two to five inspectors perform a visit lasting between two and three days, the frequency of which is determined by previous performance ratings and can be triggered by specific events, such as declining student performance data. During site visits, inspectors visit all or most classrooms, talk to students and teachers, and interview school leaders and members of the school’s governing board.

While accountability in the United States primarily centers on student test scores, the Ofsted system evaluates schools on a mix of qualitative and quantitative indicators and includes an emphasis on self-reflection that’s more akin to accreditation than to the American notion of accountability. This represents a profound shift in thinking that considers a school’s inputs and practices (performance of teachers and leaders) as well as its outputs (student behavior and outcomes).

CREATING A LATTICE OF LEADERSHIP SUPPORT

The English model of school leadership did not emerge from a vacuum. Its evolution over the past decade and a half reflects broader policy changes that began, much as in the United States, with calls for reform in the 1980s. A highly decentralized education system was standardized and centralized during the Thatcher era; this process culminated in the adoption of a National Curriculum in 1988, followed in short order by the introduction of nationwide standardized testing and the addition of interventions to the Ofsted school inspection system. As a result, English school leaders now report similar pressures to improve academic performance as their American counterparts. In the words of one school leader quoted in *Building a Lattice for School Leadership*, “I’ve been working in schools for 30 years and I’ve never experienced a time when you were expected to produce results so rapidly with so little time to prepare.”

The Blair government pushed for the addition of national leadership standards, which led to the creation of a National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL) in 2000. The new institution formalized the leadership model described above by creating a framework for the three levels of school leadership that spelled out the knowledge and skills required at each level—effectively producing national standards. It also devised a rich curriculum focused on instructional, organizational, and strategic leadership, emphasizing theory and practice across all three domains; specific training sequences were developed that aligned with those curricula and combined in-person and online training. Finally, NCTL granted credentials, known as “national qualifications.”

The impact was significant. NCTL’s work “helped us with clarity of vision, and it encouraged politicians to take a risk on empowering school leaders,” explained Vicky Beer, executive principal of Ashton on Mersey School, the lead school supporting a regional teaching school network (more below).

Since the creation of the National College, the philosophy governing the English education system has changed. The
Cameron government accelerated a “school-led system.” Mirroring the growth of charter schools in the United States, England saw a movement away from schools clustered under and run by local authorities towards independent, publicly funded “academies.” Some of these schools formed academy chains (networks of schools similar to U.S. charter management organizations). Driven in large part by conversions of existing traditional schools over the past five years, nearly 70 percent of all English secondary schools are now academies. Still other schools, including many targeted for improvement under the Ofsted system, have entered into formal and informal collaborations called “federations,” under which they share responsibilities and resources. The approach has been likened to other examples of “co-opetition,” a paradigm in which schools both collaborate and compete with each other.

Within this context, the NCTL’s role has also shifted. While its headship qualification was mandatory for school leaders from 2008-2010, it has since become optional. In 2012, the National College stopped direct delivery of training and licensed its leadership curriculum to thirty-three regional providers, including several academy chains that offer their own leadership training. NCTL is also preparing to put its curriculum in the public domain by 2016.

At the same time, high-performing schools (those with a clear, Ofsted-certified track record of effectiveness, high student performance, and successful collaboration with other schools) can also now apply to be “teaching schools.” This gives them the authority and freedom to run their own teacher and leadership development for networks of schools, along with serving other support roles within those networks. Proponents claim that this approach, akin to the “teaching hospital” model, allows training to be more grounded in problems of practice that are specific to each school and setting. To date, nearly six hundred schools across England have been designated teaching schools, although this arrangement is more common in some parts of the country than others. Governance and leadership of this national network of schools is also being devolved to the country’s system leaders via a Teaching Schools Council.

Yet teaching schools face unique challenges in balancing their dual roles of teaching students and training adults. “I think the biggest risk is that you can take your eye off the day job and let your standards drop,” says Vicky Beer of her teaching school.

Beer says they have avoided this pitfall by distributing teaching-school responsibilities in much the same way that other leadership responsibilities have been spread out. Serving as a teaching school provides new opportunities for differentiated leadership roles, with some teacher/trainers spending several days of the week outside the school doing outreach and training.

These changes have created what Supovitz has dubbed a “lattice” of leadership development, comprising vertical elements (national curriculum, standards, and credentialing) and horizontal ones (local and regional training networks). The lattice also integrates different learning philosophies—both NCTL’s behavioral and
theoretical curriculum and the practice-focused emphasis of local and regional providers—as well as formal and informal models of training. While the overall impact of this transition remains unclear, supporters argue that the elements of the lattice complement each other, providing training focused on local needs while meeting consensus standards and expectations. Given the need to balance the expectations of policymakers with local contexts, “you have your success stories where they meet in the middle,” Niel McLeod, deputy head teacher and business manager of Hove Park School in Brighton and Hove, remarked at the conference.

HOW WELL DOES THE ENGLISH MODEL WORK?

Debates may continue over whether the shift to a decentralized model was made too hastily, and many English education leaders describe the rapid transition to a horizontal system as challenging. “The development of teaching schools allows much of the good work of the National College to be captured locally,” Ty Goddard, cofounder of England’s Education Foundation, said during the conference. “National coverage of the teaching schools is good and increasing, but we must keep a clear focus on system change.”

Some school leaders contend that loosening the NCTL’s grip has allowed leadership training to better fit local contexts; others express concern that the lack of centralized support may lead to shortages of head teachers and other school leaders, particularly if new structures aren’t developed to support teacher-leaders as they move up the career ladder. “We have now created a system by getting rid of the National College where nobody is actually growing head teachers,” said Liam Nolan, chief executive officer and executive teacher of the multi-academy Perry Beeches Academy Trust. “We’re going to have a shortage in the next 5-10 years because there’s no central organization to lead on that.”

The broader focus of England’s accountability system has also changed the emphasis within schools, our U.K. colleagues insist. Yet with American and English schools both ranking somewhere in the middle of the pack on international measures of student outcomes, some question the overall impact of the new leadership model and subsequent moves towards decentralization. “Are we challenging the culture, habits, and practices of people in schools?” asked Antony Edkins, chief executive of the Landau Forte Charitable Trust, which oversees academy schools in England’s Midlands region.

THE STATE OF SCHOOL LEADERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES

The need for better-defined and distributed leadership roles in the U.S. system is obvious and pressing. Within American schools, principals—often alone in the front office—typically oversee a homogenous group of teachers with few differentiated leadership roles. They have limited opportunities to collaborate with leaders from other schools—a condition exacerbated by jurisdictional barriers between districts and between traditional and charter schools, as well as by their heavy load of responsibility. In the words of Boston College’s Andy Hargreaves, school leaders are “oppressed by vertical bureaucracies and isolated by lateral markets.”

U.S. schools have begun to emphasize the importance of teacher leadership. But the overall lack of responsibility and accountability for such roles limits the potential of distributed leadership to bring support closer to teachers and reduce the administrator workload.
Consider the role that department chairs—respected teachers who, in many cases, receive stipends for taking on additional duties—traditionally play in U.S. high schools. “My key responsibility was passing out books, and I had the key to the book closet,” Chartock of Leading Educators said of his own experience as a department chair. “If I had the skills to work with my team to focus on data, it would have changed the game considerably...I would have stayed in that role longer.” Given the challenge of retaining quality teachers at all levels, this last point is an important consideration.

Too much of teacher leadership is left to chance—and to the whims of individual principals. Given the traditional concentration of responsibility in principals, “a major challenge is going to principals and saying it’s important to let this person run a team meeting and coach and observe others,” stressed Jackie Gran of New Leaders, a U.S. organization focused on preparing and supporting teacher-leaders and principals. Principals who do delegate responsibility to teachers, she added, provide them with “a career path and the opportunity to influence others. If [they] don’t, you’re kind of stuck.”

American organizations that focus on preparing principals are now striving to develop more levels of leadership within schools. New Leaders’ Emerging Leaders program, for example, focuses on building teacher leadership skills both to strengthen the practice of teacher-leaders and also to create a larger pipeline for future principals. “If someone can lead in a role without authority, it’s a fantastic sign they will be a good principal,” Gran told conference attendees.

Experts point to the need for better definitions of teacher leadership. They argue that current standards for principal leadership, including those developed by the Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium (ISLLC), are overly broad and unreflective of the changing conditions in which principals operate. But given the limited autonomy of principals in the United States, an irony emerges: Better-defined teacher leadership roles could potentially become a negative if they demanded a particular credential. “How a principal decides to arrange their leadership team is one of the most important tools they have,” Gran observed. The creation of a formal teacher leadership role in this country, if wedded to a strict credential requirement, could excessively constrain principals, she added.

Yet reconceptualizing school leadership in the United States will require some systemic changes. Richard Laine of the National Governors Association (NGA) characterized his past experience as a foundation program director making investments in school leadership this way: “Good leader, bad system? Bet on the system.”

“It’s a bit of a pessimistic view,” he acknowledged, “but we saw it as an optimistic view because you’ve got to be hitting both sides of the equation”—developing talent and changing the system in ways to help leaders be effective. Without doing so, Laine argues, “these people will analyze the data, calculate the odds, and say, ‘I love kids, but I can't beat the system.’”
PROMISING PRACTICES

Given the complexity of the U.S. education system, with federal, state, and local jurisdictions all playing significant roles in shaping policy and practice, it’s not surprising that changes in leadership haven’t been brought to scale. Yet pockets of promising practice are surfacing across the country:

**Charter Schools:** With their rapid growth and autonomy, charter schools have been in the vanguard of developing new leadership models. As the Knowledge is Power Program (KIPP) grew from a single charter school to a national network serving fifty-eight thousand students in twenty states, it benefited from an early focus on leadership development—and a benefactor who helped systematize it. Gap founder Don Fisher’s $20 million investment in bolstering KIPP’s leadership development has borne fruit in a program that now trains 175 leaders annually, including principals from other charter school management organizations (CMOs). Over time, the emphasis has broadened from creating and preparing leaders in a fast-growing CMO to training teacher-leaders and managers with a broad range of leadership roles in the CMO’s regional offices. Had Fisher’s investment focused instead on replication or other typical charter needs, “we would not be where we are today,” Aaron Brenner, who founded KIPP’s first early childhood and elementary school in 2004 and is now co-founder and CEO of the One World Network of Schools, told conference attendees.

**Parochial Schools:** Some parochial schools are professionalizing their own leadership, which has historically been left to pastors, not principals. As one example, the Partnership for Inner City Education now manages six parochial schools in New York City, with lay principals given the final say in staffing, budgeting, and operations at the schools it oversees.

**Public School Districts:** Innovation is also visible in some traditional public school districts, though it requires uncommon amounts of building-level autonomy and the ability to address collective bargaining constraints. In Evansville, Indiana, for example, the district successfully averted a state takeover by obtaining more building-level autonomy over budget and staffing, including collective bargaining provisions that allow for new training programs and changes in tenure. “What we have suggested is if you can grab smaller chunks of the system and create a protected space around them where state, federal, and local policies are relaxed, temporarily or permanently, you can attract better talent and create enough time to get real results,” explained Justin Cohen, the former president of MASS Insight, an organization that develops organizational strategies for turnaround schools.

But to get results, most traditional school leaders still have to fight existing systems, including conventional district structures and union contracts. They are hamstrung by yet another irony of the American model: Some of the strongest levers for effecting change at the building level, including time, funding, and staffing, are precisely the ones school leaders have the least control over. According to Cohen, research has shown that the principals who got the best results in high-poverty turnaround schools were the ones considered most difficult to manage by their district leaders. “That leads us to believe the rules are broken,” he said during the conference.
GETTING TO SCALE: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Piecemeal efforts and rule-breaking aren’t sufficient to bring lasting solutions to the nation’s education challenges. But there are obstacles to creating any close facsimile of the English model on U.S. shores:

- Creating a “national college” for school leaders is difficult to envision, given the fragmented universe of institutions involved in preparing teachers and principals.

- Unlike their American counterparts, schools in England have a unique tradition of building-level autonomy, inter-school collaboration, and horizontal networks such as those served by “teaching schools.”

- Empowering teacher-leaders to engage in observation and evaluation, a key element of reducing principal workload, is almost impossible in many localities. Union contracts would need to be revised to allow peers to evaluate peers, and state laws and policies in many places would need to be revamped. In some states, only the principal can conduct formal evaluations. Even efforts to bring in retired administrators to assist with teacher observations have been stymied.

- Similar to the English model, U.S. accountability systems would need to be reworked to directly assess school leadership. Without this important lever, systems lack incentives to make dramatic changes in current models of leadership.

Even if wholesale transformation of the English variety does not appear realistic in the United States, we can still look to that country’s experience for leads and possibilities. In his closing comments at November’s conference, NGA’s Richard Laine made a case for “integrative thinking”—identifying which components and levels of the education system can best address specific pieces of the leadership challenge and “figuring out how to weave them together.”

Potential developments that may help create lasting change in U.S. school leadership include:

- **Better—and broader—definitions of leadership.** The ISLLC standards, which were developed by the Council of Chief State School Officers in collaboration with the National Policy Board on Educational Administration, are now being revised. While the existing standards have drawn criticism, the process could serve as a model for other efforts to define school leadership roles at multiple levels, including teacher-leaders. One key would be framing such definitions not around specific roles, but around the leadership functions needed in the school building. Another would be aligning these standards with training and evaluation metrics.

- **The potential role of government as broker.** Federal and state systems are unlikely to come together to create a single “national college,” but Supovitz argues that they might serve as brokers to create stakeholder coalitions and provide resources that could lead to the development and widespread implementation of leadership training at the regional and local levels.
Research as catalyst. Much of the recent activity in principal leadership has been spurred by research demonstrating school leaders’ impact on student learning. Similar research focusing on the impact of teacher leadership in the schools and systems where it has taken root could increase funding and urgency for the creation of better-defined roles and career progressions.

Separating design from delivery. Rather than counting on current providers of leadership training to create new models for leadership, states like North Carolina have reframed the process by setting their own expectations about what principals and others need to know, giving universities and other providers a clear roadmap to restructure their training programs.

Providing greater autonomy for principals. This is particularly important in high-leverage areas such as personnel and budget. If school leaders are to make meaningful changes in their buildings, they need to have the freedom to address the things that most directly impact teaching and learning. These include hiring and firing, scheduling, and how the school allocates its resources.

Identifying ways to break down traditional barriers to innovation. Individual school leaders need opportunities to collaborate and impart promising new practices. At the system level, innovation-stifling disconnects such as firewalls between charter schools, their networks, and traditional public schools should also be addressed. KIPP exemplified this shift when it opened its leadership program to principals from other charter organizations, thus broadening the impact of its training.

Changing incentives at all levels. This might include integrating leadership models into accountability systems to ensure that new leadership standards or models are brought to scale, as well as changing collective bargaining agreements to allow teacher-leaders to play stronger roles in evaluating, supporting, and supervising peers.
FINIAL THOUGHTS

Even its greatest supporters acknowledge that the current system in England—an evolving mix of top-down standards, building-level autonomy, and horizontal networks—is messy and complex. But continuing efforts to drive change at all levels holds promise both in that country and the United States, even with their very different systems and structures. While schools and systems may vary, leadership is universal, and Americans should continue looking beyond their borders for new models that we can learn from.

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Mark Toner is a Washington, D.C.-based education writer and consultant who has conducted case studies on school leadership in U.S. public school districts and CMOs.
ENDNOTES


APPENDIX

School Leadership: Lessons from England

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Jill Levine, Principal Ambassador Fellow, U.S. Department of Education
Jonas Chartock, Chief Executive Officer, Leading Educators
Jonathan Supovitz, Director, Consortium for Policy Research in Education
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