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Seven strong claims about successful school leadership



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Introduction

This is a summary of the key findings of a review of literature undertaken by the authors as a point of departure for a large-scale empirical study organised around what we refer to as ‘strong claims’ about successful school leadership. These claims are not all strong in quite the same way, as we shall explain, but they all find support in varying amounts of quite robust empirical evidence, the first two having attracted the largest amount of such evidence. Those in leadership roles have a tremendous responsibility to get it right. Fortunately, we know a great deal about what getting it right means. The purpose of this paper is to provide a synopsis of this knowledge.

Seven strong claims

1. *School leadership is second only to classroom teaching as an influence on pupil learning.*
2. *Almost all successful leaders draw on the same repertoire of basic leadership practices.*
3. *The ways in which leaders apply these basic leadership practices – not the practices themselves – demonstrate responsiveness to, rather than dictation by, the contexts in which they work.*
4. *School leaders improve teaching and learning indirectly and most powerfully through their influence on staff motivation, commitment and working conditions.*
5. *School leadership has a greater influence on schools and students when it is widely distributed.*
6. *Some patterns of distribution are more effective than others.*
7. *A small handful of personal traits explains a high proportion of the variation in leadership effectiveness.*



Claim 1: School leadership is second only to classroom teaching as an influence on pupil learning

This claim will be considered controversial by some. We could have claimed simply that school leadership has a significant effect on pupil learning, but our choice of wording captures the **comparative** amount of (direct and indirect) influence exercised by successful school leaders. Leadership acts as a catalyst without which other good things are quite unlikely to happen. Five sources of evidence justify this claim. While the middle three sources we identify are quite compelling, it is the first and fifth sources that place leadership in contention with instruction.

Five sources of evidence

1. The first justification for this claim is based upon primarily qualitative case study evidence. Studies providing this type of evidence are typically conducted in exceptional school settings.¹ Such settings are believed to contribute to pupil learning and achievement that is significantly above or below normal expectations (defined, for example, by research on effective schools based on comparing value-added similarities and differences among high and low performing schools). Studies of this type usually report very large leadership effects, not only on pupil learning but on an array of school conditions as well.² What is lacking in this evidence, however, is external validity or generalisability.
2. The second type of evidence about leadership effects is from large-scale quantitative studies of overall leader effects. Evidence of this type reported between 1980 and 1998 (approximately four dozen studies across all types of school) has been reviewed in several papers by Hallinger and Heck.³ These reviews conclude that the combined direct and indirect effects of school leadership on pupil outcomes are small but educationally significant. **While leadership explains only five to seven per cent of the difference in pupil learning and achievement across schools** (not to be confused with the typically very large differences among pupils within schools), this difference is actually about one-quarter of the total difference across schools (12 to 20 per cent) explained by all school-level variables, after controlling for pupil intake or background factors.⁴ The quantitative school effectiveness studies providing much of this data indicate that **classroom factors explain more than one-third of the variation in pupil achievement.**
3. A third type of research about leadership effects is, like the second type, large scale and quantitative in nature. However, instead of examining overall leadership effects, it enquires about the effects of specific leadership practices. A recent meta-analysis,⁵ for example, identified 21 leadership responsibilities and calculated an average correlation between each one and the measures of pupil achievement used in the original studies. From this data, estimates were made of the effects on pupil test scores. **The authors concluded that a 10 percentile point increase in pupil test scores would result from the work of an average headteacher who improved her demonstrated abilities in all 21 responsibilities.**

¹ For example, see Gezi (1990) and Reitzug & Patterson (1998).

² See Mortimore (1993) for evidence on this point from England, and Scheurich (1998) for evidence from the United States.

³ See Hallinger & Heck (1996a; 1996b; 1998).

⁴ Evidence justifying this point has been reported by Creemers & Reezigt (1996) and by Townsend (1994).

⁵ Results have been reported in more or less detail in two sources: Marzano, Waters & McNulty (2005) and Waters, Marzano & McNulty (2003).

4. A fourth source of evidence has explored leadership effects on pupil engagement. In addition to being an important variable in its own right, some evidence suggests that school engagement is a strong predictor of pupil achievement.⁶ At least 10 mostly recent large-scale, quantitative, similarly designed studies in Australia and North America have concluded that **the effects of transformational school leadership on pupil engagement⁷ are significantly positive.**
5. The leadership succession research indicates that **unplanned headteacher succession is one of the most common sources of schools' failure to progress**, in spite of what teachers might do. These studies demonstrate the devastating effects of unplanned headteacher succession, especially on initiatives intended to increase pupil achievement.⁸ The **appointment and retention of a new headteacher is emerging from the evidence as one of the most important strategies for turning around struggling schools or schools in special measures.**⁹

Our conclusion from this evidence as a whole is that leadership has very significant effects on the quality of school organisation and on pupil learning. **As far as we are aware, there is not a single documented case of a school successfully turning around its pupil achievement trajectory in the absence of talented leadership.** One explanation for this is that leadership serves as a catalyst for unleashing the potential capacities that already exist in the organisation.

⁶ This evidence has been comprehensively reviewed by Frederick, Blumenfeld & Paris (2004).

⁷ Such evidence can be found in Leithwood & Jantzi (1999a; 1999b); Leithwood, Riedlinger, Bauer & Jantzi (2003); Silins & Mulford (2002) and Silins, Mulford & Zarins (2002).

⁸ See Macmillan (2000); Fink & Brayman (2006).

⁹ See Matthews & Sammons (2005). Murphy (in press) reviews extensive evidence about the importance of new leadership in the case of private sector turnarounds.



Claim 2: Almost all successful leaders draw on the same repertoire of basic leadership practices

This claim emerges from recent research initiatives, and we believe that its implications for leadership development have not yet been fully grasped. The basic assumptions underlying the claim are that (a) **the central task for leadership is to help improve employee performance;** and (b) **such performance is a function of employees' beliefs, values, motivations, skills and knowledge and the conditions in which they work.** Successful school leadership, therefore, will include practices helpful in addressing each of these inner and observable dimensions of performance – particularly in relation to teachers, whose performance is central to what pupils learn.

Recent syntheses of evidence collected in both school and non-school contexts provide considerable evidence about **four sets of leadership qualities and practices in different contexts** that accomplish this goal.¹⁰ We have organised these core practices into four categories: building vision and setting directions; understanding and developing people; redesigning the organisation; and managing the teaching and learning programme. Each includes more specific sub-sets of practices: 14 in total. To illustrate how widespread is the evidence in their support, we have compared each set of practices to a widely known taxonomy of managerial behaviours developed by Yukl¹¹ through a comprehensive synthesis of research conducted in non-school contexts.

- **Building vision and setting directions.** This category of practices carries the bulk of the effort to motivate leaders' colleagues. It is about the establishment of shared purpose as a basic stimulant for one's work. The more specific practices in this category are building a shared vision, fostering the acceptance of group goals and demonstrating high-performance expectations.¹² These specific practices reflect, but also add to, three functions in Yukl's managerial taxonomy: motivating and inspiring, clarifying roles and objectives, and planning and organising.
- **Understanding and developing people.** While practices in this category make a significant contribution to motivation, their primary aim is building not only the knowledge and skills that teachers and other staff need in order to accomplish organisational goals but also the dispositions (commitment, capacity and resilience) to persist in applying the knowledge and skills. The more specific practices in this category are providing individualised support and consideration, fostering intellectual stimulation, and modelling appropriate values and behaviours.¹³ These specific practices not only reflect managerial behaviours in Yukl's taxonomy (supporting, developing and mentoring, recognising, and rewarding) but, as more recent research has demonstrated, are **central to the ways in which successful leaders integrate the functional and the personal.**

¹⁰ Lowe, Kroeck & Sivasubramaniam (1996) review evidence collected mostly in non-school contexts. Waters, Marzano & McNulty (2003) provide evidence of all these practices in school contexts, although they use different labels and categories. Leithwood & Riehl (2005) describe these practices using these categories. Day & Leithwood (in press) synthesise the case study work of researchers with 64 successful leaders across 8 countries.

¹¹ See Yukl (1989). Gary Yukl is among the most influential and prolific of leadership researchers focused on non-school organisations.

¹² Evidence about the contribution of these practices can be found, for example, in Hallinger & Heck (2002).

¹³ Evidence about the contribution of these practices can be found, for example, in Bass & Avolio (1994); Gray (2000) and Harris & Chapman (2002).

- **Redesigning the organisation.** The specific practices included in this category are concerned with establishing work conditions which, for example, allow teachers to make the most of their motivations, commitments and capacities. School leadership practices explain significant variations in teachers' beliefs about and responses to their working conditions.¹⁴ Specific practices are **building collaborative cultures, restructuring [and reculturing] ... the organisation, building productive relations with parents and the community, and connecting the school to its wider environment.**¹⁵ Comparable practices in Yukl's managerial taxonomy include managing conflict and team building, delegating, consulting, and networking.
- **Managing the teaching and learning programme.** As with *Redesigning the organisation*, the specific practices included in this category aim to create productive working conditions for teachers, in this case by fostering organisational stability and strengthening the school's infrastructure. Specific practices are **staffing the teaching programme, providing teaching support, monitoring school activity** and **buffering staff against distractions from their work.**¹⁶ Yukl's taxonomy includes monitoring as a key part of successful leaders' behaviours.

These four categories of leadership practices, and the 14 more specific sets of behaviours they encompass, capture the results of a large and robust body of evidence about what successful leaders do. Leaders do not do all of these things all of the time, of course (you don't have to create a shared vision every day), and the way they go about each set of practices will certainly vary by context, as we discuss in the next section. That said, the core practices provide a powerful new source of guidance for practising leaders, as well as a framework for initial and continuing leadership development.

¹⁴ See Leithwood (2006) and Day et al (in press).

¹⁵ Evidence about the contribution of these practices can be found, for example, in Louis & Kruse (1998); West, Ainscow & Stanford (2005); Chrisman (2005); Muijs et al (2004); Jackson (2002) and Reynolds et al (2001).

¹⁶ Evidence about the contribution of these practices can be found, for example, in Duke (2004); Hallinger (2003); Reynolds, Stringfield & Muijs (forthcoming).



Claim 3: The ways in which leaders apply these leadership practices – not the practices themselves – demonstrate responsiveness to, rather than dictation by, the contexts in which they work

Much has been written about the high degree of sensitivity successful leaders bring to the contexts in which they work. **Some would go so far as to claim that ‘context is everything’. However, based on our review of the evidence, this reflects a superficial view of what successful leaders do.** Without doubt, successful leaders are sensitive to context, but this does not mean they use qualitatively different practices in every different context. It means, rather, that they apply contextually sensitive combinations of the basic leadership practices described above. By way of example, consider the leadership of schools in special measures during each stage of being turned around. Beginning at the end of a period of declining performance, these stages are typically characterised, in both corporate and school literature,¹⁷ as early turnaround (or crisis stabilisation) and late turnaround (or achieving and sustaining success). Evidence suggests differences in the application of each of our four core sets of successful leadership practices.

- **Building vision and setting directions.** This category is particularly important for turnaround school leaders at the early crisis stabilisation stage, but the context requires enactment of these practices with a sense of urgency, quickly developing clear, short-term priorities.¹⁸ **At the late turnaround stage, much more involvement of staff is necessary in crafting and revising the school’s direction, so that ownership of the direction becomes widespread,** deeply held and relatively resistant to the vagaries of future leadership succession.
- **Understanding and developing people.** This category of practices is essential in all stages of school turnarounds, according to evidence from both US and UK contexts.¹⁹ Although this evidence is not yet sufficiently fine-grained to inform us about how these practices are enacted, it is consistent in highlighting its importance in all contexts.
- **Redesigning the organisation.** These practices are quite central to the work of turnaround leaders. For example, transition from early to later turnaround stages depends on organisational reculturing.²⁰ However, much of what leaders do in the early stage of the turnaround process entails restructuring to improve the quality of communication throughout the organisation and setting the stage for the development of new cultural norms related to performance and the more distributed forms of leadership required to achieve and sustain high levels of performance.²¹

¹⁷ A good review of corporate turnaround leadership can be found in Slatter, Lovett & Barlow (2006). For a review of evidence about state- and district-prompted turnaround processes in the US, see Mintrop & Papazian (2003). In the UK context, see, for example, Day (2005) and Harris (2002).

¹⁸ Evidence in support of this claim can be found in Harris (2002) and Billman (2004).

¹⁹ See Mintrop & Papazian (2003) for US evidence and West, Ainscow & Stanford (2005) for evidence from England.

²⁰ See Ross & Glaze (2005).

²¹ See Foster & St Hilaire (2004).

- **Managing the teaching and learning programme.** All the practices within this category have been associated with successful turnaround leadership but their enactments change over time. For example, the flexibility leaders need in order to recruit staff with the dispositions and capacities required to begin the turnaround process often means negotiating for special circumstances with local authorities and unions.²² Ongoing staffing of the school at the later turnaround stage, however, cannot be sustained outside the framework of established policies and regulations.

Additional evidence for the enactment of these basic successful leadership practices in contextually sensitive forms can now be found in relation both to highly accountable policy contexts and to the contexts found in schools serving highly diverse student populations.²³

²² See Bell (2001).

²³ For example, in relation to accountable policy contexts, see Belchetz & Leithwood (in press) and Day & Leithwood (in press); in relation to diverse student contexts, see Giles et al (2005).



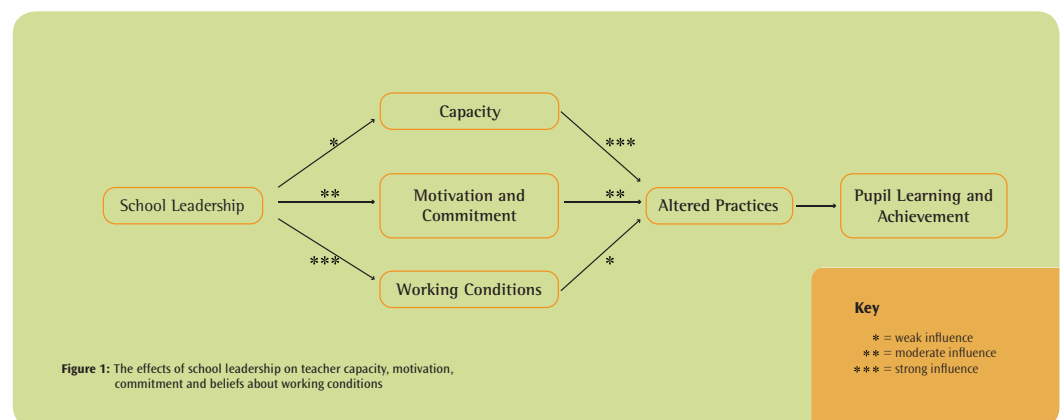
Claim 4: School leaders improve teaching and learning indirectly and most powerfully through their influence on staff motivation, commitment and working conditions

As we pointed out in relation to Claim 2, a key task for leadership, if it is to influence pupil learning and achievement, is to improve staff performance. Such performance, we also claimed, is a function of staff members' motivations, commitments, capacities (skills and knowledge) and the conditions in which they work. Considerable emphasis has recently been placed on school leaders' contributions to building staff capacity in particular. This emphasis is reflected, for example, in the popularity in many countries of the term 'instructional leadership' and in fledgling efforts to discover the curriculum content knowledge that successful school leaders should possess.²⁴

There is, however, very little evidence that most school leaders build staff capacity in curriculum content knowledge, or at any rate that they do so directly and by themselves. Indeed, to suggest they should is, in our view, to advocate, yet again, an 'heroic' model of school leadership – one based on content knowledge rather than on charisma, as in the past. Such heroic aspirations do more to discourage potential candidates from applying for leadership jobs than they do to improve the quality of incumbent leadership.

Our review suggested that, while school leaders made modest direct contributions to staff capacities, they had quite strong and positive influences on staff members' motivations, commitments and beliefs about the supportiveness of their working conditions. The nature of the evidence is illustrated by the results of a recent study²⁵ carried out across England.

Based on a national sample of teacher survey responses, the study enquired about the effects of most of the basic or core leadership practices described above, as enacted by headteachers, on teachers' implementation of the Primary Strategies (originally the National Literacy Strategy and National Numeracy Strategy) and the subsequent effects of such implementation on pupil learning and achievement. Figure 1 is a simplified (number-free) model of the sort typically used to represent results of the kind of complex statistical analyses used in this study.²⁶ Such analyses are designed to test the direction and strength of relationships among variables in a model, as well as the amount of variation in certain variables that can be explained by other variables.



²⁴ A series of papers devoted to this problem can be found in the fourth issue of *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* (2003). The case for pursuing this focus has recently been made in a compelling paper by Viviane Robinson (2006).

²⁵ Leithwood & Jantzi (2006).

²⁶ We refer here to path modelling techniques, in this case structural equation modelling.

The model indicates that the more headteachers enacted the core leadership practices described earlier, the greater was their influence on teachers' capacities, motivation and beliefs about the supportiveness of their working conditions. In turn these capacities, motivations and beliefs had a significant influence on classroom practices, although in this study such practices seemed unrelated to pupil learning and achievement. As Figure 1 indicates, **the influence of leadership practices was strongest on teachers' beliefs about working conditions, followed by their motivation to implement the Primary Strategies and then by their views of their preparedness to implement those strategies.** Figure 1 also suggests that the strongest direct contribution to altered classroom practices was teachers' beliefs about their capacity to implement the strategies. **Thus it is clearly important to develop teachers' capacities,** although school leaders, in this study, have less influence on this dimension of teachers' performance than they do on the motivation and working conditions dimensions.

These results have been replicated most recently in separate very large English and American studies.²⁷ Further weight is added to these results by a recent synthesis of evidence about the emotions that shape teachers' motivations (levels of commitment, sense of efficacy, morale, job satisfaction, stress and the like) and the effects on their pupils' learning. This evidence indicates strong effects of teachers' emotions on their practices, and strong effects of leadership practices on those emotions. **The recent four-year mixed-methods national study²⁸ of variations in the work, lives and effectiveness of teachers in English schools confirms the importance of leadership – alongside other mediating influences – to teachers' commitment, resilience and effectiveness, and the key role of emotional understanding in successful leadership.**

In the face of such evidence, the position most often advocated is that leaders ought to make greater direct contributions to staff capacities, and that this is a challenge to be addressed in the future.

²⁷ The American study, funded by the Wallace Foundation in New York, was conducted by research teams from the University of Minnesota and the University of Toronto. A report of their findings is in Mascall & Leithwood (in press). The English study, funded by DfES, has been reported by Day et al (2006) and is to be published in book form (Day et al, in press).

²⁸ The English study, funded by DfES, has been reported by Day et al (2006)



Claim 5: School leadership has a greater influence on schools and pupils when it is widely distributed

Despite the popularity of this claim, evidence in its support is less extensive and in some cases less direct than that in support of the previous claims. Nevertheless, it is quite compelling. We begin with an illustration of this evidence using a recent study²⁹ designed in much the same way as the one used to illustrate Claim 4. Results of this study are summarised in Figure 2, a path analysis model (with numbers included this time) representing the strength of relationships among the same variables (except altered teacher practices) considered in the study illustrating Claim 4. The leadership measured in this case was not provided exclusively by headteachers: **we asked about the leadership provided by many possible sources – individual teachers, staff teams, parents, central office staff, students and vice-principals – as well as the principal or headteacher.** ‘Total leadership’ refers to the combined influence of leadership from all sources.

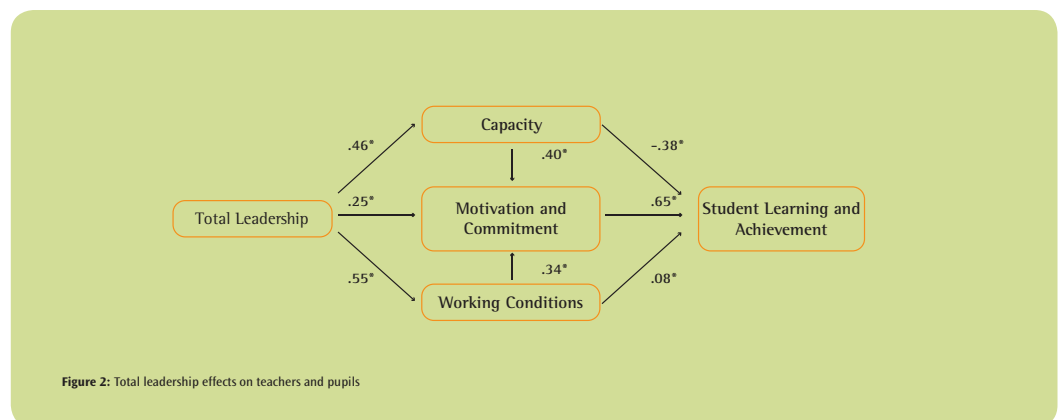


Figure 2 indicates the following.

- There are significant relationships between total leadership and the three dimensions of staff performance.
- The strongest relationships are with teachers' perceived working conditions.
- The weakest relationships are with teacher motivation and commitment.
- The relationship between total leadership and teachers' capacity is much stronger than the relationship (illustrated in Figure 1) between the headteacher's leadership alone and teachers' capacity.

The most significant results of this study for our purposes, however, were the indirect effects of total leadership on student learning and achievement, through its direct effects on the three dimensions of staff performance. **Total leadership accounted for a quite significant 27 per cent of the variation in student achievement across schools. This is a much higher proportion of explained variation (two to three times higher) than is typically reported in studies of individual headteacher effects.**

In addition to this direct evidence about the effects of distributed leadership, less direct evidence in support of this claim can be found in research on formal leadership succession, school improvement initiatives, processes used to successfully turn around low-performing schools, and the movement toward flatter organisational structures and team problem-solving.

²⁹ See Mascall & Leithwood (in press).



Claim 6: Some patterns of distribution are more effective than others

This claim grows directly from evidence about the superiority, in most but not all contexts, of distributed rather than focused (single-person) leadership. Research on a sample of 110 schools demonstrated that **there are relationships between the use of different patterns of leadership distribution and levels of value-added student achievement.**

- Schools with the highest levels of student achievement attributed this to relatively high levels of influence from all sources of leadership.
- Schools with the lowest levels of student achievement attributed this to low levels of influence from all sources of leadership.
- Schools with the highest levels, as compared with those in the lowest levels, of student achievement differed most in their ratings of the influence of school teams, parents and students.
- Headteachers were rated as having the greatest (positive and negative) influence in all schools.

This evidence is at least consistent with claims about the ineffectiveness of laissez-faire forms of leadership.³⁰ It also reflects earlier findings about power as a relatively unlimited resource in organisations.³¹ **There is no loss of power and influence on the part of headteachers when, for example, the power and influence of many others in the school increase.**

While the evidence strengthens the case that some leadership distribution patterns are more helpful than others, it sheds little light on the range of patterns that actually exists in schools and, most importantly, the relative effects of these patterns on the quality of teaching, learning and pupil achievement. Evidence on these key questions is extremely limited, and efforts to fill this gap represent the advancing edge of current leadership research. A number of theorists have proposed leadership patterns that they believe capture the range currently found in schools: for example, additive patterns reflecting unco-ordinated patterns of practice by many people in an organisation, as compared with parallel patterns that reflect greater co-ordination.³² A recent report on evidence from private sector organisations³³ begins to support the sensible assertion that **more co-ordinated patterns of leadership practice are associated with more beneficial organisational outcomes.** No comparable evidence has yet been reported in schools.

³⁰ See Bass (1985).

³¹ See Malen (1995).

³² These are terms used by Gronn (2003) and Spillane (2006) respectively.

³³ See Ensley, Hmieleski & Pearce (2006).



Claim 7: A small handful of personal traits explains a high proportion of the variation in leadership effectiveness

Why are some leaders more expert than others? Why do some people seem to develop leadership capacities to higher levels and more quickly than others? These important questions direct our focus to what is known about successful leaders' personal traits, dispositions, personality characteristics and the like. A substantial body of research conducted outside schools provides a reasonably comprehensive answer to these questions as it applies to private sector leaders.³⁴ However, within schools the evidence is less comprehensive. Little research has focused on personality characteristics or intelligence, though there have been significant contributions concerning cognitive processes³⁵ and leaders' values.³⁶

One recent American study³⁷ on school leaders' confidence or sense of collective efficacy illustrates the potential value of future research about headteacher traits. Using a database comparable to the ones summarised in Figure 2 and noted under Claim 6, this study found that some characteristics of school districts (for example, a clear focus on pupil learning and achievement and a commitment to data-based decision-making) had a significant influence on school leaders' sense of how well they were doing their jobs. This sense of efficacy in turn shaped the nature of headteachers' leadership practices; highlighted the relationship between these practices and such things as decision-making processes in their schools; and had an indirect but significant influence on pupils' learning and achievement.

Although not setting out to be research on leader traits, recent studies of leaders' efforts to improve low-performing schools³⁸ have begun to replicate evidence from private sector research. This evidence warrants the claim that, at least under challenging circumstances, **the most successful school leaders are open-minded and ready to learn from others. They are also flexible rather than dogmatic in their thinking within a system of core values, persistent (eg in pursuit of high expectations of staff motivation, commitment, learning and achievement for all), resilient and optimistic.** Such traits help explain why successful leaders facing daunting conditions are often able to push forward when there is little reason to expect progress.

³⁴ This research has recently been summarised by Zaccaro, Kemp & Bader (2004), for example.

³⁵ One line of research on school leaders' problem-solving expertise has been pulled together in Leithwood & Steinbach (1995).

³⁶ See Begley & Johansson (2003) for a representative sample of this research.

³⁷ Leithwood and Jantzi, in press.

³⁸ One relevant set of data has been reported by Jacobson et al (2005).



Conclusion

A recent publication³⁹ sponsored by Division A of the American Educational Research Association (the largest association of its kind in the world, with many international members) claimed that research on school leadership has generated few robust claims. The main reason cited for this gap in our knowledge was a lack of programmatic research; a paucity of accumulated evidence from both small- and large-scale studies, the use of a variety of research designs, and failure to provide evidence in sufficient amounts and of sufficient quality to serve as powerful guides to policy and practice. We have no quarrel with this assertion.

This assertion, however, should not be taken to mean that we know nothing of importance about successful school leadership. There are some quite important things that we do know, and claims that we can now make with some confidence. Not taking pains to capture what we know not only risks squandering the practical insights such evidence can provide; it also reduces the likelihood that future leadership research will build cumulatively on what we already know. Failure to build on this would be a huge waste of scarce resources.

This executive summary has presented, in the form of seven strong claims, the most important results of previous school-leadership research. We explore these claims in more detail in our full review of the literature.⁴⁰ This literature review, the jumping-off point for a large-scale, mixed-methods empirical study, will extend the number of robust claims that we can legitimately make about successful leadership in a range of schools. In so doing, it will significantly increase the quality and quantity of evidence of what successful school leadership means in practice.

³⁹ See Firestone & Riehl (2005).

⁴⁰ Leithwood et al (in press).



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