Institute for Public Policy Research



IMPROVEMENT THROUGH EMPOWERMENT

HELPING OUR TEACHERS AND SCHOOLS BE THE BEST THEY CAN BE

Loic Menzies, with introduction by Harry Quilter-Pinner

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SUMMARY

A NEW PARADIGM

We need to shift the drivers of better schooling from high stakes top-down accountability to a system which empowers schools and teachers to innovate and improve.

Policymakers in recent decades have pursued a top-down approach to improving public services. This was broadly inspired by new public management (NPM), which argued that the absence of market forces in public services meant they suffered from weak or misaligned incentives.

Across the public sector NPM approaches are becoming less and less popular. This is because, while there is evidence that levers like targets can drive schools (and other public services) from poor to good enough, there is limited evidence they can drive them from good enough to great.

This report provides a road map to an alternative, setting out how 'improvement through empowerment' – both of teachers and schools, can drive excellence.

EMPOWERING TEACHERS

Skilled, empowered teachers are our best hope for improving schools. Yet compared to other OECD nations, the professional development offer we provide to our teachers is woefully inadequate. This makes it harder for them to do their job properly and undermines retention – damaging pupils in the process and resulting in unsustainable costs to taxpayer.

In recent years, there have been considerable positive developments in England's professional development infrastructure (see box 2.1), including an expanded induction phase for early career teachers (ECTs) which forms part of a golden thread, linked to a new suit of funded, national professional qualifications (NPQs). It is now time to set our sights higher, by committing to a long-term goal in line with high-performing nations like Singapore, where teachers receive 100 hours a year of high-quality professional development.

The next government should do the following.

- Commit to stable, multi-year funding for a clear, evidence-based professional development offer. England's school sector has rallied to the challenge of building a new school-, and professional-led landscape of teacher training and development. But funding has too often been linked to short-term, rapidly churning initiatives. It is now time for a long-term and coherent approach which empowers teachers to build fulfilling careers as trusted professionals.
- Task the EEF in consultation with the Chartered College, to revise the CCF, ECF and NPQ frameworks and supporting resources. A review is underway and the next government should support the development of a unified framework, maintaining the current, evidence-led approach.
- Roll out ongoing training for mentors beyond initial induction. Mentors should be able to access funded training which should lead to certification that provides credit towards the new NPQ in Leading Teacher Development.

- Ensure all trainees and mentors are released from the teaching timetable. New teachers should be given space to build foundations that allow them to stay in the profession and contribute to the system. The next government should support schools to prioritise mentoring with additional funding on a per-teacher basis for all ECTs, in both years of the programme, recognising the system-level benefits of early support and the long-term savings to the taxpayer that flow from improved retention. Enhanced funding should be accompanied by more robust monitoring by appropriate bodies to ensure teachers and mentors receive the time they are entitled to.
- **Provide seed funding to support mentor pooling.** In some cases, mentors could be deployed across multiple schools, particularly in small specialist subjects and across groups of small schools.
- Move towards a world-class professional development offer. Progress towards an ambitious long-term goal of teachers accessing a hundred hours of professional development a year should be achieved by investing in the infrastructure of evidence-led professional development and encouraging uptake, and should begin with a commitment to 35 hours per teacher, per year. Achieving this will involve the following.
 - Commissioning the EEF, in consultation with the Chartered College to lead the revision of the current professional development standards.
 - Expanding the offer of high-quality, funded professional development. This offer should be centred on an enhanced 'backbone' of gold-standard, evidence-based NPQs, but also include shorter courses providing credit towards these. Additional, light-touch, flexible and school-led professional development offers should be procured from trusted providers.
 - Incentivising uptake by ensuring a new MAT inspection framework considers trusts' contribution to professional development; publishing uptake at a regional level (on a per capita basis); embedding professional development in school improvement plans as part of 'enhanced support' arrangements; and, celebrating schools and trusts that prioritise professional development.

EMPOWERING SCHOOLS

It is right that we expect high standards from our school system. Educational equity remains a distant goal and a changing world means that achievement must constantly be ratcheted up. Yet at present, high expectations are not matched by a supportive and empowering, evidence-rich infrastructure.

In a world where empowerment drives improvement, there would be a much clearer distinction between the role of the inspectorate (Ofsted) and the role of the regulator (the Department for Education - via its regional directors).

Going forward, the inspectorate should play three key roles as part of a new landscape of school improvement.

- 1. Contribute to an evidence-informed infrastructure.
- 2. Provide parents and guardians with information on local schools.
- 3. Work with the regulator to promote improvement and protect from harm.

Alongside this, the regulator should combine evidence from inspections with its knowledge of local capacity to make informed decisions about the most appropriate route to school improvement. As part of a new, more empowering approach to school improvement, the government should do the following.

- **Abolish overarching judgements.** Judgements as to whether expected standards have been met, or whether action is needed should be made separately in each area of the inspection framework.
- **Consult on a new, narrative-driven report for parents, guardians, and pupils.** Narrative reports for parents should be based on a clear, accessible format and be accompanied by a data dashboard. Ofsted should comment on any contextual considerations.
- **Develop a new format for detailed reports to the school and regulator.** Reports to schools and the regulator should focus on the nature, extent and urgency of improvement required.
- Commission Ofsted to develop and implement a new framework for trustlevel inspections. Trust-level reports should provide the regulator with an independent assessment of the effectiveness of support a trust provides. Regional directors should combine this information with their local insight to make decisions about the most appropriate route to improvement.
- **Commit to ongoing funding for Ofsted's research and insight function**: Ofsted is uniquely placed to provide leaders and policy makers with up-to-date, system-level insight from the chalkface, but real-term cuts have curtailed its ability to provide this.
- **Require Ofsted to make rapid improvements to the inspection process.** Priorities should include the recruitment and training of inspectors, as well as a review of the complaints process.
- Trial a new, three-tier regulatory response involving either 'schoolled development', 'enhanced support', or 'immediate action'. Inspection judgements should no longer act as an automatic trigger to intervention. Instead, the regulator should work with schools as an 'enabling centre' to ensure that the right leadership is trusted and supported to pursue continuous improvement.
- Train national leaders of education (NLEs) to coordinate the new approach to 'enhanced support'. NLEs' primary role should be to support schools in developing school improvement plans, and signing these off. Regional directors should recruit and train additional NLEs where there is a shortage.
- Require regional directors to conduct a review of the available school improvement capacity and pump-prime provision where necessary. Regional directors should identify any cold spots in their region and support the development of additional high-quality support where necessary. This support should remain independent from the regulator to avoid conflicts of interest.

1. INTRODUCTION: A NEW PARADIGM

by Harry Quilter-Pinner

We need to shift the drivers of better schooling from high-stakes, top-down accountability and regulation to a system which empowers schools and teachers to innovate and improve.

Policymakers in recent decades have pursued a top-down approach to improving public services. This was broadly inspired by new public management (NPM), a theory of public sector reform which argued that the absence of market forces in public services meant they suffered from weak incentives to innovate and improve (Quilter-Pinner and Khan 2023).

The response to this was to reform public services to introduce stronger and better incentives. This was to be achieved through two main mechanisms.

- The importation of private sector practices to the workings of public administrations including performance indicators (such as targets) and performance management (for example through delivery units).
- The introduction of quasi-markets such as choice for 'consumers' (usually on quality rather than price) and competition between providers, often including private and third sector organisations.

Across the public sector NPM approaches are becoming less and less popular. This is because, while there is evidence that some of these levers (such as targets or regulation) can drive schools (and other public services) from poor to good enough, there is limited evidence they can drive them from good enough to great.

Indeed, self-determination theory (SDT) pioneered by academics Edward Deci and Richard Ryan suggests that top-down targets, management or financial incentives can crush the pursuit of competence (mastery), autonomy (choice) and relationships (connection) which are the best driver of improvement and innovation (Deci et al 1999).

As IPPR's wider work on public service reform has argued, this implies a shift toward unlocking the 'intrinsic motivation' of staff and service users by moving from the low trust, skill and autonomy NPM playbook to a high trust, skill, autonomy alternative (figure 1.1) (Quilter-Pinner and Khan 2023).



FIGURE 1.1: A 'SMARTER STATE' APPROACH TO PUBLIC SERVICE REFORM

Source: Quilter-Pinner and Khan (2023)

In schooling, the NPM approach has largely manifested through the use of Ofsted as the schools' inspectorate, combined with high-stakes, top-down, and often punitive, regulation from the Department for Education, and the use of choice and competition through league tables.

This report provides a road map to an alternative, setting out how 'improvement through empowerment' – of both teachers and schools, can drive excellence in education.

2. EMPOWERING TEACHERS

2.1 THE CHALLENGE

There is strong evidence that teaching quality is linked to better outcomes. As the Education Endowment Fund (EEF) notes: "The best available evidence indicates that great teaching is the most important lever schools have to improve pupil attainment" (EEF 2023).

Moreover, so long as teachers are well-rewarded and work in healthy working environments, professional confidence and professional support can improve retention whilst insulating from the effects of high workload (Chiong et al 2017). Empowering teachers through development therefore has dual benefits: it keeps experienced teachers in the classroom by supporting professional satisfaction, and improves their efficacy whilst there.

Although there is a broad consensus around the importance of teaching quality, much less is known about what makes an excellent teacher. Nonetheless, it is clear the quality of teaching is not fixed: teachers can improve with effective professional development (Collin and Smith 2021).

BOX 2.1: THE GOLDEN THREAD OF EVIDENCE-LED TEACHER DEVELOPMENT

A 'golden thread' of evidence, reviewed and approved by the EEF now underpins a continuum of professional development that runs throughout teachers' careers. A network of 'lead providers' and delivery partners is responsible for delivering programmes as part of this golden thread, with teaching school hubs playing a crucial role. Meanwhile, Ofsted is responsible for quality assuring different aspects of the delivery infrastructure.

The golden thread begins with a core content framework, to which initial teacher training needs to be aligned. This is followed by an extended, two-year early career phase. As teachers gain experience and progress in their careers, they can then choose from a menu of funded professional qualifications.

This structure is already beginning to have an impact (see below) but it is still in its infancy. It will require sustained support and refinement if it is to deliver on its long-term potential to transform England's teaching workforce into a truly evidence-informed profession.



The 'golden thread' of evidence-led teacher development (see box 2.1) has laid the groundwork for a world-leading system. For example, although statistics from recent years are difficult to interpret given the impact of the pandemic, early career teachers appear to be staying in the profession at a higher rate since the introduction of the early career framework, despite increases in attrition among other groups of teachers (DfE 2023a).

Yet, although the Conservative government pledged to build on its predecessor's legacy by expanding Labour's 'NQT year' into a two-year early career teacher (ECT) phase, it only provided additional funding for mentors' initial training, and for mentors to be released from timetabled teaching in ECTs' second year of training. Moreover, funding for mentoring in trainees' second year is now set to be rolled into the national funding formula, breaking the link between a school's support for new teachers entering the system, and the resources available for doing so. This is despite nine in 10 teachers saying they believe being mentored by more experienced teachers is critical to teachers' professional development early on in their career (YouGov 2023).

A suite of national professional qualifications (NPQs) has also been rolled out, and there has been a long-term shift away from external one day in-service training with far more delivery being school-led. Teaching school hubs (alongside various specialist hubs) are also providing a valuable, network-based backbone for professional development activity.

However, while NPQs provide valuable gold-standard provision, there is a risk they might become a one-size-fits-all professional qualification that does not give all teachers access to development that meets their needs regardless of where they are in their career, and whatever their professional aspirations might be. At present 27 per cent of secondary teachers believe there is no relevant CPD available to them and international surveys show that compared to elsewhere in the world (Jerrim and Sims 2019), lower-secondary teachers in England are more likely to say that:

- expense is a barrier to participation in CPD (56 per cent compared to 45 per cent)
- their 'work schedule' is a barrier to participation in CPD (64 per cent compared to 54 per cent).

Meanwhile mid-career teachers are eager for personalised, subject-specific CPD as well as ongoing mentoring and coaching that is not leadership focused (Muller et al 2021).

Comparing the situation in England to other high-performing nations demonstrates the thinness of the state's commitment to teacher development. In Singapore, teachers have a right to 100 hours a year of professional development (Schleicher 2020) and on average, across the OECD, teachers participate in 62 hours of CPD a year (Van den Brande and Zuccollo 2021b). Yet in England, primary school teachers only participate in 55 hours a year while the figure drops to only 43 hours at secondary level (ibid).

Worse still, training often does not meet the Department for Education's quality criteria and is not subject-specific. Initially, only 11 per cent of teachers participating in the Wellcome Trust's recent CPD challenge were participating in 35 hours a year of CPD that met key quality criteria and where at least half of the training was subject specific (Leonardi et al 2022). Yet the Education Policy Institute has estimated that it would only cost an additional £210 million a year (less than 1 per cent of total school expenditure) to ensure that all teachers accessed at least 35 hours a year of high quality CPD (Van den Brande and Zuccollo 2021a), while estimates by Quilter-Pinner et al (2023) put the cost of commitment to 105 hours every three years of teaching at an additional £198 million a year.

2.2 THE WAY FORWARD

Early career teachers

The next government should commit to giving every teacher the best start to their career, since investing in evidence-rich, early training yields career-long benefits and will empower and inspire our best and brightest graduates to enter, and stay in, the profession.

Mentor training

Mentors' ability to tailor their support to individual trainees depends on skilled professional judgement, but not all mentors are equipped with the skills they need (IES and BMG Research 2023).

The ECF should continue to provide a clear specification of essential, evidencebased knowledge and practises that all new teachers need to master, but the next government should supplement this with enhanced mentor training. As part of this, the current offer of 35 hours of initial training for mentors should be extended to an ongoing development offer. This would prove popular with teachers, given that nine in 10 believe that mentors should be trained on how best to support, coach, and constructively challenge early career teachers (YouGov 2023).

A professionalised role for mentors has the potential to become a valued, flexible career path for experienced teachers. Enhanced mentor training should therefore be accompanied by a new professional framework and certification, providing credit towards the recently introduced NPQ in leading teacher development.

Mentoring time

Mentors need time as well as expertise if they are to empower their trainees to excel. Unfortunately, most mentors lack the time to support their ECTs properly. Internal data from the Ambition Institute shows that only half of mentors have the reduced timetable needed to allow them to perform their role most effectively and the situation is particularly troubling in primary schools where only 63 per cent of mentors are holding their mentoring sessions during the school day (Ambition Institute 2023).

Too many mentors find that their role is crowded out by competing responsibilities (IES and BMG Research 2023). Mentoring therefore needs to be higher up schools' priority list so that space is created for it. A classic market failure is at play here: hosting ECTs and developing mentors is beneficial to schools, but mentoring's value to the system is even greater than the benefits accrued by the school - because children reap the benefits of high-quality mentoring across the system, even when trainees move on from their training school - as do taxpayers who no longer need to stem a leaky pipeline of teachers.

If we want mentoring to be a priority commensurate with its value to the state, it needs to be properly resourced. Yet schools currently only receive additional funding for ECTs in their second year and this is soon to end, as the additional funding will be wrapped into the dedicated school grant with no regard for how many ECTs a school is training.

While the principle of giving schools autonomy over how they spend their income is a good one and it is right to fund schools based on a simple national funding formula, the system-level benefits of having well-trained entrants to the profession are such that there is a strong case for providing schools with additional funding for each ECT they support, just as they receive funding for each additional pupil they teach. This should be combined with enhanced oversight by the 'appropriate bodies' that oversee ECF provision, such that schools lose their right to train ECTs – and the associated income, if they do not meet their obligations.

Pooling arrangements

It is particularly difficult to offer high-quality mentoring in small primary schools and in small, specialist subjects. Schools should therefore be encouraged to develop pooled mentoring where appropriate and government should provide seed-funding for such arrangements. Meanwhile, teaching school hubs should be supported to train and deploy professional mentors across their networks.

Training content and resources

The ECF was developed prior to, and in isolation from the ITT core content framework and NPQ frameworks. Now that these different parts of the golden thread are in place, a review of specified content is underway.

The next government should act swiftly on the review's recommendations by introducing a unified framework across all golden-thread programmes. Core content should be revisited and consolidated at different stages of teachers' professional development and teachers should be supported to apply their learning in increasingly contextualised ways, whilst revisiting areas of weakness.

Where necessary, government should commission revised learning resources that align with the frameworks. Improved diagnostics would be particularly valuable in supporting mentors to deliver a responsive sequence of content that helps ECTs move from novice to expert status.

Mid and late career teachers

More than eight out of ten teachers say they lack access to high-quality CPD (Muller et al 2021) and two-fifths do not believe that the professional development they have received recently has been 'relevant, sufficient and of high quality (Ofsted 2023). This needs to change.

Stability

Over the last decade, too much teacher development has depended on short-term funding pots and a seemingly endless series of headline-chasing initiatives that have made it difficult to establish a sustainable and coherent training offer in every area of the country. The next government should put professional development on a sustainable footing by changing its approach to procurement and committing to long-term funding. This would help stabilise the landscape and encourage providers to invest in quality.

A world-class entitlement

The Wellcome trust has called for all teachers to be entitled to 35 hours a year of high-quality professional development (Perry et al 2022). Many, though not all, teachers already access more hours than this, and there are national expectations around the number of days of in-service training that teachers should receive. However, too little provision is of high quality.

The next government should immediately commit to supporting all teachers to access a 35 hour a year entitlement, but should set its sights higher, working towards a ten-year mission of meeting a benchmark based on high performing nations like Singapore (where teachers participate in 100 hours of PD a year).

As this report's introduction noted, target-driven approaches have numerous shortcomings and there is a risk that a hard, hours-based quota could result in the proliferation of low-quality professional development, leading to more classes being taught by transitory supply teachers, compromising stability and continuity of care (Menzies 2023).

The next government should therefore work towards this CPD mission in an empowering manner by using the global benchmark as a goal, rather than a topdown mechanism and requiring compliance. This approach will require government to invest in England's professional development infrastructure and to encourage uptake, without constraining schools' agency.

Investing in England's professional development infrastructure

Standards for professional development

The next government should ask the EEF – in consultation with the Chartered College of Teachers, to agree a set of standards for accredited programmes. These should draw on the existing standards (Department for Education 2016) but be updated to take into account more recently published evidence.

Government should require all funded provision (see below) to meet these revised standards and providers should then use them to ensure their offers are in line with best practice. The ITT, ECF and NPQ frameworks should introduce teachers and leaders to the standards for professional development so that teachers and leaders at every level are empowered to make informed decisions about learning and development.

A menu of funded options

The next government should continue to support the emergence of a suite of high-quality, content-driven NPQs. These should include subject leadership, school leadership, SEND, leading teacher development and other new offers that meet a robust bar for evidence-based, content-rich design. Where appropriate, this gold-standard suite of qualifications should also include shorter courses that count towards a full NPQ – like the proposed mentoring award.

Additionally, it is important to recognise that teachers want to engage with CPD in different ways throughout their career. Not all teachers are interested in leadership, and some are more focused on honing their practice, perhaps through schoolbased development such as instructional coaching, or by enhancing their subject knowledge in a specific area of the curriculum. There is no reason why there should not be funded options available for these teachers. The government should therefore invite existing trusted providers like teaching schools and subject specialist hubs to propose additional, light-touch, flexible and school-led professional development offers. Participation in these programmes should be fully funded by the government, so long as there is evidence of demand and that the programmes meet the standards for professional development (see above). Professional development of this type would have the advantage of being responsive to local needs whilst acting as a potential stepping stone to future NPQs.

The local, sector-led dimension of such an offer would make it easier to integrate exchanges between schools as well as new, professional learning communities. Providers could deliver these programmes in partnership with expert bodies such as subject associations and chartered bodies.

Increasing uptake of high-quality professional development

Celebrating excellence

Schools are keen to attract committed teachers who prioritise professional learning. Publicly identifying schools that provide an excellent professional development offer could enhance transparency and encourage schools to recognise the value of ongoing learning as a means of supporting recruitment and retention.

The government should therefore support the Chartered College of Teaching to develop a kitemark scheme for schools that provides access to exceptional professional development opportunities. This scheme could rapidly become self-funding and should be complemented by ministers publicly celebrating - for example through the honours system and annual awards - school leaders who contribute to the wider education system by supporting teacher development.

Aligning incentives

As part of its judgement on leadership and management, Ofsted (DfE 2023b) currently considers the extent to which: "Leaders focus on improving staff's subject, pedagogical and pedagogical content knowledge to enhance the teaching of the curriculum and the appropriate use of assessment. [And] the practice and subject knowledge of staff are built up and improve over time".

School inspection therefore already plays some role in incentivising the uptake of high-quality PD. A new, MAT inspection framework (see section 3.2) should also consider how a trust contributes to teachers' and leaders' professional development both within and beyond the trust. This should include its involvement in ITT and the ECF.

The government should also publish uptake of different funded professional development programmes (alongside ECF and ITT provision), on a per capita regional basis to improve transparency and help Regional Directors and their teams to benchmark uptake with other regions. When supporting schools to develop their improvement plans as part of 'enhanced support' (see section 3.2), NLEs should encourage schools to consider the role of professional development, particularly high-quality funded programmes, since professional development should always be a cornerstone of school improvement.

2.3 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

 Commit to stable, multi-year funding for a clear, evidence-based professional development offer. England's school sector has rallied to the challenge of building a new school-, and professional-led landscape of teacher training and development. But funding has too often been linked to short-term, rapidly churning initiatives. It is now time for a more long-term and coherent approach which empowers teachers to build fulfilling careers as trusted professionals.

- Task the EEF in consultation with the Chartered College, to revise the CCF, ECF and NPQ frameworks and supporting resources. A review of the CCF and ECF is currently underway. The next government should support the development of a unified framework that maintains the current evidence-led approach. Content should be sequenced so that teachers can build on prior learning as they progress between the frameworks in increasingly contextualised and independent ways. Self-study resources should be revised and include diagnostics that help mentors tailor training to ECTs' needs and build on prior learning.
- **Roll out ongoing training for mentors beyond initial induction.** Funded training should be available to mentors. This should lead to certification providing credit towards the new NPQ in leading teacher development.
- Ensure all trainees and mentors are released from the teaching timetable. New teachers should be given space to build foundations that allow them to stay in the profession and contribute to the system. The next government should support schools to prioritise mentoring with additional funding on a per-teacher basis for all ECTs, in both years of the programme, recognising the system-level benefits of early support and the long-term savings to the taxpayer that flow from improved retention. Enhanced funding should be accompanied by more robust monitoring by Appropriate Bodies to ensure teachers and mentors receive the time they are entitled to.
- **Provide seed-funding to support mentor-pooling.** In some cases, mentors should be deployed across several schools, particularly in small specialist subjects and across groups of small schools.
- Move towards a world-class professional development offer: Over the next decade, the aspiration should be to move into line with an international benchmark of 100 hours a year, starting with a target of 35 hours a year of high-quality professional development per teacher, per year. At the moment, availability and uptake of high-quality provision are the key barriers to achieving this goal. The government should therefore move towards this long-term goal by investing in the professional development infrastructure and encouraging uptake. This would involve the following.
 - Commissioning the EEF in consultation with the Chartered College, to revise the revision of the current standards for professional development, drawing on evidence published over the last eight years.
 - Expanding the offer of high-quality funded PD. The offer should be centred on an enhanced 'backbone' of gold-standard, evidence-based NPQs, but also include shorter courses that provide credit towards these. The government should also procure additional, light-touch, flexible and school-led professional development offers from trusted providers, for example from teaching school and subject specialist hubs working in collaboration with subject-associations and chartered bodies.
 - Ensuring a new MAT inspection framework considers trusts' contribution to professional development.
 - Publishing uptake of funded, professional development programmes at a regional level (on a per capita basis).
 - Embedding professional development in school improvement plans as part of 'enhanced support' arrangements through the work of NLEs.
 - Celebrating schools and trusts that prioritise professional development, working with Chartered College to create or recognise kitemarks, and through the influence of ministers (for example via the honours system and through annual awards).

3. EMPOWERING SCHOOLS

3.1 THE CHALLENGE

The philosophy of new public management (NPM) described in this report's introduction has combined with a desire to push more schools into the academy sector, leading to an over-reliance on top-down structural change as means of improving schools. Meanwhile the architecture of school improvement has been taken-apart and only partially reconstructed. These changes - particularly when combined with concerns regarding the consistency and validity of inspection, have infused the sector with fear and undermined schools' sense of agency.

Single-word inspection judgements are linked to serious regulatory consequences, with judgements acting as the sole trigger for academisation and 're-brokering' – where an academy is moved to a new trust. This conflates the inspectorate's role in reporting on schools with top-down regulatory approaches to school improvement. As a result, the system has become overly punitive and disempowering.

One cross-national comparison of seven European jurisdictions found that school leaders in England were the most likely to say they felt "pressure to do well on the inspection standards" and were three times more likely to strongly agree with the statement, compared to even the closest runner-up, the Netherlands (Altrichter and Kemethofer 2015).

According to ASCL (2023), when "a school is judged less than good then it does not always receive the support it needs". A grade of anything less than good can also act as a red flag when recruiting, making it harder to find skilled teachers and leaders willing to work in the schools that need them most. This is part of the reason why some schools become 'stuck' in a cycle of poor performance – although it is important to note that even in these schools, head teachers often value the inspectorate's work (Munoz Chereau et al 2022).

Meanwhile, leaders of 'outstanding' schools face huge pressure not to lose their 'gold star' and 'good' schools are incentivised to chase an 'outstanding grade' – even if this comes at the expense of responding to their community's needs.



Source: Munoz Chereau et al (2022)

With such grave consequences, the consistency of judgements is critical. Yet the reliability of these gradings has come into question. For example, one recent study revealed inconsistencies in judgements linked to inspectors' gender and employment status (Bokhove et al 2023). As the Confederation of School Trusts (2023) notes: "Inspection frameworks over a number of years have struggled with the amalgamation of the available evidence into a single overriding – and valid – construct expressed as a graded judgement ... the current paradigm of inspection asserts an absoluteness of judgement, one in which complexity and tentativeness are played down in favour of clarity and authority."

Given these concerns it is no surprise that some teachers and school leaders say that in its current form, Ofsted is causing them considerable stress, and that when leaders pass on their anxiety about inspection to staff, it can drive teachers out of the profession (Ofsted 2019).

Concerns about the inspectorate have led to numerous calls to scrap the inspectorate. Yet the inspectorate is a crucial source of information regarding what is going on in schools. Parents make extensive use of inspection reports and find the information Ofsted provides valuable (YouGov 2021). Moreover, despite a clear need to ramp up the quality consistency of inspection, the majority of schools report positive experiences following a visit from Ofsted,

with surveys suggesting that following inspection, 92 per cent of schools are satisfied with the way their inspection was carried out, and that 85 per cent believe the benefits of inspection outweighed any negative aspects (House of Commons Education Select Committee 2023).

3.2 THE WAY FORWARD

The functions of the inspectorate (Ofsted) and the regulator (currently the secretary of state, via the office of the regional director) should be distinct and separate.

The inspectorate

It is right that we expect high standards from our school system. Educational equity remains a distant goal and a changing world means that achievement must constantly be ratcheted up. Yet at present, high expectations are not matched by a supportive and empowering, evidence-rich infrastructure.

In a world where empowerment drives improvement, the inspectorate would play three essential roles.

- 1. Contributing to an evidence-informed infrastructure.
- 2. Providing parents and guardians with information on local schools.
- 3. Working with the regulator to promote improvement and protect from harm.

The next government should work with His Majesty's new chief inspector to ensure Ofsted is able to perform these three key functions, whilst acting decisively to tackle the dysfunctional elements of the current system.

The following three sections of this briefing review each function in turn. It then proposes a new model for how the regulator should use the information provided by the inspectorate to empower schools to improve.

It is worth noting at the outset that the proposed changes will not be enough on their own. As ASCL (2023) notes: "Too many school and college leaders feel that the framework allows for overly subjective judgements to be made, that the quality of inspection teams is too variable, and that inspection activity sometimes goes beyond that set out in the handbook."

The proposals in this briefing therefore need to be accompanied by improvements in the recruitment and training of inspectors, as well as the complaints process.

Contributing to an evidence-informed infrastructure

The development of the independent Education Endowment Foundation has equipped teachers and leaders with far better evidence than was available in the past, but Ofsted also plays a role in aggregating frontline, qualitative insight from across the system.

Ofsted should continue to collate evidence from the chalkface. It currently provides annual reports to Parliament which allow elected representatives to scrutinise government and the value for money the system provides. Its reports on critical challenges like sexual abuse and harassment (Ofsted, 2021) have also driven much-needed action on an urgent issue affecting children and young people's wellbeing. However it should refrain from duplicating other institutions' role in producing literature and evidence reviews.

The inspectorate's budget fell by 40 per cent in real-terms between 2005-06 and 2015-16 and the National Audit Office raised concerns about threadbare funding five years ago (NAO 2018). Yet since then, the inspectorate is estimated to have suffered further real terms cuts of up to 25 per cent. Given that much of the

inspectorate's work in collating insight falls outside of its statutory remit, the axe invariably falls on research and insights first.

The next government should commit to ongoing funding for Ofsted's research and insights function so that leaders' and policy makers' work is informed by up-to-date insight from the chalkface.

Providing pupils, parents, and guardians with information on local schools

Parents and guardians rely on the information Ofsted provides about local schools. Around seven in 10 parents access Ofsted reports and a similar proportion consider the information the inspectorate provides to be valuable, while two-thirds believe it helps improve education (YouGov 2021)

However, engagement with the inspectorate varies widely. Fewer than 50 per cent of parents from social group D (semi and unskilled manual workers) use Ofsted reports when selecting a school (Montacute and Cullinane 2018). Parents and guardians also care about more than snap, one-dimensional judgements. For example they are more likely to consider how a school meets their child's particular needs than they are the school's Ofsted grade (Montacute and Cullinane 2018).

Much of the information pupils, parents and guardians are looking for is already contained in the detail of Ofsted's reports, with judgements and commentary provided in four areas, namely the quality of education; behaviour and attitudes; personal development; and leadership and management.

Unfortunately, this information is too often trumped by a single, adjectival descriptor of 'overall effectiveness' (such as 'good' or 'outstanding') that dominates headlines and becomes emblazoned on school banners and websites.

This is not the only option. In Guernsey, Ofsted is already conducting school inspections that do not lead to a single word judgement, and cross-jurisdictional comparisons show that in many European countries, the school inspectorate does not release high profile public reports on individual schools (Altrichter and Kemethofer 2015, Ehren et al 2013).

The next government should abolish single word, overall judgements and introduce a new narrative-driven report, specifically tailored to parents, guardians and pupils needs. This should set out the quality of provision in key areas. In each area Ofsted should make a judgement as to whether the school is 'meeting expectations' or whether 'action is needed.' Where actions are needed, the necessary improvements should be briefly summarised.

The narrative report should be accompanied by a simple dashboard of performance data, based on multi-year measures of average pupil progress (Menzies and Jerrim 2020). Ofsted should provide context where necessary, for example by noting any relevant details about the cohort or unusual rates of pupil mobility.

The next government should consult on the most appropriate format for these reports to ensure they are as accessible and informative as possible. If successful, the new design will result in an increased proportion of parents and guardians accessing reports, and an increasing proportion describing these reports as 'useful'.

As detailed in the next section, more detailed information should be included in a second report, prepared for the school and regulator. This would be designed specifically to help the regulator promote improvement and protect from harm rather than providing information to parents, guardians and pupils.

Working with the regulator to promote improvement and protect from harm

All schools can and should improve. What differs between schools is:

- the urgency and extent of change needed
- the school leadership's capacity to drive that improvement.

Ofsted's job should be to equip the regulator with the best possible information regarding the current state of affairs in each school, so that the regulator can make evidence-informed decisions about how to empower the school to improve.

Although Ofsted's reports to the regulator would need to be publicly available in the interests of transparency, they would be more detailed and technical than the shorter, more accessible and user-focused reports proposed in the preceding section.

The regulator

In recent years, the architecture of school improvement and regulation has been taken apart and only partially reconstructed. A whole new infrastructure of regional teams that oversee different parts of the country on behalf of the secretary of state has been invented, but there has been a high turnover of regional directors and the teams' remits and mission have yet to stabilise (Belger 2022, Dickens 2017).

BOX 3.1: THE ROLE OF REGULATORS

Regulation exists to protect and benefit people (NAO 2017). It can range from prescriptive, government-led intervention; to the market-led incentives and codes of practice that typify NPM.

In the context of education, regulation needs to combine prevention of harms, that go beyond safeguarding risks - extending to the harm that can be done to children's lives where education is of poor quality; and the promotion of goods - namely the enormous individual and societal benefits that result from a transformative education.

The regulator's role should be to decide what level of support or intervention a school needs in order to improve. It should play the role of an 'enabling centre' (Quilter-Pinner and Khan 2023), combining information provided by Ofsted with local knowledge of school improvement capacity (for example regarding the support available from nearby MATs or local authorities). Based on this information, the regulator should choose between three approaches to securing improvement.

- 1. School-led development.
- 2. Enhanced support.
- 3. Immediate action.

The decision should be made in discussion with the school as well as the school's trust or local authority where applicable.

The three courses of action are detailed below.

School-led development

Most schools currently judged 'good' or 'outstanding' are likely to meet expectations and should be empowered – and expected, to pursue school-led, collaborative self-improvement, ending the unhealthy obsession with Ofsted's 'gold star'.

School-led development could happen through an academy trust; a partnership with a national collaborative network such as Challenge Partners or Whole Education; or through area-based partnerships and informal peer-to-peer networks.

BOX 3.2: AREA BASED EDUCATION PARTNERSHIPS (ABEPS)

Area based education partnerships are "school-led, local organisations that include all types of schools but with the central purpose of raising standards" (Gilbert 2021). ABEPs often exist with the explicit goal of promoting school improvement, though they also frequently have wider goals such as promoting a range of civic outcomes.

In a recent study, Shaw et al (2023) review the current landscape of such partnerships arguing that they offer an opportunity to shift the system from "fragmented centralism to connected localism."

Shaw et al (2023) note that although there is currently a lack of empirical evidence to demonstrate their impact, ABEPs' voluntary, school-led nature means members tend to "rally behind a shared vision and moral purpose," and that such partnerships are well placed to respond to local need, while drawing on the strengths of schools in a locality that might otherwise be unconnected.

The review concludes that in future, ABEP could play three key roles:

- 1. Bridging between the current fragmented system and an uncertain future of academisation, aligning their work to the pace of academisation in their locality.
- **2.** Bridging between schools, MATs and other services and organisations to support local civic priorities and wider outcomes.
- 3. Bridging between broader national priorities and local contexts.



FIGURE 3.2: CATEGORISATION OF DIFFERENT FORMS OF AREA BASED EDUCATION PARTNERSHIPS

School-led development should not mean a school is cast adrift and left to coast. Tim Brighouse and Mick Waters have argued that 'ipsative' assessment should play a far bigger role in school inspection and improvement (Waters and Brighouse 2022). This approach focuses on whether a school has got better.

Where a school is pursuing 'school-led development', subsequent inspections should review how a school has progressed since its last inspection. If limited progress is found to have been made then the regulator will likely mandate enhanced support and oversight.

Enhanced support

It is the inspectorate's responsibility to provide an early warning when pupils are not receiving the quality of education they deserve. Where this is the case, the regulator must do whatever it takes to secure rapid improvement, since children's life chances are being curtailed. Yet even 'stuck' schools that have struggled over an extended period of time, can improve with the right support (Munoz Chereau et al 2022).

Where a school is not meeting expected standards, the regulator should decide whether:

- with additional support and oversight, the school will be able to make sufficient improvements
- a change of governance is needed.

Where a school, supported by its trust or local authority (LA) if applicable, has the potential to make the necessary improvements, they should be trusted to do so, but provided with enhanced support.

In such cases, the regional director (and their network of trained national leaders of education) should help a school - and its LA or trust, to develop an improvement plan. This should identify any support that is needed. Support might come from the school's own, or another trust or LA; or from a peer-to-peer network; or from an area-based partnership (see box 3.2). The school should take the lead in choosing what additional support they wish to draw on, and once the improvement plan has been approved, the school should be provided with the necessary resources to deliver the plan.

This proposed step-change in autonomy, support and empowerment should come with responsibility, such that the school's LA, MAT, or the school itself (if it is a standalone academy) is accountable for securing the required improvement. Each improvement plan should therefore be accompanied by a timeline for reinspection and - if the pace of improvement is found to be insufficient, this will likely lead to 'immediate action.'

Whilst these proposals for 'enhanced support' may be seen as equivalent to the current 'requires improvement' category, a clearer distinction between inspection and regulation would allow for greater flexibility regarding the response. The expectation of improvement would also be more closely linked to enhanced support, an approach that draws on the success of the 'Keys to Success' programme - a cornerstone of the much-admired London Challenge programme (see box 3.3).

BOX 3.3: KEYS TO SUCCESS

The 'Keys to Success' programme was a cornerstone of Labour's London Challenge programme, as was its counterpart 'Pathways to Achievement' in the Black Country.

Keys to Success involved tailored and highly intensive support for vulnerable schools. Advisors worked with the headteacher and LA officer to scope out the main issues faced by the school, and to plan out a tailored programme of support – brokering in additional funding to pay for this where necessary (Hutchings and Mansaray 2013).

The name 'Keys to Success' was deliberately chosen by London schools' commissioner Sir Tim Brighouse to emphasise the positive opportunities the programme presented and the potential for transformation.

Kidson and Norris (2014) report that as part of the programme "the attention of the London Challenge team became valued rather than resisted". One former adviser described schools deliberately badging themselves as 'Keys to Success' schools in public - a stark contrast to the consequences of previous top-down approaches that had focused on naming and shaming.

Keys to Success advisors drew on detailed evidence regarding the school's current performance as part of their work, allowing them to have challenging conversations or, in the words of David Wood - London's Chief School Advisor at the time, to "confront the brutal facts" (Kidson and Norris 2014).

According to Baars et al (2014) the absence of a 'one-size-fits-all' approach to school improvement, and the careful balance between support and robust challenge was a key feature of London's distinctive approach to educational transformation at the turn of the century.

The drivers of the so-called 'London effect' which resulted in the capital becoming an educational super-power continue to be subject to a lively and ongoing academic and policy debate, and it is clear that demographic factors played a critical role (Burgess 2014, Menzies 2021). However, regression analysis shows that Keys to Success schools "improved by significantly more over the three years 2008-11 than other schools with similar initial attainment" and that this improvement was similar to the improvement achieved through Labour's initial sponsored academy programme, but at a substantially lower cost (Hutchings and Mansaray 2013).

In some cases, a school may need to make urgent changes in a specific, limited area. For example, a school procedure or policy may need updating to be legally compliant. In such cases, the regulator should mandate specific actions alongside a timeline for reinspection. Following reinspection, the parent/guardian report would be updated to reflect the fact that the school meets expectations.

Immediate action

In some cases, the regulator may judge that insufficient progress has been made since a previous inspection, or that the necessary improvements cannot be delivered under current governance arrangements. This is likely to be the case where a local authority or trust is overstretched and has not demonstrated the ability to secure improvement.

In such cases, the regulator will require a school to be re-brokered to a new school provider (academy trust or local authority), and may require the replacement of the governing body. This process should continue to be led by the regional director, on behalf of the secretary of state. Whilst this process will continue to be perceived as punitive, it is justified at this level, given the need to protect pupils from the harm of poor standards.

The next government should roll out trust-level inspections to ensure that the regulator is equipped with the required information regarding trusts' ability to deliver improvement.

Improvement capacity

When it comes to school improvement advice and support, research suggests that there is little shortage of capacity, and that support is more effective when it is found internally (Ofsted 2020). Some schools also report that too much improvement advice is "thrown at them" from different quarters (ibid). Nonetheless, some schools still report a lack of support in the immediate aftermath of an inspection (ibid). It may also be that in some parts of the country there are 'cold spots' in the availability of school improvement support.

Regional directors should therefore review the available capacity in their areas, and support the development of new improvement networks where necessary, building on the work of the most effective ABEPs. These networks should remain independent from the Department for Education's regional teams to avoid conflicts of interest between the regulator and improvement-providers.

3.3 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Abolish overarching judgements. Judgements as to whether expected standards have been met, or whether action is needed should be made separately in each area of the inspection framework.
- **Consult on a new, narrative-driven report for parents, guardians, and pupils.** Narrative reports for parents should be based on a clear, accessible format and be accompanied by a data dashboard. Ofsted should comment on any contextual considerations.
- **Develop a new format for detailed reports to the school and regulator.** Reports to schools and the regulator should focus on the nature, extent and urgency of improvement required.
- Commission Ofsted to develop and implement a new framework for trustlevel inspections. Trust-level reports should provide the regulator with an independent assessment of the effectiveness of support a trust provides. Regional directors should combine this information with their local insight to make decisions about the most appropriate route to improvement.
- **Commit to ongoing funding for Ofsted's research and insight function**: Ofsted is uniquely placed to provide leaders and policy makers with up-to-date, system-level insight from the chalkface, but real-term cuts have curtailed its ability to provide this.
- **Require Ofsted to make rapid improvements to the inspection process.** Priorities should include the recruitment and training of inspectors, as well as a review of the complaints process.
- Trial a new, three-tier regulatory response involving either 'school-led development', 'enhanced support', or 'immediate action.' Inspection judgements should no longer act as an automatic trigger to intervention. Instead, the regulator should work with schools as an 'enabling centre' to ensure that the right leadership is trusted and supported to pursue continuous improvement.
- Train national leaders of education (NLEs) to coordinate the new approach to 'enhanced support'. NLEs' primary role should be to support schools in developing school improvement plans, and signing these off. Regional directors should recruit and train additional NLEs where there is a shortage.
- Require regional directors to conduct a review of the available school improvement capacity and pump-prime provision where necessary. Regional directors should identify any cold spots in their region and support the development of additional high-quality support where necessary. This support should remain independent from the regulator to avoid conflicts of interest.

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