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PRODUCER: Andy Denwood

EDITOR: David Ross

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“FILE ON 4”

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ACTUALITY IN PLAYGROUND

ABRAMS: Tony Blair’s signalled his determination to push ahead with controversial education reforms, which will give new freedom to schools.

EXTRACT FROM BLAIR SPEECH

BLAIR: I want every school that wants to be, to be able to be an independent, non fee-paying state school.

ABRAMS: But in some ways schools already have more autonomy - more spending power - than they’ve ever had before. The way they’re run’s changed beyond all recognition – and the role of head teachers has grown. They’re chief executives, often controlling multi-million pound budgets. Are we asking too much of head teachers and governors? And when they step out of line, who steps in?

SIGNATURE TUNE

ACTUALITY IN PLAYGROUND

ABRAMS: Schools like this one in Rotherham, in South Yorkshire, teach some of the poorest children in England. To many of their parents, head teacher Howard White was a local hero. He raised standards to an exceptionally high level. His school won national awards and people looked up to him.

LITTLE: I liked him because I thought he were what East Dene School were about. He were a really strong figure. He was like a father figure and he was very passionate about the kids, you know. It weren't just a job to him. He were like a big giant, that's what he were like.

ABRAMS: Steph Little sent her three children to East Dene. And even though they've now left, she still works there as lollipop lady. She always felt confident in the abilities of its head. The school's chair of governors, Jonathan Ormesher, was equally happy with the way it was run.

ORMESHER: He was a very strong character, everybody knew him in the local community, he was a big, huge presence within the school, he was always there, a very visible head. He was approachable and you just always felt that he was a very capable head, was doing a good job.

ABRAMS: Even Ofsted, the schools inspectorate, was full of praise for Mr White's management style.

READER IN STUDIO: This is a very good school with many excellent features. Its strengths lie in the outstanding leadership of the head teacher, supported by a dedicated team of teachers. The very good teaching ensures pupils make very good progress and have very positive attitudes towards their work. The school provides very good value for money.

ABRAMS: Mr White's excellent record made the shock even deeper when last year he was sent to prison, along with another local head teacher, for stealing from school funds. Steph Little says she still finds it hard to believe.

LITTLE: I remember going down into one of the local shops and one of the mums mentioned something to me and I was absolutely devastated, because he had been a rock for my children and for many other children. For me it were a devastating blow. There were a few of us that really didn't believe it. I didn't want to believe it. I wanted to believe it were wrong.

ABRAMS: The matter came to light only by chance, when other teachers started to ask questions. The policeman who investigated the case, Detective Sergeant Steve Smith, says the two heads had become involved in a conspiracy with a local builder, Philip Wright, to allow him to win lucrative school contracts.

SMITH: The three gentlemen – the two head teachers and the builder, Mr Wright – were friends, of which there's nothing wrong with that, and they used to meet in a local public house in Rotherham, and it's through that social connection that obviously matters of business started to creep into it, and effectively this is where some of the big decisions about how these big contracts were going to be awarded, and the key financial aspects were decided. But what's happened is, the three have worked together, that Philip Wright obtained the contract and the head teachers dealt with the logistics of making sure that the correct number of quotes were in the correct folder, so that anyone perhaps auditing at a later time might be deceived to think that the rules and regulations had been conformed with.

ABRAMS: It was really just a scam.

SMITH: Very much so.

ABRAMS: As well as fixing the contracts, Mr White had also put money into his own pocket from funds raised to provide meals and trips for pupils. Jonathan Ormesher, the chairman of governors at East Dene, knew nothing of what was going on. He'd only been in post a short time and had seen nothing untoward.

ORMESHER: We didn't have any cause for concern until I got a phone call from the director of education. They then produced a document that had been produced by the local authority auditors of their concerns of what had been going on with

ORMESHER: the funds from the school. They'd been taking money from the school journey fund and the school fund. There was concerns with the funds from the after school care club. He was taking money from some of the poorest families in Rotherham, you know. It ran into thousands, ran into thousands.

ABRAMS: Mr White's crimes had been extensive. He'd defrauded the British Council by over-claiming expenses on a trip to New Zealand. And he'd sold several items of computer equipment belonging to the school for personal gain. Mr Ormesher's been left wondering if he could have done more.

ORMESHER: Maybe we were just a bit green as governors, but the information appeared to be all fine and you trust him to sort of give you the information that's needed.

ABRAMS: In the end, really as a governor, you hadn't been able to do the job that you were put there to do.

ORMESHER: Well, no. I've been over it in my head loads of times, you know – if I'd asked him about this, but he had an answer for everything. Who am I to call him a liar when he's been a head for thirteen years and I'm a chair of governors for twelve months and know absolutely nothing, in comparison, about education, you know, or indeed finance, you know?

ABRAMS: Had you been aware of any previous checks being done by the local authority on the school's finances?

ORMESHER: Not while I was chair, possibly not long before I became a governor there had been audits, but they hadn't uncovered anything untoward, I don't think.

ABRAMS: Do you think they should have?

ORMESHER: With hindsight, yeah, yeah. I think, from what I've seen of the auditor's reports, he had been moving funds around for some time, I think.

ABRAMS: We wanted to ask Rotherham Borough Council why its routine audits didn't pick up these crimes, and why it took the head teacher's colleagues to raise the alarm. Instead, the council's director of finance, Andrew Bedford, issued a statement.

READER 2 IN STUDIO: Once the offences came to light, steps were quickly taken by both the Council and governors to ensure that the education in the schools involved was not disrupted. In the light of these specific events, we have re-emphasised our financial advice and guidance to governors and head teachers. We continue to raise the profile of good financial practice with all Rotherham's schools on a regular basis.

ABRAMS: Rotherham told us its primary schools were audited once every four years. And that's not unusual. Five years ago the audit commission found a four-year interval was normal for a primary school. Secondary schools were audited, on average, every two years. Some governors didn't even have access to these reports. John Dunford, general secretary of the Association of School and College Leaders, says in his experience the existing system isn't good enough.

DUNFORD: Typically the local authorities would send into schools probably two relatively young employees from County Hall to look at the expenditure and check that against receipts. They might do that on a sampling basis, or they might try and do pretty well all of it. And that happens in some places annually, more often I think, once every two years. I don't think actually that is as thorough as it should be. What we have seen in recent years is a huge increase in what you might describe as the educational audit of schools – the accountability of school leaders for exam results, and attendance and so on, has gone frankly way over the top. It's not been, in any sense, paralleled by good audit of financial matters in school and I think there is a balance to be struck here: perhaps rather more thorough audit of finance, and rather less over-comprehensive audit on the educational side.

ABRAMS: Private companies must now have an independent audit every year if their turnover's more than £5.6 million – so they're under greater scrutiny than some large secondary schools. The Audit Commission expressed concern that auditing of schools was inconsistent, and the risk of fraud growing. So the Department

ABRAMS cont: for Education and Skills commissioned a pilot project which tested compulsory annual audits for schools. They declared the project a success – but then decided to abandon the idea. We wanted to ask the schools’ minister, Jacqui Smith, why. But she didn’t want to be interviewed. Instead the department issued a statement.

READER IN STUDIO: It was determined that such a regime would have been over-bureaucratic and that a better approach would be to focus on measures to raise the standard of financial management in schools. A new financial management standard will be compulsory for maintained secondary schools from next year. We have also provided schools with a range of resources to assist sound financial planning and management.

ABRAMS: It’s still up to local authorities to decide how often to audit schools, and how thoroughly. Frances Done, the managing director of local government for the Audit Commission, now feels the Department for Education and Skills made the right decision in not insisting on compulsory audits. You did have concerns five years ago. Have you got concerns now or has that changed?

DONE: Our concern is to make sure in each case that LEAs have the appropriate oversight role. I think there is still a debate, and the Education White Paper debate recently highlights this, about how much schools need and should have the support and oversight of councils.

ABRAMS: Secondary schools can now have delegated budgets of up to £8 million a year. You surely wouldn’t expect a company of that size to only be audited every three or four years.

DONE: It’s entirely a matter for assessing the risk. A school of that size will have not just a head teacher. It will have a senior financial manager, it will have probably a finance committee of the governors. Financial information will very often be available to the Local Education Authority. If there are causes for concern, then an internal audit will become involved. I think it’s really wrong to suggest that one single act of a visit by internal audit is the solution to issues that arise in a very very small number of schools.

ABRAMS: Of course the vast majority of head teachers would never dream of stealing from the school funds. But even those who are honest can find themselves facing questions when making decisions about spending. Sometimes those decisions can be exacerbated by other issues too.

GOLDENBERG: I certainly felt that the school did need some changes. You know, one was willing to work with a new head and feel yes, you know, there do need to be changes here and obviously any new head is bound to want to make changes and has a perfect right to do so, and presumably has been appointed to do so.

ABRAMS: Steve Goldenberg was head of English at Holland Park Comprehensive in London - once famous as the school of choice for the left-wing intelligentsia of the 1960s and 70s. Tony Benn and Tony Crosland sent their children here. Under the old Inner London Education Authority there were no uniforms and no academic streaming. And that persisted right through the 1990s. In 2001 a new head, Colin Hall, arrived with an agenda for change. Which is backed by the school's chairman of governors, John Baker.

BAKER: The governing body and the local authority had been concerned that inadequate priority had been given to teaching and learning in the school, and so he was given a major mission to raise the performance of the school.

ABRAMS: Has he succeeded?

BAKER: We're on the way. It's work in progress. Last summer's results were a big step forward in terms of the GCSEs. We moved from 36% to 46% in terms of five A-Cs and that was very good. But that's the first swallow that's appeared. We now need to make it a summer.

ABRAMS: But raising educational standards was not the only major change Mr Hall wanted to make. He also wanted radically to alter the way the school looked, and he had plenty of money to do it with. Holland Park has one of the biggest budgets of any school in the country - £8.5 million a year. Even once the staff have been paid, that leaves £2.5 million for books, resources and furniture. And Mr Hall's decisions on this, too, were controversial, according to Steve Goldenberg.

GOLDENBERG: We started noticing considerable money being spent on the décor in the school, and particularly the sort of furniture which was being bought, which wasn't the normal sort of furniture from basic school suppliers but tended to come from places like The Conran Shop. The other big area of the school that was changed was the foyer area. It was completely redone and there were some very odd designer style furniture put in for parents and visitors to sit on, and then a water feature was put in by the side of that as well. In the staff room also there was a giant flower pot about sort of four feet, five feet high, giant flower pot is all I can describe it as, suddenly plonked in one corner of the staffroom.

ABRAMS: What was the reaction of the staff to this?

GOLDENBERG: They were concerned about what this was sort of costing. I mean, there was concern for some people about whether this is what money should be spent on. It just didn't seem the kind of stuff you expected to find in a school.

ABRAMS: We've seen figures showing the purchase of at least seven hand-made designer tables, some of which cost almost £3,000 each. The school spent £31,000 in a single year at one bespoke furniture maker. There's been cash for luxuries, too. £800 was spent in one year at the Majestic Wine Warehouse, and there were regular shipments of top-of-the-range coffee, chocolates and biscuits from Betty's of Harrogate, costing up to £1,200 a year. The chairman of governors, John Baker, says all this is part of the drive to raise standards.

BAKER: I'm fully satisfied, as are the governors and the local authority, that everything that has been spent has been properly spent, there isn't a whiff of impropriety, and I think there are very good reasons why these items have had expenditure put on them.

ABRAMS: What about £1,200 in a single year on luxury coffee, Christmas cake, mince pies and praline chocolates from Betty's of Harrogate by Post?

BAKER: This is a debate which I'm surprised you bother to bring up, really, as to whether the teabags should be round or square, this is trivial stuff in a budget of £8.5 million. We make a point of providing visitors to the school with good coffee, good tea. It is our policy that every Friday we buy cakes for the whole of the staff room as part of trying to make the teachers feel valued. There simply are no issues here.

ABRAMS: All of these sums of money could have been better spent surely on the education of the children in the school?

BAKER: Education isn't just a matter of in-classroom resources, and incidentally this school is better funded than any other comprehensive school in London, so there is massive investment going into the education. But education comes from having a community who feels valued, from teachers we can retain in the face of the huge competition for good teachers in London. Kensington and Chelsea is a very expensive area to live in. We need to bring in teachers from far and wide, and we do whatever we can to make them feel at home, to recognise their professionalism and to give them that added incentive to stay with us.

ABRAMS: Within limits the head teacher can spend the school budget in the way he thinks best – as long as his governors approve. But not all of them do approve. Tom Dunnill, a member of the finance committee, is one of those who's raised concerns about the way money's being spent at the school.

DUNNILL: The main thing that concerned me was that there seemed to be lots of money going out of the bank account in large round numbers. If all the money that I could see going out was added together, it was getting up to £20,000 a year. It worried me that there was so much money apparently floating about. The other problem I had is that there were rumours coming out the school saying that the money was being used in a way that could cause concern, like a lot was going out on taxi fares, there was an awful lot of flowers being bought, and I thought that if that was true then that would be a misuse of public money that the school was being given.

ABRAMS: So what did you do?

DUNNILL: I wrote to the chair, who advised me to talk to the chair of finance and general purposes subcommittee. I wrote to him and I didn't get an answer. So I wrote again and said I was going to write to all the governors on finance if I didn't an answer, and then I got an answer saying everything was fine, it was audited by the borough, it was audited externally and had not brought up any problems, and I said fine. But I still wanted to know how much was being spent on petty cash and could I see the last two years' figures, and basically I was told no.

ABRAMS: So you were actually refused information?

DUNNILL: Yeah, I was told I could go and approach the borough and talk to the person who was running the audit, who talked to me on the phone and said that there did appear to be some items and amounts that she would be surprised to be seeing going through petty cash.

ABRAMS: Mr Dunnill's inquiries didn't yield any positive result. He asked for two years' petty cash accounts but he was told the council didn't even have them. Instead he received a letter from his chairman of governors, assuring him there was no cause for concern. He was not reassured.

DUNNILL: I've come to the point where I'm reluctantly forced to resign from the board of governors. I feel that I've done everything I can to get the information I've asked for, that I don't feel comfortable agreeing to accounts where there are actions going on that I can't see. What I don't understand is, I asked a very simple question, could I see the records of petty cash, and they refused to give them to me, and for the life of me I can't understand why they wouldn't just give them to me, why they sent me off to see someone who didn't have them, and why they still to this day have refused to show me what I've asked for, and you have to start thinking that they must be hiding something.

ABRAMS: We've seen details of the school's spending on petty cash, and it amounts to as much as £25,000 a year. That, as Mr Dunnill suspected, includes hundreds of pounds on hospitality and dry cleaning. And the governors' own limit of £100 per item of petty cash has been breached on a number of occasions. John Baker, the chairman of governors, says there's no cause for concern.

ABRAMS cont: We've seen a large number of items going out of petty cash that are more than £100. There is concern about this, isn't there?

BAKER: None at all that I'm aware of.

ABRAMS: Well there was concern by a parent governor, who is a member of the finance committee.

BAKER: A parent governor has drawn attention to his interest in petty cash, as a result of which a special audit was carried out by the Borough of Kensington and Chelsea which found absolutely nothing amiss.

ABRAMS: He's told us that he is now resigning from the governors because he feels he's not been able to access details of what's actually going through the petty cash. He's asked for information and he's not received it

BAKER: I think one needs to understand that governors have a variety of agendas and I suspect this governor is probably one who declared it his ambition three or four years ago not to rest until he had removed the head from the school. I think this is probably all part of the same agenda.

ABRAMS: It's perfectly legitimate, isn't it, for a member of the school's finance committee to ask to see details of what petty cash is being spent on?

BAKER: I think it's very legitimate for a member of the governing body to ask questions about the petty cash. It is the correct response of the governing body to organise an independent audit of the petty cash to satisfy themselves that everything is all right. That, I'm afraid, is the proper way to deal with the issue. Clearly it would be anarchy if every governor on every matter that interested them felt they could bash around the school intervening in this and that.

ABRAMS: No-one from the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea would be interviewed, but in a statement it said the school's finances were regularly audited and were transparent. The Audit Commission's managing director of

ABRAMS cont: local government, Frances Done, says Mr Dunnill can appeal to the district auditor if he's unhappy with the way the council has handled his concerns.

DONE: There will not be, and never will be, a list of items which are or aren't acceptable, and senior managers, head teachers or senior financial managers, are to be expected, as in any other walk of life, using public money, to make judgements about what is or isn't acceptable.

ABRAMS: If individual governors in a school are unhappy, but find themselves in a minority position, what should they do?

DONE: A governing body is responsible for the running of the school. There will be occasions where individual governors will not agree with the majority of the governors. If that is a cause for concern and they are not feeling that the chairman of governors is willing to listen to that, then they are always, of course, free to contact the Director of Education for the council or to contact the district auditor. Any reference to those responsible people will ensure that the matter is looked into.

ABRAMS: Twenty years ago a head teacher wouldn't have been able to make these spending decisions, because the council would have made them. And ten years ago, the budget - after staffing costs - would have been a fraction of what it is today. And as the role and spending power of schools and their head teachers has expanded, that of local authorities has begun to shrink. Professor Tony Travers, an expert on local government at the LSE, says that does cause some problems.

TRAVERS: One of the weakest points of this devolution of power to schools is that school governors and head teachers, for all their many advantages, are not elected people, they are not in the normal sense of the word the people who we would expect to raise our taxes and spend them and check the money has been properly used. They are appointed and often - almost always - good people, but it's not quite the same as being an accounting officer or a chief finance officer of a local authority. Local authorities have now been put for some years - and this is getting more difficult - in an awkward position. At one level they are still supposed to be schools' friends, and indeed

SWALLOW: Straight after the fire, he called three large community meetings in the biggest hall available in Rugby town, and addressed them. The local community rallied right round, the school being rebuilt with Mr Braine in charge. Those meetings were very moving indeed. And after that, operation of the school in temporary buildings got going because Mr Braine organised it clearly and fully, and suddenly the atmosphere changed at the beginning of the autumn term.

ABRAMS: The change of mood was precipitated by rumours which had begun to circulate about Mr Braine's private life and his conduct. His wife, who was head of English at the school, had gone on extended leave of absence and people were starting to ask why. The situation reached crisis point. By now Avon Valley had become a foundation school, which meant the governors employed the head teacher – so it was their job to investigate. But Don O'Neill, now acting head, says they didn't feel up to it.

O'NEILL: I think our governors were very honest in the fact that they did not feel that they had the strength, as governors, to deal with this issue. So therefore they asked for the support of the local education authority. I think there has to be some form of local accountability and local support at a far greater level than an individual school can deal with itself. Certainly events at this school have proven that.

ABRAMS: The governors agreed to allow the local authority to set up an inquiry into the rumours. Eric Wood, the County Education Officer, says there was nothing else to be done.

WOOD: An investigation was carried out by me on behalf of the governing body into various aspects of the school's management. Following that investigation, disciplinary action was commenced against Mr Braine. That matter was concluded by the governors and the Local Education Authority, and as a result of that we had to notify both the Department for Education and Skills and the General Teaching Council of the outcome. There is a very powerful moral authority to act on behalf of citizens, local communities, students and teachers, and I believe most education officers in this country, most directors of children's services wouldn't hesitate to use that moral authority if they felt something ought to happen.

ABRAMS: Mr Wood didn't want to discuss the details. But we understand the team assembled by the local authority found Mr Braine employed his wife and daughter without proper procedures and then failed to carry out the wishes of the governors with regard to his wife's employment. It also found he harassed school employees and offered favours to a string of female staff with whom he had affairs. In the face of disciplinary action, Mr Braine resigned. He plans to defend himself at a hearing of the General Teaching Council next month. He didn't want to be interviewed, but John Swallow, former consultant to the school, says he denies the allegations.

SWALLOW: His response is that he's quite clear that the allegations are inaccurate, and I am equally clear because my detailed knowledge of the school over the twelve years says to me that the allegations, some of them are wild and general and vague, don't have any serious substance at all.

ABRAMS: What should have happened when members of the governing body became aware of allegations of concerns about the head teacher of a foundation school, what should they do?

SWALLOW: They should have investigated them themselves, not handed over, so to speak, to the Local Education Authority. But in my view, the governors have weakly given way to everything that the local authority has asked them to do. Since Mr Braine departed, their backbone has given way altogether.

ABRAMS: We spoke to Mr Wood, the county education officer, he told us that he believed he had moral authority because this was a state school, there were children's educations at stake, and somebody professional needs to step in and deal with a serious situation when it arises.

SWALLOW: Well, I think the fact that he says he had moral authority, it means that he's really saying he didn't have the legal authority, which what I'm saying too.

ABRAMS: Mr Wood maintains he did have the legal authority to intervene, in extremis. And despite the school's foundation status, the council did play a welcome part in helping rebuild it after the fire. Hard cases like Avon Valley are rare, of course. But even in those schools that are still run by local authorities, there's growing concern that heads are being given too much responsibility – and not enough support.

CLOUGH: I'd had tremendous opportunities when I was at Wimbledon High School, but it felt to me, I said to someone I'm dusting the corners here, and I really went into education to make a difference. And I had this extraordinary feeling that there was a big party going on somewhere else in the maintained sector, and I wanted to be in it.

ACTUALITY OF SEAGULLS

ABRAMS: Jill Clough came here, to the East Brighton College of Media Arts, known as Comart. She was what's commonly known as a superhead. After a career spent entirely in independent girls' schools, latterly as head of Wimbledon High School in London, she took on the task of turning around this failing school. She was its eighth head in ten years. And she arrived with little detailed knowledge of its problems. Which, according to its chairman of governors, Derek Bown, were intractable.

BOWN: It had been put in special measures. There was a considerable level of pupil indiscipline, a considerable level of pupil absenteeism, the standard of work of the pupils was certainly well below average. Morale of both staff and pupils was poor. In other words, it had very serious problems indeed.

ABRAMS: And this wasn't just any failing school. It had failed two Ofsted inspections in four years, and had twice been given a fresh start to try to help its dreadful local image. Now it was facing a deadline. It had two years to improve – and a year had already elapsed since the last critical inspectors' report. If Jill Clough failed, Comart would close. But, astonishingly, the school began to improve.

BOWN: I can remember the day that Ofsted took the school out of special measures. There was a real sense of tired jubilation, tired because a lot of people had worked very hard, jubilation because quite a few of the staff never thought it could be done. At that point there was hope.

CLOUGH: The target was to get the school out of special measures, but I found I had been given another target. I was asked for an education plan, but what I didn't realise was that the school was actually in economic turmoil.

ABRAMS: Jill Clough found herself trying to raise educational standards while at the same time trying to save the school. She began a desperate search for partners who could boost its fortunes, making overtures to organisations as diverse as the Roedean girls' boarding school, the Church of England and Asda. All came to nought. And at the same time the school was plunged into a disruptive building project under the private finance initiative. Soon she was running that single-handed, too.

CLOUGH: I had to take over detailed day to day engagement with the PFI. Heads should not be engaged in the detail of building programmes. We didn't have the money to employ anybody. I was the one who had to do all that. We were still in economic freefall in that the roll was still dropping. Just after we came out of special measures we learnt that even fewer children were electing to come to the school. But instead of being able to concentrate on that, we had to make more people redundant. And continuing to struggle with this deeply intractable issue of attendance, however hard we worked, we didn't seem to get it above about 80%. We kept on, feeling bullish and determined, but realising that the length of time that you need wasn't going to be available to us.

ABRAMS: Two years in, she was struggling, both physically and mentally.

CLOUGH: I went to my doctor for a routine appointment and to my astonishment he was pulling his sickness pad towards him and sending me home.

ABRAMS: So your doctor just told you to stop working?

CLOUGH: Yes, he sent me home. He just told me I was worn out, I was exhausted.

ABRAMS: After a period of sick leave she resigned, defeated. And within months Brighton council decided to close the school. It finally shut its doors last July. The chairman of governors, Derek Bown, says Jill Clough had an impossible job.

BOWN: One of the criticisms that was made of her at the time and subsequently is that she tried to do too much, and that's quite right – she did try to do too much, but I would also say she had to do too much and that was an insoluble problem.

ABRAMS: Is it really possible for one person to come into a school with such complex problems and turn it around?

BOWN: I should say that the whole concept of a superhead seems to me to be absurd. That person does need the strongest possible support, not only from those within the school, but from those without as well. And it's very difficult, and I do understand the problem that politicians and local authorities have, because time is not on their side, and instant results with a failing school are just not possible. It does take a long time.

ABRAMS: Jill Clough's case was not an isolated one. As successive governments have devolved power, responsibility and money to schools, all head teachers have taken more on their shoulders. Many have welcomed their new freedoms. But John Dunford, general secretary of the Association of School and College Leaders, believes politicians have a tendency to expect miracles.

DUNFORD: I think the government has really been very head-centric in its view of school reform. I think we have placed too much emphasis on the cult of the individuals sometimes called the superheads. It's not superheads that turn round schools in difficulties, it's superteams of people. Unfortunately there have in recent years been some very clear examples where people have been brought in who have had very

