Towards a Holistic Model of Extended Education in the Public School System: Three Schools on the Way to Integrated All-Day Schools

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Abstract: Integrated all-day schools (ADS) follow a holistic approach, arguing that different forms of learning (informal, formal, non-formal) are equally important for students, and provide instruction and care by a constant team of teachers and care professionals. Using a qualitative longitudinal design, the research uses development phases to analyze the evolution of the holistic approach to children learning from 2020 to 2022 in three ADS. Findings show that the ADS embark on a school development journey as they try to integrate different learning cultures and professional approaches within one organization. The qualitative data shows a strong start, but challenges emerge in the daily practices. By April 2021, all three ADS teams emphasize the resolution of initial professional conflicts resulting from different professional backgrounds. Staff turnover and changes in management have a strong impact on the development journeys. The conclusion highlights that the non-linear organizational development process requires constant revision of strategy and structure. Commitment of all staff to this integration of care and instruction is crucial, which is impeded by limited time for pedagogical culture development. This article advances the understanding of the development process of integrated ADS and highlights challenges and benefits.

Keywords: Integrated All-Day Schools, School Development, Extended Education, Public School System, Qualitative Longitudinal Study

Introduction

Many families all over the world rely on the institutionalized care and leisure time services to be able to balance family and work life (Bae, 2019; Lilla & Schüpbach, 2019). Yet, according to the OECD (OECD, 2018, 2022), these services are often organized outside of the public school system. On average 31 % of all children between six and eleven years are using those services in OECD countries. Those extended education offerings provide fee-based care before and after official school hours and have mostly developed because of working parents' needs.

The timetable for children aged four to seven (K-2) in the Swiss public school system consists of four to eight 45-minute lessons each day. After the official school hours, Swiss parents can decide between different forms of extended education for their children (i. e. after-school programs, youth clubs, leisure centers etc.) (Bae, 2019; Schüpbach, 2018). In the last decade, many urban areas have seen a surge in those extended education services which

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provide lunch and afternoon care. Those fee-based public institutions are often subsidized by the state but seldom directly integrated in the public school system or linked to classroom instruction. The integrated all-day-schools (ADS) have been developed as pilot projects to bridge the gap between the public school instruction and after-school care and to provide a more holistic approach, where the whole child with all its cognitive and affective experiences is included in the learning process (Eisnach, 2011; Mahmoudi et al., 2012; Trautmann & Lipkina, 2020). The integrated ADS are public schools, which include care hours as one compulsory part of the official school day. Therefore, this new combination of instruction and care must develop one organizational structure and strategy which allows for systematic development of a holistic approach to learning.

In this contribution, we argue that in integrated ADS, there is a need to expand the notion of learning to more informal settings in a comprehensive school development (Mahoney, 2014, p. 65) towards a holistic view on learning and education. Therefore, integrated ADS emphasize the importance of staff-student or peer-to-peer relationships for successful learning processes (Fischer et al., 2022; Fischer & Klieme, 2013). The aim of this study is to describe the development journeys of three newly opened ADSs during the first two years (2020–2022) of the organizational development phases, focusing on the following research questions:

Is there evidence of different phases of development in the three integrated ADS over the course of time?

1. *What are the most important strategic goals for the ADS at the onset of the development?*
2. *Which obstacles or challenges can be identified in the development of the three ADS over time?*
3. *Are there commonalities or differences between developmental trajectories of the three ADS?*

Therefore, we aim to investigate whether ADS could expand the focus of academic learning in public schools to a more holistic approach to learning, while providing inclusive educational experiences and attractive leisure activities at the same time.

Extended Education and All-Day Schools in Switzerland

Before describing the development trajectories of the three integrated ADS, a differentiation between the systems of extended education in Switzerland is necessary. In the Swiss federal education system, the municipalities are responsible for the public education as well as additional care services (HarmoS-Konkordat, 2007). Therefore, they decide on the form of extended education (EE) they provide for families. ADS and EE offerings are additional institutions to the compulsory schooling (Flitner, 2015).

Extended Education

Depending on the cantonal and municipal framework conditions, EE is organized differently all over Switzerland. Each of the 26 Swiss cantons has the autonomy to decide in what form

and to what extent it introduces EE. In this context, EE refers to any institution which provides care outside the compulsory schooling (e.g., after-school programs, youth clubs, leisure centers, etc.). During the instruction time (mornings and afternoons), lessons are taught by teachers (and in some cases specialists like special needs educators, social workers etc.) and afterwards students go home or visit the EE offerings.

A look at history and neighboring countries shows that the development of EE offerings in Switzerland was rather slow until 2015. This is particularly rooted in the traditional ideal of the male breadwinner model with a housewife looking after the children (Schüpbach, 2010), in the family structures of the early 20th century. In an UNICEF study, Switzerland scores the lowest of 31 developed countries concerning family friendly policies (Chzhen et al., 2019). Yet, looking at urban areas, we can see that services of EE are not a recent innovation in Switzerland (Städteinitiative Bildung, 2021). The canton of Bern is one of the more developed regions of Switzerland in relation to the supply and demand of EE, alongside other urban regions, and larger cities such as Zurich and Geneva. In the city of Bern, the total of care hours and the total of students in such institutionalized settings have increased consistently – today, 20'000 students take part in an EE program. In the canton of Bern, about 80% of all students have access to those services and about 6 million hours of care are provided each year by pedagogical professionals (Erziehungsdirektion des Kantons Bern [ERZ], 2019). Those EE programs are fee-based, depending on the income of the families. Furthermore, they have to be provided by the municipality if 10 or more parents request the service (ERZ, 2009).

All-day Schools

The increasing demand for EE offerings has led to the development of new forms of the integration of regular school instruction and care. One example are so-called integrated all-day schools (ADS). This innovative approach seeks to bridge the divide between compulsory instruction and optional care by integrating them in one institution. In integrated ADS, pupils are obliged to attend fixed care hours (three days a week, from 8 am to 4 pm). Furthermore, in contrast to other EE settings, the groups of children and staff teams remain constant over the school day and week. Thus, the same people are always present in an ADS and more stable relationships can be formed. The team of an ADS consists of different professions: Teachers, care specialists, remedial and special needs teachers, social workers and also people without professional training. Contrary to EE, ADS offer both instruction and care and therefore must allocate tasks and resources to the different professions. This means that different under-standings of education come together, which can lead to discussions and conflicts. Multi-professional collaboration is needed to integrate the two aspects of the school day. It is expected that teaching and care are closely linked and that there is a lively exchange between all staff. In the last two years (2020–2022), some schools in the city of Bern have installed integrated ADS as part of the regular elementary school setting (Stadt Bern, 2016). ADS exist beside the regular school and EE in the same district. The city emphasizes in its educational strategy that ADS are "a place to live and learn" and schools should provide ADS as a voluntary option (Stadt Bern, 2016, p. 1)

Until now, the municipalities decide whether they are providing a regular EE or integrated ADS or both. On the parents side, they can choose to register for the integrated ADS, if they have a high need for care and if an ADS is provided in the municipality. Since there is no free

school choice in Switzerland, schools cannot actively advertise the potential benefits of the integrated ADS over the regular EE model. Furthermore, it is still unclear what parents can expect as potential benefits of ADS. Financially, integrated ADS cost the same as regular EE offerings. This means that in integrated ADS too, the care hours are paid for by the parents while the regular instruction is free of charge.

Previous Research on Extended Education and ADS

For about 20 years, research has been looking at the design and impact of extended education and all-day schools. Researchers emphasize that EE and regular instruction should collaborate and develop into a "learning and living space" for pupils and that learning and living together can be designed in a playful way (Bueb, 2010; Niederberger, 2020). Yet, research findings show that the reality is often different and instruction and care remain separate (Trautmann & Lipkina, 2020). In order for pupils to benefit from the holistic education (integrating different forms of learning), the education and care must be interlinked on a structural and pedagogical level (Fischer, Holtappels, et al., 2011; Schüpbach, 2010). Previous research – especially from Germany – shows that in integrated ADS, the boundaries between instruction and care dissolve and allow for an easier transition between formal and informal learning (Lilla & Schüpbach, 2019). Integrated ADS therefore offer the opportunity to reform the approach to instruction and teaching (Hopf & Stecher, 2014) and establish a new, more holistic learning culture (Horstkemper & Tillmann, 2014).

Research suggests that integrated ADS could generate an added value and enable a more comprehensive education for pupils (Reh et al., 2015). While the focus in regular schools is on teaching subject matters, integrated ADS aim to provide a more holistic education and promote different competences outside academic achievement of children and youth (Eisnach, 2011; Fischer & Richey, 2021). Moreover, several studies have found that participating in EE in general has only small effects on student achievement, but instead may positively influence children's perceptions of autonomy, participation and the quality of interaction between peers as well as students and staff (Fischer, Brümmer, & Kuhn, 2011). Yet, it is important to firstly define the goals and visions, which is seldom studied in detail.

Many integrated ADS have made it their mission to integrate teaching and care and to develop a holistic approach to learning. The idea of this "school reform-driven model" (Bae, 2019, p. 157) is to provide a continuous group setting by offering stable staff-child relationships and stable classroom settings. In this context, students can build trust and friendships from lasting relationships and improve their attitude to learning (Vandell et al., 2015; Vandell et al., 2022). According to Holtappels and Rollet (2009), the interplay between all the above mentioned factors of ADS development is still understudied today. Yet, the starting point of the analysis may be the strategic orientation (or the why) of the developing organization (Holtappels & Rollett, 2009, p. 21).

Research also shows that developing an integrated ADS does not only change the structure of the individual school, but also has an impact on various process characteristics of school practice. That means changes occur in the management structure, daily organization and premises, as well as the cooperation between staff members, including their working

conditions (Bildung und Betreuung, n.d.; Dollinger, 2010). In addition, according to Idel and Schütz (2018), the changing demands in ADS concerning teachers' pedagogical actions leads to more ambivalence. Furthermore, according to Olk et al. (2011, p. 70), both teachers and school administrators emphasize that working in ADS involves a considerable amount of additional work for them and a high level of personal commitment (e. g., in afternoon offerings, support hours) (Olk et al., 2011, p. 70). Various authors expect that the integrated ADS could – compared to regular EE settings – contribute to a higher well-being of the students (Fischer & Richey, 2021; Rabenstein, 2020; Stecher et al., 2007; StEG-Konsortium, 2010). Fischer and Richey (2021) go on to explain that positive relationships between children and with staff, which can be established more easily in the integrated ADS context by getting to know each other in other contexts and through close contact, have a lasting effect on the wellbeing on both sides. As shown above, research on EE often focuses on the experiences of children and staff in ADS or structural challenges from a more evaluative perspective. Seldom do we find longitudinal data which looks at the development of ADS over time (StEG-Konsortium, 2015). Therefore, little is known about the individual differences between ADS, while the different facets of their organizational structure develop. Reh et al. (2015) emphasise that, despite all the similarities in the school development processes at ADS, different learning cultures may develop.

Theoretical Framework

Today, many schools in German-speaking countries are on a development journey towards integrated ADS (Eisnach, 2011). This development affects the whole school and implies that fundamental change occurs on organizational, personnel and instructional level (Dedering, 2012; Dubs, 2005). Furthermore, several authors argue that this specific change process requires a fundamental holistic approach, arguing that different forms of learning (informal, formal, non-formal) are equally important for students and therefore a change in learning culture is needed (Holtappels, 1995, 2002). In addition, school development theory points out that each school follows their individual journey by defining key concepts, goals and visions (Hallinger & Heck, 2011). The holistic approach also implies that professional responsibilities and backgrounds must be integrated in the ADS by enabling fruitful multiprofessional collaboration.

In this study, we assume that processes of change must be initiated and monitored. Strategic goals are "securing long-term organizational success" (Thom & Ritz, 2017, p. 53) and have to be defined by the political and operational leaders (district, community or school leaders). Structural change has to be reflected, for example, in the adaptation of organizational charts and forms of organization that change everyday life (Thom & Ritz, 2017, p. 90). Cultural change refers to the changing behavior of those involved through the definition and implementation of new values and norms as well as the new basic assumptions in the organizational culture.

However, this development is not a linear process (Argyris, 1995). Tasks, goals, organizational structure, school management or staff structure may change over time. Glasl et al. (2020; Glasl & Lievegood, 2011) outline four distinct phases that organizations typically go

through during the development process: the pioneering phase, the differentiation phase, the integration phase and the association phase. The *pioneering phase* is characterized by independent and charismatic personalities setting the vision and acting as role models. Formal planning is of secondary importance and communication is fast, spontaneous, and direct. If processes become too unclear or arbitrary, the *differentiation phase* can help the staff to move forward. In this phase, a clear structure is established with task allocation, processes and procedures that are adjusted and redefined. The organization is regulated, organized and planned (Glasl et al., 2020, p. 7). The *integration phase* brings more connection with the common vision. This is where clarifying exchange can be important, namely about how staff can participate in decision making. At last, the *association phase* connects the organization with its environment. Since internal processes are regulated, there is now time for exchange with other school actors and surrounding facilities in the community.

From this theoretical perspective, the ADS must clarify their strategy, structure and culture in the development process and the integration phase holds the potential to work on the holistic pedagogy and learning culture.

Methods and Sample

To understand the change processes of school development (SD), a qualitative longitudinal design was chosen for this study (Witzel, 2010; see also Stampfli et al., 2023). The researchers conducted qualitative focus group discussions with the multi-professional teams and interviews with the ADS principals of each all-day school over a period of two years. In each of these three public primary school sites, stable teams of teachers and caregivers were formed when these ADS opened in 2020.

Sample

The data is based on a total of twelve focus group discussions with staff (see Stampfli et al., 2023) and nine interviews with ADS principals. The staff in the three ADS consists of different teams of regular school teachers, special education teachers, social workers, care specialists, interns, community service workers and individuals without any educational training. The focus group discussions took place at three different times (2020, 2021, 2022). The core team has remained constant over the three points in time. Table 1 shows the distribution of professional backgrounds at the first focus group discussion as well as the numbers of students per ADS. 33 professionals were working in the ADS in 2020. Many, but not all of them participated in the study. The total number of respondents was 27 in wave 1, 24 in wave 2 and 25 in wave 3.

Table 1. Sampling Data for Focus Group Discussion One in 2020

ADS	Number of Students in ADS	Number of Teachers*	Number of Trained Care Professionals	Number of Untrained Care Professionals
A	39 in 2 classes	5	4	1
B	37 in 2 classes	7	4	0
C	47 in 2 classes	6	5	1

*including special needs educators, social workers and other specialized teachers

Methods

Focus group discussions ask about inter-individual perceptions of development processes that are constructed over time and negotiated together (Przyborski & Riegler, 2010; Witzel, 2010; see Stampfli et al., 2023). The focus group discussions in the ADS were centered around thematic stimuli provided by the research team such as how they perceived the development process of their organization, their own wellbeing as well as their vision for the ADS. For example, we started by asking them to describe specific experiences in the ADS within the past few days. We continued then with the changes they might have experienced since the ADS started (strategy, structure, culture) and went on to other topics like collaboration and pedagogical attitudes, ending with a question about the possibility for participation in the development of the ADS, whether for students or staff. The participants in the focus group discussions were working together in the ADS and thus make up a natural group.

Interviews intend to investigate the perspective of an individual in a specific context and – by using a guideline for the interview – to compare the experiences of the participants (Lamnek, 2010). The interviews with the ADS principals focused on three main topics: the reflections on the strategy, the structures and the culture which has developed in the ADS.

Data Analysis

The focus group discussions and interviews were transcribed from the obtained audio files and were analyzed through qualitative content analysis according to Kuckartz and Rädiker (2020). The interviews and group discussions were held in German. Only the quotes used in this publication have been translated to English and the statements were smoothed out linguistically.

The categories were created deductively according to the organizational theory highlighting the importance of strategy, structure and culture in the development process (Thom & Ritz, 2017). The material was first analyzed to categorize statements and paragraphs into these broad concept areas. Then, in a circular research process, these areas were divided into subcategories, (re)defined, and clarified with examples for a clear assignment to one category. One interview and one group discussion were evaluated by three members of the research team independently for comparison. The mutually established coding rules guided the coordination of the researchers, with the team discussing the coding and inductively adding categories if needed.

Results

The main statements from the focus group discussions and interviews about the school development process are summarized below. Direct quotes from ADS staff and ADS principals are used for illustration. The first section focuses only on the strategy of the ADS from the perspective of ADS principals to shed light on how they define the vision and strategy (RQ 1). The other results are bundled according to research phase (year) and ADS. This makes it possible to compare the different points in time within and between the schools and to show the different development trajectories (RQ2&3).

Strategy of the Integrated ADS

All three ADS principals perceived the school as a unit of action separate to the regular school, where the pedagogical goals are more holistic. In their point of view, the ADS provide both, instruction and care with a small staff. The following quote shows that this principal emphasized that instruction and care should "merge". *"For me, an ADS is a small unit within a large unit, but it is not only the teaching that is important but teaching and caring are merged. This is a big step for the relationship between teachers, care professionals and children. It is certainly more stable" (ADSP A).* Yet, how this merging of the two disciplines could be realized in practice, was not clarified in the interviews with the ADS principals. From the perspective of the ADS principals, one significant benefit of the ADS is the reduced hierarchy between the concepts of instruction and care, as the distinctions between these two aspects were less pronounced. Therefore, with fewer staff changes and a more blended environment among the children, the boundaries between learning and leisure became blurred. *"If a child has problems at school, he or she usually also has problems after school or vice versa. The ADS combines these two aspects. The ADS teachers also work in care and the care professionals also take part in the lessons" (ADSP B, 2020).* This quote emphasizes that the responsibilities between ADS teachers and care staff were no longer limited to one part of the day, but that both professions are responsible for the children throughout the school day. However, such a vision required the implementation of structural measures. For example, ADS principals believed that it is essential for ADS teachers to be actively involved in lunchtime or afternoon supervision. This, in turn, had a profound impact on the dynamics between teachers and care staff and underlined the need to establish and adhere to common guidelines. Comparing the three ADS according to the vision of their principals, it was evident that the driving force behind the establishment of the ADS was the strategic objective of the holistic learning culture. Furthermore, the goals of these three schools were comparable: they focus on meeting the needs of the parents and children. The provision of education and care in the same setting facilitated the communication for parents and increased the feeling of safety and stability. According to the three ADS principals it was their vision that children attending an ADS should benefit from an ongoing provision of comprehensive care and support. In addition to individual support, the principals' strategic aim was for the ADS to provide a supportive learning and living environment for pupils, to build stronger relationships, to provide structure and to foster trust.

Development Process from 2020 to 2022

Each of the following sub-sections contains a general statement concerning the development phase. After that, each school is given a title, referring to the main topics in the section.

At the Start: August 2020

In all three ADS, the rooms were modified to meet the needs of the ADS. The staff reported that they were involved in various furnishing and renovation work even before the official start of the ADS. The teachers and care staff were recruited in late spring/early summer and often had not worked together or known each other previously. The ability to customize development processes and how they worked together was seen as positive by staff, but not enough time was allocated. As a result, some of the staff felt exhausted already by the time the students came to class for the first time. As the following diagram shows, staff motivation was high, but so was the pressure to succeed and to give pupils and parents what they expected (see figure 1).

Figure 1. Visualization of the SD at the First Timepoint (August 2020)
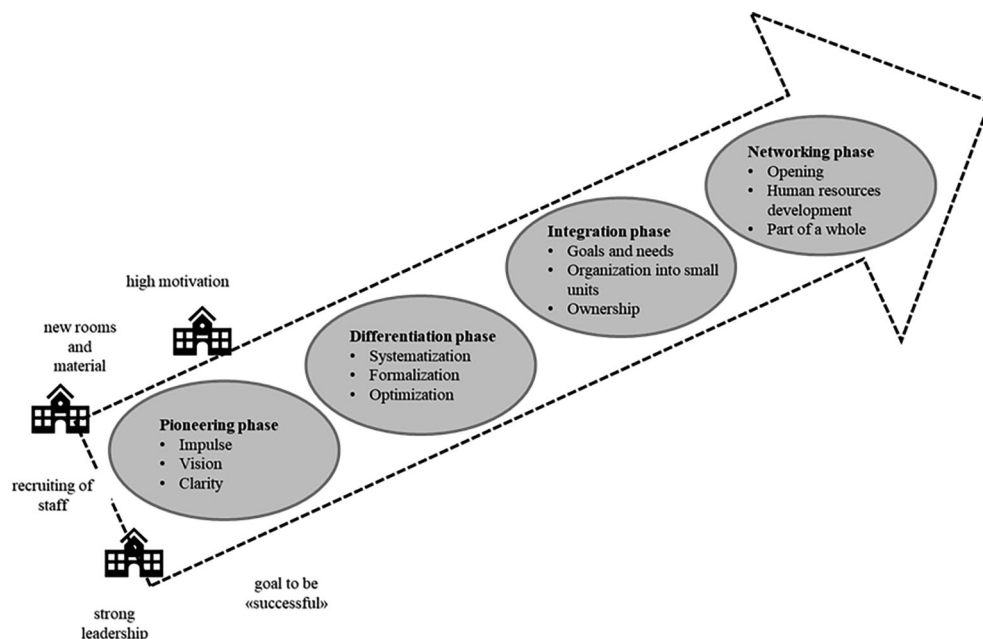
ADS A: High Staff Turnover and Instability: Being in the "Survival Mode".

At the beginning of the first school year, the atmosphere in the ADS A was characterized by a high level of stress among staff, which was due to the uncertain situation. Moreover, the staff of the ADS A felt that they do not belong to the school. *"At the moment we are still busy with the basic development of the all-day school. […]. We are a 'sidecar' docked to the regular school. We just go along and use all the infrastructure" (GD ADS A, 2020).* This quote shows

that the lack of clarity about the position and role of the ADS in the school district and in society at large has fueled staff fears that they were in competition with the rest of the school or EE, and that they could not rely on support from outside their team. Another uncertainty highlighted by this ADS principal referred to the challenge of staff turnover for the team dynamics. As a result, the ADS principal described the team as being in "survival mode", because structures are unclear, the team is constantly destabilized, and they did not have time to develop their own values and guidelines.

ADS B: Lack of Stability and Purpose: Need for Leadership and Support.

In the ADS B, the staff reported that the feeling of stability is rather low at the beginning of the process, because the working condition in the ADS seemed to be very different from those in the regular public school. *"We are not a team at the moment. Because it hasn't settled down yet, and I must come to terms with this situation and I'm just starting to see the purpose of the ADS" (GD ADS, B, 2020).* This person also emphasized that they were not yet a team, presumably referring to a lack of a common purpose. The ADS principal also reported that she wanted to bring teaching and care closer together. In her view, this had not yet been structurally successful because the teachers were overwhelmed with their classroom duties and did not want to work in the care over lunchtime or in the afternoon. *"The care setting is not very popular with my teachers. I try to lead in such a way that synergies are created […]. As the school principal, I had to weigh things up. […] After all, we said it's a bottom-up thing, we want to build it together" (ADSP B, 2020).* The ADS principal was reluctant to directly communicate the strategic goal of engaging teachers to work in care as well.

ADS C: Directly Addressing Conflict and the Benefit of Different Professional Backgrounds.

In the ADS C, the group interview began on a lighter note. It was noted that team development is an important pillar of a well-functioning ADS team. *"When there was a crisis in the team at the beginning, it was important that we had this debate. The more the team works together, the better the rest works as well" (ADSP C, 2020).* In their experience, good collaboration within the ADS team had been the basis for an integrated and well-functioning ADS system. It was important that staff were curious about the other professional disciplines so that they used the opportunities to learn from each other. *"I have noticed that the social worker has been able to show me what it means to supervise in the afternoon. There I noticed that the care situation on Wednesday afternoons can be something completely different from the school-like supervision we have done in this time slot up to now" (GD ADS C, 2020).* This quote shows that the staff of the ADS C already at the beginning of the implementation process had entered a deeper discussion about their learning culture.

After Year One – April 2021

All the ADSs have had a challenging first year, marked by much adjustment and a fair amount of trial and error. In terms of the development model (figure 2), all three had made considerable progress in defining roles and structures. Although there had been some systematization and formalization – for example a break schedule for staff – the optimism of the teams was to some extent tempered by uncertainty, conflict, and lack of clarity.

Figure 2. Visualization of the SD after One Year (April 2021)
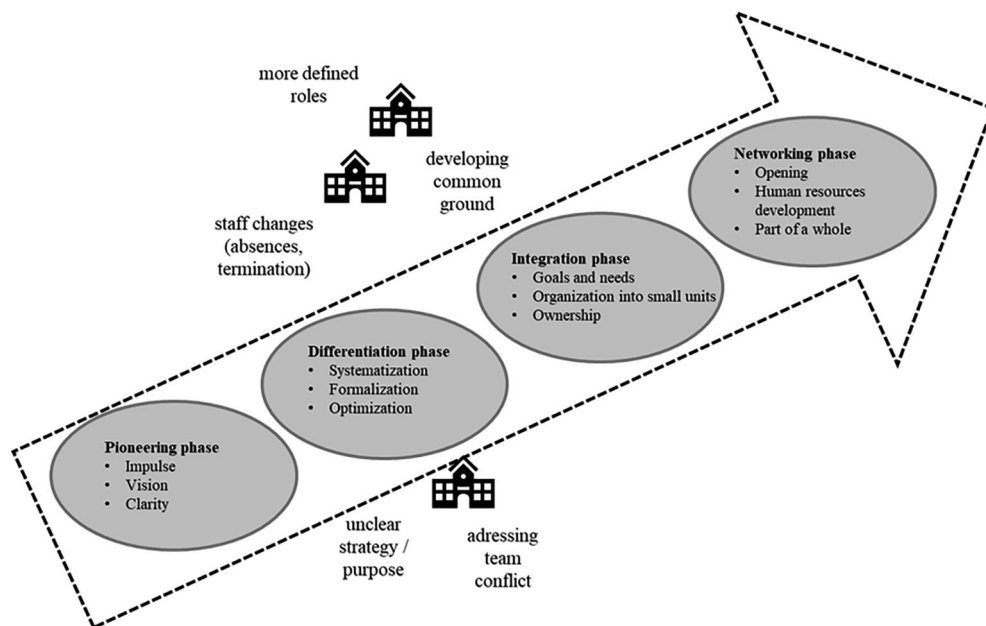
ADS A: Still Optimizing: Addressing Conflict, Distant Relationships, and Unclear Processes.

The ADS A team was clearly concerned with developing relationships between staff, but also with students. They were aware that the longer working hours and the stability of the group meant that these relationships get closer, but also needed to be discussed and conflicts needed to be addressed more directly within the ADS team: *"You're not just with the kids all day, you're with each other all day" (GD ADS A, 2021).* In the first year, the employees of ADS A had to contend with major personnel changes, which also meant that many new people joined the team. The attitudes and values in the team had to be renegotiated in the second year. The quote also shows uncertainty about the extent to which challenges had to be addressed directly within the team. The staff realized that various processes in the team had not been clarified and that there was rarely a common implementation practice in this regard. As a result, collaboration between the team members was also characterized by a rather distanced attitude. However, she also noted that the urgency of the development and the current challenges in everyday life had diminished somewhat. *"I have the feeling that we are still very much optimizing… Now in the second year we notice that certain things are not as urgent as in the first year, but it's still not really smooth"* (GD ADS A, 2021).

ADS B: Towards the "Functioning Mode": Developing a Common Ground and Culture.

In its second year, the ADS principal seemed to have achieved her goal of establishing a common culture and implementation. She described how they have moved from "survival mode" to "functioning mode": "*I think they are on the road together, planning, having fun, experiencing flow. In between, despite the Corona pandemic, when school was out, we celebrated and said: "Hey, it's great that we did it again today!" (ADSP B, 2021).* The

common attitude and communalization of the team also makes educational work easier because fewer direct agreements were necessary, and the team members relied on each other. From the employees' perspective, this also had to do with the increasing consistency of the teams. This means that they benefited more from the stability of the setting. This also had pedagogical consequences in terms of building relationships with the pupils: *"From the point of view of care, it's clear that I know the children better than I did back then. And of course, it makes it easier to work together"* (GD ADS B, 2021).

ADS C: Working on the Pedagogy: Appreciate Each Other, Accepting Help and Professional Development.

The structures and forms of collaboration in the ADS C team had already been clarified in the first year. As a result, this team could already focus very strongly on the further development of teamwork in the second year. The team had already grown together strongly and was striving to develop a good team relationship. *"In the beginning, everyone came as a lone fighter. Now you start to appreciate each other. Standing up for each other or accepting help"* (GD ADS C, 2021). The ADS principal described that they focused as a team on the educational tasks and the shared norms and values. Although there were also professional differences, these were accepted and discussed in the context of professional counselling. *"The teachers found that the ADS staff deals with the children differently than they are used to in the classroom"* (ADSP C, 2021).

After Year Two – April 2022

Another year later, the ADS were at different stages of development. This was associated with the different framework conditions for teamwork and working conditions in general. The integration phase was about rethinking and redefining the organization's vision and required all employees to be able and willing to play a full part in the organization. If this fails, there is a risk of regression in the development process.

ADS A: The Structures Recede into the Background while Entering the Networking Phase.

The development of ADS A was characterized by challenges that overshadowed the initial phase. However, the joint work on dealing with conflicts and clarifying the processes and procedures is characterized by the fact that the ADS A staff noticed in the last research phase that the stress and pressure had eased from their point of view. Fewer organizational agreements were necessary. This also enabled them to deal with the children differently in everyday life at the ADS. *"It takes a bit of the stress and pressure off, which is certainly a development we've made. It is also, if we can manage it, I think it has become calmer. It's different with the children"* (GD ADS A, 2022). This security and stability within the team also led to a greater willingness to welcome visitors from the outside in the ADS. This was important because internal processes were clarified, and employees felt more comfortable sharing these experiences. This demonstrated a clear leap in development within the ADS. This is also shown by the following quote: *"We are slowly getting the feeling that we can now develop further or open up to the outside world and think about the whole school"* (ADSP A, 2022).

Figure 3. Visualization of the SD after Year Two (April 2022)
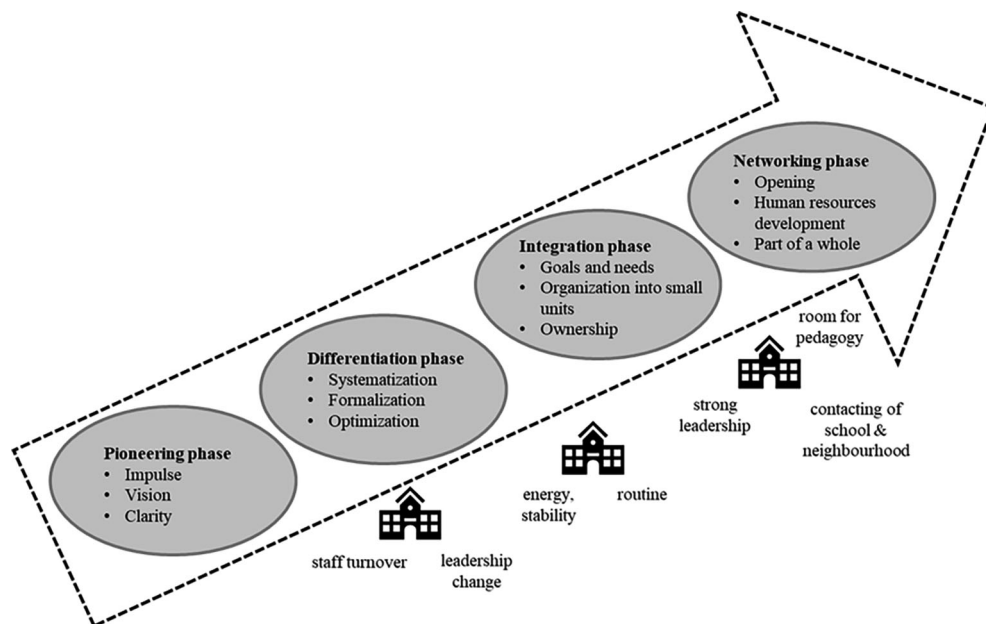
ADS B: Everything has Changed: More Room for Pedagogical Change in a Challenging Context.

Looking back two years after the start of the ADS B, the staff realized that everything had changed. Leadership and mutual support had helped them in developing clearer structures, which provided stability and security for the team. This allowed for a stronger focus on pedagogical development. It was especially interesting that the security the staff felt in the team, seemed to support the team and the whole ADS. Another aspect was that the two professions had to be brought together deliberately and consistently focusing on the same goal. "*We have the energy again to tackle things like we are discussing now within our ADS*" *(GD ADS B, 2022).* Another important innovation in this last year was the development of a "break schedule" which allows all staff to take regular rest time and there had been more professional time allocated to collaboration between staff. This seemed to support the staff in their professional understanding, self-worth, and self-efficacy.

ADS C: The Challenge of Change: Continuous Improvement or Back to the Differentiation Phase?

The ADS C had experienced a difficult phase. This was especially related to a change in staff and a new ADS principal, which has led to a change of the role of the ADS within the whole school. This was why the ADS C was facing a series of setbacks which not only concerned their common goal, which was lacking, but also a shortage in the infrastructure. One of the ADS teachers, who became an interim principal described how she had to adjust many processes and recapitulate again and again, because the ADS was less well rooted or supported in the school. She noted that certain aspects of the ADS C had already gotten past the

differentiation phase, but that with the change in staff and spaces, the vision changed too, and, in her view, development of the whole development process was hindered: *"Certain things came up, additional classes, fewer rooms, we have been set back. That's the hard part. Always integrating new things and always going back to the pioneering phase. 'Oh no, how do we do it when it's like this now'"* (ADSP C, 2022).

Discussion

Overall, the analysis shows that the three ADS follow their own school development journey, trying to reach clarity on the goals and visions to integrate different forms of learning (informal, formal, non-formal) into a holistic learning culture. It seems to be a major challenge for all three teams and principals to connect to a strong pedagogical rationale by reaching the integration phase (Glasl & Lievegood, 2011). Although it was highlighted that the goal of the integrated ADS is to provide a holistic education, this has only to some part been achieved in the three portrayed ADS (Argyris, 1995).

All three ADS start strong in the pioneering phase: The ADS principals set a clear vision and act as role models at the onset of the development. The ADS principals describe that their goal is to reach the holistic vision by merging instruction and care. Also, they want to provide additional support for children who use extended education a lot – hence construct a "learning and living space" as already described by other researchers (Bueb, 2010; Niederberger, 2020). Although the integrated ADS offer an integrated framework for pupils, the holistic approach to learning by combining formal, informal and non-formal learning is not yet part of daily practice, as Trautmann and Lipkina (2020) have noted as well. The establishment of a new, more holistic learning culture and the utilization of the potential of integrated ADS still needs some time and the commitment of everyone involved (school management, teaching and care staff). At the moment, ADS principals are defining and reflecting on the purpose and identity of ADS. However, the practical implementation of this vision, i. e., the collaboration of teachers and support staff within the ADS proved to be difficult to realize in practice. The professional background of teachers and non-teaching staff leads to differences in their pedagogical approach. A further indication of possible discrepancies between the strategic goals and their realization is seen in the instability of the staff teams, which would represent an important aspect of the holistic educational approach.

Table 2 shows a comparison between the time points and ADS. The ADS A and B show clear signs of the challenge and chaos that can arise in the pioneering phase. They complain about the instability of the team. The fluctuation unsettles the staff and prevents the formation of clear structures. Frustration can be felt in the focus group discussions. The displeasure of the staff indicates that the organization should move in the direction of the differentiation phase, namely by clarifying structures and processes, assuming and making leadership visible and therefore ensuring more stability. ADS C focuses less on structures and is already addressing collaboration and team conflicts especially concerning the professional backgrounds.

Table 2. Summary of the Development Trajectories

	A	B	C
August 2020	High staff turnover and instability: Being in the "survival mode".	Lack of stability and purpose: Need for leadership and support.	Directly addressing conflict and the benefit of different professional backgrounds.
April 2021	Still optimizing: Addressing conflict, distant relationships, and unclear processes.	Towards the "functioning mode": Developing a common ground and culture.	Working on the pedagogy: Appreciate each other, accepting help and professional development
April 2022	The structures recede into the background while entering the networking phase.	Everything has changed: More room for pedagogical change in a challenging context.	The challenge of change: Continuous improvement or back to the differentiation phase?

In April 2021, after one year, the three ADS report ongoing development with a stronger focus on relationships as well as a common culture focused on a holistic view on education. This suggests that an organizational structure has been established to some extent, including the redefinition of task allocation, processes, and procedures. Now the three ADS step into the integration phase which brings in again more clarity for their vision. The staff wants to participate in decision making, work together as a multi-professional team and achieve common goals. This is why the vision of holistic education is again in the foreground of discussion and leads to conflicts about the professional roles of the staff. All ADS seem to be concerned with similar issues, refer to professional roles of the staff.

The last time point shows some differences between the ADS, which are mainly due to staff changes which impedes the creation of a common vision of holistic education. In ADS C, major changes have been made to the organization and infrastructure. This is throwing the team somewhat off balance, as the basic attitude towards the merging of education and care is being questioned at management level. ADS A seems to be closest to reaching the networking phase. After the internal processes have been regulated, there is now time for exchange with other teachers and actors outside the ADS and to coordinate a broader cooperation.

Overall, the ADS face similar challenges in their development journeys which are mainly concerned with staff turnover. Although the different development phases can be detected to some extend in the ADS, the development rather seems to be a circular, than a linear process, as shown in figure 4, where different starting points are possible. Therefore, ADS staff and principals must invest in the development of a common holistic approach to learning and be engaged in a circular process of clarifying strategy, structures, and culture. On a cultural level, multi-professionalism and different roles are challenging (Olk et al., 2011). The first year is a challenge for the staff, as they have to engage in team development and collaboration development as well (Stampfli et al., 2023).

Conclusion

This paper shows on the example of integrated ADS that the process of school development is not linear, but a sequence of key action points which differs between each ADS. Thus, integrated ADS may have to revise and redefine aspects of the strategy or structure regularly.

Figure 4.
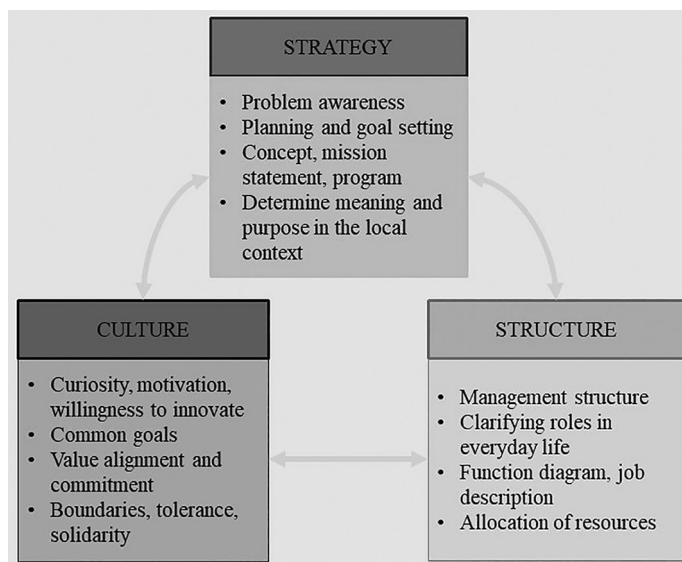
This requires a high degree of commitment and willingness to innovate on the part of the staff as well as the principal. Whereas the goal of the integrated ADS is to develop a holistic education, combining different forms of learning, it remains to be a challenge to develop this culture, even after two years. ADS are going through different development phases and the three ADS portrayed here have not yet reached a stability – neither in their strategies, nor structures or culture. Nevertheless, this study shows that the development of a common, holistic learning culture is an ongoing process which depends on the context of the ADS.

Limitations

Further research could look at how to address challenges and seizing opportunities using school development phases in extended education and ADS. This study has mainly focused on the internal processes of the ADS. Yet, the research project did not entail a thorough analysis of context factors of the three ADS. All three ADS are located in one specific urban region of Switzerland. Other regions may face different challenges, especially on a structural level. The results described here are still transferrable to other regions and internationally as well for school which are developing into ADS, but also to schools in general, which might benefit from knowing more about the challenges of the development process.

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