To What Extent Does School Leadership Facilitate Community Cohesion for Students in an English Secondary School?

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'I, James Wood, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.'

Abstract

To what extent does school leadership facilitate Community Cohesion for students in an English secondary school?

This thesis is a study of the implementation of the policy of Community Cohesion in one maintained secondary school in England. It explores the policy cycle through the stages of influence, production and practice and notes how discourses at national and local levels influenced the policy.

The literature review considers the discourses of multiculturalism, interculturalism, citizenship, identity and security that influenced the policy at its inception at national level.

The case study examines documentary evidence including the racist incidents log and elicits the views of staff and students through interviews and focus groups addressing the process of implementation. The study uses the standards set by the ministry to describe and evaluate Community Cohesion in the study school.

The analysis seeks to explain the outcomes of the Community Cohesion policy and the relative influence of national and school level discourses on the practice of Community Cohesion. The top down dominant discourse identified as influencing the policy is neo-liberalism, expressed in the national drive for standards and effectiveness and prioritising results. The system leadership model, adopted by the school's leaders, accommodates to

the national agenda but also includes a moral purpose that influences the local response both to standards and to Community Cohesion.

During the study, inspectors recognised the school as effectively developing Community Cohesion. The research identifies the extent to which the successful outcomes can be attributed to the influence of the system leadership that enables individual school leaders to exercise initiative based on moral purpose, personal conviction and positive relationships. Examples include a focus on the achievement of all students, a link to the local Jewish school and a twinning link with Kenya. The sense of moral purpose was disseminated through the leadership team's interactions with the school community, school activities and the school's newsletter.

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List of Acronyms

DCSF   Department for Children Schools and Families (2007-2010)

DES   Department for Education and Science (1964-1992)

DfCLG   Department for Community and Local Government

DfE   Department for Education (1992-1995 and from 2010)

DfEE   Department for Education and Employment (1996-2001)

DfES   Department for Education and Skills (2001-2007)

GCSE   General Certificate of Secondary Education

LA   Local Authority

LEA   Local Education Authority

LGA   Local Government Association

NCSL   National College for School Leadership

Ofsted   Office for Standards in Education

TDA   Teacher Development Agency

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Community Cohesion in England

In November 2014 the DfE published guidance for schools on the promotion of British values (DfE, 2014d) as part of the social, moral, spiritual, and cultural strand of the national curriculum. Social, moral, spiritual, and cultural learning had formed part of the school curriculum in England since 1948 (Department of Education, 1944). The 2014 guidance was published in response to allegations of radicalisation by Muslim groups in English schools. More broadly it represented part of an ongoing response to the discourses of security and identity which influenced education policy in England from 2001 following disturbances in a small number of Northern English cities and the events of September 11 in the United States of America. Both events had raised concerns that many communities and individuals were isolated from one another with potentially serious consequences for the whole nation.

Identity and community had been issues the education system in England had sought to play a role in addressing since the 1944 Education Act. However, the period since World War 2 saw significant demographic changes, which led to widespread social change in England and made this task increasingly necessary and challenging. A long series of events related to these changes and more deep seated issues of social inequality led to a number of policy responses, and in the early twenty first century the policy of Community Cohesion. Community Cohesion was marginalised in 2010 by the same government who later issued the 2014 guidance. This demonstrated that, however they seek to address it, the issues of community relations and identity are consistent for all governments. Successive governments have attempted to address these issues, in part, through schools.

This thesis considers the success of attempts to address this issue during the early twenty first century using the policy of Community Cohesion.

1.2 The nature of policy

This account is based on the case study of the success of the implementation of the policy of Community Cohesion in a particular secondary school. The school is a large suburban comprehensive school on the edge of London in a multicultural and multi-faith community, which includes a significant Jewish community (see Chapter 5.4). My work uses this as a means to discuss the issues of policy creation and implementation in schools. It also addresses the challenges of implementing community focused policies in a neo-liberal educational environment and suggests that, although they often appear to be incompatible, neo-liberal policies can be used to serve the purposes of Community Cohesion in schools.

The discussion centres on the relative influence of national policies and the agency of individual school leaders in producing and practising policy in schools. It follows from my previous work on the implementation of the active citizenship strand of the citizenship curriculum in England (Wood, 2006). That research illustrated the challenges of implementing an ambitious national policy at school level in the face of limited resources and conflicting advice from national governmental and non-governmental organisations. The conclusions to that work illustrated that the intentions of policy at the point of creation are very easily undermined by practical concerns when policy is practised in schools.

This finding reflects Ball's (1990) work on policy and in particular the policy cycle of influence, production and practice. In this and subsequent work in Policy Sociology Ball demonstrated that policy is not made solely by

governments but that it follows a process of development beginning in the national centre and ending at the point of practice. During the intermediate stages policy changes to reflect the discourses of a range of actors from politicians and the media through to educational organisations, schools and teachers. As the research of Maguire et al (2013) research shows, in the case of one policy implemented in schools in England, the same policy can have very different outcomes according to how it is interpreted and implemented in different settings.

The policy of Community Cohesion offers an illustration of the changing nature of policy both in response to changing discourses and as a consequence of the policy cycle. This policy began with a discourse of community relations but later took on elements of identity and security. During its implementation as an education policy it also responded to the influence of varied discourses at the stages of production and practice. As a practising teacher and school leader it is predominantly the final phase, practice, which interests me. At the time of the implementation of the Community Cohesion policy I held I senior role in the school featured in this study. It was apparent then that the competition for resources led to inevitable compromises in the ways in which policies were applied in schools.

1.3 Policy influence and production

Ozga (2000) describes processes of 'negotiation, contestation or struggle between different groups who lie outside the formal machinery of official policy-making.' Policymaking is a contested activity where, amongst others, politicians, think tanks, unions, pressure groups, and media influence the inception and production of policy, and the concerns and interests of school

governors, school leaders, teachers, parents and other interested parties influence the practice stage. It is through this wide variety of players that discourse and agency play a role in deciding; whether policy comes into being, what it says when it does, how it is mandated and how or if it is implemented in practice.

Implementation in schools takes on a variety of guises ranging from compliance to adoption (Braun et al, 2010). Maguire et al (2013) traced the implementation of the policy of 'Personalised Learning' promoted by the DCSF in two London schools in the early twenty first century. The policy was wholeheartedly piloted and adopted in one school whilst another chose to adopt the language of Personalised Learning to give the impression of adoption whilst continuing to pursue existing policies. This diverse response demonstrates the influence of discourse and agency in policy enactment ensuring that policies have varied impacts in different venues. The context of one of the schools in this case as a high performing school within the local education authority enabled it to deflect this particular policy. This example also demonstrates the influence of policy production. The status of this policy as suggested rather than enforced, meant that schools could choose whether or not to adopt Personalised Learning. Part of the failure to gain traction in this example therefore is explained by the nature of the mandate accompanying the policy.

Although the status of policies is key, success is also dictated by resource availability. Policies, such as the use of national performance tables in England, do not allow for the same degree of latitude in adoption. Because of the high stakes nature of these policies adoption is mandated, although space remains for agency in the means of adoption. Performance tables, a central plank of English school reform, are strongly supported by the dominant discourse, which therefore severely limits agency in terms of both the choice to adopt and the means of adoption.

Performance tables form part of a neo-liberal discourse of marketization in education in England. This places schools in a competitive market place where parents are the customers and schools must promote themselves to survive. An additional element of this discourse, school autonomy, means that headteachers are given significant agency in school management. Simultaneously, therefore, they are constrained by a non-negotiable neo-liberal system but permitted a range of responses to operate within that system (Higham and Earley, 2013).

Levin (1998) talks about an epidemic of education policies in England during the 1990s, a consequence of which was the creation of a hierarchy of policies. This took the form of policy competition where mandated policies overwhelm the unmandated, starving them of resources and ensuring partial patterns of adoption. The overwhelming dominance of the standards agenda on schools in England is a significant example of a policy that has starved others of resources and consequently limited their impact. Community Cohesion may be seen as an example of a policy which has been limited by the dominant standards discourse even though, as we will see, it is in part the result of another dominant discourse, that of national security.

Dale (1986) identifies three forms of policy study: social administration, policy analysis and social science. The first and second are reformist and concerned with effectiveness whilst the social science project focuses on an analysis of the impact of policy. This study of policy incorporates elements of all three areas but is most closely related to policy analysis. It considers the influence of discourse and agency at each stage of policy development and their consequences for social justice in terms of Community Cohesion and academic achievement.

The critical approach has characterised the work on education policy by Taylor (1997), Lingard and Ozga (2007), and Ball (1990; 1994; 2006; 2008; 2012). Ball's work with Maguire and Braun into 'how schools do policy' yielded a number of papers and a book (Ball et al, 2012; Braun et al , 2010; Maguire et al, 2013) each offering a more informed understanding of policy enactment in education. More specifically, recent research in the field of critical policy analysis in education has considered the implications of policy on the educational strategies of the Black middle classes (Vincent et al, 2012), literacy in large scale educational reform (Moss, 2009), the sexualisation of education (Ringrose, 2012) and gender and violence in education (Dejaeghere et al, 2013). Each reveals the complexity of policy enactment and the influence of actors and discourses at each level on outcomes. The work of Vincent for example, demonstrates the influence of neo-liberal policy production on the practices of middle class black parents. Both the neo-liberal discourse and the agency of a group of individuals involved influence the enactment of policy and the shape it takes in practice. This is reflected in other work on the influence of headteachers on the implementation of school policy (MacBeath, 2004 Higham and Earley, 2013)

A review of critical policy research into Community Cohesion in education reveals very little work in this area. Thomas (2011) conducted a review of the enactment of the Community Cohesion policy in youth work demonstrating similar patterns of enactment to those identified above in relation to education policy in general. However Thomas argues that work into Community Cohesion in general has focused on government reports and the accompanying political discourse. His work, like this study, chooses instead to focus on empirical evidence to consider Community Cohesion across the policy cycle and its impact on real social situations.

The enactment of the policy of Community Cohesion began as a result of the 2001 disturbances in Northern English cities principally involving young

men of White and Asian backgrounds. That these disturbances and the subsequent reviews took place simultaneously with events following the terrorist attacks of September 11 2001 meant that the policy response of Community Cohesion was affected by discourses of both national identity and national security. This had particularly significant impacts in relation to Muslim communities.

The Muslim identity of the 9/11 attackers and some of those involved in the 2001 disturbances led to the presentation in the media of Muslims either as a potential threat to national security or as a group who had failed to integrate into 'British society' (Tomlinson, 2008). The subsequent 'influence' stage in the policy cycle of several policies across government departments, including those relating to immigration, national identity and education, therefore took place in an environment where positive and harmonious community relations were under threat from the perceptions brought forth about particular groups. Therefore the literature review reflects the dominant discourses at the time. These discourses may have influenced the Community Cohesion policy in ways which might otherwise not have been anticipated prior to 2001. As well as considering the policy documents themselves this section of the research also considers evidence from key actors at the time through documents including political and media comments, and journal articles. These actors and discourses will also have influenced the production stage.

1.4 Policy production and practice in the case study school

The first research question in this work asks: 'How did the school's leadership respond to the demands of the Community Cohesion policy? The methods used to address this question were designed to investigate how

policy texts were translated into policy in the study school. The influence of agency, principally the school's leadership team forms one core element of this phase of research. Delegated leadership means that this team of people have significant influence over the means of policy implementation and that their views are significant in determining how policy is implemented. Discourse is also significant at the school level where neo-liberal influences through the standards agenda dominate issues of policy adoption. Therefore a second key issue that arises in addressing this question is the extent to which the dominant policy discourse starved Community Cohesion of the resources for full implementation.

The extent to which the policy intended, at the stage of influence and production, had the desired effect in the study school will become apparent in the consideration of the second research question: 'What were the effects of the Community Cohesion policy?' This question approaches the issue principally from the perspective of students and completes the policy cycle by measuring the effects, intended and unintended, of all three stages of the policy cycle on a group of students and the school as a whole. The methods selected at this stage were designed to ascertain how much the initial intentions of the policy had been realised. As well as this they were intended to evaluate the role agency and discourse, nationally, locally and within the school had played in the understanding and experience of Community Cohesion amongst the students.

1.5 Neo-liberal and progressive visions

A policy hierarchy exists in schools in England. The dominant neo-liberal climate, in which schools in England operate, means that the greatest value is placed on academic achievement and that all other policies exist in relation

to neo-liberal ideals. Consequently other policies are unable to draw resources from it if they are incompatible with it or threaten to compromise its primacy. To writers like Apple (2006) neo-liberal influences on education represent an element of a powerful and undesirable alliance of traditionalists, religious conservatives and free market neo-liberals. Apple is one of many critical theorists who regard this grouping as monolithic and negative in its effects both on society and education. Apple, however, observes that this alliance is loose and divisible between its different groups. It is this insight which I seek to exploit in this work both to offer a future vision for the direction education could take but also to identify the strengths of neo-liberal educational principles. In turn I seek to identify ways in which these principles can co-exist with progressive goals such as Dewey's vision of education as preparation for life in democratic societies and the development of Community Cohesion.

My contention is that the contemporary paradigm of school leadership is capable of achieving the neo-liberal objective of social cohesion through personal achievement in schools at the same time as the progressive objective of developing young people as democratic citizens and therefore contributing to Community Cohesion. The work of Fullan emphasises the moral purpose of school improvement (2003). Hopkins' (2007) concept of system leadership offers school leaders a means of realising that moral purpose by enabling achievement for students in their own institutions and across an entire system. These two concepts take the notion of education beyond a false dichotomy of achievement versus democratic citizenship. Instead they suggest that where schools are focused on academic achievement they can also develop democratic citizens. In the best examples both objectives can be achieved through the same actions. Where policy hierarchies exist in the ways observed in England it is only where actions relating to academic achievement also develop democratic citizens that this

objective can be achieved. My consideration of the implementation of the Community Cohesion policy in one English secondary school seeks to illustrate this point by demonstrating that a focus on achievement can also promote Community Cohesion.

1.6 My motivations for this work

I commenced this work immediately following the completion of both my Master's Degree in Citizenship Education and a yearlong placement as education advisor to the then Department for Constitutional Affairs in the UK civil service. Prior to this I had worked as a citizenship teacher in a secondary school where I established the citizenship education department.

I therefore had an almost unique set of experiences and qualifications when beginning this thesis, which had given me an academic, political and practical perspective on the implementation of education policy and its effects on students in schools. What I was most keenly aware of whilst in the civil service was the distance between the expectations of civil servants and ministers in creating policy and the effectiveness of its implementation in schools. The case study I present here shows that a policy which has received extensive input at the stage of influence can be almost completely ignored in practice. My observation was that the civil servants and ministers making policy were very often working on false assumptions about what schools were actually like and what the impact of their actions would be. On returning to work in school though, I was reminded that school leaders have even less clarity about the workings of national government. The disconnect between the influence and practice ends of the policy cycle can feel very significant and as a result the effectiveness of policy can be severely hampered.

What is perhaps encouraging about this is that despite the different attitudes of civil servants and school leaders to policy, they very often share the intention of bringing about positive social change. This is also my desire as both teacher and researcher. Having moved, during this work, from middle to senior leader in the case study school I have developed different perspectives on the purposes of education. My original stance could probably be characterised academically as 'critical.' I fully endorsed the views of Dewey, for example, concerning the social role of schools. This was after all why I had originally switched from my original training as a geographer to lead citizenship education.

School leadership however offers different perspectives, one of which is that social division, disadvantage and prejudice stem not just from the ignorance which citizenship education seeks to overcome but also from poor social mobility. It is for this reason that I found myself increasingly concerned with issues like the promotion of basic skills and ensuring the best academic achievement of students. Academically this led me to an interest in the work of leadership theorists, most particularly Hopkins and Fullan whose work has heavily influenced this thesis.

The conclusion I have reached is that an education for life in a democratic culture cannot be sacrificed in favour of academic achievement but that academic achievement also cannot be sacrificed for the social aims of education. Both objectives must be achieved and any suggestion that they are incompatible is, I believe, a false dichotomy, which I seek to overcome in this work. Therefore my motivation for this research and much of my continuing professional work is to bridge the divide between policy and practice, and demonstrate that schools can be places for social justice and social mobility. My hope is to deepen my understanding of the interactions of the different stages of the policy cycle and share with practitioners at all levels the insights which my position affords me.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

This work is structured to enable an understanding of the concept of the Community Cohesion, its application to schools in England and the environment into which it was introduced. It is focused on the two research questions:

1. How did the school's leadership respond to the demands of the Community Cohesion policy?
2. What were the effects of the Community Cohesion policy?

Chapter 2 of this study is a literature review of the development of community cohesion from multiculturalism in England. This considers the circumstances leading, over several decades, to the development of Community Cohesion as a policy in the United Kingdom and in schools in England (DCSF, 2007).

System leadership was the paradigm dominant in schools during the period of this study and was also representative of the way in which the case study school operated. Chapter 3 therefore establishes the concept of school leadership with a particular emphasis on Hopkins' system leadership and the role of moral purpose in preparation for the case study and discussion, which follow. Chapter 4 justifies the selection of the case study, a method which enables the in depth study of the effects of contemporary events in particular environments for the completion of this investigation. The use of a case study in this work allowed for the use of varied methodologies, which were able to respond to the demands of the research and have allowed a mixture of

qualitative and quantitative research. Finally it has offered insights, which enable a deeper understanding of the broader issues related to the study.

This case study considers the case of one English secondary school to illustrate Ball's policy cycle and to test my contention that the concepts of achievement and democratic citizenship can co-exist through school leadership. It illustrates the response of the school's leadership team to the policy of Community Cohesion and the observed effects of that policy in the case study school. It first answers research question 2 as detailed in Chapter 5 and then research question 1 in Chapter 6. Chapters 7 and 8 offer theoretical conclusions and recommendations as well as conclusions and recommendations for the school itself.

It is my intention that this study would make a contribution to the debates regarding educational policymaking in England and the false dichotomy of neo-liberal and progressive values in schools. The short-lived nature of Community Cohesion as a policy in its original guise ought to caution policymakers and school leaders about how to implement policies to best effect. It is also my hope that this study would reinvigorate the moral purpose of school leaders and their belief that in terms of both social cohesion and Community Cohesion they, and their schools, still have a very significant role to play in the development of young people.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: Multiculturalism, community cohesion and policy in England

> Multicultural societies are faced with the challenge of creating nation-states that recognize and incorporate the diversity of their citizens and embrace an overarching set of shared values, ideals, and goals to which all citizens are committed. (Banks, 2005, p7)

This statement is from the conclusions of the deliberations of the Diversity, Citizenship, and Global Education Consensus Panel convened at the University of Washington. It sums up the challenge facing education in multicultural, democratic nation states in the early part of the twenty first century. The challenge is to educate students of diverse backgrounds into a set of shared values accepted by the whole of a given society. The panel supports citizenship education as a vehicle for the creation of 'Citizens who understand this unity-diversity tension and act accordingly…' (Banks, 2005, p7) but both the nature of shared values and the methods for achieving them remain contested.

Against a complex backdrop of social and economic change, both on a national and global scale, Community Cohesion (Home Office, 2001; LGA, 2004), emerged in the early twenty first century as the UK government's preferred policy for achieving these outcomes. For schools this included a duty to promote Community Cohesion (DCSF, 2007c). This chapter will consider first the concept of Community Cohesion before situating it in the wider discourse of multiculturalism and the application of both concepts in education, particularly in schools in England. For some Community Cohesion, with its emphasis on group relationships, represented an unwelcome return to the assimilationist policies of the 1960s (Ware, 2002)

and for others a potential threat to national identity (Goodhart, 2004). However, as I will illustrate below, Community Cohesion represents, whether successfully or otherwise, a consistent development of policy to create shared values and social justice in a diverse and rapidly changing society (Thomas, 2011; Tomlinson, 2008).

2.1 Defining Community Cohesion

The danger of continued division in English society lies in different groups existing in parallel as a consequence of structural injustices and lack of opportunities for dialogue. The reports into the 2001 disturbances in northern English cities argued that such a situation contributed to these incidents which in turn led to the adoption of the Community Cohesion policy (Ouseley, 2001; Ritchie, 2001). For Phillips such circumstances even risk a future of segregation and ghettoization (Phillips, 2005). To overcome these challenges requires policies of social justice, which challenge unequal structures and prejudice to create equal opportunities. However a focus on structure alone is insufficient without a parallel emphasis on the creation of spaces for dialogue (McGhee, 2005). People need both the opportunity and the willingness to interact in a common public sphere if common values are to be developed and adopted, although opportunity alone is no guarantee of success (Hewstone et al, 2007). The ability to successfully enable dialogue and generate genuinely common values differentiates Community Cohesion from assimilationist policies of the past and makes it instrumental in the promotion of a genuinely cosmopolitan future.

Community Cohesion emphasised the agency of communities and individuals to develop the social capital to engage with one another within a community culture of shared common values, justice and fairness. A 2004 document produced by a number of government departments and the Local

Government Association, which represents the interests of local government, defines a cohesive community as one where:

- There is a common vision and sense of belonging for all communities;
- The diversity of people's different backgrounds and circumstances are appreciated and positively valued;
- Those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities; and
- Strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and within neighbourhoods (LGA, 2004)

Community Cohesion moves beyond the concerns of multiculturalism by applying equally to ethnic and faith communities as well as those based on sexual orientation, disability and social class with the aim of overcoming fear of difference and promoting commonalities for all members of society (Cantle, 2008).

2.1.1 Community Cohesion in the UK

As the preferred policy for the UK in the early part of the twenty first century therefore it is important to assess whether Community Cohesion could overcome the challenges of assimilation, integration and institutional racism which have been the key weaknesses of previous models of multiculturalism. This is an issue to which I will return in more detail in the next chapter. However it is important to note the continuity between previous policies and the most recent.

To critics the emphasis of Community Cohesion on commonality rather than diversity (Kundnani, 2002) means that Community Cohesion is actually an assimilationist model, which does not address the issue of racism as a cause

of inequality. Proponents argue that where multiculturalism suffered from the shortcomings typified by separatism and essentialised ethnic communities (Goodhart, 2004; Phillips, 2005), Community Cohesion focuses on commonalities. The test of the effectiveness of Community Cohesion is less about the balance between assimilation and integration and more a focus on the common space between communities and the relations between the people who inhabit that space. If Community Cohesion can create a public space in which real dialogue (Gilroy, 2004; Parekh, 2000) can take place between individual communities and people then there is the capacity to create common values to which people can cohere.

2.1.2 Social capital

The policy of Community Cohesion drew on the concept of social capital (Hanifan, 1916), a measure of the quality of social relationships and support networks within a community (Putnam, 2000). It is comparable to physical and human capital, which measures the potential of physical and human resources to respond to challenges. Social capital measures the extent to which a community has the capability to respond to those threats facing it, in this case, inter-ethnic or economic strife. It is measured by the number and nature of linkages within a community: the more people take opportunities to interact formally and informally with one another the more social capital exists.

Within this concept lie two further sub divisions of social capital into bonding capital and bridging capital. Bonding capital represents the ability of people to develop relationships and cooperate within a group. This is exhibited particularly strongly where people share a particular belief or characteristic. Churches are an example of a group bonded by belief whilst

the South Asian communities of Bradford, Burnley and Oldham are example of a group bonded by characteristic.

Bridging capital is the ability to develop relationships and cooperation between groups (Gittell and Vidal, 1998). This is evidenced in groups such as ecumenical church groups, which bring different denominations together. Strong bonding capital without sufficient bridging capital can lead to internally strong but isolated communities.

The effectiveness of social capital depends to a great extent on the balance between bridging and bonding capital. An excess of bonding capital inhibits the potential for bridging capital to develop between communities and individuals. For Community Cohesion to be successful therefore depends on the development of bridging capital, often as a result of contact between groups. Allport (1954) identified four key conditions for the effective development of bridging capital as a result of intergroup contact; equal group status within the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law, or custom. Allport's analysis, supported by later work (Hewstone et al, 2007, Pettigrew, 1998), suggests that it is not just contact between groups which leads to change but the context and nature of the contact. Pettigrew summarises a gradual process of change based on the development of relationships between individuals through the stages of 'learning about the outgroup, changing behaviour, generating affective ties, and ingroup reappraisal' (p70). This demonstrates that attitudes are not changed simply through learning about other communities or one off meetings between members of those communities. Instead bridging capital develops where members of different communities develop ongoing friendships through repeated contact, which overcomes stereotypes and changes attitudes in individuals who are then empowered to influence the attitudes of others within their communities.

Members of majority communities may show increased anxiety and a consequent rise in bonding as the community draws closer for 'protection' from newcomers (Laurence, 2011). Where contact between groups is meaningful this can be reduced, however the extent to which this takes place is dependent on a variety of variables including the size of the communities involved and which particular communities they are (Hewstone et al, 2007). Prejudices between members of some communities are particularly strongly held and therefore can be particularly challenging to overcome. In addition the socio-economic position of communities dictates to a greater extent the willingness to accept individuals, the more disadvantaged the incumbent community is the less likely they are to accept newcomers (Laurence, 2011). Both community type and deprivation were cited as causal factors in the towns affected by the disturbances in 2001 and are discussed in the case study later in this work in relation to relations between White working class and Jewish communities.

2.1.3 Community Cohesion in three Northern English towns

2001 saw disturbances in three northern English towns involving several nights of violence involving groups of young men from the towns' White and South Asian communities. The reviews of these disturbances (Clarke, 2001, Ritchie, 2001) cited causes particular to each of the communities. These ranged from agitation on the part of far right political groups through to drug abuse and disenfranchisement by young people, however what was held in common by all the reviews was the absence of unity in each town. This was expressed day to day in terms of segregated housing, in part as a result of housing policies and in part as a result of self-segregation; segregated schooling, often related to the patterns of housing as well as the admission rules of some, particularly faith, schools; and the economic

disadvantage experienced by a number of groups including South Asian and White working class youths.

Elements of this appeared to underline the theme of parallel lives and community isolation that critics of multiculturalism had emphasised. Trends such as these, which were brought into sharp relief in 2001, had contributed to the declining acceptance in policy of multiculturalism during the 1990s and the adoption of community cohesion in the early part of the twenty first century (Vertovec, 2003. Whether or not Community Cohesion would succeed in fulfilling the aims of multiculturalism was disputed as will be discussed below (Cantle, 2008, Lewis and Craig, 2014).

Reports into segregation prior to (Ouseley, 2001) and after the disturbances (Clarke, 2001, Ritchie, 2001) emphasised much broader themes than community relations. The common factors discussed included economic decline and the related issues of employment, crime, environmental decline and drug abuse. Indeed the report in Burnley stated that, '…the issues of concern to people were far broader and deeper than the Terms of Reference initially envisaged' (p2). It went on to list unemployment, dereliction, low wages, skills and education as issues affecting the whole community. A ward populated principally by the South Asian minority community was ranked in the poorest 1% in the country. At the same time as experiencing high levels of deprivation this community was also experiencing resentment from members of the White community who perceived a disproportionate emphasis on their needs.

The Oldham report sought to root the separation of communities in social and economic trends going back over 40 years. It discussed the common heritage of particular immigrant communities and their early tendency to work night shifts (unlike their counterparts from the incumbent community) as two examples of how incoming and incumbent communities were initially obstructed in developing relationships. However the report described later

progress as unacceptably slow, blaming fears about security and the desire for common goods such as shops and places of worship as contributory factors affecting the willingness of members of minority communities to mix with the White community. Perception, however was also key: members of minority communities often believed that the White community would not want to live with them, a perspective supported to some extent by the activities of racist groups in the city.

This complex range of issues, needs and perceptions was common to all three cities. The Bradford report stated that; 'The District was once blessed with economic wealth and prosperity…[had] seen a slide in its fortunes…and…lost its spirit of community togetherness' (p1). Like Bradford, however, Burnley and Oldham emphasised the need for economic reform and growth as an impetus to other change. In Bradford, 'people want to see civic and community pride at the heart of the economic revival…' (p2).

However, economic decline had contributed to the development of social issues relating to educational achievement, segregation and racism. This had particularly affected the activities of some younger people. The Burnley report observed that criminal gangs from White and South Asian communities were prepared for the disturbances but that White racist groups both from inside and outside the community had also taken the opportunity to cause trouble. The role of groups such as the National Front in the disturbances was cited in the Oldham and Burnley reports, however it was clear that race was a divisive issue across the community with police officers in Bradford, for example, reporting that they were afraid to confront certain issues for fear of being branded racist. Members of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities in Oldham cited name-calling, discrimination and racist attitudes as causes of a deep source of division within the town. The causes of the disturbances therefore had clearly developed over time and

comprised complex interrelationships between economic decline, poverty, segregation, prejudice and crime.

Coming soon after the publication of the MacPherson Report (Macpherson, 1999) these disturbances, which included an apparently racial element, further fuelled the debate about the structural causes of inequality, racism and segregation in the UK. Legal approaches had been employed with some success to change systems and regulations in order to prevent prejudicial practices and promote positive ones. However equal opportunities strategies suffered from the anti-racist criticisms of multiculturalism reinforced by MacPherson, that multiculturalism had failed to create institutions which were genuinely equal in their attitudes to all citizens (Troyna, 1986).

On the other hand, multicultural policies were criticised for their failure to address the perception that some communities were being favoured over others (Hewitt, 2005). In the 2001 disturbances the perception of favouritism was reported as an element fuelling violence amongst members of the White community whilst frustrations of a lack of opportunity and unequal treatment by authorities, not least the police, had contributed to the frustrations of some Asian youths.

To some extent the reports laid the blame for long term community divisions at the door of local government and schools, who had tolerated and even encouraged segregation in terms of housing and schools policies. The influence of global economic changes was also influential, with the loss of jobs in the declining textiles industry disproportionately affecting Asian communities and also removing a key opportunity for members of different ethnic groups to mix in the work place (Tomlinson, 2008).

However, the role of individual and group agency in the form of prejudice or actions which reinforced group homogeneity also influenced both the culture of separation which had grown up in the affected cities and the

resentments which directly led to outbursts of violence. Members of Asian and white communities had taken decisions with regard to housing and education which would ensure that they did not interact with members of other communities. Some young people interviewed after the disturbances reported knowing no Asian or white young people because they did not live near to or attend school with members of those groups (Thomas, 2011).

Despite the range of social and economic issues listed above, recommendations to tackle these issues focused on community relations and an emphasis on civic pride. The Bradford People's Programme (Ouseley, 2001 p2), proposed before the disturbances, was mirrored in Burnley and Oldham with programmes including exchange visits between young people of different ethnic and social groups and an emphasis on reducing segregation in housing and schooling (Clarke, 2001, Ritchie, 2001). The economic wellbeing of all three communities was emphasised; the Oldham report stated that, 'a more prosperous Oldham for the future would do more than any other single thing to improve community relations within the town and to break down the climate of envy between neighbourhoods' (p7). However strategies to address economic issues were limited.

Similarly an emphasis on the issues of prejudice, racial violence and the activities of groups such as the British National Party was also central to each of the reports. None of the reports directly addressed these issues perhaps because the principle of improved community relations was perceived to be the most likely solution.

Therefore the responses to these three events considered the concerns of multiculturalism, racism, equal opportunities and economic development but sought to address them principally through community relations. Similarly, the consequent Cantle Report (Home Office, 2001) focused on community relations, linking the concept of community cohesion to '…concepts such as

inclusion and exclusion, social capital and differentiation, community and neighbourhood' (p13).

Although the same report subsequently identified 'harmonious economic and social development and common standards…' (13) as an element of community cohesion, neither economic development nor anti-racism formed a key plank either of the recommendations of the Cantle Report, nor for each of the 2001 towns. The emphasis on community relations challenged the view of community cohesion as the successor to multiculturalism because it failed explicitly to address two of the issues perceived to be at the root of inequality. Furthermore, the 2001 report appeared to criticise multiculturalism, stating that the multicultural emphasis on support for groups had institutionalised problems, led to greater divisiveness and de-emphasised the role of race as a trigger to the disturbances (Burnett, 2007).

In turn the Cantle Report was crucial to subsequent definitions of Community Cohesion in national policy. The guidance from the Department for Communities and Local Government and the Local Government Association (LGA), for example, defined a 'cohesive community' as one where:

> ... there is a common vision and sense of belonging for all communities; the diversity of people's different backgrounds and circumstances are appreciated and positively valued; those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities; and strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and within neighbourhoods. (LGA, 2004: p5)

This emphasised equal opportunities but not the need to combat the barriers, economic or prejudicial, to opportunity, disproportionately faced by members of some communities. Therefore, as Community Cohesion became

central to local and national government policies (Pilkington, 2008) common values took the place of equality and diversity with the danger of certain groups becoming more isolated rather than further engaged in communities (Lewis and Craig, 2014).

National and international events including the 2001 terrorist attacks in New York and the 2005 London bombings as well as concerns in some quarters about immigration increased the emphasis on common values. These concerns appeared to relate to certain members of British society, particularly Muslims (Modood, 2005b) representing a greater emphasis on the duty to integrate and a reduced emphasis on the socio-economic needs of minority communities (McGhee, 2008). This was criticised for either being just an evocation of universal liberal values (Jopkke, 2004: p253) or a de-emphasising of respect for diversity in favour of public adherence to British shared values (McGhee, 2008).

The 'drift' from multiculturalism to Community Cohesion (McGhee, 2008) coincided with the creation of the Equalities and Human Rights Commission and the Equality Act 2010, which led to an increased focus on the rights of all minority groups. The causes of disadvantage therefore became increasingly subsumed under the rights and responsibilities of all citizens to contribute to the creation and maintenance of common values. This was further emphasised by the report of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion (Home Office, 2007), which brought the concepts of integration and cohesion together. This suggested a possible assimilationist agenda, which had been absent under multiculturalism and raised fears of a return to earlier assumptions of the acquisition of majority values by members of minority communities. Lewis and Craig's (2014) analysis of these issues in Sheffield suggested negative impacts both on the ability of members of minority communities to access equal opportunities, for example as a result of reduced funding for English language acquisition, and to integrate with

members of other groups, in part as a result of the attitudes of the majority community.

Thomas (2011) noted that Community Cohesion was described in the Cantle Report as being more successful in areas typified by greater economic wealth even when segregation was greater. This not only emphasised the role of socio-economic development in segregation and disadvantage but also the role of local factors in creating particular challenges.

2.1.4 New Labour and Community Cohesion

The relative importance of discourse and agency in these particular communities and in relation to issues of segregation in general is complex and contested. Bourdieu's (1991) concept of habitus helps to define the concept and explain the role of agency. Bourdieu defines habitus as a set of dispositions, which lead people to act in certain ways as a result of influences on them such as family and community. This suggests that people will act in ways conditioned by upbringing or the habits of their social group. In these cases such habits influenced choices of housing and schooling. However the discourse of social policy has the power to either reinforce or challenge such habits and some of the assumptions and prejudices, which can accompany them (Greener, 2002). Housing authorities, for example, may place people in housing according to their ethnic group.

As discussed above, the adoption of Community Cohesion as a policy response did not focus on the injustices perpetrated by one group of people on another nor on the perceived or real disadvantages faced by groups. This analysis was aligned with a rhetoric following the election in 1997 of the New Labour government, which focused on personal responsibility and civic renewal. Drawing from the work of Giddens' 'Third Way' (Giddens, 1998) this perspective was less critical of the structures of society and more focused

on the barriers to participation resulting from either prejudice or a lack of information or skills. Therefore key policy levers included education as a means of access to the labour market and citizenship education as a means to engage young people in civic society.

In terms of community relations, the Home Secretary, David Blunkett cited a weak sense of British citizenship as the key challenge (McGhee, 2008). This view owed much to Etzioni's communitarianism, particularly the concept of values as the 'glue of basic agreement' (Etzioni, 1997, p193). In policy terms this meant citizenship tests for new citizens and an emphasis on English language acquisition as a 'passport' to participation in wider society. The discourse focused on integration in diversity; an understanding that people could retain both cultural identities and adhere to national, 'British' values and rejected use of the term assimilation (Blunkett, 2001). In a 2001 speech on the issue Blunkett emphasised security, order and safety before freedoms. To many this illustrated a belief that whatever the initial concerns of New Labour in 1997 by late 2001, following the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the concerns of security were beginning to outweigh those of community and social justice.

This appeared also to be forming into a concern with the attitudes and actions of Muslim communities. It suggested that security concerns increasingly meant that the focus on values may have been a focus on some communities more than others. This view was expressed in evidence given to the DCLG select committee (House of Commons, 2010) by Singh who referred to the resentment in some communities that they were being presented as sources of terrorists by some government projects. At the same time as colour racism appeared to be on the decline in Britain it was suggested that a form of cultural racism (Gilroy, 1987; Modood, 2005b; Solomos, 1991) which blames cultures (in this case, particularly Islam) for an apparent inability to assimilate into society, was on the rise. In this light an emphasis on common

values and Community Cohesion could be viewed as a strategy to 'assimilate' a problematic Muslim community.

Community Cohesion therefore entered a highly charged debate relating to concerns not just about community relations but also socio-economic opportunity and security. The danger therefore was the appearance of a return to the assimilationist assumptions of the immediate post war period. The disturbances of 2001, followed by the terrorist attacks on September 11 2001 and later attacks in London in 2005 drew increasing concern that New Labour's focus on values, and consequently the policy focus on Community Cohesion, was actually a response to the fears of the majority about the perceived values and actions of the Muslim minority (McGhee, 2008). In evidence given to the DCLG select committee (House of Commons, 2010) Dr Paul Thomas stated that the government needed to separate Community Cohesion from anti-terrorism work in order to ensure that the need to develop Community Cohesion was not overwhelmed by the demands of the security agenda: '…Community Cohesion would be a much more effective way of building resilience not just within individual communities but across communities, and that is something distinctly different from the very necessary security that the Home Office…[is engaged with]' (p107).

Lewis and Craig (2014) illustrated the challenges of the policy 'drift' (p24) from multiculturalism to Community Cohesion in their investigation of the attitudes of council workers and community representatives in Sheffield. Whilst moves away from the term multiculturalism was welcomed by some who viewed it as a divisive concept others regarded the adoption of Community Cohesion as undermining support for some highly valued services, particularly those used by particular minority ethnic communities. Others criticised that the perception created by Community Cohesion of a lack of cohesion often led to the targeting of certain, generally ethnic minority, communities perceived to be in need of cohesion. This view

reinforced the overlapping Prevent strategy aimed at preventing violent extremism. The perception of some that this national policy was aimed at Muslims led to a sense in some quarters that Community Cohesion was a means by which such communities could be assimilated into wider society. Some of the community workers interviewed could see potential benefits to the approach of Community Cohesion but questioned whether the majority community were adequately engaged to enable a true sense of cohesion.

2.1.5 Criticisms of Community Cohesion

The criticisms of Community Cohesion in the context of the three northern cities discussed above were more widely applicable to the concept generally. These are discussed below under the headings:

- The focus on cultural rather than socio-economic issues
- The level of interference in local communities by government through Community Cohesion
- The contradictions between Community Cohesion theory and practice
- The focus on groups rather than individuals and identity

The focus on cultural rather than socio-economic issues

The primary criticism of Community Cohesion is the focus on values and community relations rather than underlying socio-economic issues. This emphasis on agency rather than structure risks repeating some of the perceived failings of multiculturalism (Troyna, 1986) neglecting issues, like racism, which often feed resentment amongst communities that are, or perceive themselves to be, disadvantaged. A failure to address either the fact or the perception of a community's ability to access work and social services,

or improve their social standing, could lead to resentment and the possibility of responses such as street disturbances (McGhee, 2003).

The interrelationship between social capital, racism, poverty and lack of opportunity cannot be easily separated. Community Cohesion's focus on values and relationships runs the risk of appearing to present an assimilationist, values based response to a socio-economic problem (Ouseley, 2004). Other research (Letki, 2008) reinforces this concern by asserting that the socio-economic status of neighbourhoods has a greater influence on levels of social cohesion than ethnic and cultural composition.

The Community Cohesion inquiry team led by Ted Cantle in 2001 visited multi-ethnic British communities, such as Leicester, which were regarded as successful (Home Office, 2001). Leicester is an example of a city where segregation is significant but community relations remain largely positive. The report team focused on the effects of relations between community groups, however economic success appears to have made at least some contribution to more positive community relations (Thomas, 2011). If this is the case Community Cohesion is not focusing on the key cause of social inequality and is therefore likely to fail. The challenge to Community Cohesion is to demonstrate that, even where structural disadvantage is a significant factor in a community, positive community relations can be maintained and contribute to overcoming structural inequalities, for example through ensuring equal access to education and training.

The level of interference in local communities by government through Community Cohesion

The manner in which a government chooses to respond to social division can raise controversy. This relates both to the values adopted by government and the groups they choose to engage with in order to develop those values.

The first of these, the values adopted by government, raises the concern that by mandating values government is engaging itself in social engineering and, to some extent, dictating the terms by which people may be accepted in society. The process of selecting shared values is therefore of vital importance as they must be common values which are equally applicable to all groups and individuals within that society. David Blunkett's model owed much to Etzioni's communitarianism, which assumes that it is possible to find common ground across cultures. However it is not a safe assumption that all communities will be able to find and subscribe to common values (Parekh, 2000). Alternatively governments may choose to mandate certain values although this again raises concerns about assimilation. Later, inconclusive discussions about Britishness (Brown, 2006) demonstrated the challenge of attempting to arrive at a common definition of national values that are inclusive and do not privilege one community over others. For a government to establish values in this way risks the appropriation of community by government to achieve purposes set by government. This in turns risks the adoption and implementation of illiberal and exclusive values at the expense of some groups (Rose, 1996).

The implementation of citizenship and English tests as conditions of British citizenship essentially establishes a set of normative and exclusive values which, at least to some extent, mandate what it means to be British and accepted in British society. In the same way a national curriculum for citizenship requires the establishment of normative values for classroom teaching. Consequently certain people or groups risk exclusion on the grounds of a lack of civic knowledge or an insufficient language ability. Such strategies inevitably disadvantage certain groups such as overseas born spouses who do not speak English. It could also serve to further compound these issues if aimed primarily at groups who are seen as problematic and needing to be socialised.

The contradictions between Community Cohesion theory and practice

The contradiction between common values and equal implementation of values was most clearly illustrated in the official judicial response to the Bradford disturbances in 2001 (Ouseley, 2001). The perception of the Pakistani community after the riots was that they were targeted for blame and received harsh sentencing in spite of provocation by far right political groups and an, as they saw it, aggressive police response. The actions of the authorities in this case seem to suggest the view that the root of the problem lay within the Pakistani community. Consequently the response focused on the community's duty to conform to common values of law and order. Such a response appears to problematize the values and actions of a particular community (Osborne, 1998) apparently ignoring structural issues of racism or socio-economic deprivation which in this case members of the community perceived as the root of their disadvantage (McGhee, 2003).

The notion that these communities are strong on bonding capital and weak on bridging capital will also serve to suggest that a community's desire to possess internal strength is less desirable than accepting the new values of the wider community as dictated by local or national government. With the particular emphasis on schools and the desire to change the values of young people this may lead to resentment amongst those whose values are being challenged. Where prejudicial community values ought to be challenged, in cases of support for far right or Islamist groups for example, this may be welcomed. However in cases where the values of the majority conflict with those of a specific community this raises the possibility of state interference in the chosen values of communities, a further issue in danger of sparking resentment.

Assumptions about the desirability of shared values and the dispersal of minority groups across society risks undermining the benefits of communities clustering. Clusters of people from particular social groups enable access to group goods and services such as places of worship or food shops as well as enabling a sense of identity and security reinforced by living in close proximity to those of a shared identity (Thomas, 2011).

Communitarian values risk undermining the bonding capital established in such communities. The model of multiculturalism adopted in the UK until 2000 did not challenge the rights of groups to live in ethnic, religious or social clusters. As a consequence many cities have distinctive Jewish, Caribbean or South Asian areas. However communitarian values challenge this by promoting a greater adherence to common rather than group values. One possible consequence of communitarian thinking would be a greater physical dispersal of people from different communities to decrease difference and encourage common values. However the reluctance of certain groups or individuals to engage in such changes, e.g. by living away from the minority community to which they feel they belong, risks excluding those individuals or communities (McGhee, 2008).

The focus on groups rather than individuals

As discussed in the previous chapter the question of common civic values may most easily be resolved by recourse to human rights values which supersede national or group values. These rights do however raise further questions regarding individual versus group rights and contradictions between the beliefs and values of some groups and human rights.

This example illustrates a tension at the core of the relationship between Community Cohesion and the human rights culture within which it was developed under New Labour. Human rights emphasise individual rights and

responsibilities whereas Community Cohesion focuses on the relationships between groups. The challenge posed by this relates to the ability of individuals to leave groups or to adapt their identity to take on the attributes of another group (Kiwan, 2008). For example someone raised in one religious community may change their beliefs or may choose to marry someone from another community. This blurring of boundaries between groups makes the promotion of relationships between groups problematic as the nature of the group is constantly changing. To continue to focus only on inter-group relationships risks a return to assimilation where group values and practices are represented as fixed rather than dynamic (Tomlinson, 2008). An effective model of Community Cohesion needs to bridge the gap between common values, community values and the often complex hybrid identities that individuals develop in multicultural societies (Vertovec, 2002).

Alongside these qualitative weaknesses of the Community Cohesion agenda is that of scope. The aim of addressing entrenched issues of class, ethnicity, religion and prejudice is extremely ambitious (Tomlinson, 2008) and unlikely to impact a majority of people nationally or within targeted areas. Inevitably the greatest focus will be on those areas, such as Bradford, Burnley and Oldham, where Community Cohesion is perceived to be at its weakest. This could easily be regarded by these communities as a focus on those who are considered to be the 'other' and need to be integrated into the wider society. An alternative perspective is that the whole enterprise of Community Cohesion is unnecessary as immigrant communities, such as Italian, Irish or Jewish migrants have in the past, ultimately settled successfully in the UK independent of any specific government support (Conway, 2009; Crick, 2008).

2.1.6 Community Cohesion and social cohesion

The Home Office commissioned 'Cantle Report' (Home Office, 2001) focused on developing greater Community Cohesion with an emphasis on values, community and notions of citizenship. As Table 1 demonstrates however this concept is very closely related to that of social cohesion and in much of the literature the two terms are used interchangeably. There are however some key differences which are discussed in this section.

Community Cohesion	Social cohesion
Key focus on shared values	Key focus on socio-economic betterment
Emphasis on communities as key agents of change	Emphasis on individuals as key agents of change
Emphasis on social bridging between ethnic and social communities	Emphasises social bonding within the broader community around shared socio-economic values
Shared sense of morality and common purpose	Shared sense of morality and common purpose
A sense of belonging to place	A sense of belonging to place
Strong emphasis on ethnicity and culture	Low emphasis on ethnicity

Table 2.1 Key elements of Community Cohesion and social cohesion

Prior to its adoption by the UK Home Office in 2001 the concept of Community Cohesion had received relatively little documented use. A Canadian government document defined it as:

> The ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity within Canada, based on a sense of trust, hope and reciprocity among all Canadians. Canadian Heritage, 1997)

Lynch (Home Office, 2001) regards Community Cohesion as synonymous with the concept of social cohesion. Putnam (2000) its recurrent use during the twentieth century and emphasises its relationship to socio-economic inequality as the cause of division and greater social bonding as the solution. Like Community Cohesion there is a strong emphasis on common values and morality but the social exclusion of individuals takes priority over that of particular groups. Forrest and Kearns define social cohesion as emphasising:

> the need for a shared sense of morality and common purpose; aspects of social control and social order; the threat to social solidarity of income and wealth inequalities between people, groups and places; the level of social interaction within communities or families; and a sense of belonging to place. (Forrest and Kearns, 2001, p212)

Therefore social bonding is developed through the engagement of individuals, groups and places within a local or national community with a particular emphasis on wealth and social interaction within communities. A community with strong social cohesion is expected to enjoy low levels of that which is regarded as anti-social, e.g. crime, extreme levels of social inequality and disparate moral values (Forrest and Kearns, 2001). Ethnicity and faith in this context are inferred only with reference to inequality between groups, making this a colour-blind concept, whereas in the

definition of Community Cohesion adopted by the British government these come to the fore.

This marks a significant difference between Community Cohesion and social cohesion with social cohesion making no mention of the values of the particular ethnic or faith communities found at the core of this definition of Community Cohesion. Consequently Community Cohesion places a much greater emphasis on social bridging between communities whilst social cohesion emphasises social bonding, particularly socio-economic bonding, within the broader community. Although both concepts share a concern with values and morality, the role of socio-economic status, central to social cohesion but referred to only in terms of opportunities in Community Cohesion divides the two. A 2007 DCSF report however does include socio-economic difference as a focus of Community Cohesion for schools (DCSF, 2007c) demonstrating fluidity in the understanding of this term between UK government departments. The antithesis of both social and Community Cohesion is much the same with the lack of either showing a causal link to the decline in social capital leading to disaffection at best and violence, like that seen in 2001, at worst.

As discussed in the previous chapter the emphasis on common values challenges previous debates concerning assimilation, integration and multiculturalism. In the early twenty first century multiculturalism had become taboo in a national discourse which increasingly focused on commonalities in contrast to other definitions of multiculturalism like Parekh's community of communities (Parekh, 2000). Community Cohesion places an onus on all members of society to actively engage in creating common values. Based on this, communities are encouraged to work together to understand, accept and value one another's differences within a shared society and cooperate to overcome common challenges.

Developing such a community is much more than a policy issue. Whereas laws against discrimination at work for example are relatively straightforward to implement and police, a change in the attitudes and values of individual people and communities requires the development of bridging capital to enable people to connect with those different to them. This also requires a normative set of values, which can be held in common. To focus on traditional values risks a return to assimilation and therefore the isolation of certain individuals and communities. Alternatively human rights offer a model, which is compatible with existing laws and does not privilege any particular group or values (Parekh, 2000).

2.2 Defining multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is one of a number of terms used to refer to the public policies, legal rights and constitutional provisions sought by ethnic groups to accommodate their cultural differences within national societies. The purposes of multiculturalism include meeting the specific needs, in addition to the rights available to all citizens, of particular minority groups within societies. Minority groups include: national minorities including indigenous peoples, immigrant minorities, religious groups and those who have found themselves as minorities within a society for varied reasons such as a change in national borders or enforced migration through slavery (Kymlicka and Norman, 2000). Therefore the term multiculturalism represents attempts to meet the needs and aspirations of a very wide range of people all of whom seek the opportunities to enjoy the full benefits of citizenship within their societies. Over time such claims are made increasingly complex by the widening diversity of many nations, recently, particularly through migration. At the same time citizens are themselves becoming increasingly 'inter cultural.' Many people hold multiple identities as a consequence of where

they live, who they live with and the identities held by their parents (Kiwan, 2008) as second and third generation members of various groups develop hybrid identities. All this contributes to what Vertovec (2002) has labelled a 'superdiversity' in western societies.

In this 'superdiverse' climate policies can aim either to enable cultures to exist alongside one another or to integrate them into a 'multi-layered idea of diversity', in essence creating a common culture (Allemann-Ghionda, 2009). The former view, which Allemann-Ghionda labels multiculturalism, rests on certain assumptions. These include the equality and integrity of cultures, the rights of the members of each cultural group to live according to the norms of their group and the duty of governments to protect individual cultures and create a secure cultural context. The drawbacks of such an understanding of multiculturalism are the dangers of essentialising group cultures, potentially trapping individual people within them and enforcing a neutral or 'impersonal' public sphere (Gutmann, 1994).

2.3 The Development of Western multiculturalism

To an extent European and other western democracies have been multicultural for centuries (Crick, 2008; Osler, 2008). England has seen migration of, for example, workers from the constituent nations of the UK during the industrial revolution and, refugees from other parts of Europe e.g. French Huguenots and Jews. The post war period saw migrations of visible minorities into Europe, particularly from former colonies to former colonial powers. Nations with predominantly migrant populations, like the United States, were multicultural by virtue of the differing origins of their citizens. By whatever means their populations came to be multicultural, by the second half of the twentieth century most western democracies were addressing the question of how to learn to live together. European nations initially adopted

policies of assimilation seeking to integrate migrants into the dominant culture of those nations (Banks, 2011). Germany adopted a short-termist approach, which acknowledged migrants only as temporary workers and therefore denied them citizenship on the grounds that they would later return to the countries from which they had arrived. France, meanwhile, offered citizenship on the grounds that migrants must adopt the cultural norms of the host nation. The former led to disengagement and isolation of minority communities whilst the latter raised issues of the relationship between the public and private spheres. In France this led to a debate concerning whether or not members of minority groups should be allowed to express private beliefs and cultures in public spaces, most notably through the wearing of religious symbols in schools. Each represents an extreme of particularist and universalist approaches to immigrant communities, respectively seeking to encourage co-existence without integration and integration solely on the basis of the values of the majority culture (Gutmann, 2004). Multiculturalism and multicultural education exist across a spectrum between these two extremes seeking an ideal point that enables both the expression of individual cultures and the adoption of shared values.

2.3.1. Multiculturalism in the UK

Formally, the UK did not adopt multicultural policies but gave full legal citizenship to migrants from the British Commonwealth without expecting the overt adoption of national values. Therefore all students were allowed to attend schools but schools made little or no adjustment either to school cultures or curriculum to enable the children of migrants to thrive in the education system. There were certain advantages to the English approach including the minimising of the debate regarding the private / public sphere, which has severely affected relations in France and at times in the United States. However, this essentially colour blind approach enjoyed the

appearance of liberalism and equality whilst continuing to operate on the grounds of monocultural understandings which, to an extent, favoured the majority community (Bolton, 1979). Immigrants to England were not faced solely with the challenges of culture but also found themselves joining pre-existing complex social divisions and conflicts based on class, region and religion (Tomlinson, 2009).

These migrants also found themselves entering an education system characterised by a debate concerning the purposes of education, which had continued since the period of mass schooling began in England in the middle of the nineteenth century. This concerned the value of schooling as a method of *social engagement* or as a means of developing *knowledge and cultural transmission* (Pring, 2010). In the later twentieth and early twenty first centuries the inclusion and standards agendas focusing, respectively, on the engagement of all learners and achievement of standards in a given range of subjects represent the continuation of this debate (Apple, 2006; Ball, 2008; Pring, 2010). The application of market principles in education, particularly since the late 1980s, has created a culture of effectiveness, efficiency and accountability which is challenged by some as undemocratic, widening rather than narrowing inequalities (Apple, 2006; Tomlinson, 2008).

All this has occurred against a complex backdrop of globalisation and nationalism. In England globalisation, including mass immigration, European integration and a rapidly developing global economy have led to the diversification of the school population and a broader range of influences on school policy and practice. Consequently by 2007 21% of primary school and 18% of secondary school students came from minority ethnic backgrounds (Tomlinson, 2009). Simultaneously, and arguably in response, nationalist parties and politicians raised concerns about 'traditional' values. Schools in England were left in the position of reconciling differing aims of schooling against the conflicting pressures of globalisation and nationalism.

2.3.2 Meeting the needs of a multicultural society

As Banks' (2011) work on multicultural education illustrates, this tension between nationalism and globalisation is common to most western democracies. For some nations, such as the United States, enabling schools to incorporate both national and group values has been a challenge since foundation. For most other western democracies the challenge has been particularly acute during the post war era when significant flows of international migration have diversified national populations.

For most of these countries this meant developing systems of education from focusing on the needs of (what was perceived to be) a homogeneous nation to those of a multicultural society. Responses have varied, as the cases of Germany and France illustrate. However they can be broadly categorised into assimilation, aiming to enable immigrants to acquire the values of the majority group, and integration, which emphasises the retention of group cultures within a broader national culture (Allemann-Ghionda, 2009). Both models, however, attract criticism for rejecting the value of minority cultures on the one hand and essentialising them on the other.

The limits of assimilation and integration are demonstrated by the experiences of France and Germany. France's continued emphasis on equality through assimilation and secularism in the public sphere has led to conflict over issues such as the wearing of headscarves and a fear that the emphasis on equality risks alienating children from ethnic and family cultures. Germany's assimilationist policy of differential exclusion until the 2000s had the opposite effect of isolating students of minority backgrounds within family, cultures and separating them from majority society.

After beginning this period with an essentially assimilationist outlook (CIAC, 1964) the UK moved towards policies more associated with integration (Jenkins, 1966) before adopting a form of multiculturalism during the 1980s and 1990s which has often been regarded as one of the more successful models of European multiculturalism (Sivanandan, 2005; Sen, 2006). Sen, however, still labelled this a form of plural monculturalism and it was severely criticised from the left for its failure to address racism (Brandt, 1986; Mullard, 1984; Troyna, 1987) and the right for undermining traditional values.

The challenges faced by all three European states, which led to the synchronised declaration of the failure of multiculturalism by Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany, President Sarkozy of France and Prime Minister David Cameron in the UK (Cameron, 2011), demonstrate that none of these three models has been wholly successful. In the UK this was illustrated by the terrorist attacks of 2005 and public disturbances involving minority and majority communities, particularly in 2001, all of which related to the concerns of British-born members of minority communities.

The response to this by the UK government was the policy of Community Cohesion, which sought to reconcile the rights of groups and individuals with those held commonly by all citizens. Its focus on creating unity between diverse social and ethnic groups within a common national culture, however, drew attention to the concept of national culture, which in turn served to expose its limits. Gordon Brown's (2006) 'Britishness' speech sparked a debate, which served only to illustrate that national identity in the UK is as contested as in any nation state (Kymlicka and Norman, 2000). The consequent abandoning of a 'Britishness' day and the continued tensions between the constituent parts of the UK demonstrated that the UK could not take the notion of a national culture, or even the continued existence of the

nation, as a given. This complicated attempts to reconcile group and national culture as did the differing values of particular groups of people.

In spite of these challenges, and a public discourse and media which appeared at times to oppose multiculturalism (Winder, 2004), in many respects cultural diversity in Britain has been successful. The cause of this may be traced to an environment in policy and practice that has allowed an evolution from assimilation through to integration, multiculturalism and Community Cohesion (Tomlinson, 2008) based since the 1960s on the consensus around Jenkins' principle of equal opportunities. The adoption of Human Rights legislation into UK law is reflected in education through cosmopolitanism, citizenship (Osler, 2005) and democratic education (Hannam, 1995) all of which have attempted to move beyond the relationships between majority and minority cultures through the adoption of universal values. As this thesis will discuss, whether or not Community Cohesion is compatible with these universal values and can make a positive contribution to cultural diversity in the UK, depends in part on whether it too has evolved beyond debates of assimilation and integration.

2.3.3 The neutral state

In the neutral conception of multiculturalism the role of public institutions is simply to allow access to primary goods, such as health and education, but remain neutral in terms of the ways in which people choose to access these goods. This protects group identities and rights to freedom of expression and in theory does not impose one culture on another, enabling co-existence. Governments can, for example, allow for different places and means of worship, forms of dress and preferences for food where they are simply different, uncontroversial styles.

However, multiculturalism is challenged when the norms of one group contradict another group, the public sphere or the rights of the individual. The French ban on religious symbols in schools, particularly Muslim headscarves brought into focus a conflict between group rights and public neutrality. The fundamental principle was equal access to education for all young people. Banning the wearing of headscarves would compromise this principle if it excluded Muslim girls from school. On the other hand retaining the right to wear headscarves may be seen as compromising the right to full civic participation (Gutmann, 2004).

The consequence of such issues is that the principle of neutrality cannot be maintained. Either the values of the group or the wider social values must be compromised. The rights of the individual within a group who may or may not wish to follow the expectations of that group or hold the values of the group to be of greater importance than those of the wider society must also be protected. That person may choose to accept the consequences of holding to these values even against their own interests. This was the case for Shabina Begum who refused to attend school for three years in order to defend her right to wear a jilbad to lessons (Tomlinson, 2008). Compromise in this case would have allowed continued access to the goods in question but would inevitably have led to changes in the norms of the individual, the group or the wider society. To be successful multiculturalism requires an acknowledgement by all parties that individual, group and public values are dynamic and that the society must develop by a process of negotiation (Parekh, 2000) and reasonable accommodations (Bouchard and Taylor, 2008) which allow for changes in those values.

This exposes some of the challenges of the neutral state. Both the United States and France have enshrined in law the neutrality of the state with regards to religion in the public sphere. This, essentially negative, position intended to create a neutral space open to students of all backgrounds can

appear to support the positions of particular groups opposed, for example, to religious education, prayer or religious symbols in schools. At the same time it fundamentally contradicts the positions held by those who would favour such activities or symbols. In both countries this has led to controversy between governments and communities with schools often serving as the site for the acting out of disputes. From a human rights perspective this is problematic as on the one hand such restrictions can prevent schools from acknowledging and fully respecting the identities and cultures of the children and communities they serve. Although it can ensure that no child can have a religious view imposed upon them in the classroom it does privilege secular principles by treating them differently to religious principles. This is problematic if secular beliefs are recognised as a world view (Rawls, 1972) and therefore to be of the same order as religious beliefs (Modood, 2005b).

The UK holds a much more positive position towards religious expression with no prohibition on religious education, activities or symbols in schools set at a government level. Indeed the opposite is true in that the law enforces religious education and supports the provision of faith schools. This makes the UK government neutral in an entirely different way in that it allows latitude at the school, community and family level to negotiate the place of religion in the school. Some, like Sen (2006), argue though that this form of neutrality actually serves to divide students through policies such as the provision of faith schools, promoting fragmentation rather than enabling children to live 'examined lives' (ibid, p160) by sharing their experiences in a multicultural environment. An alternative argument suggests that faith schools offer a diversity of choice, which engage faith communities in a common good (Pring, 2010). Whichever stance governments and institutions choose to take, neither form of neutrality removes the potential for conflict and therefore the need for negotiation remains.

2.3.4 Criticisms of multiculturalism

The need for flexibility, accommodation and negotiation has meant that multiculturalism has not been uncontroversial experiencing criticism from both left and right. During the 1980s in the UK it was attacked from the right in terms of media reports and government action against multiculturalist councils as well as the introduction of a national curriculum, which did not take account of multiculturalism. These attacks were rooted in an essentialist view of British culture into which members of minority groups were expected to be assimilated and therefore all change was expected to take place on the part of minority groups and their members (Rattansi, 2011). Any attempts at multiculturalism, it was feared, would damage 'majority culture'.

However criticism from the left also identified the failure of multiculturalism for an overemphasis on the promotion of the needs of the group and a consequent failure directly to address racism (Troyna, 1986). This failing was powerfully highlighted in the Lawrence Inquiry, which identified institutional racism as a significant factor in creating inequality (Macpherson, 1999). An additional danger of an emphasis on community relations is Sen's plural monoculturalism, where equal status occurs without meaningful integration (Sen, 2006). This risks separating into, and trapping people in, isolated ethnic or religious communities, a concern which in time has led to claims that under a policy of multiculturalism the UK was 'sleepwalking into segregation' (Phillips, 2005).

Some, however, argue that multiculturalism has long been a policy for the integration of the nations of the UK and that a policy of gradual multiculturalism will engage all communities over time (Crick, 2008). Whether or not this is true, there remain fundamental principles which will differ between communities and which may be harder to reconcile. Liberal western democracy for example generally upholds the pre-eminence of

human rights and the rights of the individual. This can however conflict with the pre-eminence of religious values, which supersede humanist values (Kiwan, 2008). Where such a value denies that liberal human rights are not the most fundamental there remain grounds for conflict.

Religion is the greatest source of conflict with multiculturalism because it demands recognition of basic values, which are held as more fundamental than those of multiculturalism and which may be in contradiction with multicultural values. Principle among these is the emphasis on individualism, which is fundamental to multiculturalism. In many religious traditions the rights or the identity of the individual are less significant than the values espoused by the religion or its concept of god or gods. Therefore Ramadan (Kiwan, 2008) asserts that a Muslim's religious duties override their civic rights as an individual. This means that a Muslim may decline certain civic rights such as to work on a religious holiday.

2.3.5 Reasonable accommodations

Most such contradictions can be very easily addressed through Bouchard and Taylor's (2008) principle of reasonable accommodations such as allowing flexibility over religious holidays. However not all conflicts between group and individual rights and expectations are so easily resolved. The controversy in Canada over the wearing of the kirpan, Sikh ceremonial dagger, by a high school student is a case in point. In this instance the rights of the majority to enjoy a secure working environment came into conflict with the religious duty of the minority group to carry a particular item of religious symbolism. Irrespective of how a court, or other arbiter, rules on an issue such as this, the disagreement cannot be resolved without one set of values, held to be absolute by their adherents, being favoured over another (Bouchard and Taylor, 2008).

More fundamental beliefs regarding issues such as: gender roles, marriage and sexuality present more fundamental challenges where members of groups disagree with the expectations of the group or those of the wider society. In relation to issues such as these rights to individual self-determination and identity conflict with an understanding of what is acceptable in a given community. The rights of girls to an education, for example, contradicts with the expectations of those communities who favour educating only boys or educating boys as a priority (Harber, 2004). Human rights do give people the right to leave or join groups but this is problematic in the case of children whose rights are limited by dependence on family.

Multiculturalism demands that all cultures, both majority and minority, adapt to one another. In many ways this is inevitable as coexistent cultures inevitably influence one another. It is also desirable where it challenges values, such as racial superiority, which are incompatible with liberal democracy. One criticism levelled at British multiculturalism in the 1980s and 1990s was that adaptation was required almost exclusively by members of minority communities. The public sphere was essentially monocultural based on the values of the majority whilst other communities were allowed to develop separately. For example public holidays were Christian and therefore favoured Christians over other religious groups (Parekh, 2000). This in turn led to greater segregation as a consequence of an emphasis on respect for group identities over the development of a common identity (Goodhart, 2004; Home Office, 2001; Phillips, 2005; Sivanandan, 2005). This criticism regards 1980s and 90s multiculturalism as a move from assimilation to integration meaning that groups received increased recognition and rights but a shared culture was not developed. The events of the early part of the twenty first century in the UK were an indication to many that this model of multiculturalism had failed to engage some members

of social and ethnic minority groups and for one to suggest that the nation was 'sleepwalking into segregation' (Phillips, 2005).

2.3.6 Multiculturalism to interculturalism

An alternative to assimilation or integration is the adoption of interculturalism, which moves beyond the relationship between minority and majority cultures by developing a common culture (Allemann-Ghionda, 2009). Instead of a neutral public sphere, inculturalism encourages the engagement of all cultures in the development of a shared culture. This engages minority groups as equal within a wider public culture, encourages a greater equality of all people regardless of cultural heritage and acknowledges the complexity of individual identities.

For many, interculturalism overcomes the limitations of an identity based on national culture and enables the adoption of universal values such as Osler and Starkey's concept of cosmopolitan citizenship (discussed below). Whatever the fundamental values the greatest strength of an interculturalist viewpoint is that it enables the engagement of all people in the development of a culture in which they have an investment and a consequent sense of ownership. Through active participation and engagement interculturalism encourages people to influence the nature of change and therefore the nature of public institutions (Crick, 2008) (Kiwan, 2008).

An intercultural response, for example to issues of school uniform, could involve a review of what students are expected to wear to school. This would engage all communities in the debate about the desirability of uniform and what form it should take, including adaptions to suit particular cultural or religious beliefs. In this the desires of all communities and individuals could be recognised and students from all communities could receive their right to

an education. This incorporates Bouchard and Taylor's principle of reasonable accommodation. It also moves on from the practice in many schools in England of adapting existing uniforms to the needs of minority groups representing a development from assimilation and integration, which expects change only on the part of minority communities.

2.4 Human rights and cosmopolitan citizenship

The challenge of an intercultural society therefore is to develop common values, which everyone accepts and values. Community Cohesion policy in the UK situated these values in notions of British citizenship (McGhee, 2005). Based on the understanding that the problem with multiculturalism had become, by the early 2000s one of poor community relations (Home Office, 2001) the remedy was the development of common culture based on civic participation (Blunkett, 2001). This view owed much to communitarian principles (Etzioni, 1997; Giddens, 1998), which address diversity as the relationships between 'private' groups facilitated by the 'public' values of the core culture (Parekh, 2000) and rely on dialogue to overcome difference (McGhee, 2005).

McGhee's (2005) particular criticism within these policies in Britain was of a strong emphasis on learning English as a means of overcoming obstacles to integration. This reflects his more general concern that policies emanating from these ideas in the early 2000s risked privileging majority culture over those of minorities and therefore were in fact a return to assimilation into a narrow British culture based on majority values.

2.4.1 Cosmopolitan citizenship

The term cosmopolitan on the other hand means to be a citizen of the world (Brock, 2013) and therefore transcends the parochial values of a nation. Cosmopolitan citizenship aims to achieve the intercultural objective of developing a common culture. The three core cosmopolitan values; individualism, universality and generality place the focus on the individual rather than the group and emphasise that each individual enjoys the same value irrespective of their background or status by virtue of the fact that they are human (Pogge, 1992). Cosmopolitans suggest that this emphasis on moral equality transcends the narrowness of nationalism and religion, which tend to privilege the rights of groups over one another and individuals. By developing shared values rather than integrating minority communities into a conception of national values based on those of the majority, cosmopolitanism aims to overcome the oppositional relationships which set different groups against one another and enable the recognition of plural identities in individual people (Sen, 2006). This overcomes one of the key challenges of multiculturalism by recognising that people do not consist of singular identities dictated by their religion or ethnicity. Instead a person may be at once British, of Nigerian descent, black and Muslim as well as holding a host of other identities relating to leisure pursuits, social status, political views and much besides.

In this conception, cosmopolitan values are superior to those of the group and require primary allegiance to what is morally good rather than to nation, religion or ethnic group. To cosmopolitans identity is first as a human being and member of a worldwide community and then to particular ethnic, social, cultural, religious or other group (Nussbaum, 1996). This value system promotes a common view of humanity which prevents abuses of others on the grounds of difference, enables cooperation to solve global problems, encourages a sense of obligation to the rest of the world and develops a global consistency in opposition to the, at times arbitrary attachments of

patriotism (Nussbaum, 1996). This does not prevent a commitment to both national and cosmopolitan values but does require people to view national values in the light of cosmopolitanism.

Individualism and personal liberty are central to cosmopolitanism and therefore held to be universal values. However individualistic values are not inherent in all cultures and therefore raise the question of how universal they actually are and whether they could promote conflict between groups or between the values of cosmopolitanism and particular groups. The conflicts between group and individual rights in terms of the wearing of Islamic veils in France and the Netherlands constitute a contemporary illustration of this danger. Such conflicts are complex as the imposition of cosmopolitan values on a society is illiberal and therefore apparently contradictory. Consequently cosmopolitan values could be seen as preventing an individual from choosing to wear a headscarf.

2.4.2 Cosmopolitanism in the UK

To some, therefore, cosmopolitan values appear to be Western or American values held in Western countries and enforced by the authority of the government rather than common consent (Barber, 1996; Himmelfarb, 1996). This does not necessarily prohibit their use in a Western context like the UK but it does suggest that some cultures, which do not share a Western heritage, and even some which do, may struggle with these values. Furthermore cosmopolitanism risks subsuming essential attributes of the individual like family, race, religion and tradition, beneath moral principles reinforcing the question about whether cosmopolitan values can override or coexist with patriotism and group allegiances.

Cosmopolitanism is criticised for lacking some of the attraction of nationalist and religious cultures. Even Nussbaum concedes that cosmopolitanism offers no comfort, and reason and common humanity '...seems to have a hard time gripping the imagination' (p15). The challenge therefore for cosmopolitanism lies in its relationship to other value systems. Does it exist in opposition to other value systems with the intention of becoming a universal value system and risking becoming illiberal? Or is it a set of civic values, which enable the co-existence of people of different identities alongside their particular value systems? The latter is the view taken by Osler and Starkey (2005) in their work on education for cosmopolitan citizenship, which argues that patriotic and cosmopolitan values are not incompatible. Considering the British context, and particularly the 2007 revision of the national curriculum for citizenship education, Osler argues that cosmopolitan citizenship is a means by which it is possible to move the English national curriculum from the basis of a single national identity to an identity which reflects an age of multiple identities.

Legally the cosmopolitan perspective has precedent in the basic principles laid down in international treaties such as the European Convention on Human Rights, ratified by the British government and forming the basis of the Human Rights Act. Therefore, the marrying of cosmopolitan values with 'British values', is possible on the basis that both already form elements of British identity. This is the view laid out by Parekh in his report 'The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain' (2000). The use of universal values compatible with 'British values' but not specifically British in their origin enables, he argues, people of any background to share a common identity without having to assimilate to the values of a particular culture. This overcomes the tension between patriotism and cosmopolitanism by enabling people to be patriotic to nation or culture whilst at the same time sharing more universal values with those around them. The weakness of this position is to continue the

errors of multiculturalism, which compound and essentialise group identities without taking into account the multiple identities which abound with increasing complexity in multicultural societies (Sen, 2006).

In this conception, cosmopolitan citizenship does not aim to override other value systems but creates a forum whereby different cultures can co-exist and attempt to reconcile differences as proposed by interculturalism without necessitating loss of identity by any particular group or individual (Rattansi, 2011). Thus issues such as the representation of particular religious and cultural values in the curriculum are resolved with reference to commonly held cosmopolitan values of human rights such as the right to an education, freedom of expression and religious and cultural freedom all enshrined in the universal declaration. At the same time the rights of particular groups to express themselves differently are upheld. However, the effectiveness of the application of such values does still rely on group identities and on compromise.

In practice people in diverse societies often find ways to coexist. Where this does not happen, catastrophic outcomes ensue as seen in Bosnia and Iraq. The example of these places is a warning of the need for vigilance, however the relatively peaceful coexistence of people of different groups in other places demonstrates that people are able to arrive at an agreed solution without each person or group necessarily agreeing on core values. Such agreement is enhanced by knowledge of the beliefs and practices of different people and groups but this does not necessarily require an adoption of those beliefs and practices. Changes in attitudes can take place over time simply because people become accustomed to change. Attitudes to sexuality and ethnicity in Western nations in recent decades have happened in part as a result of people gradually accepting different people and ways of life around them (Appiah, 2006) though this is undoubtedly supported by policy (Sen, 2006). This is not without dangers, the presence of people of different

backgrounds does not necessarily mean that prejudice will be reduced, in fact it can lead to an increase in prejudice, particularly in the short term (Hiebert, 2002). However, where dialogue is facilitated and basic rights are universally available and equally applied people often do generate common approaches to living together. Although there are many examples of detractions from this even in these countries this can be witnessed to varying degrees in the more successful multicultural nations like the USA, Canada and the UK (Appiah, 2006; Hiebert, 2002; Sen, 2006).

2.5 Community cohesion in schools

Having discussed Community Cohesion in the policy context the discussion now turns to education and how the theory and policy of Community Cohesion was applied in schools in England. Community Cohesion entered a neo-liberal policy environment at times conflicting with cosmopolitan conceptions of education and citizenship education in particular. Beginning with the concept of neo-liberalism this section reviews the literature in each of these areas and considers how Community Cohesion was introduced into this policy environment by the New Labour government.

2.5.1 Neo-liberalism in education

The policy environment in the early twenty first century was dominated by a neo-liberal perspective, which has often been as inherently contradictory to concepts like cosmopolitanism (Apple, 2004). Shamir defines neo-liberalism as:

> …a complex, often incoherent, unstable and even contradictory
> set of practices that are organized around a certain imagination of
> the "market" as a basis for the universalisation of market-based

social relations, with the corresponding penetration in almost every single aspect of our lives (2008, p3)

With roots in the economic liberalism of the eighteenth century neo-liberalism is centred on market freedom from political control. Its emergence from the 1970s as a mode of governance marked a shift from the previous dominance of Keynesian ideals of service to an emphasis on entrepreneurial values, including competitiveness, self-interest and decentralisation. The application of neo-liberal values is designed to free individuals from the apparent inefficiency of governments to receive improved services from the more efficient and cost-effective private sector (Steger and Roy, 2010).

These principles were adopted by governments across the world as well as international organisations with significant impact on the way nations and economies were run (Steger and Roy, 2010). Globalisation prospered through transnational corporations enabled by free trade and increasingly free movement of labour. This environment of international competitiveness depended upon well-educated work forces able to offer the supply of skilled labour to attract investment and consequently economic development. Neo-liberalism therefore values education as a means to ensure production and access to the labour market. Consequently it has profound effects through the entrepreneurial values implicit in a neo-liberal curriculum, as well as on the ways in which education is delivered. Neo-liberal systems incorporate assumptions including a focus on performance measured through high stakes testing, performance tables and inspection (Ball, 2008).

In the UK this influence on education policy developed rapidly during the 1980s in England through the introduction of league tables and a quasi-market (Ball, 2008). This took place alongside the introduction of a conservative national curriculum (discussed below) however the election of the social democratic, New Labour, administration in 1997 in no way diminished the place of neo-liberalism (Ball, 2008). This development

underlines both the incoherence of neo-liberalism and the ability to separate conservative (or traditional) and neo-liberal thinking (Apple, 2006). Indeed the New Labour administration's policies did not diminish place of neo-liberalism in education, instead it formed an integral part of 'Third Way' thinking (Ball, 2008). This continued to emphasise individual agency and responsibility within a market structure but at the same time placed a greater emphasis on social democracy including elements of moral authoritarianism, new localism and a continued belief in the inadequacies of capitalism (Paterson, 2003).

The role of neo-liberalism in education has been criticised for the reduced responsibility of the state for the supply of services (Apple, 2004), for the conflict with more progressive forms of education (Fielding, 2006) and for the focus on personalisation and performance (Hartley, 2008). Perhaps one of the most significant criticisms of neo-liberalism is Apple's (2004) observation of the effects of neo-liberal thinking on the notion of democracy as an economic concept rather than one of service. This has the potential to significantly change the nature of the school curriculum and culture from a service ethos to one which views students as consumers in a market.

In spite of this, neo-liberal principles are central to many educational reformers who regard market structures as a means to develop education systems in developing countries (Tooley, 2000) or as a means of public service reform for social justice in the UK (Barber, 2007). Barber (2000) applies neo-liberal principles to the concept of school improvement, seeing improved outcomes and a better trained labour force as desirable measures of success, and to the means of achieving this through accountability, expectations and incentives (2000). The concept of personalisation, criticised by Hartley is one of the four elements of Hopkins' (2007) model of school improvement which, as is discussed later, also holds social justice to be a central objective of education. The work of Hopkins is key to this

thesis, and seeks to challenge the notion that neo-liberalism and Community Cohesion are necessarily incompatible by suggesting that systems of leadership designed to produce academic results can also promote Community Cohesion.

2.5.2 Cosmopolitan citizenship and democracy in the context of education

This discussion therefore moves to a consideration of cosmopolitan citizenship. In common with Community Cohesion, cosmopolitan citizenship aims to establish common values whilst enabling individuals and groups to maintain and develop their identities. This may take place in a multicultural or a mono-cultural setting but against the backdrop of a multicultural society in a global community the principles of cosmopolitan citizenship are relevant to all students in all schools.

The roots of cosmopolitan citizenship in education can be seen in Dewey's (1916) vision of the school as a transformative institution. Dewey developed his vision in the United States where such challenges were fundamental to the establishment of a nation built on different and at times conflicting immigrant cultures. Dewey's vision was that by studying in a transformative environment students would develop the values and attitudes of a democratic society. In the later twentieth century such a system was referred to as 'multicultural education', defined as all students having 'equal opportunities to learn regardless of the racial, ethnic, social class or gender group to which they belong' (Banks, 1997 p68). In practice this means schools with curriculum, pedagogy, culture and systems which support an understanding of different cultures, the opportunities to develop harmonious relationships and for all students to succeed. Dewey preferred a comprehensive setting because this created the greatest potential for students to mix, develop new perspectives and practise the skills of intercultural evaluation.

Dewey's own school experiment in Chicago was populated largely by the children of academics. Thus he was enabled to realise his vision of a democratic education but only with a cohort of students who were drawn from a relatively narrow social background. Such an environment could not be described as comprehensive and consequently demonstrates the structural limits of a comprehensive vision, as students of differing social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds and abilities are not evenly distributed across societies. Such an ideal is much more likely to be realised in urban settings. However as demonstrated by the English cities discussed in the previous chapter, divisions by social class and ethnicity are common as a result of where people choose to or are forced to live. The attraction, for example, for migrants to other people who share their cultural roots creates communities based on a common ethnic heritage or social class. In whichever way communities are divided, they do not represent a comprehensive distribution of people and therefore school cohorts in many places are socially, ethnically or religiously narrow in their intake. Consequently the development of a transformative culture cannot rely solely on the mixing of students from varied backgrounds; instead it necessitates a consistent effort across the whole school community and frequently beyond the school itself.

In one sense Dewey's experiment represents a narrow vision for education to contribute to the unification of a nation. However in the early twenty first century with growing diversity in many nations, democratic and multicultural education have taken on an increasingly global dimension. Thus cosmopolitan citizenship enables 'citizenship at any level, local, national, regional or global…in solidarity with fellow human beings wherever they are situated' (Osler and Starkey, 2005, p23). This concept reflects Nussbaum's conception of cosmopolitanism and develops Article 29 of the United Nations Charter on the Rights of the Child which enshrines the right to an education which respects the child's own cultural identity, the

wider society and internationally agreed concepts of human rights. Like

Content Integration

Content integration deals with the extent to which teachers use examples and content from a variety of cultures in their teaching.

Knowledge Construction

Teachers need to help students understand, investigate, and determine how the implicit cultural assumptions, frames of reference, perspectives, and biases within a discipline influence the ways in which knowledge is constructed.

Equity Pedagogy

An equity pedagogy exists when teachers modify their teaching in ways that will facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural, gender, and social-class groups.

Multicultural Education

Prejudice Reduction

This dimension focuses on the characteristics of students' racial attitudes and how they can be modified by teaching methods and materials.

Empowering School Culture

Grouping and labeling practices, sports participation, disproportionality in achievement, and the interaction of the staff and the students across ethnic and racial lines must be examined to create a school culture that empowers students from diverse racial, ethnic, and gender groups.

Figure 2.1 The Dimensions of Multicultural Education

Dewey's democratic education, cosmopolitan citizenship encourages outward-looking curricula and structures which enable interaction. What this reflects is the development over a century of a belief in the need for a transformative education, which develops shared values across every element of school life.

Banks regards the school as a 'complex social system' (1997 p70) where each element of school life requires equal and simultaneous attention in order to develop a transformative culture. Therefore he identifies five vertical dimensions of the school which need to be addressed in order to develop what he terms a multicultural school community but one which is entirely consistent with a transformational or cosmopolitan perspective (Figure 2.1).

In addition the content of what is taught needs to reflect the same values. The deliberations of the consensus panel on democracy and diversity (Banks, 2011) introduced four horizontal themes, which would need to be adopted across these dimensions, essentially forming the core values of the school community and curriculum:

- Unity and diversity
- Interdependence
- Human rights
- Knowledge of democracy and democratic institutions and opportunities to practise democracy.

All of these principles are intended to be applied to local, national and global contexts to enable students to understand their universal application.

In the following sections, therefore, I will discuss in greater detail the role of these elements under the headings of school culture, curriculum and

achievement, particularly in the context of education in England. However we will first review the neo-liberal context in which cosmopolitan education must be practised if it is applied to contemporary school cultures.

2.5.3 School culture

Apple's criticism of neo-liberal principles as anti-democratic challenges the potential to develop democratic school cultures in the way that cosmopolitan educators envisage. The cosmopolitan notion of a democratic school relies on a service-based rather than a market based notion of democracy. Arguments for democratic school cultures are both moral and pragmatic.

Moral justifications argue that school students should enjoy the same rights in school as they do as citizens in the wider world and as they will as adults. This is reinforced by legal instruments including the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the European Convention on Human Rights. The Convention on the Rights of the Child emphasises the child as citizen, whilst the European Convention on Human Rights ensures the right of all children to access to an education.

Pragmatic justifications point to the impact of democratic school cultures on the nature of school communities including relationships, student motivation, self-esteem and the ways in which students learn. The relationship between democratic cultures and achievement is less clear but nonetheless improved achievement, whether measured in grades or broader definitions of learning, is also used as a justification for democratic school cultures.

A democratic school culture is characterised by a curriculum which reflects the diversity of the students in the classroom and the wider culture, gives opportunities for stakeholders including students, parents and teachers to engage in the running of the school and in every way emphasises the ownership of the school community by those within it. The most obvious

benefits of democratic school cultures are often to be found in the impact on the day to day environment of schools and the relationships within them. Harber (2004) and Rudduck (2007) both emphasise the benefits of democratic schooling in these terms with Harber arguing that teaching democratic values in schools promotes the values of peace and non-violence both in the school community and in wider society whilst Rudduck identifies personal and social development as the key outcomes of the use of student voice as a tool of democratic communities. Rudduck also cites the 'possibility of an enhanced commitment to learning' (p6), although she identifies no measurable impact on achievement.

Student voice, mostly in the form of school councils, has developed considerably in schools in England with most schools claiming to have school councils and Ofsted sampling the views of students during inspections. Student voice activities can be classified into two basic categories: consultation and participation (Flutter, 2004). The former focuses on seeking the views of students on school issues and the latter engages them in addressing issues and developing the school community. Frequently the former approach leads to a focus on issues relating to school environment and relationships within schools: the quality of toilets, food in school canteens and bullying. These are issues of key importance to students and although the lack of a direct link to achievement in the classroom may make them appear to be of peripheral importance, as Flutter emphasises, perception is very often more important than reality and how students feel about their everyday experience of school will inevitability impact on their attitude to school and quite possibly their achievement. The key issue at this level is very often that students have a perception of being listened to even if the issues they raise are not central to the school's purpose.

Hart's ladder of participation (Hart, 1997) identifies stages of participation by young people in decision making. Consultation rates low on this measure

whilst participation rates much more highly because it enables students to have a direct impact on the day to day running of the school. Participation can also be focused on what are considered to be peripheral issues but offers the potential for students to engage with the more fundamental issues of school life such as curriculum and teaching and learning. Therefore if democratic cultures are to really impact on the core purpose and thus fundamentally impact on the culture of schools, they must take the form of participation rather than consultation.

This is challenging because it moves beyond tokenism and, as Fullan (2007, p170) says, this means treating students as if '…their opinions mattered.' If the views of students on issues including curriculum and teaching are allowed to have an impact on what happens in the classroom then school leaders and teachers have to cede some degree of power to students and other stakeholders. The intended outcome is that students are more engaged in their learning and more content to attend school.

Researchers in school improvement such as MacBeath (2004) cite improvements in student empowerment as evidence of the effectiveness of student voice. MacBeath argues that a democratic context, content and process, i.e. a democratic school culture, are all vital to the full engagement of students, as well as parents and teachers in a collegiate learning atmosphere. Fullan concurs that schooling is something which must be done with rather than done to students and that therefore student voice is a vital tool in engaging students to gauge their views on what is taught and how it is taught. He identifies school culture, alongside teaching, as one of two key issues in school improvement and argues that both are benefited by the participation of students in their development.

Democratic schools and school improvement

The culture in schools in England in the early twenty first century was dominated by the notion of school improvement and focused on effectiveness measured principally by examination results. This movement was led by, at times contradictory, neo-liberal and managerial principles (Apple and Beane, 2007) but with emancipatory objectives (Hopkins, 2007). It aimed to develop social mobility and therefore contribute to social cohesion by enabling students of any background to achieve academically, leading to greater social mixing principally in employment but also consequently in housing and socially.

As discussed above, neo-liberalism is an essentially economic paradigm, which in education led to an emphasis on grades, performance tables and choice to improve standards and inform parental choice. It is often allied with a managerial approach to the leadership of schools which emphasises the agency of school leaders in making schools 'effective' in serving the needs of, particularly disadvantaged, students by ensuring quality.

Apple's observation of the way in which neo-liberalism adjusts the definition of democracy is illustrated by the ways in which neo-liberal principles play out in school systems. Critics argue that neo-liberal systems are anti-democratic because they lead to the sorting of students by social class, a focus on borderline students with consequent effects on setting and streaming and a narrowing curriculum focused principally on core subjects such as maths and literacy (MacBeath, 2004). Furthermore the introduction of choice into school systems has led to further sorting by social, ethnic and cultural groups into particular schools as a result of parental choice. Although the concept of choice appears to be democratic this can make the least informed and powerful in society least likely to access the most successful schools and exacerbate social inequality rather than promote social mobility (Apple, 2006). MacBeath identifies a correlation between achievement and social capital, which he argues is compounded by this trend

and ensures that the system continues to best serve the needs of those whose social background best prepares them, particularly white middle and upper class families. Whilst the school improvement movement argues that its principal concern is equity, measured in academic outcomes, this perspective suggests that the opposite outcome is being achieved because the system disengages those who lack social capital. The question therefore for advocates of neo-liberal ideas in the name of social justice and opportunity is how to increase social capital to enable disadvantaged families to access opportunities.

An additional concern for those concerned with democratic education is the value placed on subjects and grades. The high value placed on grades and some subjects above others can devalue unexamined subjects or those perceived by students to be less valuable, e.g. citizenship, with a consequent impact on curriculum time or even the place of subjects in the curriculum. This in turn can leave less space for the discussion of the principles of democracy and democratic education.

The curriculum is also often a point where conservative ideas have a greater impact through the advocacy of 'traditional' content and teaching methods. This trend may be coupled with conservative religious beliefs or particular conceptions of nationalism in areas such as history and literature. Although in many ways it is different to the situation in England, a broad neo-liberal conservative alliance in the USA has had a significant impact on the nature of education both in terms of content and delivery. This has led to controversy surrounding issues like the use of vouchers to enable parents to choose schools and the introduction of the Channel One television station targeting advertising at students whilst in school (Apple, 2006). As Apple observes neo-liberal concepts like individualism and conservative concepts like obedience to religious truth do not always sit easily together and present

contradictions in what he terms 'a conservative modernisation (Apple, 2006, p4).

Equitable school cultures

The school improvement movement's aim to produce equity is laudable and many of the criticisms aimed at it in the USA, such as unequal funding, are less applicable in England where education is funded nationally and funding is increasingly focused on individual students in greatest need (Department for Education, 2013). There are additional challenges such as matching the desire for a comprehensive multicultural education (Tomlinson, 2008) with the desire for students to attend local schools. Many communities remain homogeneous and more mobile groups avoid certain schools or avoid state education entirely. MacBeath's observations about the weaknesses of neo-liberal policies also warrant serious consideration. However the lack of evidence of a correlation between democratic school cultures and achievement and therefore social mobility, presents a serious challenge to arguments for democratisation, not as a pedagogy, but as the key to issues of achievement by minority groups and therefore social mobility. Critics of school improvement still value grades as at least one measure of success (Gillborn, 2008) and so long as the same can be said for higher education establishments and employers this must necessarily be the case for education.

The unequal outcomes observed as a consequence of social class may not be addressed simply by better mixing of students from varied backgrounds as this will not overcome the influence of other factors such as family background. Therefore the challenge is to create a school culture which is both democratic and enables social mobility through academic achievement. Apple acknowledges that much of the influence of neo-liberal, conservative and managerial policies has been successful as a result of the failure of previous policies to provide an acceptable standard of education for a significant proportion of students (Apple and Pedroni, 2005). His example

of the selective and academically focused Central Park East Secondary School (Apple and Beane, 2007) demonstrates that the contradiction between managerialism, academic achievement and democratic teaching is not absolute. The use of the managerial, neo-liberal principles of achievement and competition can be harnessed to motivate schools to promote achievement for all students. This need not necessarily mean abandoning democratic education or imposing conservative values into the school curriculum or organisation. As Apple also points out the rightist alliance is a loose one, which can be divided into its constituent parts. The challenge for the left is to identify which elements of that alliance can be co-opted to create the kind of equitable education they seek. This is also fundamental to this thesis, which seeks to overcome the false dichotomy of democratic education and achievement through effective school leadership.

The challenge of differential outcomes is particularly acute in English schools, where a significant minority of students from private or selective state schools are disproportionately represented in high ranking universities and senior positions in employment. It is incumbent therefore upon schools to develop opportunities for social mobility. A focus only on democratisation without a concomitant emphasis on achievement would ensure that students from less privileged backgrounds, including those of ethnic minorities and lower social classes continue to be underrepresented. This in itself is undemocratic. Therefore either schools have to enable students with low social capital to achieve academically or develop an alternative, and widely accepted, measure of accountability. MacBeath and Fullan's argument is that the answer is to develop social capital through a democratic school culture and therefore enable academic achievement as measured in terms of school improvement.

This marriage of democratic values with achievement appears to be at odds with Dewey's vision of the democratic school where education is valued for

its ability to effect social development. There is therefore some tension between social mobility, cosmopolitanism and Community Cohesion. A democratic school should enable Community Cohesion through an education in democratic values but may not enable social cohesion thus preventing social mixing in adult life and compounding existing issues of Community Cohesion. This is a key issue in this thesis, which addresses the core purposes of schools and their impact on society at large. My contention is that a focus on achievement in schools does offer opportunities to address social cohesion, which in turn has the potential to impact Community Cohesion.

Challenges in creating democratic school cultures

Fullan's observation that his own research has not shown significant developments in the use of student voice over a research period of over twenty years may explain why democratising schools has not generated data proving a link between democratic cultures and achievement. The lack of progress is explained variously by the influence of performance measures such as performance tables, Ofsted and the national curriculum, an excess of initiatives and the complexity of secondary school communities which make it hard to develop a consistent culture between classrooms (Alderson, 1999; Hannam, 1995).

For a democratic culture to succeed in narrowing the achievement gap between groups it must develop both social and Community Cohesion. This represents a tension within the curriculum as social capital is often determined by dominant social groups, which in some schools are not represented. Therefore schools would have to determine whether they adhere to democratic principles in circumstances where they would count against the best interests of students' social mobility, particularly in terms of achievement. For example a school with a majority of students from a minority community may choose to study a text from the minority culture even though this could hinder the performance of students in exams based

on those of the majority culture. Where one school takes a democratic stance whilst others do not it could further disadvantage students from minority backgrounds in terms of social mobility. This emphasises the need for balance between national discourse, for example in curriculum reform, and agency in the decisions made at the school level to overcome the challenges of context.

Central Park East Secondary School (Apple, 2006) presents as a school successfully run on democratic principles with an emphasis on achievement. Apple emphasises the value of relationships and hard work in the life of the school. Fullan (2005) and Rudduck (2007) also emphasise the key role of relationships in a culture of participation. The challenge though is that in Apple's example the school was selective and had a very strong emphasis on science and humanities at the expense of other areas of the curriculum such as sport and the arts. Ultimately the school was undermined by the actions of education authorities who prevented the school's selection of students. There are several contradictions in this case study, which demonstrate the limits of democratic cultures in a culture of achievement. At some point, whether it be selective entry compromising the principle of a comprehensive intake or compromises in curriculum, compromises are necessary even in democratic schools if the demands of social cohesion and mobility are to be met.

Democratic schools embrace the principle of dialogue and therefore have great potential to effect the change envisioned by Community Cohesion within schools. They also have the potential to enable achievement for a greater number and range of students. However this represents a significant departure from traditional school relationships and includes risks and challenges, not least the dangers of student criticism of staff members of or school structures (Rudduck, 2007). Therefore leadership is required at a school level to enable change and ensure that all stakeholders are equipped

for and able to adapt to a new culture. Both case studies (Apple,2006 and Carter and Osler, 2000) emphasise the role of individuals as leaders of change, this presents opportunities for links to the principles of system leadership as discussed in Chapter four.

Effective leadership is fundamental to change. Osler (2006) identifies progress in the development of democratic school leaders citing, in the early twenty first century, concepts such as school improvement and diversity appearing alongside one another in educational leadership literature for the first time. She also identifies progress in the monitoring of achievement by ethnic and social groups. Such developments form a part of a culture of change following significant events like the publication of the Macpherson Report which raised the issue of institutional racism as well as an increasing openness to multiculturalism and interculturalism in the UK as a whole (Rattansi, 2011; Sen, 2006; Tomlinson, 2009). What these point to is progress at the national level in the creation of school cultures and leaders focused on the democratic aims of equality and diversity but measured through achievement. Whether these aims are achieved through democratic school cultures will depend in large part on the values of the leaders tasked with putting them into practice. As the following chapters illustrate leadership values are one of the three key influences, alongside national policy and school leadership structures, which interact to create the ultimate outcomes of policy in schools. Whether or not this leads to more democratic schools which promote both social cohesion and Community Cohesion depends on the quality of each and the nature of their interaction.

2.5.4 Curriculum

Interculturalism in the school curriculum is more complex because power and knowledge tend to be held by members of the majority community.

Because the cultures of minority groups do not tend to form part of the experience of teachers and school leaders the cultures of the minority are less well represented even when teachers or school leaders are well intentioned. Where training and the attitudes of teachers are a significant weakness the essentialising of cultures can result from even well-intentioned teachers presenting groups of people in a stereotypical fashion (Allemann-Ghionda, 2009). The fluidity of all cultures as well as divisions such as social class, wealth, gender, race, religion and region (Tomlinson, 2009) ensure that there will always be a challenge to adequately represent the culture and identity of all students and cultures.

One solution to this is an emphasis on identity. This ensures that participation really is open to everyone as rather than needing to form part of a particular group students can approach the curriculum from a perspective which reflects the differing elements of their own background and experience (Kiwan, 2008). All individuals have multiple identities including gender, ethnicity, culture and belief. The complex and personal nature of these identities means that teachers cannot plan to teach about the particular identity of every student. However a democratic pedagogy (Hannam, 1995) can be developed to give students opportunities to research, construct and express their own identities within the curriculum. As a pedagogical issue rather than one of school organisation democratic teaching is compatible with neo-liberal systems of schooling which focus on structure and outcome.

Citizenship in the English National Curriculum

How to represent a diverse society and globalising world is an issue across the curriculum. However, since the introduction of the citizenship curriculum in schools in England in 2000 the debate surrounding multiculturalism and diversity has been particularly contested in this subject.

The 2002 citizenship curriculum was designed by Professor Bernard Crick to address the perceived disengagement of young people in civic life by emphasising their rights and responsibilities at local and national levels within the UK and internationally. It was variously criticised for its lack of engagement with issues of race and inequality, however its author made clear that his belief was that these issues would be overcome through a combination of civic engagement and time. It is no coincidence that these views coincided with those of the then secretary of state for education, David Blunkett, who was formerly Crick's student, and emphasised the importance of developing common civic values as a means of overcoming social divisions.

Practically Crick argued for, and implemented, a curriculum designed to enable all young people to engage with the nation state as it already existed. The curriculum comprised three strands:

- Social and moral responsibility
- Community involvement
- Political literacy

Whilst issues of diversity did form a part of the curriculum Crick believed that emphasising issues such as racism would be divisive and so did not include them as explicit areas of study. What this amounted to was at worst assimilation and at best a multiculturalism which acknowledged the existence of different groups in society but risked favouring the majority culture (Kiwan, 2008). The curriculum assumed that rather than approaching constitutional or social issues, including racism and identity, critically, a gradualist approach would see prejudice reduce over time as young people were educated to co-exist as citizens of a single nation state. Crick (2008) pointed to improvements in community relations, which he believed had come about over time rather than as a result of top down government initiatives. However significant events such as the race relations legislation

and the MacPherson Report made significant contributions to these changes (Sen, 2006).

Consequently the citizenship curriculum was criticised for: its lack of explicit anti-racism, that it contributed to institutional racism simply by virtue of its failure to name racism as an issue and by referring to multiculturalism only as a feature of society (Osler, 2008), and as a 'placebo' (Gillborn, 2006, p2). However it was also acknowledged that, despite its inadequacies, the new curriculum did not prevent the discussion of issues such as racism (Osler, 2000).

Citizenship education and identity

Later, and particularly in light of key developments such as the MacPherson Report (1999) and the 2005 London bombings, the debate centred less around how to engage young people in the dominant UK political culture and increasingly around identity. These issues were particularly to the fore in the 2007 Ajegbo review of the citizenship curriculum. In the light of events, which appeared to show that some young people felt excluded from British society, the review was asked to consider how the citizenship curriculum could be adapted to raise the question of belonging. This would enable young people to discuss their place in society and whether or not they felt they had a stake in developing that society. As an addition to the original curriculum the changes following the Ajegbo review did not address the fundamental structure of the curriculum, however it did add an additional strand entitled, 'Identity and Diversity: Living Together in the UK.' This brought the issue of identity into the curriculum and created the potential to address the issue of young people's sense of belonging to British society in advance of addressing the issue of participation.

A key criticism of these changes was that they were only a response to the fears of the majority about security in the light of terrorist attacks. These

reforms did not attempt to improve social justice for all and address the fundamental social structures, which had created a sense of exclusion amongst some people and groups. Criticisms regarding the lack of explicit anti-racism and the placebo effect remained. These criticisms notwithstanding, by raising the issue of identity the new curriculum did open a space for increased dialogue with particular reference to identity.

The civic republican model favoured in the original curriculum was retained in the new curriculum. This could have been developed to incorporate Parekh's vision of the UK as a community of communities, which retained the nation state as the focus of identity whilst engaging with the notion of diversity and there was nothing to prevent teachers taking this approach. However this would again retain a focus on a national conception of common values and thus risk the continued danger of essentialism, rather than moving to an intercultural or cosmopolitan model which would favour an emphasis on personal identity (Banks, 2005). This could have given the curriculum a greater opportunity to address the challenges of racism and identity through the adoption of universal human values and an allegiance to common humanity rather than a debated and potentially divisive national identity. The difference between the two may well have been dictated in schools by the values of individual school leaders.

Citizenship in the curriculum

The content of the citizenship curriculum is one element of the debate about multiculturalism and diversity in the school curriculum. However, the status of citizenship as a subject is as important an issue if it is to have an impact on students. The introduction of citizenship added a greater breadth to the curriculum, however the school improvement agenda set a premium on curriculum time which in many cases reduced the emphasis on subjects such as citizenship in order to create space for core subjects (MacBeath, 2004). Although the issues represented in the citizenship curriculum are greater both

than the subject and the curriculum itself, a reduction in its presence in the curriculum would be expected to reduce its impact. As with school culture in general, leadership (and therefore values) is also a key issue. There are significant challenges to be addressed not only in the curriculum but also in institutional structures and attitudes, which may have an equal or greater impact (Osler, 2006). Ironically it is through the school improvement agenda, for example in the form of monitoring of achievement by social and ethnic groups, that some of these challenges are addressed.

The weakness of the citizenship curriculum post the Ajegbo report is in its relationship to diversity as an issue of security rather than justice. This places the emphasis not on meeting the needs of individual students but on the security of at best, the community at large and, at worst the majority. However events like the 2005 London bombings are essentially symptoms of a sense of disengagement which could, in part be addressed through an engaging school curriculum.

One of the strengths of the citizenship curriculum however is the emphasis on experience rather than simply the teaching of civic knowledge. This demonstrates an understanding that change is brought about not only or even primarily in the classroom but as a result of a culture in which people feel they belong and are able to prosper. Therefore if the intentions of the citizenship curriculum are to be realised they must be replicated across the school community so that students can experience these values in practice.

2.5.5 Achievement

Changes in curriculum and school culture are of limited value if they are not matched by an effort to address structural issues, which limit the achievements of both staff and students. Schools cannot focus simply on qualitative changes such as the content of the curriculum or relationships but

they must also focus on achievement in order to afford students from all social and ethnic backgrounds equal access to higher education, employment and consequently social mobility (Allemann-Ghionda, 2009).

Some have argued that the school improvement movement's emphasis on achievement has had a detrimental effect on minority students whose underachievement has been masked by the achievement of majority students in mixed schools or by segregation of schools according to the social capital of students (MacBeath, 2004). The use of school data as a part of school improvement, in the form of performance tables and to monitor achievement, has been controversial. However the use of data to identify and address areas of underachievement, for example through Education Action Zones (Tomlinson, 2009) or the London Challenge (Baars et al, 2014) and achievement by groups, including ethnic and social groups, is a significant step towards identifying the needs of students from minority groups and working towards equality of outcomes. The outcomes of this use of data as part of the London Challenge are discussed in more detail in Chapter four.

Data and performance tables can of course be detrimental depending on how they are used. Performance tables in particular do encourage some schools to compete for the highest ability students and can as a result lead to greater underachievement by the less advantaged (MacBeath, 2004; Osler, 2006). However the outcomes of recent initiatives like those in the Bangladeshi dominated London Borough of Tower Hamlets, which have developed 'some of the best urban schools in the world' (Woods et al, 2013, p57), demonstrates that such an emphasis can have an impact on achievement for less advantaged groups.

2.6 The adoption of multicultural and democratic education in England

Whether or not democratic education is effective in schools is partially dependent on the schools themselves but also on wider trends in policy and society, which either enable or retard the development of democratic education. The impact of reform is easily undermined where the structure of the system, nationally or institutionally, does not support democratic values.

2.6.1 Sorting and selection

Dewey's model emphasises shared values and interaction across groups. However the opportunities for this to happen within schools are severely constrained when both demographic factors and school selection distort the intake of students to schools. In practice some distortion is inevitable due to the nature of where people live, although this may be a democratic issue in itself. However models of schooling such as selecting by ability or faith further restrict the interaction of groups of students. Decisions taken by parents when choosing schools have a significant impact. Perhaps most significant is the social capital possessed by white middle class families which is strongly linked to their superior achievement both through their wider knowledge of curriculum content and through their expertise in acquiring places at the most advantageous schools (MacBeath, 2004).

When mixed with the tendency for people to live close to others of similar social or ethnic backgrounds, sorting by social group or ethnicity can be a further consequence of sorting by ability and geography. The English experience is characterised in many cases by this kind of sorting which leads to schools dominated by students of particular social or ethnic groups, a process which many regard as being accentuated by the school improvement agenda in England (MacBeath, 2004; Osler, 2006; Tomlinson, 2009). As already discussed though, the school improvement agenda has also been responsible for improvements in identifying underachieving communities

and supporting them to achieve more (Tomlinson, 2009). There is no evidence that either with or without school improvement, sorting would not take place on the basis of class or geography or that underachievement by members of minority groups would not be hidden by the achievements of other students in more mixed schools. Indeed research in England by Ofsted showed that the lowest levels of performance by disadvantaged White students were generally to be found in some of the most affluent areas as pockets of disadvantage become hidden in areas of wealth (Ofsted, 2013b).

2.6.2 Multiculturalism in UK schools

Although the rhetoric of multiculturalism has formed part of the political discourse in most western countries in the post war era, its practice has been made more complex by issues relating both to values in schools and the structure of school populations. Most schools do not, indeed owing to the distribution of populations cannot, accurately reflect the multiple identities represented in national populations. In addition multicultural political rhetoric is often not reflected in cosmopolitan or democratic values at the school level (Banks, 2011), a situation at times accentuated by models of schooling, which create conditions for a form of differential exclusion (Gutmann, 2004).

However, in spite of political and media opposition, the development of multicultural education in the UK since World War Two has led to a growing culture of equality, justice and Community Cohesion in schools in England (Tomlinson, 2009, p131). Whether because of or in spite of policy therefore the foundations of a democratic culture have begun to be laid in the UK (Osler, 2006; Tomlinson, 2009).

What this reflects is the latest stage of a process begun in the early years of post war immigration and developing over several decades. Following two decades of immigration from the New Commonwealth of predominantly non-white students, the Rose Report (Rose, 1969) asserted that racial discrimination was incontrovertibly an issue in schools. The attitudes of teachers in the 1960s and 70s were characterised by an ignorance of the needs of minority students coupled with low expectations, however the following decades saw a growing awareness of the barriers to achievement and consequently attempts to help students overcome them.

Politically, multiculturalism was controversial in the 1980s with particular hostility from the ruling Conservative government. The early part of the decade saw disturbances in several English cities involving young black men leading to links being made between poor educational opportunity and employment prospects both by teaching unions and the government sponsored Scarman (Home Office, 1981) and Swann (Home Office, 1985) reports.

In spite of this, multicultural education was sidelined in policy particularly following the 1988 Education Act. The emphasis on school improvement and school autonomy, including in terms of funding and admissions, arguably exacerbated segregation whilst the new national curriculum largely excluded the concept of multiculturalism (Tomlinson, 2009). The 1988 act also created the conditions for the growth of the school improvement movement, which came to dominate education in England in the early twenty first century.

Issues of race and multiculturalism were not significantly addressed in policy during the 1980s and 90s, however this period did see an increased acknowledgement in literature of the need to address multiculturalism in policy. This was informed by trends and events during that period including the continuing underachievement of ethnic minority students and the murder

of Stephen Lawrence in 1992. Consequently towards the end of the 1990s, under the New Labour government, multicultural policies were implemented in examinations, teacher training, local authorities and in the Race Relations (amendment) act of 2000.

The findings of the Runnymede Trust's Commission on the Future of Multiethnic Britain (Parekh, 2000) promoted the idea of a community of communities, which recognised the common British identity of all British citizens alongside the particular identities of communities within the wider society. In essence this promoted a multicultural nation of multiple and equally valued identities but was not well received by either the media or politicians.

In spite of hostility in some circles by the early twenty first century, multicultural education became, if not overtly, an accepted paradigm in education, a consistent element of education policy and increasingly, practice, at all levels. This was evidenced by the adoption of analysis by Ofsted and the DfE of achievement by ethnic groups, the development of the narrowing the gaps agenda by successive secretaries of state of education and the adoption of new curricula incorporating a wider variety of ethnic and social perspectives.

The early twenty first century also saw a greater range of initiatives, which encouraged achievement amongst minority groups including the establishment of the government's Social Exclusion Unit and Education Action Zones in urban areas often dominated by minority communities. At the same time citizenship education formed a compulsory element of the secondary school curriculum and was expected to address some of the issues of multiculturalism in the classroom. All these initiatives were developed alongside political and media debates concerning issues including Islamic extremism and immigration creating tension at various times between

political discourse and the reality of developments in policy (Tomlinson, 2008).

However the statement from the 1985 Swann report (p127), that the 'aims of a multicultural and antiracist curriculum were synonymous with a good education designed to produce knowledgeable and tolerant citizens', appears to have gained ground during this period. Consequently rather than disappearing the principles of multicultural education took their place in a new rhetoric under New Labour focused on contributing to Community Cohesion within a broader policy rhetoric of diversity as evidenced in the citizenship curriculum (DFEE, 1999), the 2000 National Curriculum (QCA, 2000), Ofsted frameworks (Ofsted, 2009a) and the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000) (Home Office, 2000).

2.6.3 Democracy in UK schools

Whilst multiculturalism and diversity appear to have gained considerable ground in this period, by contrast schools in England have remained largely undemocratic (Osler and Starkey, 2005). For the first time democracy was specifically referenced in the English National Curriculum from 1999 (DFEE, 1999) but the focus in the curriculum as a whole has remained very much on the development of the individual rather than of the community.

Again this trend can be traced back to the school improvement agenda, which placed a premium on the ability of schools to achieve minimum grades for a majority of students and therefore has led to a focus on individual achievement. For many this forms a key element of the inherently undemocratic nature of schools (Alderson, 1999). Alderson suggests that practices like compulsory attendance, school uniforms and a lack of interaction between teachers and students with regard to the content and

delivery of the curriculum are products of a system which views students and teachers as the means towards political and economic ends rather than ends in themselves. Such assertions are controversial and not unproblematic. They appear to assume for example that a more democratic system would necessarily lead to equal levels of engagement and consequently achievement by different groups of students. However, it is the case that many elements of the English system, such as compulsory attendance, contradict Dewey's first requirement of democratic schooling, that the values of the school be shared. Consequently, even if the curriculum or the nature of relationships between students and staff are being democratised the undemocratic nature of the system limits the effectiveness and potential for change.

Dewey's second requirement of democracy is that citizens be accorded free association and interaction. As already discussed the issues of free association are significantly hindered by demographics and selection. Divisions have always been present in terms of social class, wealth, gender, race, religion and region and therefore any effects of trends such as the school improvement agenda are only added to an existing and long standing problem of segregation across society and education in England (Tomlinson, 2009). The contention that school improvement has necessarily exacerbated this situation is hard to prove. The presence of issues of achievement by minority groups and incidents of racism during the 1970s and early 1980s question whether the school improvement agenda has created these problems or if they have continued from before its inception. The question this poses for policy makers in England is whether, against a backdrop of inherent segregation, the extent to which the aims of Community Cohesion can ever be achieved.

2.6.4 Multiculturalism, democracy and school improvement

The chief educational rhetoric throughout the early twenty first century in England has continued to surround school improvement, however diversity and equal opportunities have become complementary to this as evidenced by their increased presence in leadership (Osler, 2006), curriculum (QCA, 2008) and the inspection regime (Ofsted, 2012). The 2012 Ofsted Framework for the Inspection of Schools referred to the achievement and relative performance of pupils by groups. Evidence from Ofsted's own research studies using national achievement data rather than inspection data demonstrates improving examination results for students from all ethnic groups. In addition it also shows a narrowing of the gap between the most and least successful with particularly significant gains for Bangladeshi students whose achievement had overtaken that of White British students. Achievement socially was changing more slowly with particular issues relating to the achievement of disadvantaged White British and Black Caribbean students (Ofsted, 2013b).

Internationally the achievement of all students is also recognised as a vital feature of high performing school systems (McKinsey, 2007). Therefore, common ground has been established between the objectives of diversity and achievement. However both at system and school levels disagreements continue between the neo-liberal conception of democracy led by consumer choice and other conceptions of democracy relating to equality of opportunity (Apple and Beane, 2007). Markets in education, such as those created by parental choice, do favour the most informed and the most mobile. However the drive for achievement has developed a recognition that achievement must be for all whilst the curriculum increasingly reflects a greater variety of cultural experiences. Where school improvement most fully complements diversity is in the principles of democratic schools, which

harness the engagement of all stakeholders to enable the achievement of all students.

2.7 Enabling change in 'complex social systems'

Schools are 'complex social systems' (Banks, 1997 p70) in which, due to their nature and the wide range of daily interactions, the process of democratisation is equally complex (Hannam, 1995). A study of school cultures by Sarason (1996) draws the pessimistic conclusion that in spite of huge social change in the post war era, school cultures have changed little. He identifies the clash between the desire for schools to be agents of social change and the unchanging behaviour of school leaders and structures of school communities as the greatest barrier to change.

The literature suggests that the concept of multiculturalism has significantly evolved to the stage where it is embracing the concepts of interculturalism, cosmopolitanism and Community Cohesion. There are however tensions between the focus on individual identity in cosmopolitanism and interculturalism and communities in Community Cohesion, a tension which will be more fully explored in this thesis. In educational policy the climate has adjusted to recognise the diverse needs of all students although again this is more significant as members of groups rather than as individuals. Therefore whilst the system has developed to monitor the achievement of groups of students, at the time of writing this had not yet developed to enable equal achievement for all students regardless of background. A democratic school culture could make a significant contribution towards improving the engagement and potentially the achievement of the diverse range of individual students in schools in England.

The literature suggests that, in England, school cultures do not appear to have been significantly democratised. However there is limited case study evidence of the application of democratic schooling and its influence on achievement in contemporary English secondary schools. This work is a case study of one school, which attempts to identify commonalities between the move to a democratised school culture and the school improvement agenda. Although these often appear to be at odds they share a concern with the individual and the achievement of all students irrespective of background. Both also identify a wider role for education in preparing students for life beyond school and therefore have an interest in and influence on the principles of social and Community Cohesion as well as the specific Community Cohesion policy that will be considered in the next chapter. Additionally, the third key factor considered in this work, the values of school leaders, very often decides the ways in which both school structures and the implementation of policies like Community Cohesion are addressed.

The central discussion in this work is whether or not school leadership can be the catalyst for the development of Community Cohesion. In particular it will refer to the system leadership model devised by David Hopkins (2007), discussed in Chapter four, organised around the four principles of:

- Personalised learning
- Professionalised teaching
- Intelligent accountability
- Networking and innovation

Each of these principles will be evaluated to judge how it influences the development of Community Cohesion. This model shares some theoretical principles with cosmopolitanism and democratic education. The concepts of identity in cosmopolitanism and personalisation in system leadership appear to reflect common ground in a focus on the individual, however there is tension here. As Apple (Apple and Beane, 2007) has argued a neo-liberal

conception of democracy, which views students as individual consumers is far removed from Dewey's notion of the democratic school. MacBeath also argues that elements of the standards agenda, to which system leadership can be related, have created undemocratic outcomes.

The next chapter will discuss some of the tensions between the individualistic concepts of social cohesion and the group focus of Community Cohesion. Chapter four will consider the role of leadership, in the form of Hopkins' model of system leadership, and values. Both of these represent key components for schools in their attempts to promote both social cohesion and Community Cohesion. Finally, the case study school will serve as a forum to test the relationship between the national policy of Community Cohesion, system leadership and the values of leaders in promoting Community Cohesion in schools in England.

2.8 Applying Community Cohesion to education policy

In keeping with Allport's (1954) contact theory, Community Cohesion emphasises relationships between people of differing backgrounds as a means to overcome community divisions. DCSF (2007c) guidance emphasised the role of community engagement either through mixed intakes of students in schools or through school twinning projects. This suggests that segregation in schools and neighbourhoods will have a negative impact on levels of Community Cohesion.

The causes and effects of segregation include a variety of factors: academic achievement, racial attitudes and social and economic standing (Clotfelter, 2001). Community Cohesion is intended to address all these issues either directly or indirectly. Therefore the implication is that addressing segregation should impact levels of Community Cohesion, though as

Allport's theory suggests this is more complex than simply the presence of representatives from different groups. Data from the 2001 census demonstrates that levels of residential segregation and school segregation in England are generally high both geographically and by ethnic group (Burgess et al, 2005). Variation, however, does occur between higher and lower density areas. Segregation is higher in more dense areas, probably as a result of the exercising of school choice by parents. Students of South Asian backgrounds are more likely to live in segregated areas and attend schools with higher levels of segregation. Students of Caribbean backgrounds are less likely to attend segregated schools. Dispersal increases with time and as stated above, it is not just ethnicity that dictates where people live and the schools they attend but also levels of school achievement and social class.

The extent to which schools contribute to Community Cohesion can be measured by the percentage of people who believe that people from different backgrounds 'get on well together in their local area' (Demack et al, 2010, p17) as well as levels of tolerance and civic engagement (Keating and Benton, 2013). Research based on data from the DCSF Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study reinforces the conclusions of other work (Demack et al, 2010, Janmaat, 2010, Kokkonen et al, 2010) that levels of diversity in schools are not indicative of improved levels of Community Cohesion. One conclusion of Keating and Benton's review was that the presence of a significant proportion of white British students had a negative impact on civic engagement.

This brings into question the value of contact in itself as a means of improving Community Cohesion and merits a consideration of Allport's conditions for reducing prejudice as a result of contact. The DCSF guidance emphasises contact either in schools or between schools as a means of

promoting Community Cohesion but says little about how students should interact to ensure that barriers are overcome.

Evidence suggests that the most significant indicator of low levels of Community Cohesion is not segregation but deprivation (Laurence and Heath, 2008; Letki, 2008). One of the most fundamental criticisms of Community Cohesion is the lack of focus on socio-economic factors. The apparent relationship between socio-economic deprivation and levels of Community Cohesion suggests that rather than focusing on segregation, policy would be better focused on achievement and therefore quality of teaching (Rivkin, 1994). Raising levels of academic achievement could improve Community Cohesion by ensuring that students from deprived or minority communities are able to access improved educational, employment and social opportunities.

The role of public institutions in developing common values, understanding and social capital within communities is emphasised in both British government and academic literature. It impacts on services including housing, policing, regeneration and all phases of state education. Schools are key institutions at the heart of geographical, and often ethnic and religious communities enabling them to exercise significant influence on values, understanding and social capital amongst large numbers of children, parents and other stakeholders. The curriculum, the makeup of the school population and the nature of engagement with the wider community all dictate the nature and extent of a school's influence. These factors also impact on the attitudes of students who, in turn, will influence the nature of the community; therefore the potential influence of schools on Community Cohesion is very significant. The role of schools in this process is the central theme of this thesis and the potential value of schools in promoting community relations underlines its wider significance.

Schools exist at the crux of a number of key social and economic issues. Where these are brought into the school by the communities they serve, for example in terms of poverty, schools are obliged to respond to need. Additionally, where issues are highlighted and addressed in the policies of national and local education authorities schools are required to respond according to the demands of legislation. As Ball's (1994) policy cycle demonstrates effective policy demands well framed legislation as well as effective implementation in schools. Again this illustrates the interplay of discourse and agency. Where the discourses of national policy and the agency of school leaders complement each other there is significant potential for schools to influence the success of policies. Therefore with this combination of links to local communities and the relationship to national policy schools can be the source of large quantities of bonding capital and often bridging capital. The case study discussed in this work demonstrates an example of this combination working effectively in one school community.

From the late 1980s an economic imperative became a significant influence on the ethos of schools (DES, 1988). The prominent status of education in the policies of the New Labour government after 1997 bolstered the position of reforms such as the introduction of quasi-markets and school performance tables. Education's elevated status at that time was a key strategy to ensure the UK and its citizens' economic competitiveness in the global economy. This was not restricted to the UK and the influence of multilateral institutions such as the OECD and the EU also ensured that an economic imperative remained central to education policy. In practice this meant an educational system geared up to develop appropriate skills and values such as enterprise, entrepreneurship and commercial knowledge to prepare students to be competitive economic players in the world economy. As a result market principles such as competitiveness, choice and modernisation had become

core to education by the early twenty first century. They also formed an economic vehicle for social mobility based on maximising economic participation to overcome social inequality. Fundamental to this is the notion that every young person would attend a 'good' school, which would prepare them for the rigours of the world of work beyond education (Ball, 2008; Hopkins, 2007).

The New Labour government's ambition to be one of the great social reforming governments of post war Britain meant that a parallel social imperative was never absent from educational policy or practice. This government was also responsible for the introduction of the Every Child Matters agenda, designed to ensure that students not only achieved academic success but also grew up to be 'healthy', 'happy' and 'productive' citizens. This period of government was also responsible for citizenship education and the duty to promote Community Cohesion in schools. The role of schools as agents of social change was so marked that by 2007 the Department for Education and Skills became the Department for Children Schools and Families and lost all responsibility for higher education. The new department took responsibility not only for education up to 18 years of age but also for social services relating to children and any other areas contributing to its aim to '…make England the best place in the world for children and young people to grow up' (DCSF, 2008).

The twin imperatives of social reform and economic competitiveness were significant sources of an increasing flow of initiatives and policy changes from central government to schools and local authorities. Schools were given a role in initiatives to tackle diverse social and economic issues. The increased focus on school performance tables and achievement in core subjects such as English and maths reflected more fundamental structural adjustments in response to concerns that schools prepare students for the economic realities of the global economy. This range of imperatives and

initiatives led to conflicts between values such as economic individualism and social responsibility (Ball, 2006) and the tension created by an improvement model driven from the political centre but implemented by the school itself.

2.8.1 Promoting Community Cohesion in English secondary schools

Citizenship education was a flagship education policy from the inception of the New Labour administration in 1997. However, the initial curriculum launched in 2002 lacked a focus on issues of identity and cohesion, which were highlighted by the events of 2001 and the later London bombings of 2005. The response to these events came initially from the Home Office (2004) in the form of community cohesion standards for schools. These, predominantly, non-statutory guidelines which covered all areas of admissions, curriculum and school management, suggested ways in which schools could promote community cohesion through their routine practices as well as suggesting more novel activities such as school twinning to develop community cohesion in new ways.

The DCSF response to the 2005 bombings included a review of the citizenship curriculum led by Sir Keith Ajegbo which resulted in the addition to the citizenship curriculum of a fourth strand, entitled 'Identity and Diversity: Living Together in the UK' (DCSF, 2007b). This addition was intended to encourage young people to consider issues of identity and their relationship to the wider community, in a manner consistent with the objectives of Community Cohesion.

Community Cohesion came more prominently into education policy with a central place in the Children's Plan (DCSF, 2007) both as a whole school priority and a curriculum focus. The place of Community Cohesion was

further strengthened by the inclusion of the 'Duty to Promote Community Cohesion' in the 2006 Education and Inspections Act (DCSF, 2006) and the publication of the *Guidance on the duty to promote Community Cohesion* (DCSF, 2007c). This document defined Community Cohesion as:

> … working towards a society in which there is a common vision and sense of belonging by all communities; a society in which the diversity of people's backgrounds and circumstances is appreciated and valued; a society in which similar life opportunities are available to all; and a society in which strong and positive relationships exist and continue to be developed in the workplace, in schools and in the wider community (DCSF, 2007c, p3).

The guidance further asserted that, 'Cohesion is therefore about how to avoid the corrosive effects of intolerance and harassment: how to build a mutual civility among different groups, and to ensure respect for diversity alongside a commitment to common and shared bonds' (DCSF, 2007c, p4). Cohesion was defined as valuing each group in a geographical community in equal measure and seeking to develop shared values and a common vision across that community and beyond. Intolerance, harassment and similar behaviours represented the antithesis of these aims although at times the focus on group relationships conflicted with the focus on identity in the post-Ajegbo citizenship curriculum, launched in the same year (DCSF, 2007b).

The DCSF also considered the meaning of community in relation to schools. This was the school as a community in itself, the community within which the school is located, the UK community and the global community (DCSF, 2007c, p5). The report also reiterated the application of 'cohesion across different cultures, ethnic, religious or nonreligious and socio-economic groups, (p5)' preventing the marginalisation of Community Cohesion to communities with mixed, transient or predominantly minority ethnic

populations. Instead it challenged all schools to prepare students for life in a world made up of people of a wide variety of backgrounds different to themselves with whom they may need to cooperate. Community Cohesion demanded that schools develop bonding capital within their school communities and bridging capital beyond the school with other schools and communities outside the school.

The emphasis on the inclusion of all groups, bridging and bonding capital was challenged by other elements of government policy. For a decade the New Labour administration had promoted the development of faith schools in a way which some argued increased segregation and therefore decreased opportunities for schools to contribute to community cohesion (Cantle, 2013). Additionally the focus on extremism through the Prevent strategy (DCLG, 2007) was accused of problematizing Muslim communities and undermining both citizenship and Community Cohesion programmes which sought to enable all students to engage with the democratic process and therefore feel part of wider society (Cantle and Thomas, 2014, Cantle and Thomas, 2015).

Curriculum support (QCDA, 2010) offered ideas to remedy these weaknesses by suggesting ways in which schools could teach about communities, cultures and faiths not represented in their school community. Opportunities to develop Community Cohesion through the arts, relations with local bodies like universities, parental relationships and by linking it to academic achievement were included in case studies often drawn from schools in the areas affected by the 2001 disturbances. Additionally a great deal of attention was given in some quarters to the role of twinning programmes (Home Office, 2004, Cantle, 2008, QCDA, 2010) between schools of differing social, ethnic and religious compositions within the UK and very often within the same LEA. Bradford and Oldham both launched

significant programmes of this sort (Cantle, 2008) in response to their own experiences of the effects of segregation.

The duty to promote community cohesion was added to the inspection criteria for Ofsted from 2009. Advice to inspectors emphasised the need to assess the school's work to establish the 'context… actions… [and] impact' (Ofsted, 2009a p4) of Community Cohesion policies and practices in schools in relation to religious, ethnic and socioeconomic differences. The emphasis on establishing context ensured that each school was required to respond in a manner reflective of its own circumstances dictated by the nature of the school's intake and the nature of its local community. This too was intended to overcome the issues facing schools, which did not have diverse populations, in addressing the issues of community cohesion. Although many teachers were very positive about Community Cohesion and the role schools could play in its promotion, the statutory nature of the duty meant that schools felt more compelled than they otherwise might have to address these issues, particularly in the light of competing demands on time and resources (CFBT, 2011).

To ensure that Community Cohesion was developed across the whole of the school community, the DCSF grounded the promotion of Community Cohesion in schools in three aims:

1. promote equality of opportunity and inclusion for different groups of pupils within a school
2. promote shared values and
3. encourage pupils to actively engage with others to understand what they all hold in common (DCSF, 2007c, p6)

It also established the three keys areas of the school through which these should be communicated:

- teaching, learning and curriculum
- equity and excellence and
- community engagement and extended services

Teaching, learning and curriculum

The aims to be achieved through teaching, learning and curriculum were closely linked to the citizenship curriculum and the cross curriculum dimension of identity and diversity (DCSF, 2007c). According to the DCSF Community Cohesion guidance this referred to classroom activities, which would enable children and young people to learn to understand others, value diversity, promote shared values and promote awareness of human rights, and how to apply and defend them as well as develop the skills of participation and responsible action. The citizenship programme of study taught from 2008 was divided into the key concepts of:

- democracy and justice
- rights and responsibilities
- identities and diversity living together in the UK

and the key processes of:

- critical thinking and enquiry
- advocacy and representation
- taking informed and responsible action

The aims of the Community Cohesion guidance were in line with these concepts and processes. Shared values are implicit in democracy and justice and rights and responsibilities. Identity and diversity had the clearest link to Community Cohesion although the inclusion of identity meant that in the

citizenship curriculum the individual was brought to the fore more clearly. The processes listed gave citizenship education a uniquely active role, which encouraged students not only to learn about citizenship but also learn through acting as citizens and making real change in their communities. This represented a key opportunity for the promotion of both social capital and Community Cohesion through citizenship education. With the addition of citizenship elements in all national curriculum subjects these themes should then have been apparent in all subject areas.

Equity and excellence

Equity and excellence concentrated on achievement and equal opportunities. It aimed to ensure that all learners enjoyed equal educational opportunities, that barriers to access and participation were removed and that, as a result, variations in outcomes for different groups were eliminated. This was monitored through inspection by Ofsted (2009a).

Community engagement

The development of extended schools and specialist schools represented two of a number of initiatives through which schools were developing community engagement. The engagement of schools in learning activities and services not just for children and young people but for the community as a whole presented opportunities for schools to enable interaction between children and their families with people from different backgrounds within their local communities (Collarbone and Burnham-West, 2008).

The literature on Community Cohesion in schools related to all three of these areas and to all the groups, which constitute contemporary British society. The following considers its influence within the whole school context with

particular reference to ethnic, social and religious minorities exploring the ways in which teaching and learning, equity and excellence, and community engagement can be used to promote equal opportunity, shared values and engagement for all students.

2.8.2 Issues relating to specific minority groups

Ethnicity

The widening ethnic diversity of the UK since the 1940s inevitably led to more ethnically diverse classrooms. Consequently schools had to attend to the needs of students with widely varying backgrounds. Variations in achievement and experiences of school became apparent over the same period (Gillborn, 2008, pp73-6). Research in the early 1970s showed the negative experiences of many black students in British schools, with students of Caribbean backgrounds far more likely to be excluded from school, placed in 'Educationally Sub Normal' schools or achieve less well in school assessments (Coard, 1971). Later evidence shows that black students remained less likely to achieve at school and more likely than any other group to be excluded, up to six times more likely than white students. Other ethnic minority groups, particularly Pakistani and Bangladeshi students, had shown similarly low levels of achievement whilst Indian, Chinese and white British students were the three highest achieving groups (Cassen, 2007). Whilst these gaps remained, evidence began to emerge of them narrowing in some areas of the country where particular initiatives had been employed (Baars et al, 2014; Woods et al, 2013). These are discussed in more detail in relation to school leadership in Chapter 4.

Following the publication of the MacPherson and Cantle reports the debate about ethnic minority achievement in schools centred on the relative

influence of racism and prejudice, and community and family responsibility on the achievement of young people. Institutional racism, defined as any conscious acts or unconscious practices which have racist effects (Macpherson, 1999), includes assessment procedures or curriculum content which may serve to exclude students of particular ethnic minorities as well as deliberate prejudicial practices which intentionally disadvantage certain students. Whilst this undoubtedly exists in schools the extent to which it is responsible for exclusion and underachievement is debatable. The fact that Chinese and Indian students achieve better than any other suggests issues such as class also impact on achievement.

Whilst many urban schools were dominated by a small number of ethnic groups, students from ethnic minorities were increasingly represented in a wider variety of schools, often beyond the traditional urban centres (Cline, 2002, p2). Along with the likelihood of students from across the UK coming into personal contact with people of different backgrounds during their lifetimes, the needs of all students to understand the increasing diversity of their nation grew with time (Gaine, 2005).

Social class

The influence of social class can be masked by ethnicity because of the diversity of social backgrounds within ethnic groups. This is particularly the case amongst white students due to the size of the white British population relative to other ethnic groups. Factors emanating from social class and deprivation including cognitive deficits, later language acquisition, involvement in antisocial behaviour and drugs, all of which are often related to low achievement in school (Cassen, 2007, p1). Using free school meals (FSM) as a measure of social deprivation shows white FSM students achieving far less well than some of their counterparts although amongst

higher social classes white students still achieve better than those of other ethnic groups (Rollock, 2007).

Religion

Fewer conclusions have been drawn about achievement by religious groups but, there are significant pressures on students of religious backgrounds, particularly Muslims, in terms of prejudice, misunderstanding and bullying (Modood, 2005a). It is also the case that two of the lowest achieving academic groups, Bangladeshi and Pakistani students are also predominantly Muslim, although there is a lack of data linking faith groups and achievement.

2.8.3 Addressing Community Cohesion through teaching, learning and curriculum

Promoting Community Cohesion through the curriculum means enabling access to the curriculum for all students whilst at the same time using the curriculum to educate students about the nature of the diverse society in which they live.

Equality of opportunity and inclusion

Enabling true equality of opportunity and inclusion means designing a curriculum, which enables access for all students. Although disputed by some (Hopkins, 2010a) the nature of the curriculum is frequently cited as a factor in the disengagement of many white working class students as well as students from ethnic minorities (Cassen, 2007). Post 9/11 the same criticism has been levelled at the curriculum with regard to religious belief. The

curriculum therefore has the potential to play a role in alienating significant proportions of young people and must also play a role in engaging them.

It is suggested that the narrowness of the traditional school curriculum is a disengaging factor for many young people. The need to establish basic skills such as literacy is little contested however the personalisation of education does enable students to engage with courses which better suit their needs. It would be, at best, patronising, however, to suggest that white working class students and those of low achieving ethnic minorities can only be engaged through practical rather than academic study. In addition to this the content of history, literature and other elements of the curriculum can be adjusted to better reflect the experience and heritage of learners, for example through the inclusion of black history, a solution which, as we shall see later, was accepted in the 2008 National Curriculum.

The debate over the relevance of curriculum content to non-white and working class students continued for decades and became particularly acute through the incorporation of the national curriculum in the 1980s. The debate became increasingly politicised with lines drawn broadly between traditionalist and progressive views. The progressive view is that the curriculum ought to be relevant to the experiences, cultures and aspirations of students. The 2000 National Curriculum did not make specific mention of particular minority groups drawing the accusation that it was 'colour blind and part of a 'New Racism'' (Gillborn, 2008, p74). However, initiatives such as Black History Month have long supported teachers in adapting the curriculum for particular groups. In spite of the apparent restrictions of the national curriculum and exam specifications, schools and teachers have retained sufficient practical independence to adapt the curriculum to suit their students. Many urban classrooms and increasing numbers of suburban classrooms now contain students of such a diverse range of ethnic and social backgrounds that fulfilling all their needs would fragment the curriculum to

an unmanageable extent. Despite this, adapting the curriculum to the backgrounds – religious, historical, cultural or linguistic – of students has borne fruit in many of those schools where improvements have been made in the achievement of students from ethnic minorities (Blair, 1998). Adapting curricula in this way raises questions concerning the appropriateness of the adaptations; many teachers are simply unaware of the content being taught and consequently focus excessively on issues like slavery (Sherwood, 2007; Traille, 2008). The question remains as to whether or not such changes actually do meet the needs of students or simply those perceived, rightly or wrongly, by the teacher.

Shared values

The curriculum plays a key role in addressing the needs of students to understand the nature of modern British society and in so doing promote shared values. Inevitably students are not totally ignorant of the existence of different groups within society, the media ensures that our diversity is, at least to some extent shared, however what students understand to be true about people of backgrounds different to theirs' can be divergent from reality (Gaine, 2005). The school curriculum presents innumerable opportunities to teach students to engage with others, challenge stereotypes and educate students about those different to themselves. The outcomes of such efforts are not always desirable. Criticisms have been levelled at unintended stereotyping caused by a failure to communicate the beliefs, values and practices or diversity behind visible representations of particular communities. A focus on artefacts and fixed teaching resources, for example, rather than individual people risks essentialising cultures (Erickson, 2004). This highlights again the challenges of group and individual identities in Community Cohesion and citizenship education. For students of the backgrounds under discussion the representation of cultures can contradict

the experiences of the individual. Consequently many students prefer either to keep their identity private or reject it all together (Cline, 2002). Conversely the presence of members of minority communities in classrooms can lead to a greater enthusiasm for the expression of their identity in the curriculum and where they are able to offer their own experiences this creates an opportunity to demonstrate the complex nature of multiple identities. The curriculum can be used therefore to misinform and develop stereotypes and prejudices just as it can be used to overcome them: simply knowing about another culture offers no guarantee that prejudice and racism will be overcome (Gaine, 2005).

The same mixture of reticence and enthusiasm exists for students from religious minorities. Many students are glad to see their faith represented in religious education lessons and school events such as assemblies, including in cases where students are invited to share their experiences but others would rather not have attention drawn to their difference (Cline, 2002). Again, insensitivity in relation to teaching about religious and ethnic difference can prevent rather than facilitate opportunities for students to engage with others.

Therefore reformed content is not a sufficient precursor for change. Multicultural education requires an environment where every student can learn irrespective of gender, ethnicity, cultural or socio-economic background (Banks, 2004). The transmission of shared values in a school takes place through both the visible and hidden curricula. In the classroom this ranges from the examples a teacher uses to illustrate abstract points through to lessons specifically aimed at reducing prejudice. But what happens in a classroom can only lead to change if it is reinforced by a whole school culture built on the same values. Here again the interplay of discourse and agency is crucial. Whole school cultures must be adapted to ensure that messages of inclusivity are not restricted to a few lessons but are a part of the everyday life of the school. As the study school in this work illustrates

this relies heavily on the values of the leaders of that school community. A change in total school culture requires those values to be shared and accepted by all members of a school community and this means that staff must be fully accepting of these values before they attempt to share them with students. Where this is the case staff will consider the needs of all students in planning lessons, assessments, activities and excursions as well as the ways in which they relate to, advise and engage students of varied backgrounds.

All schools include a variety of students differentiated by class, gender, ability and ethnicity amongst others so a successful multicultural school cannot fully meet the needs of each student. However where common values, such as those suggested in human rights structures, are successfully adopted, it can enable all students to engage in the life of the school. In doing this, schools begin to address the gap between the macroculture represented by and mediated to students through the school and the microcultures which they inhabit outside school.

Developing shared values in a society of diverse beliefs and individual rights presents significant challenges. Schools often retain very strong sets of educational values such as respect for teachers or the importance of attendance to which all members of that community are expected to subscribe. These can be a source of shared values, however deeper values present more complex questions with regard to their acceptability to different groups and individuals. The abortive attempts to create defined British values (Brown, 2006; Gove, 2014) and recurring media debates about values relating to, among others, tolerance, food, sport or religion illustrate that national values do not constitute a fixed concept beyond schools, and schools therefore can only be forums for investigating and experimenting with what those shared values could look like. Schools are often dynamic communities, however, where students of radically different backgrounds can come to share values, which enable them at least to cooperate and at best to flourish

alongside one another. The divergence within apparently homogeneous groups such as the 'white' community also should not be underestimated. Shared values are much more complex than incorporating the values of ethnic and religious minorities; socio-economic, religious and non-religious divisions within ethnic groups can be just as significant and often greater causes of division.

Opportunities to engage with others

The 2008 National Curriculum (QCA, 2008) offered greater opportunities for teaching about diversity by introducing identity and cultural diversity as a 'cross curricular dimension'. The suggestions offered in the National Curriculum guidance such as, 'give learners an accurate view of beliefs, practices and lifestyles of minority ethnic communities, cultures and groups,' still suggested cultural homogeneity (Osler, 2008) and apparently regarded members of minority communities as 'other' whilst failing to acknowledge religious, social or economic minorities at all. This demonstrated the challenge of balancing majority and minority as schools struggled to meet the disparate needs of all groups. The guidance could be adjusted to talk about groups other than the majority present in that particular school rather than minority ethnic groups, thus encouraging schools to engage their students with the lives of those different to themselves whether they be part of the social, economic or ethnic majority or a minority. The guidance also included the word 'accurate' to describe the nature of what schools should teach about minority ethnic communities. Although the intention appeared to be a laudable desire to overcome stereotyping, what constitutes accuracy may give rise to considerable debate with no assurance of any real change. This again returns to the issue of group rather than individual identities. The disparity between the two militates against accuracy and returns to the importance of personal values and relationships between teachers and

students. To pursue accuracy in the representation of all people and groups is to create an unachievable expectation whereby teachers ought to have knowledge of all those different to themselves – both groups and individuals. Therefore as well as attempting to be accurate and overcome stereotypes, the curriculum needs to develop an understanding of the limitations of what can be achieved in schools.

The 2008 curriculum did reflect the growing impact of diversity. The Key Stage 3 English curriculum for example included 'texts that enable pupils to appreciate the qualities and distinctiveness of texts from different cultures and traditions' (QCA, 2008). A list of authors from other cultures includes a significant number of black authors, although they remain 'other,' despite some of them, such as Benjamin Zephaniah, being British. This suggests an underlying assumption of monoculturalism and a curriculum focused on the needs of the white majority. The presence of this clause does demonstrate an acceptance that the majority community needs to better understand the experience of members of ethnic minorities but it still appeared to reflect a sense of the exotic.

In geography the section on cultural understanding and diversity was more positive including questions such as:

> …Who am I? Where do I come from? Who is my family?
> Who are the people around me? Where do they come from?
> What is our story?

This was much more personal at root and therefore had the potential to enable a broader understanding than the English guidance. The fact that difference in this instance referred to different from me, suggests that difference could arise from more than ethnicity and that students could be encouraged to consider the individuals around them as well as ethnic groups or communities which alone could lead to stereotyping.

Although guidance for incorporating Community Cohesion was found across the curriculum it was alongside six other cross curricular dimensions all of which merited equal treatment in the curriculum. This limited the potential for full understanding or uptake by schools or individual teachers. This dimension does, though, connect to the 'whole school' Community Cohesion remit apparently creating a connected policy framework for Community Cohesion both in the curriculum and whole school structures. In both cases, though, the limits of time and school resources inevitably imposed limits on the effectiveness of schools' actions. Studies into policy implementation (Ball, 1990; Maguire, 2013) demonstrate the relative influence of discourses at the point of policy influence, production and practice. The intentions of the influence stage, national policy making are easily lost when, at the stage of production and practice, the implementation of policy in schools, those intentions are impractical due to resource shortages or the influence of other policies meriting higher status in the policy hierarchy.

Citizenship education

At the forefront of initiatives to implement Community Cohesion in the curriculum was citizenship education introduced in 2002, with the aim of addressing political issues such as 'apathy, ignorance and cynicism about public life' (QCA, 1998). It was also a prime forum for the discussion of the *shared values* element of Community Cohesion. Although diversity was mentioned in the initial citizenship curriculum it was considered necessary to review it following the terrorist attacks of 2001 and 2005, which brought identity and diversity to the forefront of political debate (Gillborn, 2008). Consequently, at the recommendation of the Ajegbo review the new

citizenship curriculum in September 2008 incorporated 'Identity and Diversity: Living Together in the UK' (QCA, 2007, p12).

The identity and diversity element of the citizenship curriculum included the study of 'the multiple identities that may be held by groups and communities in a diverse society, and the ways in which these identities are affected by changes in society' (QCA, 2007). The guidance noted that, 'Citizenship offers opportunities for schools to address their statutory duty to promote Community Cohesion.' This opened the issue of Community Cohesion to study and discussion and where citizenship was well taught these issues could be aired. Effective citizenship lessons had the potential to give students the skills to take part in democracy and effect structural change, which could in turn contribute to a more cohesive society (Starkey, 2008).

Community Cohesion's presence as both a cross curriculum dimension and an element of citizenship education should have raised the profile of the concept across the school curriculum and school community. This may have offered an opportunity for the creation of a climate which pragmatically advanced the diversity debate, but this again represents an example of the challenges of policy implementation.

One response to externally imposed policies in schools is for school leaders to use the terminology of existing policies to present an image of compliance whilst making little real adjustment (Maguire, 2013). Citizenship education offered one such opportunity for schools to present the image of fulfilling the requirements of Community Cohesion. The presence of these topics in lessons, or in curriculum documentation, would have presented compliance in inspection, however there is no guarantee that this would lead to an increase in social capital or change in the fundamental values of students (Osler, 2008).

There is also the challenge of the relative position of subjects within the school curriculum (Ball, 2008). Citizenship was one of 14 subjects in the Key Stage 3 National Curriculum and merited a significantly lower status than core subjects: maths, English and science. In addition a very small cohort of citizenship trained teachers, supplemented by the contributions of other untrained staff, meant ensuring the quality of provision was challenging (Kerr et al, 2007). As a subject it had the potential to impact on students' understanding and attitudes to others but alternatively it could be viewed as a convenient way to deal with one of an excessive number of government initiatives and fulfil the requirements of accountability (Maguire, 2013). This illustrates both the dilemma schools faced between fulfilling the spirit and the letter of Community Cohesion guidance and that the manner in which schools implement national policies means that intended outcomes are not always realised.

Curriculum changes

Further changes to the curriculum introduced in 2014 (DfE, 2014c) illustrated the politicisation of curriculum change. In this instance the English curriculum included the aim of enabling students to 'appreciate our rich and varied literary heritage' (DfE, 2014b, p14), however this was considerably more homogeneous than in previous iterations, arguably reducing the potential for the curriculum to contribute to Community Cohesion. Similarly the citizenship curriculum presented a more civic based conception of citizenship removing references to identity. However the continued presence of citizenship in the national curriculum ensured that a significant opportunity to promote Community Cohesion through the curriculum remained.

The curriculum in practice

The ability of staff to deliver a new curriculum is vital to its success. Again the number of initiatives in the new curriculum mitigated against effective training for all staff. Where the curriculum is intended to appeal to students of a particular minority group it has been suggested that teachers from that minority are engaged to deliver the content (Coard, 1971) but whilst this may increase the amount of bonding capital it may decrease the bridging capital that Community Cohesion intends to develop. Conversely it can also alienate the students it intends to engage if the teacher is not viewed by the students as sympathetic even if they are of the same minority background. It would be wrong to suppose that simply because a teacher is black or working class they will inevitably have more success with the students they teach from those groups.

Schools which are successful in serving students from ethnic minorities often emphasise the strength of relationships between staff, students and parents but do not tend to emphasise the importance of shared heritage. Training of teachers in communication and specific issues relating to students of Caribbean descent, refugees and travellers for example acknowledges the particular struggles of students from minority groups and the need to consider their particular needs (Blair, 1998).

The same conclusion may also be drawn for working class students or those of religious minorities. In schools where the range of communities represented is high, training must reflect the diverse needs of many students. This presents challenges in itself but particularly for those schools also experiencing high staff turnovers. However, the benefits of training staff in awareness of the communities they serve are not limited to the curriculum but also enhance the prospects of improving equity and excellence and community engagement.

2.8.4 Addressing Community Cohesion through equity and excellence

Academic achievement has been the core concern of the education system in England since the Education Reform Act (DES, 1988). This agenda is rooted in a model of social cohesion, which aims to develop social mobility through educational success. As an aim this is entirely consistent with the notion of promoting *equality of opportunity and inclusion* for all students, however significant gaps remain between the achievement of the most successful groups including the white middle and upper classes, Indian and Chinese students, and that of other ethnic, religious and social minorities. The *Equity and excellence* strand of Community Cohesion aims to ensure that the curriculum offers equal opportunities for success and overcomes the barriers causing variations in outcomes between groups.

Equality of opportunity and inclusion

Equality of opportunity overlaps significantly with the social cohesion agenda in that it enables students to improve access to employment and wealth through academic outcomes. There are benefits for Community Cohesion achieved by the greater mobility created by the improved academic success of members of disadvantaged groups.

The relative performance of different groups presents a complex picture. The Youth Cohort Study 1989–2004 showed an improvement in results for all groups following the reforms of the late 1980s. Because improvement is common to all ethnic groups in some cases the gaps between groups have grown meaning that although black students became more likely to gain 5 GCSEs at A*-C grades they were still only half as likely to achieve this as

their white counterparts. Meanwhile Bangladeshi and Pakistani students also achieved significantly lower outcomes than white students although the gap for Bangladeshi students had begun to reduce. Indian students achieved more highly than white students. Other barriers to achievement also remained, particularly for black boys who, in 2004, were at least three times more likely to be excluded from school than students from other groups (Gillborn, 2008).

The cause of underachievement therefore appears to relate to particular ethnic communities either through issues internal to those communities or as a result of malign external influences such as institutional racism. Institutional racism is often cited as a cause of underachievement among ethnic minority students. The extent to which this is the case is not clear however. The influence of family has been identified as a factor responsible for raising achievement amongst some students from some South and East Asian backgrounds who often outperform most other groups (Modood, 2005a; Archer, 2007). The higher rate of achievement by black girls, relative to black boys, also suggests that gender may influence outcomes.

Another significant theme in this thesis relating to individual values is that of teacher expectation and its influence on student outcomes (Gillborn, 2008; Hopkins, 2010a). This in turn influences the structures, such as assessment and setting implemented at school level. The nature of assessments, particularly teacher assessments, as a form of institutional racism, has been linked to the continued failure and disaffection of many black students (Gillborn, 2008). One consequence of failure to achieve in assessments may be the physical separation of students into different teaching groups with a consequent loss of opportunity to engage with others, as boys or black students are separated into teaching groups for less able students, and white, Indian and Chinese students and girls find themselves in groups for the more able. As this appears to be exacerbated where teachers assess work the absence of external testing for significant periods in the school curriculum

may compound this issue. Although it would be simplistic to suggest that such prejudice is alone responsible for black students' underachievement in school it does suggest that institutional racism in the form of testing and stereotyping does negatively influence the results of some students.

Achievement also varies by social class and gender. The group most likely to persist in underachievement between the ages of 5 and 16 in England are White British males receiving free school meals (Cassen, 2007). Again teacher expectation is identified as a key theme in underachievement for all groups particularly those attending low achieving schools. This represents a number of possible explanations including the influence of geography and social mobility on the schools students attend, the attitudes and expectations of students or their families to education or an institutional prejudice among teachers. Social prejudice, like ethnic prejudice, could represent a significant barrier to Community Cohesion in a system where schools are often segregated by class and deprivation and where working class students are predominantly taught by middle class teachers.

Little data exists to verify factors operating against the interests of religious minorities but Pakistani and Bangladeshi students, the two predominantly Islamic ethnic groups, are the lowest achievers of any ethnic minority other than those of Caribbean and Black African descent.

Strategies to resolve the achievement gaps between groups focus either on structural, anti-racist approaches, addressing prejudice and low expectation in the school, or 'soft' approaches through programmes focused on culture, behaviour and home issues (Mirza, 2005, p116). An understanding of the causes of unequal outcomes is fundamental if it is to impact on Community Cohesion. If the cause is institutional prejudice then emphasis must be placed on expectation and achievement in order to develop bonding capital, principally by addressing the attitudes of schools and teachers. If the cause is found in the community then the focus must be on home and culture and

the development of bridging capital to engage families in the education system.

Shared values

Gillborn states that, '…educational inequities are shaped and legitimated by the assumptions, interests and actions of White people' (Gillborn, 2008, p36). Class issues may also be applied to this, suggesting that middle class values have the same impact on working class students. Examples of this would include the choice of examples chosen in English language papers, which reflect middle rather than working class experiences. Inevitably where an assessment system is biased in favour of a particular group, shared values would be precluded and equality in outcomes therefore unlikely.

Engage with others

Where schools have reversed these trends equality of opportunity and shared values have been achieved leading to more equitable levels of achievement among students (Blair, 1998). Key factors include strong leadership, relationships between staff, students and parents and focused systems supporting teaching and learning including specific monitoring of minority group achievement. These measures are not effective independent of each other but represent strands of a focused, personalised curriculum, which aims to achieve the potential of each individual and tracks progress by ethnicity and deprivation, although not religion, to ensure that students are not disadvantaged by virtue of their background.

The problem with such systems is where they enable prejudice to spread either deliberately or inadvertently. The growing influence of tests and performance tables encourages a greater emphasis on testing, setting and

streaming. If teacher prejudice is a dominant factor in setting it could lead to the sifting of students by class, wealth, ethnicity or even religion. Equally if the issues lie with the students themselves or their backgrounds their disadvantage may be emphasised, although an awareness of underachievement may well be a pre-cursor to overcoming it.

Chapter 4 discusses school leadership, which in many cases advocates the use of 'value added' data which demonstrates student progress rather than overall achievement in school. This method of comparing schools was adopted by the DfE for use from 2016 (DfE, 2014a). Along with the continued monitoring of students by ethnic and social group these changes represented positive developments in the use of achievement data to promote equal opportunities in schools.

However, the tendency of the media, schools, politicians and parents to focus on more 'raw' data, such as numbers of 'A' grades can influence schools to focus on gaining the maximum number of exam passes instead. This can result in a vicious circle of segregation by outcome as middle class students gravitate to schools with large numbers of middle class students, and working class and ethnic minority students (and in many cases Muslim students) are sifted into lower achieving establishments (Tomlinson, 2008) compounding poor achievement.

Whether students are in mixed or more homogeneous school environments the expectation of achievement both at home and school is a key factor in bringing about change and promoting both social and Community Cohesion. This is a significant factor for school leaders and again raises issues, which will be discussed in Chapter 4, concerning the role of school leadership structures and values in promoting social and Community Cohesion.

2.8.5 Addressing Community Cohesion through community engagement and extended services

Community engagement and extended services formed elements of policies enacted by the New Labour government at the same time as Community Cohesion policies (DfES, 2004). The development of extended schools envisioned a much broader understanding of the role of schools in their communities in line with the thinking of system leadership (Hopkins, 2007), which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter. It presented a wide range of opportunities for students to *engage with others* from a variety of groups within their local communities and therefore a range of opportunities for the promotion of Community Cohesion.

Engaging with others

Relationships between staff, students and parents are a key strength of successful multi-ethnic schools (Blair, 1998). It is important that schools understand the communities with which they are engaging in order that they serve them effectively (DfES, 2006), however care must be taken to ensure that this does not become a new form of stereotyping but takes account of the multiple identities of students and their parents.

Promoting equality of opportunity and inclusion

Schools have been estimated to account for about 14% of the influence on achievement (Cassen, 2007, p12). As the remaining influences come from outside the school and if the school is to influence achievement beyond this level it must address the causes of underachievement, which lie beyond its own gates. Certain government programmes such as excellence in cities have

focused on issues in the wider community and had a positive influence as a result (Woods, 2013).

Promoting shared values

In relation to religion, issues of community engagement became more significant through controversies relating to religious dress and school uniform (Gillborn, 2008). A discourse of security and related media stories relating to a fear of 'foreigners' in the early twenty first century contributed to the 'New Racism' particularly affecting the perception of Muslims (Modood, 2005b). In schools, advice issued on school uniforms specifically allowed schools to ban the wearing of full face veils, such as the niqab, by female Muslim students (DCSF, 2007a). Legal challenges made at the time underlined the challenges of national versus community values and of individual versus group identities (HMCS, 2006). The implementation of policy in such situations becomes extremely challenging for schools trying to balance individual and group needs and again relies significantly on the values of school leaders and the ways in which policy is practised in schools demonstrating the importance of school leadership in implementing Community Cohesion.

2.9 Promoting Community Cohesion in schools

Fulfilling the aims of Community Cohesion means educating all students for life in a multicultural society and reducing the barriers to participation experienced by some groups and individuals. The 2001 disturbances, which formed the impetus for the Community Cohesion duty, serve as a reminder of the consequences of failure to engage all the members of society.

The application of this concept to education, at the policy level, represented a step forward in the ways in which Community Cohesion was promoted in schools. Although there were weaknesses in the 2008 national curriculum, it demonstrated the ways in which national policy can be used to raise the awareness of teachers and of their students to the diversity of modern British society. The statutory nature of the curriculum and exam specifications ensured a degree of consistency in application although there were several factors which also worked against this.

The 2008 curriculum displayed a high degree of ethnocentricity, which was arguably accentuated in 2014 when a new national curriculum was published. These issues illustrate the challenges created where curriculum planners have weaknesses in their understanding of the issues or where discourses are unsympathetic to Community Cohesion.

What this illustrates more broadly is a tension at the level of policy influence, the period during which a policy is developed by government, between the discourses of Community Cohesion, identity, national values and security. At the levels of policy production and practice, the application of policy in schools, policy is also influenced by the knowledge, values and experiences of teachers and experiences similar tensions with the dominant policy and standards agendas.

Schools which have reversed the trends of underachievement by students from some groups have achieved equity and excellence through a relevant curriculum, high expectations and strong leadership. High expectations, rooted in the values of school leaders, in particular are a necessary precursor to reversing negative trends. It is the contention of this study, reflected in the results of the case study, that the values of school leaders, like high expectations, are fundamental to the promotion of Community Cohesion in schools.

Evidence shows that leadership in schools and across groups of schools has influenced change in many contexts (Baars, 2014; Blair, 1998; Cline, 2002; Woods, 2013). It is school leaders who ultimately are in the position to reconcile Community Cohesion with achievement and accountability. The role of school leaders in establishing systems and values which promote Community Cohesion alongside achievement will form the core of the discussion in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: System leadership: the path to Community Cohesion?

As policies pass through the three phases of Ball's policy cycle – influence, production and practice – they also pass through differing venues and influences. The influence stage creates policy in the form of policy documents representing the first of three key influences on final policy outcomes. In this chapter I will review two further influences on those policies, which emanate from school leaders at the production stage: leadership structures and values.

The first research question in this thesis asks: 'How did the school's leadership respond to the demands of the Community Cohesion policy?' The leadership team of the study school structured their leadership around the four pillars of David Hopkins' (2007) conception of system leadership:

- personalised learning
- professionalised teaching
- intelligent accountability
- networking and innovation

Models such as that of Hopkins are focused principally on academic achievement and therefore may appear to be at odds with the notion of Community Cohesion. My contention however is that Community Cohesion is compatible with achievement and that making achievement central to the work of a school can be a means by which Community Cohesion is promoted.

Central to this argument is moral purpose. Moral purpose is referenced frequently in the work of leadership theorists like Hopkins and Michael Fullan. Hopkins defines moral purpose in terms of two outcomes:

Although it [moral purpose] is fundamentally about enabling our students to reach their potential, it is not just about academic success and exam results. It is also about acquiring those skills and dispositions that enable individuals to become effective global citizens… (2013 p9)

Proponents of moral purpose see schooling principally as a question of school effectiveness measured in examination results. As discussed in Chapter three this contributes to the erosion of social disadvantage and therefore promotes social cohesion. However, and importantly for this thesis, it is also viewed as a process whereby students can acquire the skills and dispositions which enable them to grow as citizens. This has the potential to contribute to Community Cohesion. Moral purpose therefore is a vision, which aims to achieve both neo-liberal and progressive outcomes. However to achieve both sets of aims requires a reliance both on discourse, in terms of national policy and school systems, and agency in the form of the values of school leaders. Moral purpose relies on the values of school leaders to go beyond the demands of academic achievement to engage also with the wider needs of students in their schools and other institutions (Hoyle and Wallace, 2005

These concerns, academic achievement through systems, and moral purpose through leaders' values, form the structure of this chapter. It will first consider the question of the extent to which schools can influence society before offering a critique of Hopkins' model of system leadership as a means by which school leaders can implement national policy with particular reference to Community Cohesion. Finally it considers the role of leaders' values on the same questions of the implementation of national policy and Community Cohesion at the school level.

An evaluation of evidence from school improvement in London suggests that there is empirical evidence of the successful contribution of system

leadership to social cohesion by improving academic outcomes in at least one significant geographical area (Baars et al, 2014). The improvement of academic outcomes for students from all backgrounds, in the form of equal opportunities, represents a significant element of Community Cohesion. However, the overall fulfilment of the policy of Community Cohesion represents a step beyond the requirements of Social Cohesion and this step very often relies more on the values of school leaders. The chapter concludes therefore that there is a demonstrable link between system leadership and social cohesion (in the form of academic achievement) and that through exploiting this link alongside the values of school leaders the promotion of Community Cohesion is also possible.

3.1 The problem of schooling

In England radical changes to education were inaugurated by the Education Reform Act (1988) predicated on the notion of a crisis in schools. The sense of crisis developed in part as a result of attacks on comprehensive education from the right wing press and politicians and a perception that modern teaching methods were damaging education (Ball, 2008; Barker, 2010; Tomlinson, 2008). David Hopkins characterised the 1970s and 80s as an era of low standards and paternalistic leadership in need of reform (Hopkins, 2009). Elmore, writing in the United States, declared the post-World War 2 progressive education experiment, which frequently overlapped with comprehensive ideals, to be a failure (Elmore, 1996). Others, though, lamented a missed opportunity to bring about social equality through education (Ball, 2008; Tomlinson, 2008) and the abandonment of the notion of a liberal arts education in state schools in England (Barker, 2010).

With school competition and local management, education has become an increasingly broad enterprise incorporating overlapping social and economic

spheres. Theories such as system leadership have emerged as part of the growth of education management as an area of study. Management theory generally endorses the view that social disadvantage can be overcome by school level initiative and intervention. This is referred to as school effectiveness or, as leadership and management in the UK and administration in the USA (Sammons and Coleman, 2005) but here is referred to as school effectiveness. A critical stance has also emerged and is held by commentators who regard education as an affective endeavour undermined by social disadvantage but which should aim to address that disadvantage often through progressive methods.

One of the key differentials between the two groups is the role of the school as an agent of social change. On one side is a belief that schools cannot be expected to overcome the social disadvantages of class, ethnicity and poverty, which are seen as preventing the achievement of some children. Sarason's (1971) study of the difficulties of changing school cultures served to emphasise this perspective. Sarason drew the pessimistic conclusion that school reform was unlikely because of dominant attitudes and cultures in schools. However Rutter's (1979) study of the differing impact of 12 London schools came to more positive conclusions, particularly with reference to the value of school ethos in enabling students to transcend disadvantage to achieve academically in school. The development of school effectiveness therefore rests on the belief, supported by evidence, that schools do make a difference to student achievement.

These two studies indicate the determinist and positive positions taken by each of the two groups but both emphasise the significance of agency. Rutter's study influenced the development of a school improvement literature in England, which drew attention to the role of schools in overcoming disadvantage and promoting achievement (Sammons and

Coleman, 2005), and influenced the development of education policy in England from the 1980s.

3.1.1 Education policy in England

The late 1980s saw a period of significant reform in education in England led from central government but beginning a process of disseminating responsibility to school leaders. This placed headteachers and their staff at the heart of school improvement (DfEE, 2001). Such a system demanded a strong emphasis on staff development, which was developed in time through the introduction of the NCSL and the TDA. These institutions were designed to build capacity for schools to implement changes. They focused on developing schools as learning communities and professionalising teachers by developing behaviours and expertise, which would improve the ways in which students learn and the standards they achieve.

This emphasis on leadership in schools however creates tension between the aims of educational leaders at the local level and those of national government. This is embodied in the differing emphases of the NCSL, on transformational leadership, and Ofsted, of standardisation through targets and performance tables (Barker, 2008). Wright (2003) questions the extent to which headteachers really hold sufficient power to effect change when the key elements of their work, curriculum and final assessment, lie outside their control.

This school improvement model has however seen improvements by a number of measures including in terms of rates of literacy and numeracy at the end of primary education and England's comparative performance in science and maths (Fullan, 2005). However structural inequalities and cultural bias rooted beyond school gates challenge the ability of schools to

raise the achievement of all students. As achievement is raised across the system the advantage held by more socially and economically advantaged students grows even when the less advantaged students are achieving at a higher level (Whitty, 2002). Therefore improvements in school achievement are affected by social disadvantage and the challenge for the school improvement movement is to show that in spite of broader challenges including poverty and social class schools are able to overcome the relative achievement gap. New Labour initiatives such as Sure Start, Every Child Matters and the extended schools programme in the early twenty first century represented examples of joined up policy directed at addressing the range of structural issues impacting on how students achieve at school. These were closely related to system leadership and emphasised the development of social capital by developing schools as key social institutions within their communities. However with the change of administration in 2010 many of these programmes were reduced or discontinued.

The introduction of a range of policies aimed at addressing social issues through schools created challenges in many schools relating to the balance between addressing social and academic outcomes and the capacity of schools to fulfil all these requirements. This led to criticism that the range of statutory initiatives was becoming increasingly unmanageable (ASCL, 2009, Hoyle and Wallace 2007). Under the New Labour government, legislation made clear that schools were expected to serve this dual purpose however this was significantly reduced by the consequent coalition administration which placed a much stronger focus on schools as academic institutions.

Providing market information to parents, the clientele of the school system, through academic performance tables and accountability has, however, remained central to the strategy of all administrations since 1988. Consequently parental choice has driven schools to focus principally on academic achievement. Concepts such as Community Cohesion, which are

less prominent or less valued by parents, have inevitably taken on a low priority in many schools except where they can be shown to impact on academic achievement. For a period of time Ofsted inspection schedules gave Community Cohesion a higher profile in school inspections (Ofsted, 2009a) leading schools to give it more serious attention, however the objective of system leadership is to integrate these two policy objectives so that each serves the other. This objective rests on the values of school leaders and the capacity of schools and the wider system to fulfil it.

3.1.2 Can schools compensate for society?

The root of tensions between social and academic outcomes lies partially in the belief at the national level that those things addressed in schools will be changed for the whole of society (Bernstein, 1971). There is some merit in a belief in the potential of schools to influence society and system leadership aims to contribute to this by enabling students from any background to achieve academic outcomes, which contribute to social mobility. However the extent to which schools are able to act as a panacea to address social challenges is debatable and a key question is whether the primary focus of schools should be on social cohesion or Community Cohesion; the former focused on achievement and social mobility, the latter emphasising values in an effort to overcome the barriers between communities. A flood of (often contradictory) policy initiatives since 1988 has put severe pressure on schools to address both these and other challenges. In consequence many have chosen to neglect those which they do not deem important or which do not appear to contribute to success in the inspection system. The success of policy and the effectiveness of system leadership therefore depend on the ability to prioritise outcomes and develop the capacity to achieve them. Whether or not Community Cohesion is compatible with these priorities depends on the extent to which it is valued both in national policy and by school leaders.

3.2 Effective schools?

School effectiveness in England emerged in the 1980s following the work of Rutter (1979) and developed during the period of the 1988 act, which provided the conditions for its growth. Consequently headteachers quickly began to use their new-found freedoms to focus on the academic outcomes by which they would be measured. The focus on school level actions and outcomes in school effectiveness made it highly relevant to the situation in which school leaders were placed.

The close proximity between neo-liberal reforms and school effectiveness has been the root of much of the criticism of school effectiveness from critical thinkers who argue that it has facilitated the move from social equity to marketization in schools (Apple, 2006). The primary focus of school effectiveness research on the influence of school inputs on academic outcomes (Gray, 1995) measured by examination results data has led some to caution that school effectiveness risks making schools narrow, overly focused on results and school level actions at the expense of social justice (Thrupp, 1999).

However proponents of school effectiveness argue that the more positivist stance of school effectiveness has moderated over-deterministic theories, based on sociological disadvantage on the left and psychological theories of intelligence on the right. Instead, they argue, it has focused attention on the institutions, which can contribute to overcoming limiting factors (Sammons, 2005). For this reason proponents of school effectiveness often cite effectiveness as a means to achieve social justice because it enables students to achieve well in school and improves life chances (Fullan, 2003; Fuller,

2012; Hopkins, 2007). This positions school effectiveness well to contribute to social cohesion by granting students from disadvantaged backgrounds access to work and educational opportunities they might otherwise not have had access to. In addition to this Fuller (2012), in her discussion of the attitudes of particular headteachers, points to strategies such as the use of attendance data to highlight students' social and personal issues which enable schools to support student welfare and address social equity.

School effectiveness research acknowledges that the influence of schools on outcomes is difficult to measure. As discussed previously, Cassen's (2007) study estimated the influence of schools on individual students results to be approximately 14% whilst others have suggested figures as low as 10% (Sammons, 2005). Whilst acknowledging that either figure is relatively low, effectiveness researchers argue that it remains more significant than other factors including gender and entitlement to free school meals and that the influence of schools varies according to the group to which a student belongs (Sammons, 2005). Unlike critical theorists who generally reject the value of performance measures, effectiveness researchers point to the use of measures such as value added data as a means to overcome the influence of context on outcomes.

The insights offered by the effectiveness movement suggest that whilst schools vary greatly as a result of intake and culture there are common factors, which make some schools more effective than others. Sammons (1995) list leadership, school culture, professional development, relations with parents, classroom-based issues (including effective teaching and learning) and high expectations as commonly observed features of effective schools. Conversely ineffective schools are characterised in research by a lack of vision, unfocused leadership and dysfunctional staff relations (Reynolds, 1996), as well as ineffective classroom practices characterised by low expectations (Stoll, 1996). Further developments suggest that rather than

just whole school leadership, a combination of pedagogical and transformational leadership is key to enabling school improvement (Day and Sammons, 2013).

3.2.1 Critiques of school effectiveness

This thesis focuses on David Hopkins' theory of system leadership (2007; 2010b). System leadership represents one example of school improvement which has grown in influence globally since the 1970s and which leadership theorists (Mortimore, 2000; Harris, 2014) regard as a means to achieve greater social cohesion through equal opportunities.

Others regard school improvement as an adjunct of neoliberal education policies (Barker, 2010). Barker (2010) points to the beliefs expounded by the school improvement lobby which, he argues, represent 'the relentless pursuit of the unattainable' (Barker, 2008 p1). Apple situates school improvement amongst a combination of conservative, neo-liberal and managerialist ideas which have come to form the 'commonsense' (Apple, 2006, p14) of the public educational debate in the United States and which he believes present a threat to the values of schools and society. Apple's analysis of the nature of and response to this coalition offers three insights, which I will develop through this chapter. The first is that the left must recognise that there are very real issues in schools today to which the right have offered solutions. The second is that the left have failed to offer a coherent response to these issues. The third, that what is often regarded as a monolithic right wing project is actually a loose alliance including traditionalists, religious conservatives and free market neo-liberals. Apple's response to these insights is to seek out issues where different groups can coalesce to oppose what both sides regard as undesirable and promote what is held in common,

a desire to see every student in every school receive an equal opportunity to flourish (Apple, 2013).

The example Apple cites to illustrate this view is the successful opposition to the Channel One television company's targeting of school aged children through the installation of televisions and advertising in schools. This campaign represented a victory for an alliance of left wing anti-corporate campaigners and conservative traditionalists. The educational climate in England has been influenced heavily by neo-liberal policies, particularly since the Education Reform Act of 1988, which ushered in an era of greater school independence, competition and a national curriculum. There are, however, considerable differences between the experience in England and the United States relating in particular to role of religion in schools, school management and funding structures and the role of private enterprise in state education.

In England the potential exists within the education system to exploit Apple's three insights to offer an alternative vision for education. This is a vision that addresses the concerns visible to both left and right in a manner which satisfies the objectives of emancipation, achievement and citizenship which are common to both leadership theorists like Senge and critical theorists such as Apple. What I will suggest through this chapter is that system leadership has the potential to respond to each of these objectives.

School effectiveness is seen by some as an extension of neo-liberal school reforms and therefore to be resisted. Barker offers one such critique, which I will review below in order to challenge some of the criticisms levelled at school effectiveness. Barker lists 'five illusory beliefs which have driven education policy' (Barker, 2010, p xix):

1.   Effective and efficient schools overcome disadvantage and improve life chances

2.   Markets and competition improve school efficiency and outcomes

3.   Central regulation and inspection ensure high standards of quality and performance

4.   Successful leaders transform their schools and change the system

5.   Best practice in teaching and organisation can be transferred from one site to another so that every school performs at a high level

The majority of these points form elements of the school effectiveness movement's ideas. Some however, like the place of markets and competition and the role of central regulation, are debated by school effectiveness researchers and mark differing views concerning what is effective and the methods employed in policy. There is a fundamental issue in this that school effectiveness must not be confused with neo-liberal education policy. Although they often complement each other there are fundamental differences between academic theory and political practice, for example in the understanding of the value of and methods used in school inspection.

Barker's critique however divides into two fundamental criticisms. The first is that the accountability framework has had a distorting effect on education resulting in an excessive focus on the demands of inspectors, narrowed curricula and teaching to the test with a consequent loss of creativity in the curriculum (Robinson, 1995). The second is that school effectiveness has not been proven to have any lasting impact on results.

The first of these issues relates principally to national policy and in some respects is an issue of policy making rather than an issue of school effectiveness. The real challenge to school effectiveness is the suggestion that effective schools do not overcome disadvantage, successful leaders

cannot transform schools and that best practice in teaching cannot be shared between schools.

Schools do not overcome disadvantage

This criticism can be broken down into two key points. The first is that any intervention to support the achievement of students of lower achieving social or ethnic groups serves only to maintain the relative achievement gap (Whitty, 2002). The second is that school effectiveness does not sufficiently take context into account (Noguera, 2006). However the question remains as to why some schools in similar contexts achieve much better outcomes than others (Rutter, 1979).

Effectiveness researchers have responded in part by arguing that effectiveness is an evolving system which needs to develop to address weaknesses in theory and practice as they arise (Fullan, 2009; Hopkins, 2001; 2007; Levačić and Woods, 2002). Fullan (2009) argues that the effectiveness movement has needed to re-evaluate its methods in the light of some disappointing outcomes. Perhaps in response to criticisms, context is an issue that has become increasingly prominent in Hopkins' discussions of system leadership (Hopkins, 2010b).

The justification for the school effectiveness movement ultimately depends on a satisfactory response to the question of whether or not by its own measure of success it is actually effective. More recent developments in England demonstrate evidence is accumulating to support the claims of the school effectiveness movement (Baars et al, 2014; Day et al, 2009; Woods et al, 2013). What is more striking in terms of the arguments for the effectiveness movement is that a major emphasis in one report, into the success of the London Challenge (Baars et al, 2014), is placed on leadership in an orchestrated, large scale programme.

Successful leaders transform schools

The conclusions of the report into the London Challenge (Baars et al, 2014) appear to suggest that successful leaders do indeed transform schools. A definition of 'transformation' is essential to a critique of this point. Both Barker and Hopkins (2010a) note that transformed student behaviour, attitudes and staff morale do not necessarily translate into transformed academic outcomes. This is reflected by the concern in the school improvement literature with both pedagogical and institutional leadership (Day and Sammons, 2013). Hopkins and Fullan focus increasingly on teacher professionalism and classroom interactions around assessment for learning as a means to improve outcomes through leadership.

Best practice in teaching can be shared between schools

Although some, like Barker (2010) and Thrupp (1999) question the extent to which school improvement really can make a difference there does appear to be a consensus across the leadership and critical literature that the issue of teacher expectations is a key factor determining student outcomes (Barker, 2010; Gillborn, 2008; Hopkins, 2010a). Studies have identified high quality teaching as a key factor in high achieving schools (Baars et al, 2014; Blair et al, 1998; Hopkins, 2010a). The report into the success of London schools (Baars et al, 2014) emphasised the role of teaching and the importance of sharing good practice between schools to enable low attaining schools to improve outcomes. The evidence demonstrates that by the standards by which system leadership quantifies success, teaching is a key factor influencing success and that best practice can be shared between schools.

3.2.2 The case of London

There have been a number of notable successes for system leadership in England in the early twenty first century however the changes in outcomes observed in London in the first ten years of the twenty first century are

probably the most notable. The London Challenge was devised as a system improvement scheme involving all schools in inner London boroughs to address their relative underperformance compared to those in the rest of England. This involved particularly high levels of cooperation with weaker schools being paired with more successful ones, resources in the form of teachers, buildings and school structures targeted at the most needy institutions and a strong focus on school cultures, expectations and the use of data (Baars et al, 2014).

The London Challenge was one of a small number of key factors, which enabled schools to develop the principles of system leadership. Of the others, the academies programme and improved support from local authorities influenced the development of networking and innovation and intelligent accountability (the role of each of these factors in system leadership is developed below). Alongside these the Teach First programme influenced professionalised teaching and personalised learning by recruiting and training high achieving graduates to teach in the lowest achieving schools. When combined these factors created an outcomes focused system capable of improving outcomes for all students rather than just those in individual schools.

The outcomes of these initiatives led to London moving from the academically worst performing to the best performing region in England over a ten year period. By 2010 London schools had the highest proportion of students obtaining five GCSEs at grades A*-C, the highest percentage of schools rated 'outstanding' by Ofsted and the highest GCSE attainment for pupils from poorer backgrounds. The gap between advantaged and disadvantaged students was also significantly smaller in London than in any other region in England.

Several factors consistent with system leadership were identified as influencing the changes in London including more effective leadership,

schools as data driven organisations, strong networks and a culture of high expectations. One key conclusion of the report into the changes in outcomes for London schools notes that unlike many government initiatives the London Challenge lasted for a considerable period of time. This would have promoted consistency and enabled the principles of system leadership to become embedded. This supports the claim that system leadership is a developing concept, which can enable improvement over time with the development of key factors.

A further observation was that the leadership in London was characterised by a strong sense of 'moral purpose' (p12). This is consistent with the principles and objectives of system leadership but also illustrates the importance of the values of those leading such interventions. Particular actors such as the London Schools Commissioner Tim Brighouse are cited by Baars et al as having attracted the praise of a significant number of teachers and school leaders. This demonstrates not only the importance of a consistent system but that leadership is about individual leaders who must inspire the trust of those they are leading.

3.2.3 Is effectiveness effective?

The evidence presented above suggests that whilst school effectiveness has faced a number of significant challenges it has begun to demonstrate some success in terms of outcome both in England and internationally. However schools are judged on a range of factors including social cohesion and Community Cohesion, which is the central concern of this thesis. The observation that the gap between more and less advantaged students has begun to narrow significantly in London suggests that system leadership is having an impact on social cohesion as measured in terms of academic outcomes. This outcome is evidence that the objectives of theorists like

Fullan (2009) and Hopkins (Day et al, 2009) to impact on context and social equity through system leadership are achievable. However it offers limited evidence of the impact on Community Cohesion.

The following chapters will consider the relationship between effectiveness, social cohesion and Community Cohesion in one school and ask whether or not in this case there is an observable impact on both concepts through the implementation of a system leadership model at the school level.

3.3 Hopkins' model of system leadership

Hopkins (2007) asserts that system leadership is a concept rooted in both a rich theoretical and research context. Principally this is the work of management theorist Peter Senge (1990). Senge's 'learning organisation', a flexible, creative organism where participants are able to adapt to changing circumstances is rooted in post-industrial thinking where change is expected and accepted as a normal part of working life. The rationale behind this is that in a fast changing economy only organisations and workers who adapt will excel. The learning organisation therefore has to be able to engage its members' commitment and capacity to learn at all levels so that they are willing and able to change with circumstances.

The significance of Senge as an influence on the work of prominent and influential contemporary educational systems theorists lends weight to Hopkins' model of system leadership and increases its potential to gain traction in schools and school systems.

3.3.1 Senge's system theory

In his work on system leadership in education, Senge concludes: '…time and again I have seen that when the space is created, young people…do step forward. I have come to believe that a core purpose of school today should be to create that kind of space' (Senge, 2012). The space in question is space for the discussion of contemporary issues of concern to young people. This perspective envisions schools as venues in which the concerns of national and global citizenship can be addressed and therefore enjoys similarities with the statement of the Diversity, Citizenship, and Global Education Consensus Panel (Banks et al, 2005). This offers sufficient common ground to signal a potential link between the worlds of management science and citizenship education. My assertion here is that the emancipatory ambitions of both may be achieved through a combination of national policy, school improvement and the values of school leaders.

Senge's ideas relate to Heifetz's concept of adaptive learning (1994) where organisations must look beyond technical issues, which often relate to structural and organisational concerns to more fundamental issues of culture and attitude. As organisations, schools address technical issues, such as staffing and attendance at school as well as adaptive ones including teacher expectation and student commitment to learning. Senge goes a step further though, suggesting that organisations must go beyond adaptive learning to 'generative learning' whereby members not only adapt but consciously develop their capacity to do so, a concept often referred to in schools as 'learning to learn'.

For Senge the learning organisation is constituted of five basic 'disciplines' (Senge, 1990), which as active agents in a learning organisation members need to develop:

> *Personal mastery* – the ongoing process of learning linked to continuing professional development in education.

Mental models – mental models take the form of assumptions and understandings, which form a person's world view.

Building shared vision – a collective vision, which enables members of an organisation to develop a long term vision for its direction.

Team learning – members of a team share their learning so that by learning together they can act together.

Systems thinking - Senge places particular emphasis on systems thinking because it is this, which enables an understanding of the whole organisation and the ability to understand the relationship between the remaining disciplines. The systems thinker is able to look beyond the component parts of an organisation and see the processes operating within it. This way of understanding organisations, Senge argues, prevents short term and ill-informed thinking and replaces it with a greater level of insight and improved decision making.

The contradiction between Senge's distributive and collaborative leadership as opposed to the traditional hierarchical model of schools in England and the neo-liberal competitive accountability model mean that Senge's model is not immediately compatible with the contemporary educational culture in England or other parts of the world. Fullan (2005) argues that this illustrates both the need for change and the way in which change needs to occur if schools are to adapt to meet the needs of this generation.

3.3.2 System leadership and public service reform

This model forms a part of the wider public service reform agenda which seeks to develop public services which are 'universal and diverse, respond

to the needs and aspirations of citizens and compete with the private sector on quality' (Barber, 2004). Fullan (2005) however observes that dominant leadership discourses have ensured that schools and school systems have not yet developed either the vision or the capacity to move from addressing technical to adaptive challenges.

This analysis of changes over time in education systems (Figure 3.1) draws on

	Knowledge poor		
Central prescription	1980s Uninformed prescription	1970s Uninformed professional judgement	Professional judgement
	1990s Informed prescription	2000s Informed professional judgement	
	Knowledge rich		

Figure 3.1 (Barber, 2002)

Barber's (2002) model of public service reform which emphasises a move to an informed professionalism where services are managed at the lowest level possible to offer the best service possible. Barber argues that public services in western countries tended, at the beginning of the 1980s, to be relatively unregulated leaving professionals to make decisions concerning delivery that they often did not possess the understanding to adequately make. This developed during the 1980s into uninformed prescription where methods and structures of service delivery were increasingly dictated by governments who did not understand how these services operated. As understanding developed in the core in the 1990s the prescription became more informed but the challenge arose to develop services, which could be locally led and managed by professionals who possessed the skills to do so. Barber claims that the outcomes ought to be flexible and effective services.

Education in England has moved through each of these phases and is now characterised by a tension between the informed prescription of central government and the informed professional judgement of school leaders and teachers. The key to achieving professional leadership of a school system is capacity. Both Barber's 'informed professionalism' and Senge's 'personal mastery' suggest highly competent school leaders. School improvement, and system leadership, with a focus on the constant improvement and development of capacity in systems and individuals, is well suited to an era of informed professional judgement. For this vision of sustainable system reform to be realised Senge's five disciplines need to be internalised across the system. This challenge begins in individual schools and spreads across the entire school system. It requires adjustments in accountability and professional development structures at the national level, an emphasis on leadership rather than leaders in schools and on deep learning from leaders, teachers and students in schools (Claxton, 2002).

3.3.3 The objectives of system leadership

As a form of school effectiveness, system leadership has a strong focus on social cohesion through academic achievement. Hopkins places 'measur[ing] success in terms of raising the bar and narrowing the gaps' at the top of his list of five characteristics of system leaders (Hopkins, 2009, p37). For system leaders this means ensuring that students from less privileged backgrounds make progress in their education, which enables them to achieve results comparable to their more advantaged peers. This is often measured in terms of 'value added' (Sammons, 2005) and aims to develop social cohesion by enabling less privileged students access to higher status education and employment.

System theorists and leaders recognise the challenge of context (Fullan, 2006) and argue that it is by raising the bar and closing the gap, i.e. raising standards, for less privileged students and narrowing the gap between them and the more privileged, that they challenge that context. One of the criticisms levelled by system leadership theorists at critical theorists is the lack of workable solutions offered to challenging social problems (Fullan, 2006), system leadership aims not just to critique the problems in schools but to offer and implement solutions.

Fullan (2003) describes in depth the ambition of system leaders to 'change the immediate context' (p2), both individual and social. Fullan's belief that schools act as 'the cornerstone of a civil prosperous, and democratic society,' echoes those of Dewey and Apple and is a theme taken up by Hopkins (2007; 2010b) in response to Barber's caution that state-run schools should not become 'poor schools for poor people' (Barber, 2000 p2). The vision of system leadership in schools therefore is as a social good which also impacts wider society. This entails a focus on equity in terms of access to education, measured principally by academic attainment and addressing the needs of all students. It also means the inclusion of citizenship education as a contribution to the development of diverse multi-ethnic societies and a focus on giving communities a sense of 'worth and empowerment' (Hopkins, 2009 p154).

System leaders view this in terms of 'moral purpose'. This moral purpose is at the heart of this thesis, which questions the extent to which system leadership can contribute to Community Cohesion. The challenge for system leadership is to demonstrate that it has the capacity to affect both individual and social outcomes and make a lasting contribution to social change including between people and communities.

3.4 System leadership at the school level

In his 2007 book, 'Every School a Great School,' Hopkins presents his model for the application of system leadership in practice. This is structured around four key areas of practice:

- Personalised learning
- Professionalised teaching
- Intelligent accountability
- Networking and innovation

Each of these will be critiqued here in greater detail to understand their contribution to system leadership. In particular, these sections will illustrate the contribution these areas make to social cohesion and Community Cohesion. In many cases the contribution to Community Cohesion is not immediately obvious and requires greater input than simple adherence to Hopkins' model. However, what I illustrate here is that the adoption of Hopkins' system leadership in parallel with the application of the values of school leaders is sufficient to contribute to Community Cohesion in schools.

3.4.1 Personalised learning

Senge's model of system leadership requires all members of a learning organisation to be equipped to learn continually. The conception of learning in system leadership therefore does not relate solely to what is learned but also how it is learned. This signals a move away from an industrial (teacher centred) model of transmission and raises the possibility of a learning experience which is highly engaging, challenging, and successful for each individual. Personalisation ensures that every student achieves their academic potential whilst at the same time contributing to Community Cohesion through its democratic nature and the choice of curriculum content adopted by school leaders.

The move from industrial to personalised learning has profound implications both for the structure of curriculum and for the nature of teaching and learning in the classroom. They also offer greater opportunities for both social and Community Cohesion in the creation of a curriculum that addresses individual and group needs, for example by addressing the beliefs of religious groups represented within the school or local community. Therefore the demands of personalised learning have a strong relationship to those of professionalised teaching, which we will consider in the next section.

Personalised learning itself is divided into two components; metacognition (how students learn) and knowledge.

Metacognition

The system leadership model of learning is a constructivist model in which students construct learning from discussion, open ended tasks and questioning with the help of teachers, other students and other adults. Such methods not only promote the acquisition of knowledge but also enable the development of the learner both personally and as a learner. Because it is, in many ways led by the learner it can lead to greater interaction with the wider community through engagement with members of the local community or through resources such as websites offering insights into issues further afield. This has significant implications for the relationship between Community Cohesion, social cohesion and system leadership because it enables the type of discursive and critical pedagogy that democratic forms of education require as well as access to information and experiences, which enable students to learn about people of different backgrounds to their own.

Such pedagogies are often criticised as lacking excellence, standards or rigour but Hopkins argues that they are a means to overcome false dichotomies in the classroom such as excellence and enjoyment or high standards and high equity. Most significantly he suggests that this is a means

by which schools can break the link between socioeconomic disadvantage and attainment.

Ideas such as these have been popularised in recent years with a focus on enabling students to develop the skills to learn (Claxton, 2002), students attitudes to learning (Dweck, 2012), which relate to Senge's mental models, and the teaching methodologies which most effectively enable students to learn (Hattie, 2012). The work of these researchers suggests that these strategies are very powerful and yet it is probably the requirement for significant, coordinated and ongoing investment in staff training and acceptance that has prevented a system wide impact to date. Overcoming the issues which prevent the development of metacognition could have a significant impact on access to the curriculum and therefore on the aims of promoting social and Community cohesion through achievement in the school curriculum.

Knowledge

Highly restrictive national curricula are often blamed for a lack of interest on the part of students who feel alienated by content they feel is irrelevant to them (Gillborn, 2008; Osler, 2003). System leadership argues for the retention of national curricula in part as a strategy to maintain standards for employability. However a personalised curriculum with a slimmed down core, whilst presenting significant logistical challenges, offers the possibility of increased enthusiasm and motivation on the part of students.

Around the core curriculum, Hopkins proposes a broad personalised curriculum, which enables students to choose from a range of different options reflecting their own interests and aptitudes. This bears some relation to the ideals of the progressive movement and can be adapted to ensure that a range of skills – functional, thinking and learning, personal and interpersonal (Hopkins, 2007; OECD, 2005) – are developed. These skills

and the flexibility of content offer the potential for an education which is linked to the aims of social and Community Cohesion through a curriculum which is responsive to individual and community needs. This offers schools the opportunity to teach students about the attitudes, beliefs and cultures of other groups within local, national or international communities. A flexible curriculum in the Northern English cities affected by violence in 2001 would have enabled, for example, teaching about Islamic or Christian religious beliefs and issues of local history and immigration. This would have informed young people of the variety of cultures and values present in their area.

Controversies in England relating to the introduction of the English Baccalaureate (Adams, 2013) demonstrate the contested nature of curriculum and how it relates to varied educational discourses. The proposal of a small core curriculum with a larger optional curriculum may make a positive contribution to engagement but it could also lead to a greater separation between students in different types of school. Previous research has identified trends for schools in more deprived areas to teach subjects perceived as being of lower value than those offered in schools with greater numbers of middle class students (Gillborn, 2008). Addressing this challenge is an aspect of professionalised teaching and intelligent accountability both of which are discussed below.

The potential complexity of personalised learning means that it is limited in many countries by the demands of national curricula and the skills and knowledge of the teachers delivering the curriculum. Consequently the success of this model again relies on the relationship between personalised learning and professionalised teaching.

3.4.2 Professionalised teaching

Barber's model (Figure 3.1) charts the movement from uninformed prescription to one of informed professional judgement. For schools to achieve this requires the knowledge, skills and attitudes of professionalised teachers. If schools are to contribute to social and Community Cohesion these concepts must form part of the professional attitudes of teachers. If this is alongside equal opportunities and high expectations irrespective of background schools have the potential to make a significant contribution to social mobility and enable young people from all backgrounds to contribute to national culture in all its forms.

Hopkins suggests that a lack of 'professional skill' (2007, p73) is a key issue for the teaching profession in England. In part this can be attributed to a focus on curriculum rather than pedagogy. However the behaviours of teachers, including expectations, are frequently cited in research as a cause of student underachievement, which can in turn contribute to the marginalisation of social groups. As noted in previous chapters many commentators have related this to underachievement for students from particular ethnic and social groups and consequently a barrier to improved social and Community Cohesion. Therefore it is necessary that schools develop the professional skills and attitudes necessary to enable achievement.

The creation of the NCSL in 2000 led to the promotion of forms of leadership such as distributed leadership in schools in England. Distributed leadership is rooted in the belief that leadership is an issue for every member of a school community not just those in formal positions of leadership (NCSL, 2004). For the teaching profession to adhere to Senge's model of systems thinking in this context requires the development of professionalised teaching. This ensures that leadership is of a consistently high enough quality to ensure that the system continues to grow and develop based on the development of every member of school staff including teachers as leaders of individual classrooms. Therefore the knowledge, skills and attitudes of all members of

staff within a school must be consistent and continually developing. Research (Hobby, 2004) into the characteristics of high value added schools emphasises the importance of a culture which raises the capability of staff with a particular focus on the use of data to set and monitor targets, high expectations and excellence. Consequently, if schools are to contribute to social cohesion through outcomes, using the application of Hopkins' model of system leadership, these factors need to become central to teachers' practice.

Personalised learning means a move towards a more democratic and meritocratic classroom environment. The collegiate nature of professionalised teaching enables this by developing the skills, knowledge and attitudes in teachers through which they can create school and classroom environments where students can develop both as learners and in what they learn. Consequently professionalised teachers are also more able to contribute to social cohesion by enabling students to learn and achieve creating opportunities for students beyond school.

The use of data to measure progress and impact is key to evaluating the success of teacher professionalization at the classroom level by measuring teacher inputs against the outcomes achieved by students through assessment for learning. An intelligent system of data gathering and analysis linked to assessment for learning is an essential part of the development of deep learning in schools (Hopkins, 2007). The use of data by teachers enables them to monitor their own progress and impact as teachers and that of students as learners. Data also plays a central role in the third element of Hopkins' system leadership, intelligent accountability.

3.4.3 Intelligent accountability

Accountability is a key part of the school systems implemented in several countries since the 1980s. In many cases this has proved to be controversial, not least in England where the introduction of performance tables and inspection followed the 1988 Education Act. Critics claim that such measures have obscured the purposes of schools with a disproportionate focus on the core curriculum and examinations (Ball, 2008; Barker, 2010). Those concerned with school improvement however have tended to be less critical of the notion of accountability and instead more critical of the nature of the accountability regimes that have been implemented (Coleman, 2005). Indeed the need for accountability is regarded as a given by Senge (2012), Fullan (2005) and Hopkins (2007) who makes the case for a sliding scale of accountability from centralised accountability to professional judgement.

In terms of social cohesion and Community Cohesion the issue is one of what schools are held accountable for. During the final years of the New Labour administration ending in 2010, Community Cohesion was named as part of the accountability framework through Ofsted inspection. The impacts of this are illustrated later by the suggestion by members of the study school's leadership team that this was a contributory factor in developing relationships between the study school and the neighbouring Jewish school.

System leaders view accountability in terms of the different forms of feedback, which enable the system to improve (Senge, 1990). In many cases therefore proponents of system leadership endorse the use of performance tables, inspection and target setting as a means of ensuring that professionalization and personalisation are taking root and producing the expected student outcomes, including those relating to social cohesion and Community Cohesion. Where proponents of system leadership are more critical however is in challenging the specific measures and questioning the relationships between national and school level accountability.

What should schools be held accountable for?

National accountability measures have tended to focus on academic outcomes as the key measure of school success. A number of writers in this field argue that raw results are an unfair measure of the effectiveness of schools as they do not take into account social factors such as the nature of the intake. They argue that a fairer form of accountability is through the use of value added data to show the progress schools make relative to student starting points (Coleman, 2005).

Accountability measures have also been used to measure more qualitative indicators such as behaviour and Community Cohesion. The more subjective nature of such factors makes them harder to measure however their inclusion does enable a broader account of the effectiveness of schools and a means by which central government can measure the contribution of schools to factors such as social and Community Cohesion. These factors can also be assessed at the school level through self-evaluation.

However, the view that schools are a conduit for addressing social and economic issues has led many jurisdictions to introduce a significant and often excessive number of initiatives for which schools are held accountable (Fullan, 2005). This became evident in England during the latter part of the New Labour government when headteachers' leaders argued that the number and range of initiatives was undermining their ability to fulfil all of them (ASCL, 2009, Hoyle and Wallace 2005. This situation was in part the consequence of accountability remaining principally a national, centralised concern.

This is also a challenge for Hopkins' system leadership which aims to make an impact not just on academic results in schools but also on context. The inclusion of social measures of success does mean that the impact on social cohesion can be measured. Furthermore the emphasis on academic outcomes is indirectly linked as issues like behaviour and the attitudes of students can

positively or negatively influence outcomes for groups of students or the school as a whole.

The role of schools and government in accountability

A tension between national and local accountability is desirable to ensure that feedback is taking place at all levels. But in system leadership accountability, in line with personalised learning and professionalised teaching, needs to become the concern of every individual within the system with a particular emphasis on the role of self-evaluation at the school level (Hopkins, 2007). This emphasis on self-evaluation requires a consideration of the values by which school leaders and teachers evaluate themselves and the effectiveness of their work. This issue will be discussed later in this chapter.

3.4.4 Networking and innovation

The most significant risk of self-evaluation is that schools become isolated and lose the challenge provided by external accountability. Work on school improvement suggests that initial work on raising standards based on target setting and improvement strategies is effective over a limited period and that this must be complemented in time by deeper, more sustainable strategies focused on stakeholder engagement and innovation (Hopkins, 2007). Peer relationships between institutions enable schools to retain independence whilst maintaining a supportive but challenging external perspective. This offers a means by which schools can build capacity amongst staff and identify alternative methods of working in order to adapt to challenges and opportunities. The greater progress made by schools engaged in collaborative arrangements rather than isolated schools was illustrated by two reports in 2014 (Gilbert, 2014, Hutchings and De Vries, 2014)

In Hopkins' system leadership schools in networks remain focused on curriculum and outcomes for their own students whilst at the same time cooperating with other providers to enhance the curriculum and seek ways to accelerate improvement and stimulate innovation both in individual schools and in the network as a whole (Hopkins, 2007; Leadbeater, 2005). For this to take effect requires school leaders to take responsibility for the success of all students in the network, not just those in their own institution.

A common use of networks is for schools to take part in collaborative teaching and therefore give students the opportunity to access a broader curriculum by moving between institutions. Although this may present logistical challenges it offers the opportunity for students to learn through colleges of further education, companies and training providers as well as other schools. Such arrangements enable a greater level of personalisation by enabling students to access learning opportunities, which they would not otherwise be able to. Schools cease to be sole providers of education to their students but instead become gateways to a range of educational opportunities (Leadbeater, 2005).

For such networks to operate effectively requires institutions to establish consistent standards both internally and between partners and therefore provides an impetus and a form of accountability for professionalization. Standards must be consistent across the network so that students do not achieve less well as a result of collaboration. The sharing of good practice between institutions presents the greatest opportunity for networks of school leaders, through intelligent accountability, to raise standards for all students and promote social and Community Cohesion. By opening up resources to other members of the network schools can gain feedback on the quality of their provision and alternative perspectives on issues, which have been raised through their own internal feedback. This form of collaboration is designed

to raise standards across all the schools within a network and enable improved outcomes for all students.

Networking and innovation also offers the means by which system leadership can address one of its other most significant concerns, the impact on context. Networks have significant potential to play a role in these broader objectives, not only by giving students broader learning opportunities but also by working with other services to impact on context both for its own sake and in order to support outcomes (Fullan, 2003; Hopkins, 2009). It is in this that system leadership most clearly develops beyond the limit of academic outcomes as the sole measure of success and aims to make a contribution to social cohesion and Community Cohesion. Networking and innovation therefore represents a key opportunity for schools and their students to develop relationships with members of other communities, particularly those from different social, ethnic and faith backgrounds in other institutions. In a system that very often creates division by ethnic or social group, networking creates one of the best opportunities for students to experience working with those of other backgrounds. This was an issue of key concern to the study school in its relationship with the neighbouring Jewish school. It was also a key issue in the Northern English cities in 2001.

Such activities are also significant in engaging the wider community (Judkins, 2005) in order to enable academic success. The extended schools programme was launched in England with the intention of creating new units of service delivery to achieve this outcome (Hopkins, 2007). This meant developing the purpose of schools beyond acting solely as centres of formal learning into centres for childcare and community services so that students and their parents could be supported to address learning issues as well as those personal and social issues which might act as a barrier to learning (DfES, 2006).

The emphasis on networking in some studies suggests that it can have an impact on outcomes. A report into the effectiveness of schools given independence from local authority control under the Academies programme in England concluded that those schools which formed part of chains of academies achieved better outcomes for low income students (Hutchings, 2014). Another report into the causes of improvements in outcomes in London also attributed that success in part to collaboration between schools as part of the London Challenge (Baars et al, 2014). A third report concluded that strong community links are a common factor in high performing multi-ethnic schools (Blair et al, 1998). Bryk and Schneider's (2002) research into trust in schools emphasised the importance of relationships in school outcomes including those between schools and parents, which are improved where networking opportunities such as extended schools are strong. It is these kinds of partnerships which, Hopkins argues, are a source of social justice and inclusion, because by addressing barriers to learning they enable achievement for all students in schools and across networks of schools. In terms of their contribution to Community Cohesion they also offer opportunities for members of different communities to interact and overcome divisions between groups.

3.5 System leadership, Community Cohesion and social cohesion

The focus of this thesis is on whether or not system leadership as defined by Hopkins can contribute to the promotion of Community Cohesion and social cohesion in schools. The following considers the relationship between system leadership as defined above and the requirements of the policy of Community Cohesion.

Community Cohesion in England, as defined by the Department for Children Schools and Families (DCSF, 2007c) comprised three elements:

- promote equality of opportunity and inclusion for different groups of pupils within a school
- encourage pupils to actively engage with others to understand what they all hold in common
- promote shared values

3.5.1 Equality of opportunity and inclusion for different groups of pupils within a school

The first of these elements is the one most closely linked to the principles of system leadership. Equal opportunities and inclusion means that all students, irrespective of background should have equal access to educational opportunity and that group outcomes should be similar. This links with the principle of high teacher expectations for all students, which is central to system leadership. Criticisms of the impact of schools on different groups are often data led (Cassen, 2007; Gillborn, 2008; Richardson, 2005) therefore outcomes as measured by the standards agenda and system leadership offer a tool to promote equity.

The focus on development of capacity in system leadership is not only related to pedagogy but also to understanding the communities schools serve. Chapter 3 highlighted some of the concerns of communities who believe that their needs were not adequately met by schools and teachers who failed to understand their particular needs. Professionalised teaching and personalised learning require teachers and schools to develop the mental models and practices which enable learning for all students and therefore the achievement of students from all groups in schools.

If system leadership is successful in enabling students to make equal progress in different schools it could also have an impact on the choices parents make in terms of which school they choose to send their children to. Parents may be more likely to choose local schools if they believe that the academic outcomes are likely to be the same as other schools. In areas where the wider community is more mixed, this kind of change could mitigate against the currently high levels of ethnic and social segregation between schools.

3.5.2 Encourage pupils to actively engage with others to understand what they all hold in common

The objective of encouraging students to actively engage with others is supported in system leadership through personalised learning, professionalised teaching and networking and innovation. The pedagogy put forward by Hopkins is more interactive and therefore encourages students to engage with one another in a collaborative manner, which is consistent with democratic ideas of education. In more mixed schools this can be expected to have a greater impact. In addition, collaboration in networks of schools offers opportunities for students from different social and ethnic backgrounds to engage with one another.

Although citizenship education is discussed and supported in system leadership (Fullan, 2003) social justice is more implicit in its desired outcomes. The lack of focus on curriculum content, however, means that planned opportunities for students to learn from one another cannot be guaranteed. The influence of such opportunities may have an impact on outcomes and they may therefore be desirable. This again is an area where the values of school leaders will have a significant impact on potential outcomes.

3.5.3 Promote shared values

The final element of Community Cohesion is the one that has the least explicit link to system leadership. Approaches, like system leadership, which are based on outcomes risk focusing only on second order principles of effectiveness rather than the values of education itself (Wright, 2003). Whilst the commitment to moral purpose and social justice could be regarded as a values position, Hopkins' system leadership leaves considerable space for other values to be expressed in the curriculum or school ethos. Consequently it may be harnessed to any set of values which do not contradict those of equal opportunities and the importance of outcomes. This vision of system leadership therefore would not be in contradiction to citizenship education or human rights education programmes, which endorse the principles of equality. This again relates to the values of the school's leaders, which will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

It is in this issue that system leadership demonstrates the difference between neo-liberal and conservative positions. The focus on outcomes may be regarded as individualistic (Barker, 2010), however there is no link to traditionalist or conservative notions of schooling. This means that although system leadership is not intended as a vehicle for values education it is not incompatible with it.

In addition to these three elements the DCSF guidance offered three areas of school policy through which Community Cohesion should be implemented: teaching, learning and curriculum; equity and excellence; and community engagement and extended services. The discussion above illustrates that equity and excellence, and community engagement are at the heart of system leadership. The focus on interactive learning and interaction between institutions and people offers ample opportunity to promote Community

Cohesion and social cohesion. This lack of focus on the values of the curriculum is addressed in the following discussion of leadership values.

3.6 Values in school leadership

The discussion so far in this chapter has focused on the potential for schools to influence student outcomes, the role of Hopkins' system leadership to enable this and the impacts on social and Community Cohesion. It demonstrates that evidence is mounting concerning the impact of system leadership (as envisioned by Hopkins and others) on academic outcomes and therefore on social cohesion. However this focus is not unproblematic and the successful promotion of social cohesion is not enough in itself to ensure that the aims of Community Cohesion are addressed. Additional efforts must be made in areas such as religious or citizenship education to ensure that content, as well as the structure, of the curriculum reflects the concerns of Community Cohesion. In addition, national changes in England meant that, after 2010, schools were expected to do very little to promote Community Cohesion and that in effect it could be neglected as a policy.

In spite of these changes, values relating to the personal development of students and of communities, which often coincide with Community Cohesion, remain a central concern for many school leaders (Rayner, 2014). One objective of this thesis is to offer an explanation for the fact that Community Cohesion plays a prominent role in the thinking of many school leaders in spite of its often low status as a national policy.

Studies into the values of school leaders have demonstrated that values other than those supported by national policy play a significant part in influencing how school leaders choose to act (Haydon, 2007, Rayner, 2014, Hoyle and Wallace, 2005). One study of three headteachers in an English urban area

reported that, 'they are more strongly influenced by their personal educational history than by national educational policy (Rayner, 2014 p40)'. The same study quoted these leaders, stating that, 'the child comes first' and 'we are here to provide a service' (p40). Neither comment is incompatible with national policy but Rayner demonstrates that where conflict arises between national policy and the views of these school leaders they will seek the means to promote their values either alongside national policy or, if possible in place of that policy. Examples in this study included privileging creativity over examination grades in line with the leader's preference over that of national policy. Issues arise with the examples above relating to the definitions of key concepts such as service and need adopted by the school leaders in question.

As already discussed, in England the policy framework has increasingly narrowed headteachers' options in terms of which outcomes they can work towards (Bottery, 2007: Holligan et al., 2006) whilst at the same time freeing them to act as they see fit within their schools (Thomson, 2010). This parallel reduction and increase in freedoms has created a tension for many school leaders in fulfilling both the demands of policy and the values, which led them into the profession. National policy has tended to focus on academic achievement and is therefore more likely to impact social cohesion than Community Cohesion. It is often the case, therefore, that to achieve the aims of Community Cohesion requires a school leader to act based on their own values rather than simply comply with national policy. The discussion of the case study school in the following chapters offers ample evidence of the conflicting concerns of national policy and values in school leadership.

Hodgkinson (1991) theorises this challenge by categorising values into three groups: subrational, rational and transrational. Subrational values are based on preference, for example the preference for a particular colour of school uniform. Rational values are those built on consensus or consequences.

These can be a very strong motivator in the core decisions made by school leaders. For example a headteacher may value consensus amongst their staff or leadership team and therefore base decisions on agreement. Alternatively they may base their decisions on external demands, for example from Ofsted and therefore consequences such as the possibility of a low grade in inspection. Consequences are a key instrument of control of individual schools by the core in the English education system. Consensus is also valuable but the question of which values a consensus is formed around can lead to additional challenges particularly if it conflicts with the values promoted by national policy or the headteacher.

The final category, transrational values, represents those values, which cannot be justified on the grounds of preference, consensus or consequence. Values such as equal opportunities or the innate value of individual students often cannot be rationally justified and yet may be among the most fundamental values held by school leaders. Such values may be rooted in religious conviction, a commitment to social justice or experience (Earley et al, 2009) but are expressed in terms of the commitment of school leaders to their students. It is often a conflict between these transrational values and the rational values of national policy, which presents the greatest challenge to school leaders in making leadership decisions and most particularly in how to respond to national policy.

National education policy in England is very focused on and judged by academic outcomes, however many school leaders would quantify their own values more in terms of affective values often coincident with the values of Community Cohesion (Haydon, 2007, Rayner, 2014, Hoyle and Wallace, 2005). The aim of moral purpose is to use the structures of school leadership combined with the values of school leaders to fulfil national policy and contribute to both social cohesion and Community Cohesion.

My contention is that owing to the overlapping nature of social and Community Cohesion school leaders need not abandon personal values in order to fulfil the demands of national policy. Indeed the 'ironic' responses of many school leaders (Hoyle and Wallace, 2005) to national policy illustrate that this is what many school leaders attempt to do by accepting policy objectives, like social cohesion, but rejecting the means of achieving these policies. The strategies they adopt as a consequence, by focusing on the interests of students, enable them to overcome the challenges presented by national policy and national policy change. The following case study is an illustration of the tensions that this causes but also of some strategies, which enable leaders in a particular school to fulfil the demands of national policy in a manner consistent with their own values.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 National policy and school level practice

My career as an educational practitioner has included time as a citizenship teacher and an education advisor in the UK civil service before promotion to a senior position within the study school. This experience has given me a unique perspective on the relationship between the production and practice stages of the policy cycle. My interest as a school leader and a researcher now lies in understanding how education policy, both in production and practice, actually influences the attitudes, behaviours and life opportunities of the school students for whom these policies are enacted.

In previous research I completed a study of the challenges to the implementation of the active citizenship strand of the English citizenship national curriculum (Wood, 2006). My interest in that work was the differences between the vision of policies enacted at a national scale and their implementation at the school level. This study revealed significant challenges for teachers in putting national policy into practice. This was partially as a consequence of practical challenges in schools, many developed by the school cultures created by other government policies. It was also, however, partially the result of contrasting advice given to teachers by the different public bodies involved in policy implementation. My analysis revealed that policy can be made with an insufficient appreciation of the reality facing teachers in the classroom. Furthermore the lack of communication and consistency between bodies charged with policy creation and implementation revealed the limitations on policy outcomes, which can come about as a result of errors in conception and definition.

That earlier research utilised only documentary evidence. This consisted of an analysis and comparison of the policy documents published by the DfE, Ofsted and related government and voluntary bodies with regard to the implementation of the citizenship curriculum in English secondary schools. I reviewed particular elements of the guidance offered by each official body and compared the consistencies and inconsistencies which appeared in the advice offered to teachers. In order to judge the effectiveness of this advice I also relied on documentary research. This consisted of a review of studies by other researchers into the piloting of active citizenship as part of the citizenship curriculum. Therefore, although my research did not include any empirical research it did review the findings of empirical research by other researchers as a means to judge the effectiveness of policy implementation.

My interest continues to lie in effectiveness and how policy aims can be fulfilled in practice. Like the work of Stephen Ball (2012) and Michael Apple (2013), my methodology is focused not just on a consideration of policy simply as a document but the ways in which policy is experienced and lived out by the particular actors in school communities. I intend for my research to offer a practical insight into the real effects of policy and how schools can have a real impact on the members of their communities. My methodology for this thesis has therefore developed from my previous work, although the methods reflect a more interactive form of research than that which I previously undertook. As discussed in Chapter 1, this is a case study. The use of this approach has enabled me to make extensive use of documentary research both at the national and the school level but in addition to this make use of empirical research methods such as interviews with staff and students to develop a deeper insight into the influences on policy implementation in the study school. In addition, therefore, this adjusts the scale of the work to a consideration of the influence of national policy in one institution.

4.2 Research questions

This study poses the question: 'To what extent does school leadership facilitate Community Cohesion for students in an English secondary school?'

In order to facilitate a structured response to this question I have divided it into two research questions. These consider the implementation of the Community Cohesion policy in an English secondary school. They ask:

- How did the school's leadership respond to the demands of the Community Cohesion policy?
- What were the effects of the Community Cohesion policy?

These questions consider the ways in which policy is implemented. Ball (1994) describes three stages of policy implementation: influence, production and practice. The former, influence and production, are discussed in the literature review, which considers how the policy came into being and which discourses were influential in creating the form which was arrived at in policy texts from the two government departments. The third stage of the cycle is investigated in the research questions focusing on the enactment of policy in the study school, with a particular focus on the motives of leaders and its impact on the school's students. What this study measures is the impact of this policy on the students it was intended to influence and whether the original intention of the policy has been realised once it has passed through these stages of enactment. A further significant question concerns the nature of any relationship between the stages of enactment and the outcomes. For example, to what extent is the observed level of Community Cohesion related to the actions of policy makers within the study school? This question refers particularly to the school's leaders, however it also

questions the role of other actors external to the school, at the local or national level and how they also influence outcomes in the school.

The policy in question, Community Cohesion, was an ambitious attempt to reconcile the challenges posed by divisions within a diverse national culture. The school element of this policy (Chapter three) aimed to ensure that in every element of school life the principles of Community Cohesion were promoted to educate students for life in modern Britain. Because this is largely an issue of values, outcomes are difficult to measure. However actors within the study school offer unique perspectives on the nature of the school and changes over time in the school's culture and the values of members of the school community. It is these perspectives that I am seeking to understand as a means to observe and explain the impact of school and national policy. In addition I aim to measure the impact of the values of school leaders on the attitudes and values of the subjects of education, the students in the study school.

4.3 Ontological and epistemological stance

This research is structured around Ball's policy cycle (1994), which suggests that there is an observable process by which education policy is created and realised. The nature of policy, which is subject to a wide range of influences, however, makes the identification of an objective reality in relation to either policy making or the particular policy of Community Cohesion in schools unlikely.

Instead the subjective nature of human reasoning and action lend a high degree of subjectivity to the findings of this research. The nature of a case study (discussed below), as situated in a single place and subject to very particular influences reinforces the subjective nature of the findings and

further undermines the potential to identify generalizable themes from the study. This places such work, both as a consequence of the nature of the subject and the methods used, into the constructivist tradition (Lincoln and Guba, 1984). It is heavily influenced by the perspectives of the subjects of the research and therefore offers an interpretation of how people make sense of their position rather than a clear understanding of how policy is or could be made in all sites.

These limitations however do not limit the usefulness of the study in understanding how policy is created and the involvement of different factors in this process. Three key factors influence policy creation at the school level: national policy, school structures and the values of school leaders. My aim is to identify the extent to which the successful realisation of the initial objectives of a policy rest on each of these factors. The qualitative nature of the policy itself makes this particularly hard to measure, however there are quantitative facts and observable qualitative information which offer some insight into how these factors interact. This in turn generates useful conclusions of relevance to further study in this area. In particular this relates to the extent to which the development of future policy needs to engage with these three factors in order to ensure maximum impact. The case of Community Cohesion, as a policy aimed at social transformation, is of particular significance because of the methodological challenges involved in measuring the success of policies aimed at qualitative rather than quantitative outcomes.

As an educator and school leader I am concerned with effectiveness and how one can ensure that policy works. This is measured both in terms of the effective and the affective. The effective is often measured in terms of examination results and the affective in the ways in which schools enable students to develop values and attitudes during their time at school.

Therefore I have designed my work with this in mind and hope to illustrate the importance of these different factors in creating effective policy.

Underlying all this, though, is a belief that policy can never have the desired effects on people without the input of the individuals who make policy 'work'. Therefore, although I am seeking to measure the extent to which policy, values and structure interact I also seek to demonstrate that the interaction of all three are vital to successful policymaking. Even though such a study cannot generate results, which demonstrate how policy should be made in all circumstances, it does offer some insight into the relative importance of all three elements as the basis of successful policymaking in education.

4.4 The research context

The study school is a slightly larger than average, co-educational secondary school on the outskirts of London. Its geographical position means that it is subject to regular change in its social, particularly ethnic, make-up as a result of demographic flows into and out of the community. This, alongside the presence of a significant Jewish community in the town in which the school is situated, makes the school an ideal site for the study of the development of the attitudes of young people to and in a changing multicultural context.

At the time of the study, the school regarded itself as strong in the promotion of values amongst students and parents whilst endeavouring to reconcile a strong sense of community with the demands of a neo-liberal national, results based culture.

The selection of the school was via opportunity sample. I elected to focus on this school as it had been my place of employment for several years. At the time of the research in the school I held the position of Assistant Headteacher.

My responsibilities included student voice and the line management of the citizenship department. As well as these I played a key role in school improvement planning. This gave me unique access (with permission from the Headteacher) to staff, students and documentation relating to the two key concepts in this study: school Community Cohesion policy, and school improvement and leadership. My experiences over time at the school enabled me to develop an understanding of the dynamics of the community and the institution as well as relationships with staff and students, which would inform and enable my work.

There are inevitable research issues for a researcher who is already known to staff and students in the study school. In particular I was concerned that students would be less willing to volunteer opinions on sensitive issues and may feel an obligation to participate in the study. However I endeavoured to address these concerns in the methods I adopted and will discuss this at the relevant points during this chapter. Furthermore I sought to turn this to my advantage as few researchers could have this level of 'privileged' access to staff, students and school documentation. In relation to students and their role in this research as interviewees, this meant using my status to act both as 'insider' and 'outsider', someone the students were both familiar with but could also relate to as a researcher (Starkey et al, 2014). The methods deployed were designed to engage students as current citizens and participants reflecting on and influencing the creation of policy in their own school. My position and my engagement with actors within the study environment, as well as my later feedback to the school's leadership team, enabled me in turn to evaluate and influence policy within the school in line with the principles and purposes of critical research (Apple, 2013, Ball, 2012).

Participants in the study were made up of staff and students in the school community. In the early part of my research I elected to work with one

teaching group of 15 and 16 year old students who had attended the school for four years. Working with this group, I planned and taught three lessons designed to draw on their experiences of the school to gain an understanding of how they perceived Community Cohesion in the school community. These students were given the opportunity to opt out of the research, although none did. I also completed a group interview with a group of students from the same year group as the teaching group. These students were nominated by their head of year based on their membership of minority ethnic or religious groups with the intention that they might offer alternative perspectives to the students drawn from the majority community who had taken part in the lessons. Some of these students did elect to opt out of the research demonstrating that students were not constrained by my position in the school.

Staff who participated were asked to do so on the basis of their responsibilities in the school (see 5.5.2 below). All did so on a voluntary basis and showed an interest in the outcomes of the study as they related to their own work.

4.5 Methodological approaches

4.5.1 Quantitative methods

This research offered some opportunities for the use of quantitative methods. Student opinions were measured using surveys, which were quantifiable and enabled them to be graphed and analysed. The racist incidents book, local newspaper and school newsletter were all analysed using quantitative methods. These all generated base data, which enabled the measurement of the views of groups within the school and local community as well as

reported incidences of particular events. However these methods offer a limited understanding of the nature of phenomena such as the strength of community, racism or anti-Semitism. Such methods do not offer the richness of qualitative data, which goes beyond the description of phenomena into explanation. The purpose of this study was not just to describe whether the outcomes of Community Cohesion were being realised but also to explain why the observed phenomena were present. A lack of incidents in the racist incidents book for example could relate to either a lack of racist incidents or a lack of reporting. Qualitative methods offer the depth of insight required to analyse the cause of phenomena observed using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Therefore, although quantitative methods played a role in the research this was limited.

4.5.2 Qualitative methods

A variety of qualitative methodologies could be employed to answer the research questions in this work. Although there is a far greater range of options available, in the interest of brevity I will review three of the most prominent potential methodologies suitable for this topic.

Action research

The term action research has been applied to a range of research approaches (Kemmis, 2000), which utilise common research techniques to enable change. The action researcher regards effecting change, rather than simply observation for its own sake, as the objective of their work (Stringer, 2004). Action research has been applied to educational research, for example Carter and Osler's (2000) study into conflict management. The nature of action research would lend itself well to the small scale of this research and many

of the methods available, such as observations and interviews. My position as a member of the school community would place me in an ideal situation to do action research. However the degree to which action research focuses on change rather than observation means it is not applicable to this study. Although it is my intention that my findings ought to influence future practice within the school, my primary objective is to understand more fully the relationship between policy and practice rather than to directly influence change in this particular context.

Ethnography

Ethnography is characterised by participation in the daily lives of the subjects of study (Hammersley, 1995). Ethnography's origins in anthropological research explain its particular value for research that seeks to describe and interpret a particular culture such as a school community. Ethnography is a naturalistic research method which principally utilises participant observation by a researcher embedded within a given culture. This means that a variety of methods may be used in a reflexive manner in order to gain a developing understanding of the phenomena observed. Ethnographic methods are therefore eclectic and applied over long periods of time. The length of time required is one of the most significant drawbacks of ethnographic research in this context because a full ethnographic approach would go far beyond the scope of the research questions and available resources.

My position within the culture under study also poses challenges of overfamiliarity. There is a danger of the imposition of my own views onto the study as well as conflict arising from the need to balance the position of researcher with that of influential actor in the school community. Finally ethnographic research would not apply so readily to my interest in the

formulation of policy outside the school community. This element of the study relies more heavily on documentary research and would require an additional study in policy formulation to make effective use of ethnography. This would go far beyond the scope of this particular study.

Case studies

A case study is the detailed study of a case or cases in order to develop a detailed understanding of the case in question. Yin (2014) presents three conditions for a study to be considered a case study:

1. Types of research – case studies should relate to a 'how' or 'why' question
2. The extent of control over behavioural events – behaviours in a case study cannot be manipulated
3. The degree of focus on the contemporary as opposed to entirely historical events

Case studies differ from historical research in that evidence is not 'dead' and therefore can be observed as it occurs. It also differs from experimental research because behaviour cannot be controlled as it would be in a laboratory experiment. These two factors make case studies very appropriate to educational research where it has been used by a number of researchers (Bassey, 1999, Thomas, 2013) some of whose work is described below.

This study fulfils each of Yin's criteria. First it focuses on a 'how' question asking how the policy of Community Cohesion was defined and implemented. Second it seeks to answer the question by considering the

behaviours of people in a working school environment. The contemporary nature of this environment fulfils Yin's final condition.

Yin rejects the view that case study is not a methodology in part with reference to the nature of the multiple sources of evidence case studies make use of. Many of these methods are common to both historical and contemporary research however case studies, like ethnographies, also enable the use of direct observation and interviews. Both observations and interviews offer alternative perspectives on the impact of a contemporary policy and its impact on a real contemporary situation in a way that a historical study can only do with hindsight.

The observations conducted in this study took the form of participant observations facilitated by my role within the school. Participant observations offer a significantly greater level of access to people and resources and enable an 'insider's' perspective, neither of which would be possible from a more objective form of observation. Additionally, and significantly here, participant observation allows for manipulation of minor events. In this case this included teaching a lesson to a group of students which formed a key element of the first phase of the research.

Participant observation does entail certain drawbacks particularly with reference to bias (Becker, 1958), the danger of becoming a supporter rather than an observer and the challenge of being able to observe a range of elements in a large organisation. The use of a variety of data collection methods served to overcome both practical and ethical concerns in the data collection. The ethical issues raised by my role as both an observer and a member of the school community are discussed in the section below on ethical considerations.

Cases may be chosen because they are typical, extreme or the test site for a theory. Therefore the selection of the case will significantly influence the

outcomes of the research. In this instance the case is, as a comprehensive school, in many ways typical of schools in the same context, the education system in England (Denscombe, 2003). However, it inevitably has unique features such as the constitution of the school and local communities, which make the study particularly interesting. In this case the numerical dominance of the community by white working class students alongside a number of ethnic minority students within the school and a significant local Jewish community lends the case its particular resonance.

The all-encompassing nature of case studies and the range of methods available increase reliability. Unlike a purely qualitative methodology case studies do not only rely on observational evidence but, as in this case, are able to combine this with a more eclectic selection of qualitative and quantitative methods. This in turn enables a triangulation of data, which enables corroboration ensuring that each of my findings are supported by more than one source of evidence (Yin, 2014).

My methods reflect the nature of this, moving between documentary analysis, interviews with school leaders and lessons and focus groups involving students. The first question is answered principally through a documentary analysis of policy documentation relating to Community Cohesion. The second also incorporates some documentary analysis but relies most heavily on interviews with five school leaders chosen because of their responsibilities in relation to the principles of Hopkins' model of system leadership. The interviews were designed to investigate how the perceptions and values of these key actors influenced the policy as it was enacted. The final question asks, most fundamentally, if the policy works. For this I have used a variety of methods such as group interviews which focus on student voice and student perception to understand whether or not those who were intended to be most influenced by this policy have experienced the outcomes expected by policy makers and school leaders. Again I have reviewed school

level documents to analyse the impact of policy and practice on key indicators of success as defined at national and school level.

The triangulation of these methods ensures that each validates or falsifies the other. In particular I am interested in the influence of discourse, in the form of national policy, and agency, in terms of school leadership. My methods enable me to measure the relative influence of each on the final outcomes in terms of Community Cohesion as experienced by students in the study school. The role of the influence / production stages at a national level and production / practice at school level, with a particular focus on leadership, is interrogated to understand what the relative influence of each is on successful change in the behaviours and attitudes of students.

Case Studies in Education

In the fields of education and youth work, case studies form a minor strand in the overall literature on policy. At times however, works such as those by Hargreaves et al (Open University 1977) Lacey (1974), Richardson (1975) and Ball (1981) have been influential in educational research. More recently Apple's work on democratic schools (Apple and Beane, 2007), Jerome's on citizenship education (Jerome, 2012) and Mejias on human rights education (2012) have also made use of case studies, however there has been no specific case study research into the implementation of the Community Cohesion policy in schools in England. Like education, studies into Community Cohesion in youth work have made little use of case study research (Thomas, 2011). This suggests that in both fields the intention of Community Cohesion policy has been discussed at greater length than its impact, which has been relatively neglected. One case study in youth work (Thomas, 2011) begins to address this gap and this research seeks to achieve the same objective in relation to education.

Beachside Comprehensive – Ball (1981)

The case study of 'Beachside Comprehensive' completed by Ball (1981) offers insights into the use of case study in schools. This study consisted of a participant observation, which utilised a range of quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative methods were principally used to establish factual information relating to context, inputs and outputs. This included information about the school and the cohorts of students such as registers and school records. Quantitative data was also used to measure outcomes e.g. examination grades, and, through questionnaires, the views of participants. Additionally the use of sociometric techniques charted relationships between students in the study school, enabling an analysis of relationships across class divisions and between groups of students. This use of quantitative analysis allowed for description of the case study environment, its social relationships and the outcomes of the teaching and learning, which took place within it.

Additionally qualitative data were used to offer a deeper analysis of the reasons for the outputs and social relations observed in the quantitative data. Lesson observations and teacher and student interviews offered a deeper understanding of the motivations of the different actors in the school environment.

Human Rights in Schools – Mejias (2012)

Mejias' methods were similar to Ball in that they made use of both quantitative and qualitative data to analyse both the impact of policy and the influences on the final form of that policy. Methods included interviews with staff, students and the employees of an NGO to measure changes in attitudes over time as well as workshops and groups discussions, which enabled

participants to share their experiences. Documentary analysis offered an additional layer of evidence to which to compare the views of participants.

Citizenship Education – Jerome (2012)

The study by Jerome (2012) into the implementation of the national policy of citizenship education made use of similar methods. Jerome was specifically focused on harnessing the views of students, through student interviews, into the implementation of citizenship education as a means to understand the values implicit in the policy. His use of student voice as a means of measuring impact on those the policy was intended to influence is a method that I have also engaged with in my own study. As I will explain further (below) this particular approach has enabled a student perspective on the success of the enactment of the Community Cohesion policy in one school.

As a consequence of their very specific focus on one case, case studies do not offer data that enables generalizable theories. However what both of these case studies do offer is an insight into the role of discourse and agency in the enactment of policy. These are factors, which this study has been designed to consider in relation to the implementation of the Community Cohesion policy. As with all three of these case studies, this was influenced by significant national discourses of neo-liberalism, social justice, security and national identity, in the influence and production stages. In the practice stage too, very similar questions arise about teachers', particularly leaders', values and the influence of alternative policies, particular those relating to the neo-liberal standards agenda.

4.5.3 Methodological perspectives in this work

One perception of contemporary educational research is that it forms a spectrum between a critical neo-Marxist analysis of policy and a neo-liberal and managerial understanding of school leadership (Ball, 2008). My work aims to engage both ends of this spectrum by questioning whether the social justice objectives of Community Cohesion can be achieved through leadership, particularly the structures and values adopted by school leaders. Working primarily as a practitioner, my underlying question is not concerned with the theoretical or ideological integrity of the policy. Instead it investigates how this policy influences outcomes for the students in the study school.

The literature on these issues shows a division between leadership literature, which emphasises the agency of school leaders and structural interpretations, which emphasise the role of policy discourses. Both literatures focus on the development of social justice but work from differing perspectives, and tend to overlap very rarely (Ozga, 1987). My work operates at the boundary between these two schools of thought and fills a gap in work on the implementation of this particular policy. A search of the *Journal of Education Policy*, for example, reveals 31 articles on the policy of Community Cohesion, many of which relate to primary education and none of which investigates the enactment of this policy in the secondary school context. A further search of the British Education Index revealed 32 articles published in a variety of journals between 2002 and 2014 again focusing on policy as a document or pedagogical issues in specific subjects rather than on implementation at the whole school level. This work therefore develops an analysis of the influence of discourse and agency in policy enactment whilst at the same time relating this to a new policy environment and posing questions about the relationship between social justice and neo-liberalism in education policy.

4.6 Methods

Table 5.1 lists the research completed as part of this study in two stages. Stage 1 relates to research question 2:

2. What were the effects of the Community Cohesion policy?

Stage 2 relates to research question 1:

1. How did the school's leadership respond to the demands of the Community Cohesion policy?

The process was organised in this way because research question 1 relied on the results of research question 2 in order to provide data for the interviews conducted as part of the first research question. This question was concerned partially with outcomes as a means to measure the success of the enactment of the Community Cohesion policy. The methods listed are expanded upon in Table .1.

The following paragraphs detail the methods used and their application in answering each of the research questions.

Method	Application to research	Dates completed
Stage 1		
Documentary research into Community Cohesion policy	Develop understanding of Community Cohesion policy and the discourses affecting it.	2007-2009
Documentary research into the context of the study school and its local community	Develop an understanding of the nature of the school and local communities	May 2008
Lessons taught to year 10 students	Generate data on student perceptions of Community Cohesion in the study school	June 2008
Focus group with year 10 students	Test data gathered in lessons with alternative student perceptions	July 2008
Interviews with staff members	Test data gathered in lessons and focus groups with staff perceptions	January 2010
Analysis of racist incidents book	Test data gathered from lessons, focus group and staff interviews against measurements of racist incidents in the school	July 2008
Stage 2		
Interviews with senior leaders of the school	Understand perception of senior leaders concerning their roles within the school in relation to Community Cohesion and its effects on students	June 2011
Analysis of school level documentation	Understand the ways in which Community Cohesion was implemented in the school and its effects	August 2011
Analysis of external documentation concerning the study school	Test the validity of data gathered from interviews with senior leaders by comparison to outcomes	August 2011

Table 4.1 Methods used during research in the study school

4.6.1 Document analysis

The literature review considered the intention of the DfCLG and the DCSF in instigating a Community Cohesion policy. Because this was largely historical at the time of research and because the focus of this study is principally on the latter stages of policy enactment this question was addressed through documentary analysis. I analysed documents relating to a number of relevant government departments, particularly those relating to education and community.

The creation of policy is subject to a wide range of discourses some of which may influence the original intention of a policy and others of which may become more apparent as the policy passes through the stages of influence and production. In the case of Community Cohesion the dominant discourses include social justice, security and national identity. These discourses may not all be immediately evident, therefore my analysis considers the range of influences apparent at all stages and production leading up to the creation of policy texts for enactment in schools (McCulloch, 2004, p1). This work considers, therefore, not only the policy texts themselves but the influences revealed by key players in the reports into the 2001 disturbances, media coverage, parliamentary committees and publications in books and journals.

These are all public documents, however documents can be categorised into private documents and public records (McCulloch, 2004). Private documents played a more significant role in answering the subsequent research questions. In these questions public and private documents were used establish the local and school context. National census data gave an indication of the demographic structure of the local community whilst school census data enabled a comparison with similar structures in the school. Further indications of the nature of the local and school communities were

offered through an analysis of the local newspaper and school newsletters. In order to understand the agency of school leaders in policy enactment for research question 1 (How did the school's leadership respond to the demands of the Community Cohesion policy?), I made use of private documents including school improvement plans.

My second research question was: 'What were the effects of the Community Cohesion policy?' I made a similar use of public and private documents to measure outcomes. Ofsted inspection reports, school newsletters and school examination results offered a means, using public data by which the impact of school policies could be measured. Analysis of the racist incidents book also enabled me to measure impact using private documents school from the school.

The fundamental principles underpinning the selection of documents are: authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning (Scott, 1990, p6). Because many of the documents in this study are government or government sponsored documents they are easily authenticated. Their credibility, representativeness and meaning form key elements of the discussion on the creation of policy and the influence of differing discourses on their contents. These factors are also considerations of the influence of different documents, and therefore discourses, on one another; for instance the influence of the reports into the 2001 disturbances in northern towns and cities on the subsequent official documentation on Community Cohesion policy. Government documents describe the discourse of the government as well as the discourse of those influencing government policy. The same can be said for school documents, which reflect the discourse of the profession in a particular situation often in relation to the influence of government discourse.

The documents sampled related to the periods when the two stages of interviews took place. The racist incidents book (see chapter 4.6.2) was sampled at the time of the lessons and the student interviews took place in

the first stage of research. This sample was related to the period between 2005, when the book had first been introduced, and 2007 when the research took place. This period of time enabled the identification of trends over time even though the number of entries was very small (29 over 2 and a half years). An analysis of stories in the local weekly newspaper was based on a far larger sample (1 year of all editions published ending at the time the first phase of the research took place) and therefore generated considerably more data. The one year sample was designed to set the context by offering a perspective on the nature of incidents in the local community at the time of the research.

The use of school planning and data analysis documents later in the research was intended to demonstrate the ways in which national policy influenced school policy. The documents in this case spanned a number of years in order to reflect the implementation of a variety of relevant national and school level policy (Figure 5.1) developments beginning with the introduction of the extended schools programme in 2005 and ending with the ending of the requirement to promote of Community Cohesion in 2011. The self-evaluation forms, school improvement plans and Raiseonline data from that period reflect the ways in which national policies influenced leadership decisions and outcomes as measured by examination results.

In the case of the weekly school newsletter, a sample was for a three month period which coincided with the staff interviews. This was to enable the collection of further evidence to review the assertions made by the staff in those interviews. This sample was from a relatively short period as the amount of data was significant and because this offered sufficient data to relate to the information offered by the interviewees.

The limits of document analysis

There are risks when using official statistics of, reliability, authority or factual accuracy (Denscombe, 2003) however they remain the most reliable

source of data for this purpose. In this instance the primary data source is national census data. Criteria contained within this data, such as social class, religion and ethnicity present challenges in that they are open to interpretation on the part of the person completing the census. This presents the possibility that a particular group may have a low presence in statistics but be represented in significant numbers in a given community. The number of respondents choosing not to define themselves in terms of religious or ethnic group presents the possibility that some groups may be underrepresented in data even though they form larger groups in practice. For example some people chose not to select an ethnic group because they did not believe they were represented by any of the choices offered to them. A second possibility is that groups are represented in such small numbers that they are not statistically significant. One issue presented by the data in the study school was that although there were significant numbers of students of ethnic minority backgrounds when they were divided into constituent groups the small number of students made each group statistically insignificant.

A further issue is the rate of change in communities. The study uses 2001 census data, which was available at the time of the study. However, significant rates of migration from EU accession countries from 2004 and from certain parts of Africa, as well as the growth of the local Jewish population meant that this data was outdated at the time of the study.

Census data from 2011 demonstrate the rate and nature of demographic change over this period. Mainly as a consequence of immigration from the accession countries and other countries outside the EU the foreign-born population almost doubled across the town to 19% of the total. Every ward saw increases in the proportion of residents from accession countries, in one case this was as high as 8% of the population. The 2001 census did not specifically record immigration from these countries but the total foreign-

born population of EU nationals in 2001 represented only 1.6% rising to 1.7% in 2011.

At the same time the proportion of residents from countries outside the EU rose by about 5% over the same period in all wards. As a consequence of both these trends, as well as migration from London, growth was recorded in White other, Black African British and Indian British ethnic groups.

The 2011 data also showed significant changes in religious belief. The proportion of the population recorded as Christian decreased by 10-15% in each ward whilst the proportion of those recorded as having no religion increased by 5-10% per ward. The difference between these two figures was mainly accounted for by an increase in the numbers of people recorded as Jewish, accounting for increases by ward of approximately 5-10% and a small (around 1% per ward) increase of the number of Muslims. Average incomes rose by approximately 5% in all wards but relative to one another remained very similar.

In spite of this rapid rate of change, census data remain the most reliable source of data on the ethnic, social and religious make-up of the community in question. Therefore this was used to make these basic judgements of the community's composition at the beginning of the study.

Issues of reporting apply at school level in the same way that they do at national level. However, because school census data is collected on an annual basis it overcomes some of the issues created by change over time and consequently may make up for some of the inadequacies of the census data. The absence of some groups from school data, in particular Jewish and Roman Catholic students who attend faith schools, reflects a difference between the structure of the local community and the school community.

School behavioural data has been used with the same reservations as those relating to official statistics. There are always questions regarding the

consistency of reporting and bias in the choice of what should be reported. Some members of staff may regard an issue as serious enough to record whilst others may not. In order to overcome these weaknesses data were triangulated by staff interviews and student focus groups (Banks, 2004; Cohen et al, 2003, p288).

Local newspaper reporting is subject to concerns regarding editorial bias. Issues may or may not be included for a wide variety of reasons. However this does offer a perspective on the nature of the discourses within the community in which the case study school is situated. It is noticeable for example, that news relating to the Jewish community is strongly positive and does not reflect any concerns with religious intolerance. This is in contrast to some of the comments made by staff in the study school and may be explained by an editorial decision to present a positive view of community relations.

4.6.2 Student perceptions of Community Cohesion in the study school

Having established the nature of the Community Cohesion policy through document analysis the next stage of my research focused on research question 2; 'What were the effects of the Community Cohesion policy?' As discussed above this also involved some use of documentary analysis, however the most significant methods at this stage were lessons taught to a group of Year 10 students, a student group interview and interviews with two key members of staff. The small numbers of interviewees involved at this stage were intended to offer a depth of insight into a small number of questions relating to the views of students. The group interview and staff interviews were designed to test the conclusions of the lessons to establish the extent to which the views expressed were representative of the school and local communities

1) Lesson taught to Year 10 students

As I have stated earlier in this chapter, one of my interests in policy enactment is to understand whether or not it is effective in changing the perceptions of those it is aimed at. Therefore research question two asks: 'What were the effects of the Community Cohesion policy?' With this in mind, I planned and taught three citizenship lessons to a group of Year 10 students (Appendix 1).

The group of students was selected by opportunity sample. I was already teaching citizenship lessons to these students and took the opportunity to deviate from the normal curriculum to teach three lessons relevant to my research. The group was made up of 18 boys and girls aged between 14 and 15. The group was not representative of the ethnic makeup of the school body as all but one of the class were White British students who are the majority group in the school. In order to offer a different perspective to that of the majority group represented in the class, I deliberately selected for interview a group with a range of religious and ethnic backgrounds.

The age of the students meant that they were capable of engaging with the concepts involved at a reasonably high level. However, one of the most significant challenges of the lessons was to ensure that the concept of Community Cohesion was accessible to the students in order that they could comment on its application in their school environment. This was achieved by basing my definition on the official definition of Community Cohesion from the Local Government Association and relevant government departments but simplifying it so that students could understand and work with it (see chapters 2.1.3 / 2.8.1). I also included in my plan time for discussion of the concept as I expected that the students would be unfamiliar with the terminology but able to engage with the concepts. As part of the lessons students completed a matrix (Appendix 2), which was based on the

groups identified by DCSF (2007c), which schools should be considering both in their measurement of and their promotion of Community Cohesion.

The lessons were designed to help me to understand:

- The students' perception of the concept of Community Cohesion
- The students' perception of the nature of Community Cohesion within the study school
- The students' perception of the key factors influencing Community Cohesion within the study school

The first lesson began with a discussion of the concept of Community Cohesion using a relevant news story as an illustration. This concept was unknown to the students, but the discussion enabled them to form a common understanding, which informed the following stages of the lessons.

Students were then asked to work in groups to discuss the nature of Community Cohesion in the study school and to plan and photograph a tableau to illustrate their view. Having taken the photographs, students then annotated them to explain why they had chosen to enact their particular tableau. They then critiqued one another's work by further annotations of the photographs taken by different groups (Appendix 3).

This exercise illustrated the students' perspectives of the nature of Community Cohesion. The next stage of the lessons was designed to give a further understanding of the students' perspectives and to explain why they believed the levels of Community Cohesion they described existed in the study school. Students completed a questionnaire, which consisted of two matrices (Appendix 2) relating to the prevalence of different types of prejudice in the school community (as defined in DCSF Community Cohesion guidance), and the students' understanding of the extent to which each of a list of school activities contributed to this. A final question asked

students to rank a series of positive and negative (fictional) newspaper headlines (Appendix 1 and 2) relating to former students of the school according to the likelihood of them appearing in the local newspaper. This again was designed to demonstrate what the students believed were the prevalent attitudes amongst the school's students to issues of Community Cohesion after having experienced the school's policies during their time there.

These lessons generated a significant quantity of data including survey results, electronic copies of students' annotated photographs and completed articles emanating from the final task students were asked to complete. This offered an in-depth perspective of the views of a small number of students from a particular year group. These students were in their fourth year at the school and therefore had a great deal of experience of the community to draw on. The focus on one group of one age group limits the applicability of the outcomes to the school community as a whole. It did, however, begin to suggest some trends, which in turn were tested through a group interview, documentary evidence and staff interviews.

2) Group interview with year 10 students

The disadvantage of data collected from a large group is that students may not feel at liberty to express their views on sensitive issues in front of their peers. An additional issue in this case was that the class was almost exclusively made up of members of the majority community. The use of a group interview following the lessons was designed to overcome both concerns (Krueger, 1988; Morgan, 1988) (Appendix 2 – focus group instructions). In this case the group comprised three students of ethnic and religious minority backgrounds selected based on self-reported census data to represent the groups present in the school community as a whole. Six students were originally selected but three were unable or unwilling to

participate. The group was from the same year group as those who took part in the lesson in order to enable the comparison of responses from students who had similar experiences in terms of their time at the school, the curriculum they had followed and the activities they had been a part of. The group interviews were based on the same resources as the lessons and one anonymised piece of work from the lessons was used as a basis for discussion.

The use of a group interview was designed in order to overcome the challenge of intimidation, which can be a particular concern when working with children and young people (Simons, 1982; Lewis, 1992). The completion of one interview limits the generalizability of the results across the school community as it reflects only a small number of students in one year group. However this group did offer an alternative perspective to that expressed by the students taking part in the lessons dominated by majority group students.

The use of group interviews also enables respondents to review and respond to the results of prior research (Krueger, 2009), on this occasion the anonymised outcomes of the lessons taught to the larger group. The group completed similar tasks to those carried out in the lesson but the size of the group led to a more developed discussion, which offered an alternative perspective to that which had come from the larger group. The results were further tested through comparison with interviews with members of staff.

3) One to one interviews

The conduct of one to one interviews with members of staff served to validate the documentary evidence and the views expressed by students (Appendix 3). Interviews enable interviewees to offer some interpretation of the data already collected, for example suggesting reasons for student attitudes or the absence of a particular community from census data (Cohen

et al, 2003, p273). For this reason the interviews were guided but made use of open questions, which allowed the interview subjects to express their views on the pre-existing data.

The interviewees were chosen on the grounds of their perspectives on citizenship in the study school. The first was with a member of staff who had taught the subject for a number of years and the second was the deputy headteacher with responsibility for pastoral issues who had significant experience of dealing with a number of issues relevant to Community Cohesion across the school.

Later interviews were based on the system leadership model proposed by Hopkins. Four of the five interviewees chosen had responsibility for a particular element of Hopkins' model; the fifth was responsible for pastoral issues, not an area of Hopkins' model but very relevant to the aims of this thesis. These were used to adapt the questions for each interview to link the results of the documentary work and the student research with Hopkins' model and in turn test the relationship between them. The role of these interviews in research question one is discussed below.

4) Analysis of the school racist incidents book

The Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000) required all schools to maintain a racist incidents book in which all incidents perceived to be racist by any member of the school community was to be recorded. Although this document was subject to the limitations of selective reporting, relating to perceptions of what does or does not constitute a racist incident, it did offer a useful record of both the number and type of incidents. This again offered an opportunity to triangulate data from different sources. For example teachers referred to anti-Semitism and this was confirmed by the racist

incident book. However references made to racist jokes by students in the focus groups were not reflected in the racist incidents book.

4.6.3 Staff views of the influence of national policy and school leadership

Research question one asks: 'How did the school's leadership respond to the demands of the Community Cohesion policy?' This question sought to understand the relationship between national and school level discourse as the policy of Community Cohesion moved from production to practice. It also asks questions about the relationship between school level discourse and outcomes by using the results of the research into student attitudes to Community Cohesion as a basis for the investigation of the role of leadership. The methods used to answer research question one asked both why the school's leaders chose to act as they did and if it had been effective.

The principal research technique used in this phase was the interviews with key members of the school's leadership team. Six interviews were conducted across two stages of the research. The first two were short interviews with the deputy headteacher responsible for pastoral issues and a citizenship teacher. These were based on the results of the lessons, group interview and documentary research, which had taken place as part of the first stage of research, and were designed to allow a comparison of student views, data and staff perspectives. For the later, in-depth interviews, five interviewees were selected (Appendix 3). Each interview was designed to offer insight into the interviewees' perspective on one strand of Hopkins' model of system leadership. The fifth was a second interview with the deputy headteacher with responsibility for pastoral issues. Although he did not have a responsibility that directly aligned with Hopkins' model, many of the issues he was responsible for were related to community cohesion. In addition to

this a review of documentation produced by the school and external agencies relating specifically to the school, was used to corroborate and challenge the views expressed in interviews.

1) Interviews

As already stated, the purpose of these interviews was to seek a deeper understanding of other information already gathered in the first phase of the research process. These took the form of semi-structured interviews based on Hopkins' model of system leadership (Appendix 4). They were designed to identify the role of school leaders in creating the conditions observed in the school and to test whether or not the leadership model of system leadership proposed by David Hopkins (Hopkins, 2007) could be applied to the way in which the leadership team led this particular school. Thus the interviews were designed to identify if there was a link between the model of leadership or the values of the school leaders, and the levels of Community Cohesion identified.

Interviewees were identified according to the ways in which their roles related to one or more of the four elements of Hopkins' model:

- Personalised learning
- Professionalised teaching
- Intelligent accountability
- Networking and innovation

Interviews took the form of shorter in-depth interviews (Yin, 2014) using a fluid form of questioning based on a structure common to each interviewee. This enabled the comparison of responses from different interviewees on the same topics, which in turn would enable corroboration or the identification of contradictions. Responses generated information of considerably greater

depth than the interviews in the first stage had done and gave a much greater insight both into the views of the interviewees both on national policy and the causes of observed levels of Community Cohesion amongst students.

Questions were formulated around the elements of the Community Cohesion policy:

- Promote equality of opportunity and inclusion for different groups of pupils within a school
- Promote shared values
- Encourage pupils to actively engage with others to understand what they all hold in common

This enabled an analysis of the influence of each area of system leadership on Community Cohesion. The purpose of the interview with the deputy headteacher responsible for the school's pastoral provision was to shed light on the influence of the values of the school's leaders and therefore their moral purpose. The interviewees are listed in the table below:

Interview Focus	Position in School	School Responsibility
Personalised learning	Assistant headteacher	Teaching and learning and primary liaison
Professionalised teaching	Assistant headteacher	Professional development
Intelligent accountability	Headteacher	Accountability
Networking and innovation	Deputy headteacher	Curriculum
Pastoral care and values	Deputy headteacher	Pastoral care

Table 4.2 Members of the study school leadership team taking part in interviews

As a member of the school's senior leadership team myself I enjoyed a high degree of knowledge of the school's systems. Whilst this informed my questioning it also presented the danger of bias in the recording and reporting of the findings of the interviews. This was addressed by framing questions using system leadership and Community Cohesion so as to ensure that the interviewees' responses were structured and focused in relation to the study questions.

2) *Review of school documentation and external documentation related to the school*

Yin (2014) cautions that one danger of interviews is the influence of the interviewee and interviewer on one another. As stated above, the completion of a number of interviews was intended to overcome this as a number of the questions were asked to all interviewees and the consistency of the responses demonstrates where the school's leaders were in agreement on particular issues. The review of school documentation and external documentation relating to the school was similarly designed to test and corroborate the data recorded in the interviews. School achievement data, school newsletters and data generated by the DCSF and Ofsted were analysed using the categories of Hopkins' model. This was in order to offer further insight into the school's successes measured both by neo-liberal measures of accountability and the demands of the Community Cohesion policy. The objective was to measure whether both outcomes were being achieved simultaneously.

Documentary sources from the school were interrogated to enable a triangulation of the interview data. These included:

- A one term sample of the school's newsletter covering an eleven week period in spring 2011. This period offered sufficient evidence to give an insight in the nature and range of the activities happening in the school. Each was analysed to suggest ways in which community and social cohesion were promoted through the school's activities.

- The Ofsted reports of the school spanning the period between its establishment in 2000 and summer 2011. The focus was in particular on the period relevant to the headteacher who had been in post since December 2005.

- The school's annual improvement plans (SIP) from June 2006 to June 2011 detailing the annual plans agreed by the senior leadership team for the development of the school.

- The school's Self Evaluation Form (SEF), completed regularly by the school in preparation for visits by the schools' inspectorate, Ofsted. This document was completed on an ongoing basis at the school's discretion; the sample was from the time soon after the headteacher's arrival in 2006 until the abolition of the SEF in 2011.

- The Raiseonline data package produced annually by Ofsted to analyse the school's assessment results in relation to local and national trends.

4.7 Analytical framework

The questions were taken in reverse order as the second question provided data necessary to the analysis of the first. The effects of Community Cohesion in the study school were measured using the definitions of Community Cohesion proposed by the DCSF (2007c) and the Local Government Association (2004). The information gathered in the first phase of research in order to answer study question two, was analysed to identify

the extent to which it demonstrated evidence of community cohesion in the study school.

The analysis of the first study question was based on a combination of the definitions of Community Cohesion used in the second question (above) and the system leadership framework proposed by Hopkins (2007). This question sought to understand the links between Community Cohesion and leadership and looked for areas where the implementation of different elements of system leadership had enabled or limited the development of Community Cohesion in the study school. A full explanation of the concepts of Community Cohesion and system leadership appears in chapters 2 and 3.

The data collected from the lessons, student interviews, newspaper, racist incidents book and early staff interviews was intended to offer a measure of the perceived levels of Community Cohesion in the school. The activities were based on the LGA (2004) and DCSF (2007c) definitions of Community Cohesion and therefore the results of these activities were analysed by identifying evidence in the school community of:

- Opportunities to engage with others
- Shared values
- Equality of opportunity and inclusion

In relation to:

- Religion
- Social class
- Ethnicity

With quantitative data this enabled me to calculate scores such as the ratings given by students to the prevalence of certain forms of prejudice in the school community. With qualitative data including interviews and student photographs, I was able to identify positive and negative references to each of these categories.

The later interviews with staff and later documentary research were undertaken to explain the observed outcomes in relation to national policy and the system leadership model proposed by Hopkins (2007). Therefore the same categories were used for analysis with the addition of the categories from Hopkins' model:

- Personalised learning
- Professionalised teaching
- Intelligent accountability
- Networking and innovation

The analysis followed the same principle by reviewing the transcripts of the interview recordings to identify references to each of those principles. From there it was possible to identify recurrent themes from all data and categorise them in terms of frequency and positive or negative references, for example to the influence of the Community Cohesion policy on school outcomes. The frequency of references to particular elements of leadership or Community Cohesion enabled me to identify patterns and possible areas of interest for discussion. Other frequently occurring concepts, like ethos and anti-Semitism, were also identified in the same way. With quantitative data (such as the school improvement plans) the same categories were used to record references to elements of Community Cohesion and therefore illustrate the prevalence of these themes in school policy over time.

4.8 Ethical issues

This work was completed in line with the BERA code of ethics (BERA, 2011) and followed the submission of the University of London Institute of Education ethics form.

There were a number of limitations to the use of the ethnographic methods used in the completion of this case study. These relate principally to the relationship between the researcher and the subjects of the research (Cohen, 1989). There are dangers of researchers' views becoming too influential on outcomes and the researcher coming to act as spokesperson for the group. It is vital, in circumstances such as these, for the researcher to state their position clearly both during data collection and analysis to ensure the integrity of the outcomes.

The particular issue relating to these concerns was my existing position within the study school. As already stated this research was undertaken in the school in which I also worked as a senior member of staff. Before beginning my research I discussed my plans with the headteacher who supported my work and its nature as a complement to other developments in the school community, particularly in relation to Community Cohesion. Permission to access school documentation on condition of anonymity ensured that a full range of data was available without compromising the position of the school or members of the school community.

Additionally I discussed my aims with each of the interviewees before they agreed to take part in the research and agreed to anonymise their contributions. As the research developed and some of the concerns expressed by interviewees regarding partner schools became apparent it was clear that this level of anonymity needed to be maintained at both a personal and institutional level. I considered referring to the Jewish school as a faith school to ensure a greater level of anonymity. However I was concerned to emphasise the particular issues relating to potential anti-Semitism and the number of schools of the types represented in this study in this area of the UK ensures that these particular schools are not easily identified.

The greatest concern regarding my position was that this may influence students to feel unduly pressured into taking part. This was resolved by

informing students taking part in lessons at the start of the lesson that their work would be used anonymously as part of a piece of academic research. Students were given the option not to take part and were told that nothing they did would be attributed to them or the school. No students chose not to take part. The same procedure was followed for the group interview and two students chose not to take part although this was because of other commitments. Staff were given the same option not to take part and none chose not to do so.

I also took care to link the work students did to the curriculum to ensure that it was relevant to them and enabled them to learn from the work they did. The project completed in the lessons links clearly to the Community Cohesion elements of the national curriculum and because it was based on the school community itself ensured that it was of direct relevance and interest to the students taking part.

In order to overcome the danger of data collected becoming skewed by my presence each piece of data was tested against other sources. For example the outcomes of the lessons taught to students were tested in the group and staff interviews as well as against other relevant data such as an analysis of the racist incidents book. In the event the accounts given by staff, students and data, particularly the racist incidents book led to similar conclusions and therefore strongly suggest that my presence did not unduly influence the responses of the students or staff to my research.

The results of this work have been fed back to the senior leadership team of the school as part of the discussions relating to community cohesion and particularly the school's relationship with the local Jewish community. This has given the research an extra element of relevance through its direct, practical application to the school's policies in relation to this issue.

As a result of this feedback the profile of Community Cohesion within the school was raised. Prior to my feedback the majority of the senior team were unaware of what Community Cohesion meant or how it affected the school. When the school was inspected by Ofsted in September 2009 it was judged to be making good (a grade two on a four point scale where one is outstanding) provision for Community Cohesion. The inspectors drew particular attention to the work forming part of the school's extended provision.

4.9 Conclusion

It is inherent to the nature of case study research that it offers depth over breadth and consequently does not offer generalizable conclusions. As stated earlier in this chapter the methods used in this study do offer an in-depth analysis of the views of a small number of students of a particular age in a particular context. It also enables an understanding of the actions of a particular team of professionals in the same context. The methods chosen were designed to overcome the issues presented by the uniqueness of the case and in turn generate data which contributed to wider research into policy enactment and the relationship between national and school level discourses.

Chapter 5: What were the effects of the Community Cohesion policy on the study school?

This chapter presents the results of the research conducted as the first part of the case study. This focused on the perceptions of the standards of Community Cohesion in the study school. The observations that follow are based on the views expressed by staff and students, as well as a small amount of documentary research. The chapter begins with a summary of the research findings into the nature of Community Cohesion in the school using DCSF definitions of Community Cohesion. It then considers the influence of national policy and school leadership / values within the school community in developing the standards of Community Cohesion observed. The following chapter discusses the role of leadership and national policy in creating the standards observed here.

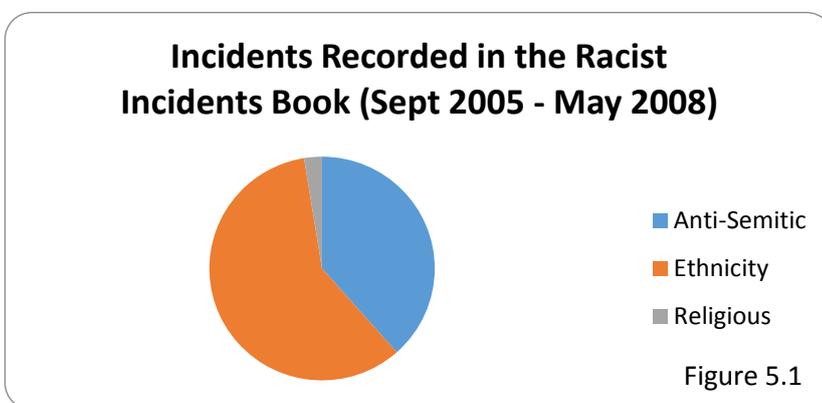## 5.1 Observed standards of Community Cohesion in the study school

**Figure 5.1 Analysis of the Racist Incidents Book**

An analysis of the racist incidents book (Figure 5.1) was undertaken to identify the number and nature of racist incidents recorded in the school. This revealed that anti-Semitic comments formed the most significant proportion of reported incidents for any particular group. Over the period from September 2005 to May 2008 forty racist incidents were reported, fifteen were anti-Semitic, twenty four related to ethnicity and one classified as religious. The interview with a citizenship teacher revealed that, based on her experience, anti-Semitism was common within the local community measured by the number of comments made by students in citizenship lessons or around the school. However, as the number of Jewish students and staff members was very small such comments were predominantly about Jewish people and Judaism in general rather than directed at particular individuals. The citizenship teacher stated that anti-Semitic comments tend to conflate wealth and Jews. She stated that students commonly believed that Jewish people: 'drive 4x4 cars', 'are rude' and 'are rich'. She regarded these comments as evidence of ignorance rather than malice. The nature of some of the comments regarding Jews being rich and driving 4 x 4 cars may also suggest that there is a socio-economic element to the observed prejudice.

The citizenship teacher also discussed issues of racism, homophobia and anti–Islamic sentiments but her view was that during their time at school students tended to become more accepting of different groups. She believed that the majority of prejudice stemmed from ignorance within the majority, white working class community and that as students were exposed to new ideas in the curriculum their views tended to change in relation to all except anti-Semitic comments which she did not perceive to decline with the age of the students.

The deputy headteacher agreed that ignorance was the key factor in prejudice and that the attitudes displayed by students represented the views of the local

community in which he described the school as an 'oasis'. His understanding was that words such as 'Jew' were used by students in a 'colloquial sense' as insults rather than to reflect a particular animosity towards Jewish people or any other minority group. He also suggested that the reporting of incidents in the racist incidents book related to more serious incidents and did not necessarily reflect disharmony between groups in the school. The low number of reported incidents appeared to confirm this view although it may also have reflected issues with the accessibility of the racist incidents book or the awareness among staff of their duty to enter incidents in it.

The results of the lessons taught to a group of year 10 students supported the view that racist and anti-Semitic attitudes were regarded as issues in the school. However, as figure 6.2 shows, students did not believe that any of the issues presented to them were significant problems in the school community. Students were asked to rate a number of issues on a scale of one (not a problem) to five (big problem). Racist and anti-Semitic issues were regarded as the most significant. However only three of the eighteen members of the class gave anti-Semitism a four whilst three gave the same score to racism against people with a different skin colour and one, racism against white people from other countries (xenophobia on the graph). None rated any of the issues as a five.

Figure 6.2 Student views of the Nature of Prejudice in the Study School

Figure 5.3

Sample: 18
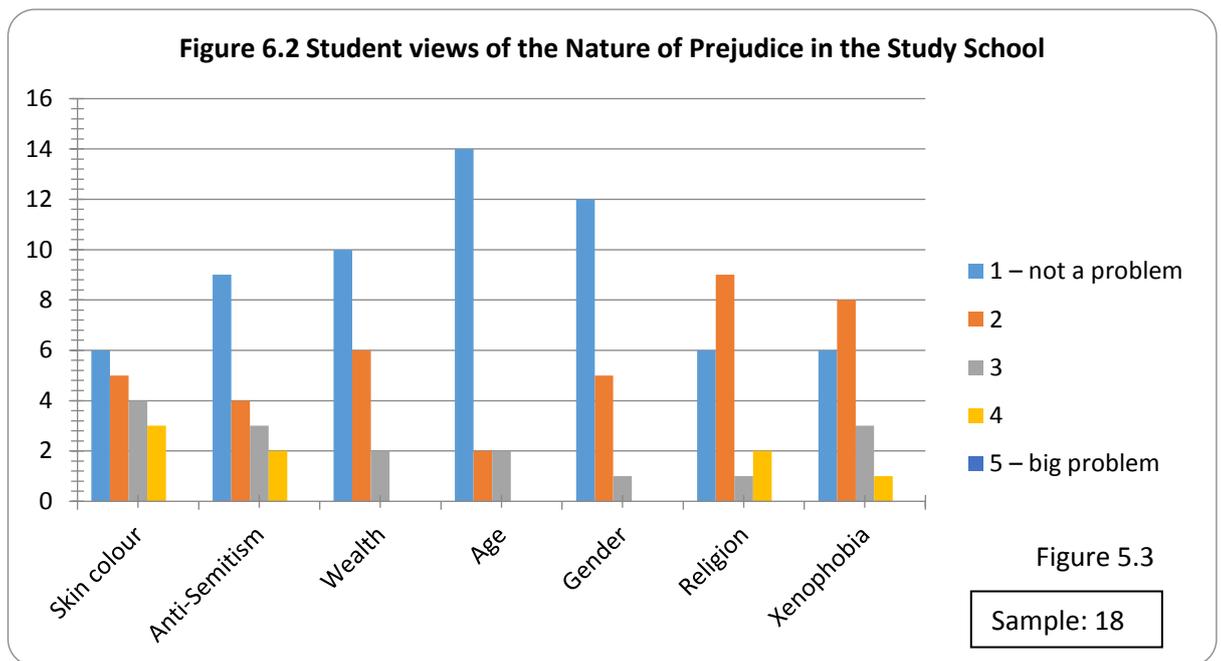
What students saw as the most significant issues in their school community were friendship issues. Students were given a camera and asked to create a picture, which reflected the nature of Community Cohesion within the school. The photographs revealed in all cases that in the view of the students, the most likely cause of negativity in the community was friendship issues or issues between social groups such as 'Chavs' and 'Goths'. Figure 5.3 illustrates the issues predominantly raised by students. The students created this tableau to illustrate their view that isolation of friends was the most common issue amongst students.

The class consisted of White British students as well as one Polish-born student. The group interview, which followed the lessons, was conducted with three students: two Black Africans, one of whom was a Christian, and one white Jehovah's Witness. In spite of their different backgrounds these students tended to concur with the views of their colleagues with regard to the most significant issues facing students in the study school. Using the images created by the class (without the labels) as a stimulus, they attributed

the problems between students to friendship issues rather than issues of prejudice. However, they believed that there were low level prejudicial attitudes in the school rooted in ignorance. For example one student stated that other students did not know the difference between a Jehovah's Witness and a Jew. They did believe that ethnicity and religion played a part in the formation of peer groups and also that hidden racism, for example indirect jokes, was the biggest problem in the school. They agreed with the teaching staff that the word 'Jew' is used as an insult amongst students. More positively the members of the interview group reported that attitudes had improved with time and that as they grew older students had become more open minded and willing to accept difference. The views of students and staff at this stage suggested that Allport's (1952) contact theory was applicable to students in the school who were becoming more tolerant of others as a result of experience.

Figure 5.3 Student Tableau of Issues of Community Cohesion in the study school

What most clearly illustrates the difference between the two groups is that the response of the group to the final question, asking them to rank a series

of fictitious newspaper headlines according to the likelihood of their appearing in the local newspaper. These students tended to rate the headline 'Former [school name] student jailed for racist attack' as being very likely to appear in the local press. They ranked this as one, two or three (of eight) and the most likely headline whilst the class group had rated it as the third most likely. The students taking part in the group interview tended to take a more pessimistic view in this exercise, five of the eight choices they made for articles which they would rate as one, two or three, concerned racist attacks or anti-Semitism. Although the sample size of this group was very small these responses represent 56% for the group interview and 31% of the responses from the class. If this were repeated across the school then it would suggest that students of minority ethnic and religious backgrounds believed that issues relating to Community Cohesion were more significant than members of the majority. This difference in perception is consistent with that observed by Gaine (2005) in majority white schools where there is a tendency for the majority group to understate the issues relating to prejudice.

None of the responses from the class or focus group rated issues of economic difference as significant within the school however, as stated earlier both staff interviews suggested a conflation of prejudicial attitudes amongst students relating to Judaism and wealth.

When the outcomes of this research are compared to the explicit aims of Community Cohesion the following conclusions can be reached.

5.1.1 Incidences of intolerance and harassment

The racist incidents book and the interview with the deputy headteacher demonstrate that there are relatively few serious incidents of intolerance and harassment within the school. Explicit verbal or physical harassment on the

grounds of social, economic, cultural or religious difference is not apparent through any of the evidence collected.

5.1.2 Mutual civility

In the same way the data suggested that mutual civility between students was strong. Students did not report overt day to day problems in relationships caused by prejudice between students of different backgrounds. However there were issues caused by underlying values, such as anti-Semitism, which students and staff agreed were present. The citizenship curriculum and the school's approach to teaching values and encouraging mutual civility amongst students both appeared to be having an impact on the relationships between students regardless of background. Issues of ethnic and social difference within the school appeared to be reduced with time. The issue of anti-Semitism however remained. This did not present itself in terms of intolerance, harassment or incivility in school largely because there is not a potential outlet for this in terms of there being a significant Jewish population among the students. The citizenship curriculum and the school's efforts in general did not seem to be having as great an impact on this issue as on other areas of intolerance and prejudice. This lends further weight to the influence of Allport's theory as improvement in relations between groups appeared to be least where there was the least opportunity for personal relationships to be formed. Therefore the data suggests that the school could make greater use of the citizenship curriculum to address issues of anti-Semitism although creating opportunities for contact between groups of students may have had a more significant impact.

5.1.3 Respect for diversity and commitment to common bonds

Students reported positive attitudes towards people of different groups and agreed that a significant part of this was getting to know people of backgrounds different to themselves. The interview group, the deputy headteacher and the citizenship teacher, however, suggested that there were still underlying attitudes, largely rooted in ignorance, which were continuing to cause division amongst students. The research did not reveal an attachment to particular bonds or values but the relative absence of negative attitudes suggested a commonality of values amongst students.

As the students attending the school were resident in the local community their attitudes, as measured by this study, did have the potential to contribute to the development of bridging capital between the school community and the local community. It may reasonably be inferred therefore that the conclusions reached inside the school would also apply in the local community. Therefore the results of this study suggest that, as a result of the efforts of the school, students were growing more tolerant towards ethnic minorities and people of different social backgrounds but that prejudicial attitudes remained, particularly towards Jewish people. Therefore the school did appear to be making a positive contribution to Community Cohesion. Other school initiatives, particularly extended schools may also have played a significant role in developing these kinds of links.

5.2 To what extent was citizenship education contributing to the promotion of Community Cohesion?

Figure 5.4 Factors Students Taking Part in Lesson Believed Most Likely to Contribute to Positive Community Cohesion

Sample: 18
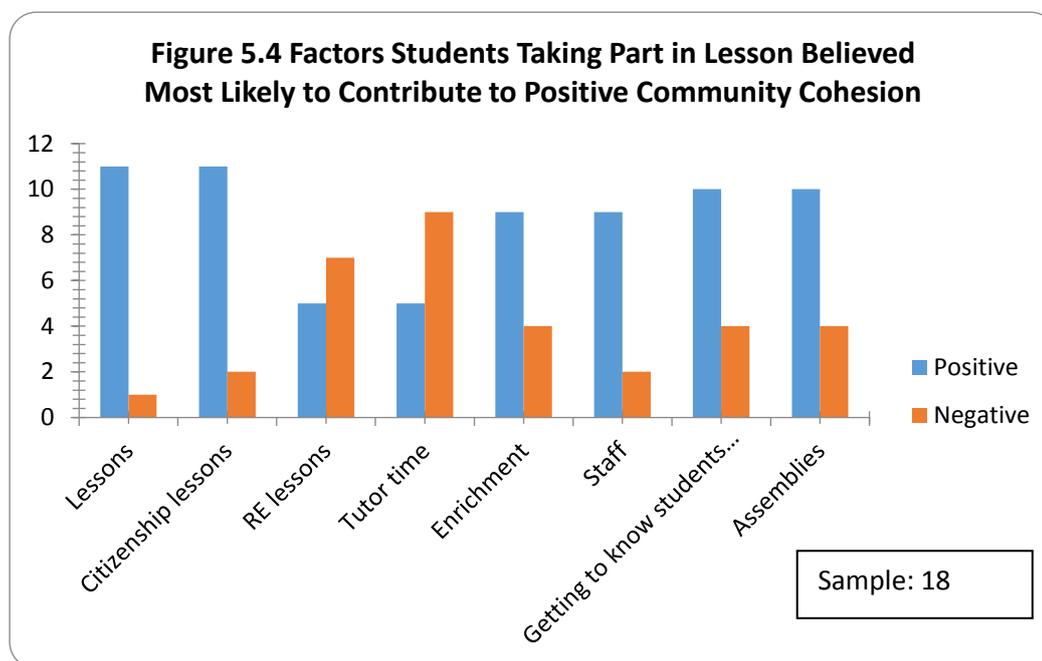
The final question raised with students and staff was the reason for the Community Cohesion in the school being of a standard, which Ofsted rated as good. This question assumes that Community Cohesion was good and that students and staff agreed with the Ofsted judgement. Earlier questions suggested that those involved in the study were broadly in agreement with this conclusion.

The results did not rate any particular factor as decisive. Students taking part in the lessons rated 'lessons' and 'citizenship lessons' as the things that best contributed to making the school a 'better place' (figure 5.4). Of the eighteen students, eleven rated these as either one or two on a five-point scale (one - positive, five - negative). This suggests that the content of lessons in general and citizenship lessons in particular had a very positive impact on the school community. However, ten students out of eighteen rated assemblies and 'getting to know students from different backgrounds' as either one or two whilst a further nine rated enrichment activities and staff, equally highly.

Students taking part in the lessons were very negative about the contribution of tutor periods and religious education lessons to an improved school community.

The three students in the group interview broadly agreed. They were more positive about religious education lessons, rating them as one, two and three but lessons, citizenship lessons, assemblies and 'getting to know people from different backgrounds' were seen as the most significant influences. Again the students did not believe tutor periods made a positive contribution to improving the school community. These results suggested a consistency across the curriculum, the school's culture and the school staff in the messages transmitted to students. The poorer scores attributed to tutor periods may have reflected the weaker impact of tutor periods in general. Religious education was integrated into a General Studies programme along with citizenship and therefore the generally poorer responses relating to religious education may reflect this.

What this suggests is that positive influences on student attitudes arise from a variety of curricular and school community backgrounds. The views of the deputy headteacher who described his role as 'promoting an ethos in terms of values, expectations and standards', reflected, to some extent, Allport's theory that it was relationships, in his terms ethos, which created an environment where Community Cohesion could thrive. He regarded citizenship education as an element of all lessons as well as community events such as assemblies. He downplayed the role of citizenship lessons, stating that they were not 'particularly important' in this.

In contrast, the citizenship teacher believed that her role as a subject teacher was to educate students *for* citizenship and that her subject was making a difference. Based on her experience in her own lessons she said that she had noticed student attitudes changing with regard to issues such as homophobia and Islamic terrorism as a result of lessons. She stated that one boy saying

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he was not bothered by someone being gay led to a change in the whole class's view on this issue. However she was not seeing the same change in relation to anti-Semitic views, her opinion was that these did not seem to decrease during the students' time at school.

The views of staff members therefore diverged on the issue of the significance of citizenship lessons. These interviews did not present conclusive arguments for the importance of any element of the curriculum or the school community in terms of promoting Community Cohesion. It is possible that the positions of these two staff members in the school influenced their assessment of the situation. To further understand the relative influence of key factors on the promotion of Community Cohesion a number of questions for investigation were raised and addressed in the second stage of data collection. The results of this are discussed in chapter 6.

5.3 Did the study School effectively promote Community Cohesion?

The evidence demonstrated the following outcomes.

5.3.1 Bonding capital in the school

There was little evidence of overt tension within the school and that therefore Community Cohesion in terms of bonding capital within the school was good. Neither students nor staff reported significant discord between different social, economic, religious or cultural groups within the school. Students, including those of religious and ethnic minority backgrounds, agreed that the most significant issues in the school were to do with friendships, rather than relationships between groups of students, and that where prejudice did exist, it decreased with the age of the students. Evidence from the racist incidents book appeared to support this. Cantle's focus on the development of bridging capital through Community Cohesion would not appear likely to contribute significantly to greater cohesion within the school as the issues present primarily related to personal rather than community relationships. This also suggests that, in students' perception of the school, institutional racism was not a significant factor and that although the school did not adjust its curriculum to cater for specific groups, students still felt comfortable as members of the school community.

Student responses illustrated some tensions in the school community and the lack of entries in the racist incidents book may suggest that the school did not have in place the structures necessary to ensure that all members of the school community were aware of the book's existence or how they could make entries in it. This in turn impacted the data available for analysis.

The issues referred to by students illustrate that there were problems in the school community. However the responses of both students and staff suggest

that these were being dealt with indirectly through appeals to a common ethos rather than addressing issues such as racism head on. This is consistent with the views of Crick (2008) and the policy of Community Cohesion, however the continued existence of these problems may have been the result of a lack of action to address them more directly.

5.3.2 Bridging capital in the school

There was relatively little bridging capital generated between the school's students and members of certain local communities, particularly the Jewish community. Therefore in relation to the school's external relationships Cantle's prescription appears to be highly appropriate. The members of the group interview acknowledged ignorance on the part of students about what it means to be Jewish and this was reinforced by the deputy headteacher and the citizenship teacher who did not report improvements over time in students' attitudes to the Jewish community. At the time of this research there were relatively few links with Jewish schools or other Jewish community groups.

There is also a significant economic division between students in the school and those not attending the school but living in the wealthiest of the local wards. Again the school had no links aimed at overcoming this at the time of the study. There was scope here for partnership work with Jewish and independent schools. The clear issues with anti-Semitic attitudes amongst students and their negative attitudes to religious education lessons suggest that the school may have benefited from reviewing its teaching about Jewish beliefs and practices. The school may also have found a focus here for developing greater social cohesion based on the socio economic divisions within the local community.

This reflects Allport's (1954) conclusion that simply being in relatively close proximity to another group does not necessarily promote improved relations,

instead it can generate greater misunderstanding. The responses of the school's teachers and leaders may reflect missed opportunities to develop the curriculum to address issues like an understanding of Judaism or the beliefs and values of other communities. The existence of both religious education and citizenship education lessons in the school would suggest that opportunities existed to address such issues but the reliance on school ethos may have prevented actions to address more specific concerns.

5.3.3 Racism in the study school

There was evidence of racist attitudes amongst White British students in the school. Although the students taking part in lessons did not regard racism as a significant issue students of ethnic and religious minority backgrounds did. The racist incidents book showed that this issue was not manifesting itself in major incidents but this would not reflect apparently minor but repetitive manifestations such as racist jokes reported by the focus group. This observation is consistent with Gaine's studies of predominantly White schools. Blair and Mirza both emphasise the role of structural reforms, including to the curriculum, and the development of positive relationships within schools to overcome prejudicial attitudes. A focus on positive attitudes was clearly in evidence in the study school but its impact was harder to measure. Furthermore, the absence of reporting in the racist incidents book does not necessarily reflect a lack of racist incidents. It may just as easily reflect a lack of awareness of the existence of the racist incidents book. What the results suggest is that the assumptions of the White majority were dominant in the understanding of issues of race in the school but there is a suggestion that members of minority groups felt there were issues which were not being discussed or addressed.

5.3.4 Attitudes in the school community

Evidence seems to suggest that the levels of Community Cohesion in the study school were rooted in the attitudes of the school community. The responses of the deputy headteacher suggest that strong leadership ensured that respect for diversity was transmitted consistently through the majority of avenues open to the school, with the possible exceptions of tutor periods and religious education lessons. Blair (1998) reports this as a consistent factor in successful multi ethnic schools. However, it is unclear as to whether this leadership was addressing all of the issues relating to racism or if it was successful in creating an image of compliance whilst problems of racism continued. If the racist issues identified in the group interview were continuing it would suggest that problems were not immediately obvious to external audiences such as Ofsted inspectors but that for some students the problems remained very real.

5.3.5 The influence of citizenship and school activities

Both the citizenship curriculum and other school activities were designed to transmit the same messages, and were therefore consistent with the recommendations of the DCSF. The relative influence of each factor was unclear though. The citizenship teacher interviewed believed the objectives of the citizenship programme were supportive of the aims of Community Cohesion. Students, however, were not clear that these lessons were having a more significant impact on their attitudes and learning about these issues than other factors. The deputy headteacher also did not have confidence that citizenship lessons were a significant factor but regarded the whole school culture as more significant in changing student attitudes. The view of the focus group that attitudes had improved with time, suggested that the whole school culture must have had a strong influence.

Blair recommends adapting the curriculum to the needs of particular communities represented in the school. As the study school was dominated by the majority community alongside a number of much smaller communities there was limited scope for this with regard to the minority communities. In spite of this the citizenship programmes of study and school activities are positively viewed by students as a factor contributing to good Community Cohesion. This suggests that, in contrast to Blair's recommendations, the development of an inclusive curriculum rather than one focused on the needs of particular groups was having a significant impact on the sense of Community Cohesion reported by students. School policy contradicted recommendations by other commentators, such as Coard (1971), that students ought to be taught by members of their own ethnic and social communities and by Gillborn (2008), that colour blind policies are inappropriate. The evidence raises the question about whether the school's policies were really creating a more cohesive environment based on common values of academic achievement discussed by Cantle (2008) and promoted by the DCSF Community Cohesion guidance (DCSF, 2007c) or if this focus was simply driving some issues 'underground'.

This raises perhaps some of the most significant questions with regard to the objectives of this thesis. The views of the staff, the evidence from the majority students and from Ofsted, suggest that the agency of school leaders was very influential in creating an inclusive community in the study school. However the relative influence of citizenship education suggests that this particular national policy may have been less influential. Additionally, the question of the observed versus the actual presence of issues of prejudice within the school community questions the effectiveness of all interventions. This in turn leads into the discussion in the following chapter concerning the values of the school's leaders and the relative influence of other policies and

discourses such as Community Cohesion, achievement and performance tables.

5.3.6 Student awareness of religious belief and practice

Comments made by the citizenship teacher and reinforced by the student interview group suggested that students did not have a strong awareness of religious beliefs and practices. There may have been a link between this and the negative attitude to religious education amongst students in the lessons. The reported anti-Semitic views amongst students may also have been rooted in this ignorance. Again this reflects the attitudes, identified by Gaine (2005), which students from majority backgrounds often have of people and traditions different to their own. It also reflects again the question of the effectiveness of the religious education curriculum in the study school.

5.3.7 Economic inequalities

Neither students nor staff made reference to economic inequalities except in relation to anti-Semitic comments. This suggests that there is awareness amongst students that others are wealthier than they are but that they do not perceive this to be an issue within the school community. Students were not asked about Community Cohesion outside the school community but economic differences between students attending the study school and others living in the local area are significant, particularly relative to those from the wealthiest ward. This raised questions about what the school was and ought to have been doing to address a divide within the community between residents of the four wards from which the majority of students are drawn and the one ward from which very few were drawn.

This is an issue relatively little discussed in the literature but which was included in the DCSF guidance. A response rooted in Community Cohesion might focus on partnership work with independent schools in the area. This may be a shallow response when one considers the more fundamental issues discussed by Cassen (2007) in his analysis of the underachievement of White working class students. Enabling students from the study school to achieve more academically, in line with the aims of the standards agenda could be more effective in the longer term. This fits within the paradigm of system leadership focused on academic achievement as well as cooperation with other local providers such as independent schools to raise achievement across the local area. Whitty's (2002) observation that increases in achievement across the board tend to maintain relative achievement gaps suggest potential limits to this.

5.3.8 Building relationships with students from different backgrounds

Students in the lessons and the focus group considered that getting to know students from other backgrounds was very significant in overcoming prejudice. This appeared to be reflected in the views of students and staff that students become more tolerant with time. At the same time it was clear that the group against which students had the greatest prejudice, was the group to which students had the least exposure. This may well be a direct result of a lack of bridging capital which may, in line with what Cantle suggests, have been best overcome by developing links with the neighbouring Jewish school. Programmes such as extended schools, which Collarbone (2008) includes in her account of system leadership and which also formed an element of government policy until the 2010 election, may have offered opportunities to forge such links maybe also taking into account local independent schools. Allport's (1954) work though sounds a note of

caution reminding us that it is not just exposure to a group which changes attitudes but crucially the nature and quality of that exposure.

For the school's leaders to attempt to develop such links therefore would require a significant time investment both in planning and in execution. The school's leaders would therefore have needed to consider their motives to commit resources to this. This is the question addressed in the following chapter.

Chapter 6: How does a school focused on academic achievement address community and social cohesion?

The previous chapter described the nature of Community Cohesion in the study school from the perspective of students and staff. The evidence presented suggests that, whilst there were continuing issues relating both to bridging and bonding capital, levels of Community Cohesion in the school (bonding capital) were positive. This conclusion was based on: the absence of significant issues related to cohesion, the positive and improving attitudes of students and the judgement of inspectors. Chapter six seeks to explain why these positive observations were apparent. This thesis is concerned with the relative influence of discourse, in the form of national policy, and agency, in the form of school leadership. Therefore the focus of the second phase of research, the results of which are presented here, was on the views of the school's leadership team concerning the reasons for the prevailing school climate. In order to validate the views presented in interviews with members of the leadership team a number of documents are also reviewed.

This chapter is organised first as a discussion of the values of the school's leaders as expressed in interviews. Then it reviews the roles of external factors and the influence of the values of the school's leaders in order to understand which was the greater influence, structure or agency, on the outcomes observed.

6.1 Leadership values

The following is a summary of the views expressed in interviews with members of the school's leadership team. The headings are taken from those

used in the interviews and reflect a balance between academic achievement, pastoral care and the policies of social and Community Cohesion. The final section (6.1.5) seeks to understand some of the influences affecting the decision making of the school's leaders.

6.1.1 Achievement

All the interviewees agreed that achievement was the key purpose of the school. A variety of phrases were used to define achievement but there was a general consensus that it referred to enabling students to leave the school prepared for future life, a philosophy consistent with the notion of moral purpose as defined by Fullan: '…both academic achievement and personal and social development are core purposes of the public school system' (2003, p4).

The views of the interviewees were summed up by the deputy headteacher responsible for pastoral issues whose view was that, 'the core purpose of the school is to educate and prepare students for life after school but I don't necessarily think that is always about securing x amount of examinations at grades C or above....' The assistant headteacher with responsibility for professional development summed up a further commonly held view of the relationship between the pastoral and academic branches of the school: '…pastoral care underpins a lot of what we get from the achievement.'

6.1.2 Pastoral care

Pastoral support and care is referred to here as any school activity undertaken for students not directly related to academic achievement. Academic achievement is measured by exam results. Pastoral support and care

encompasses the remainder of the school's activities in relation to its students including:

- Creating an environment where students feel safe and supported
- Sporting and artistic successes (excluding those which are examined)
- Activities relating to the ethos of the school including assemblies and staff student relationships
- Behaviour management
- Support for students with personal or educational difficulties
- Visits and excursions
- Attendance

These activities show a strong correlation with the Community Cohesion notions of bonding capital and to some extent bridging capital. The aims of promoting equality of opportunity and inclusion, promoting shared values and encouraging pupils to actively engage with others were all elements of the school's pastoral agenda. Whilst the school's focus on students achieving in preparation for adult life suggested a greater focus on personal mobility and social cohesion than community development there was evidence of both and this will be discussed later in this chapter.

The interviewees broadly agreed that in order to achieve its primary purpose the school had to maintain a balance between pastoral and academic demands. There was however some discussion of the ways in which different forms of achievement related to one another. The headteacher stated that what she fundamentally wanted for her students was achievement across a wide range of disciplines: 'I don't mind what they can do well as long as they do something well…' She identified examples of success in this area: 'an awful lot is got through sporting success, through artist success, a lot of this is not academic achievement but it has contributed to making those

students feel a valued part of the school giving them something they can shout about.'

The pastoral deputy emphasised that the success of any achievement agenda rested very firmly upon a strong pastoral system. He reacted strongly against any notion that the academic and the pastoral could be viewed as completely separate areas of work: 'I would not draw such a fine line between the two and I think schools do that at their peril.' This was a common theme in all the interviews. Every interviewee was at pains to emphasise the importance of both the pastoral and the academic development of the school's students, frequently emphasising that academic achievement rests very firmly on strong pastoral care.

Pastoral care is largely absent from Hopkins' system leadership. However its significance in the study school is emphasised by the fact that it was the responsibility of one of the school's two deputy headteachers and almost half of the school's middle leadership team. Therefore it formed a key element of the structure of the school.

6.1.3 Ethos

The headteacher talked at length about ethos. She emphasised the importance of creating a non-threatening atmosphere, celebrating individual achievements, the ways in which students behave towards one another and staff, and social skills. She linked these to what she believed to be pre-cursors of success such as attendance and students' positive attitudes towards their studies. Self-esteem was mentioned in several interviews and in the case of the headteacher, improving 'self-worth' was also a key objective achieved through the underlying ethos of the school:

I think you do that in all kinds of ways. You do it in the way you expect your staff to behave…[and]… a broad and rounded curriculum, so you do it in all kinds of ways so that you are not doing a one size fits all, you are actually catering to the individual but you are trading on success at all times…

The pastoral deputy was even more emphatic about the importance of ethos, what he referred to as 'working together'. He said that, 'I think as soon as we take the foot off the pedal and stop making clear to students the impact of their actions on others around them, I think we lose it…' Such comments referred to an acute awareness that the school and its local community presented particular challenges. The five interviewees made frequent references to the particular needs of the school's local community. Staff very strongly gave the impression that they knew the community intimately and that they were very aware of what they believed it required in order to enable students to achieve.

In spite of her focus on a broad definition of achievement, the headteacher acknowledged that the way in which the school actually measured achievement was heavily influenced by the standards agenda. Consequently, she felt that academic achievement had to be the school's primary focus: 'The trouble is that you are actually most accountable for the academic one. This is what you are measured on all the time...' therefore, 'you have to say that my first priority, I feel, is academic achievement.'

This was supported by the focus of the school's annual school improvement plan. Figure 6.1 records the number of times achievement, social cohesion, Community Cohesion, external influences and internal initiatives were referred to in each year's school improvement plan. This shows the significant increase in the achievement focus of the school's plans, particularly since 2008 when a new school improvement plan format, based on Hopkins model of system leadership (Hopkins, 2007), was introduced. Of

5 categories, achievement was the second most significant in every year after 2005. The first category, social cohesion, is largely based on the opportunities offered for social development through academic achievement.

Figure 6.1 Study School, school improvement plan Priorities 2005/6 – 2011/12
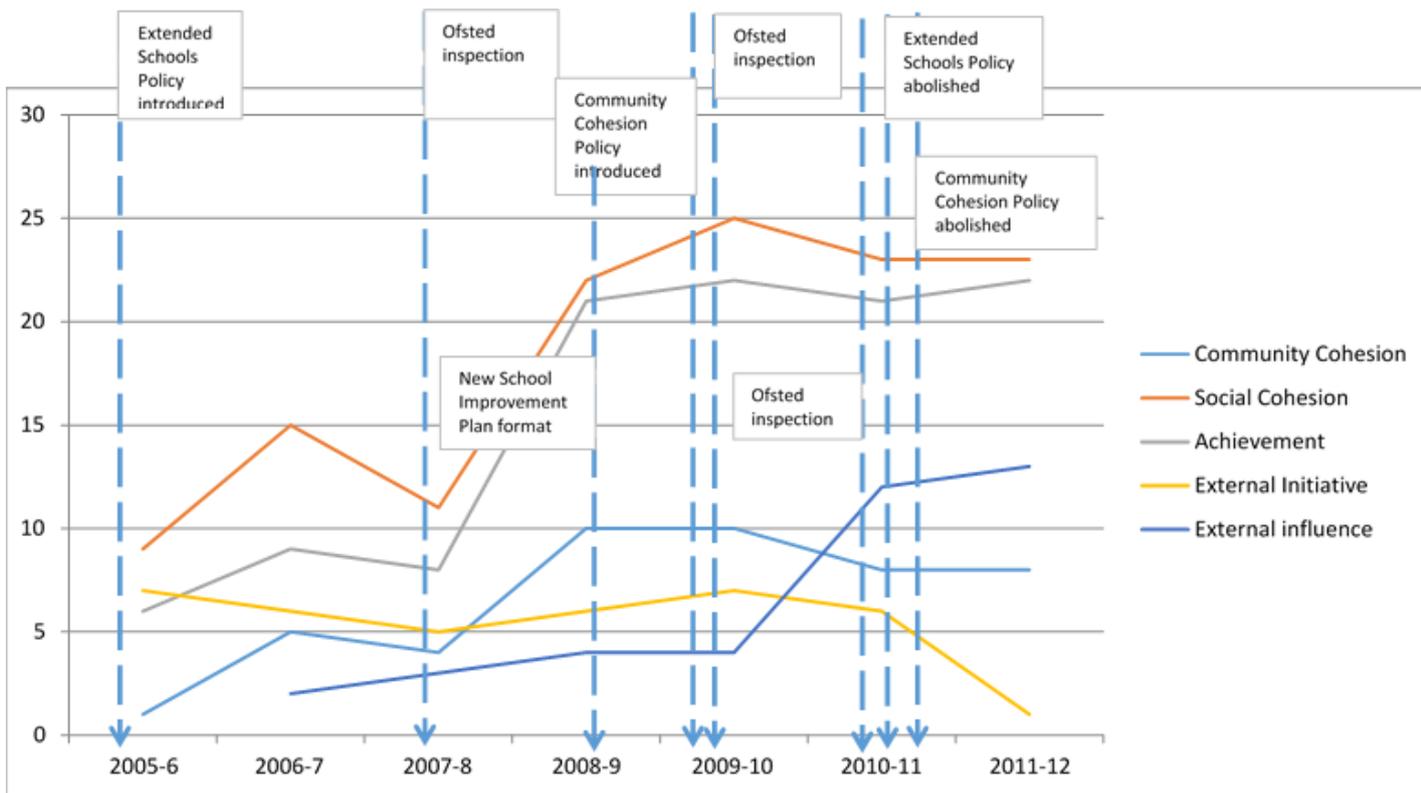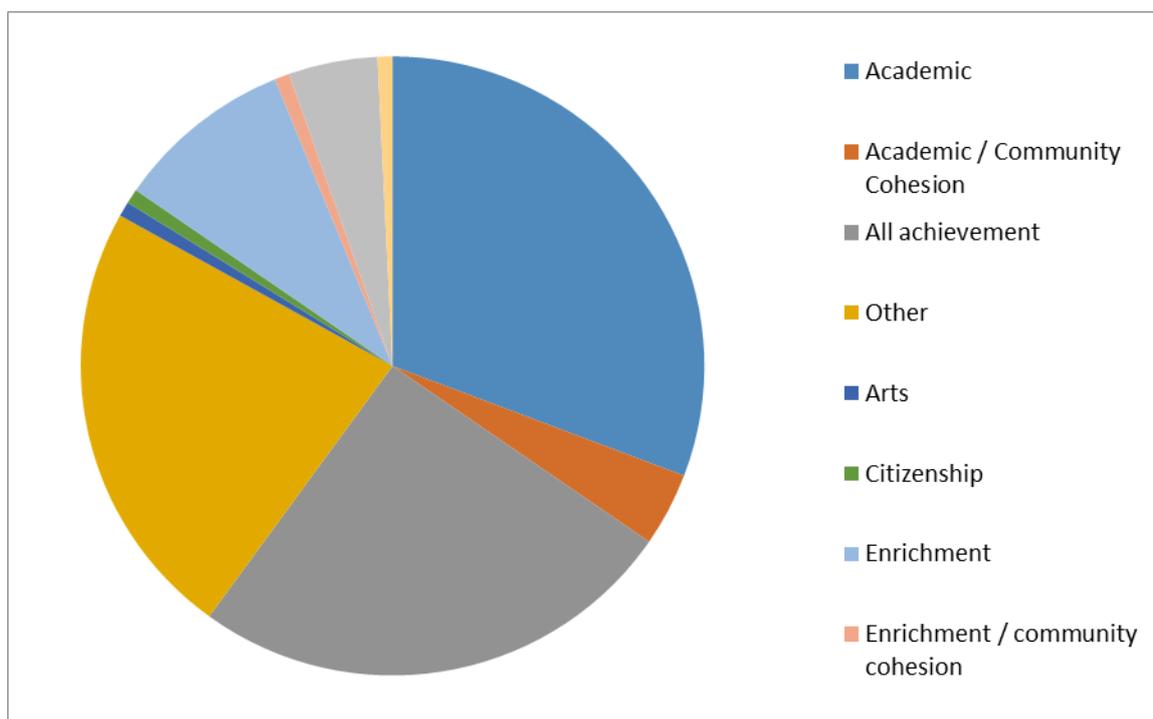
Figure 6.2 Articles in the school newsletter (January – March 2011)

An analysis of the school newsletters published during one term between January and April 2011 reveals the range of reports related to academic activities and achievement. Of 131 articles 33 were related to some form of achievement including exam results, sporting victories and arts events (figure 6.2) whilst 40 articles related to academic activities such as revision sessions or visits to museums. Overall achievement and academic achievement accounted for over half of the content of the newsletter in this period.

Figure 6.3 References To Community And Social Cohesion in School Newsletter - January - March 2011

- Community Coheison
- Neither
- Social Cohesion
- Social and Community Cohesion
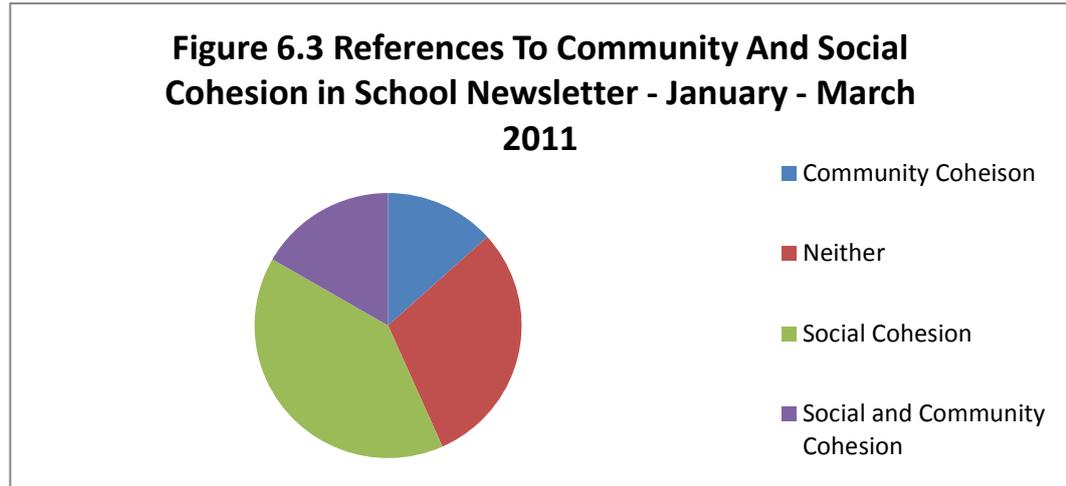
6.1.4 Social and Community Cohesion in the school's priorities

The data from the newsletters was also categorised in relation to social and Community Cohesion in order to offer further insight into the extent to which the school promoted each concept through its day to day work (figure 6.3). 53% of articles were related in whole or part to an issue of social cohesion whilst 30% were related in whole or part to an issue of Community Cohesion and 40% were related to neither. What this suggests is that the balance of the school's work was more towards addressing the issue of social cohesion than Community Cohesion. The 2011 Ofsted report describes the impact of the school's specialism on both community and social cohesion:

> Students' participation in a wide range of performances has had a major impact on improving their confidence and self-esteem. Through wide-ranging outreach work, the specialism has strengthened the school's links with the local community and, in particular, primary schools (Ofsted, 2011, p3).

The links to the local community through outreach work and the development of students' self-esteem in the 2011 report were also strong

themes in the 2007 and 2009 reports. The 2009 report notes the emphasis on ambition and school community whilst also acknowledging the development of Community Cohesion:

> The headteacher and her team work hard to embed ambition and have successfully created a happy and cohesive school community…There is a strong sense of tolerance and understanding in the school and students value meeting people and learning about their various faiths and backgrounds (Ofsted, 2009b, p4)

The report goes on to give the school a grade 2 (good), the second highest of 4 grades, for its promotion of Community Cohesion. Although Community Cohesion did not form part of the inspection schedule in 2007 the Ofsted report in that year noted that:

> Students' personal development and well-being and their spiritual, moral, social and cultural development are good. They enjoy school and develop pride in their achievements. (Ofsted, 2007, p4)

These show significant progress from the comments made in the 2003 inspection report which classed the school as unsatisfactory in relation to students' attitudes, behaviour and attendance (Ofsted, 2003, p. 10). This demonstrates the development of the school's ethos over a number of years, showing that before Community Cohesion was implemented many of the values of the policy formed part of the school's values.

The school's leadership team had a very strong focus on achievement. They were clear that this was a broad concept but in practice the school's focus was increasingly on academic achievement. However, as this grew the place of other forms of achievement did not appear to be diminished. The comments made by Ofsted endorsed the values of the leadership team in relation to the importance of the school's pastoral work and achievement in

the broadest sense. However levels of academic achievement identified in the achievement data from Raiseonline, the school's Ofsted reports and the school's own improvement plans showed that there was a significant issue in this area. These documents and their influence on the decisions and actions of the school's leadership team are discussed in detail below.

6.1.5 Influences on the actions of the leadership team

The headteacher and curriculum deputy believed that external interventions applied to the school by Ofsted, national policy and the local authority did not generally have a positive impact on the school. They believed in what the headteacher termed 'creative accountability...' This approach meant the school responding to weaknesses where present in the way the leadership team saw fit. Therefore at the time of the interviews the progress of gifted and talented students was being tracked and the headteacher described at length measures taken to address issues of achievement in GCSE English. She was at pains to describe how the application of external solutions, predominantly those prescribed by local authority advisers, had led to little change but when the school had completed its own evaluation of results and consulted with students the results had improved markedly.

When asked about how the accountability regime supported achievement and equal opportunities she explained that, in her view, simply identifying weaknesses in achievement amongst minority groups did not ensure that they would achieve more. In addition she argued that the use of A*-C grades as a measure of success ensured that schools were focused on ensuring that certain students achieved a C grade to the detriment of others, for example gifted and talented students. In relation to the lack of variation between ethnic groups in the school she reiterated that this was down to the culture of achievement and not monitoring by external authorities.

The headteacher was opposed to the arrangements at the time for accountability rather than the notion of a framework itself:

> What I would say, again cynically, is that a framework is fine if it is a finger on a pulse, if it actually becomes the motor by which everything else is driven then it is a shame because then it becomes limiting.

The curriculum deputy agreed that the way in which external accountability worked had little impact on the decisions made by the school's leadership team.

The leadership team held achievement as the core value of the school with a strong relationship between this and the school's pastoral system. The leadership team's view was that their motivation for selecting particular priorities was rooted in the values of the school's leaders. They believed that external interventions were a distraction and their own knowledge of the school generally produced more effective interventions.

As figure 6.1 shows, the school was not operating entirely without reference to external influences. Following Ofsted inspections in 2007/8 and 2009/10 the school improvement plan shows considerable increases in emphasis first on achievement and social cohesion and then on external influences. This suggests that, although the leadership team certainly had a very strong view of their own preferred direction for the school, national discourses were also very influential in decision making.

The place of Community Cohesion in school planning appears to have operated differently however. The school's leaders clearly valued a strong ethos and implicitly many of the values of Community Cohesion were present before the policy had been implemented nationally. In addition the comments made by the head teacher and several of her team demonstrate that there were several examples in the school of policies which had been adopted

in the manner described by Maguire et al (2013) of taking on the name of a policy and applying it to existing practice to ensure an image of compliance, a practice here reflected by the term 'creative accountability'.

What this suggests though is a complex relationship between external discourses in the form of national policies and local or national interventions, and the agency of school leaders. There was no question in the interviews that achievement was the key priority of the school. However the definition of achievement used by the leadership team was clearly much broader than the focus on academic outcomes measured by external bodies. Consequently the ways in which achievement was measured were very often dictated by interventions from Ofsted limiting the agency of the school's leaders. Therefore the evidence demonstrates the strong influence of policy hierarchies on decision-making. The school was paying a great deal of attention to feedback from Ofsted reports, as evidenced in the school improvement plan.

This was not the case with all external interventions. The views of local authority advisors were given far less weight because their interventions, the headteacher said, were viewed as being ineffective. The school had no obligation to implement these plans and so it is clear that where the source was weaker the school was less likely to respond.

School priorities operated in close proximity with the highest order values of external agencies but as policies or interventions fell further down the policy hierarchy the chances of them being disregarded by the leadership team increased. Therefore national discourse was a very significant factor in school level decision making, restricting the agency of school leaders in those areas of policy with national significance. The place of Community Cohesion was somewhat at odds with this, principally because the values of the policy were coincident with many of the values held by members of the leadership team. The manner in which external initiatives, influences and

organisations interacted with the values and objectives of the leadership team is discussed further below.

6.2 External factors influencing the values of the study school

As figure 6.1 demonstrates the priorities of the senior leadership team changed over time partly in response to external factors. These came broadly from three sources:

- External influences - recommendations from the local authority and Ofsted e.g. targets for improvements in individual subjects
- External initiatives – initiatives imposed on all schools by national legislation e.g. Community Cohesion, Extended Schools, Enterprise Education
- External relations - particularly those in the local area e.g. the Jewish Secondary School, the Extended Schools Consortium, the 14-19 Consortium of schools and colleges

The following discussion considers the influence of each of these factors in turn and how they influenced the priorities the school's leaders chose to emphasise over the period 2005-6 to 2011-12. This will shed further light on the question of whether or not the school's emphasis on Community Cohesion was rooted in external influences or the values of the leaders of the school. It will also consider how this related to the school's principle focus on achievement.

6.2.1 External influences

In spite of the focus on achievement, over the period 2006 to 2010 the school's academic achievement, measured by Contextual Value Added

scores (fig 6.4 and 6.5), declined annually from significantly above national averages in 2006 and 2007 to significantly below national averages in 2009 and below average in 2010. Contextual Value Added scores rated schools on the achievement of students at 16 relative to their achievement at 11. It also took into account contributory factors, such as gender, special educational needs, movement between schools, and family circumstances.

Ofsted reports throughout the same period commented on achievement. The 2007 report rated it as 'good' (Ofsted, 2007, p5) and that students 'enjoy school and develop pride in their achievements' (Ofsted, 2007, p4). The 2009 report, conducted under a different framework with a greater emphasis on maths and English commented that, 'the proportion of students gaining A* to C grades at GCSE, including English and mathematics, had been consistently too low and did not improve in 2009' (Ofsted, 2009b, p4). However similar comments to those made in 2007 were made about students' broader achievements: 'most students enjoy school' and 'show a healthy interest in the world around them…They enthusiastically embrace the many artistic opportunities provided through the school's specialist status' (Ofsted, 2009b, p5).

Figure 6.6 illustrates the relationship between the views of Ofsted inspectors and the priorities of the school. As the results declined the school improvement plan made a greater focus on, principally academic, achievement and the number of objectives in the plan which responded to external influence increased. Examples of this include the recommendation in both the 2007 and the 2009 Ofsted reports that a greater emphasis be placed on the needs and achievement of gifted and talented students which was subsequently stated as an objective in the school improvement plan and referenced to an Ofsted Action Plan in the 2011-12 document (Ofsted, 2007; Ofsted, 2009b).

Achievement was also regularly referred to positively in the school's Self Evaluation Form, a document completed regularly to demonstrate the school's own evaluation of its strengths and weaknesses in anticipation of inspection. This peaked in 2008 after the most positive Ofsted report and the school's best GCSE results and then declined steadily with notable dips in 2009 and 2011 following critical Ofsted reports and the continuing decline in the school's CVA figures (figure 6.4 / 6.5).

Figure 6.4: Academic Achievement in the Study School 2006 – 8 Measured by Contextual Value Added Scores

		2006		2007		2008	
All Subjects	Cohort for CVA	222		212		213	
	CVA School score	1,022.8	↑	1,012.9		1,005.3	
	95% confidence interval +/-	8.4		8.4		8.1	
	Significance	Sig+		Sig+			
	Percentile rank	9		22		36	
	Coverage	96%		93%		94%	
English / English Language	Cohort for CVA	220		212		213	
	CVA School score	999.4		997.3	↓	997.7	
	95% confidence interval +/-	0.8		1.0		1.0	
	Significance			Sig-		Sig-	
	Percentile rank	65		92		91	
	Coverage	95%		93%		94%	
Mathematics	Cohort for CVA	220		212		213	
	CVA School score	999.2		994.3	↓	998.9	↑
	95% confidence interval +/-	0.9		1.0		1.0	
	Significance			Sig-		Sig-	
	Percentile rank	66		99		72	
	Coverage	95%		93%		94%	

Figure 6.5: Academic Achievement in the Study School 2008 – 10 Measured by Contextual Value Added Scores

		2008	2009*	2010
All Subjects	**Cohort for CVA**	213	186	180
	CVA School score	1,005.3	985.5	991.3
	95% confidence interval +/-	8.1	9.7	9.4
	Significance		Sig-	
	Percentile rank	36	80	69
	Coverage	94%	93%	95%
English / English Language	**Cohort for CVA**	213	186	180
	CVA School score	997.7	995.8 ↓	999.8 ↑
	95% confidence interval +/-	1.0	1.0	0.9
	Significance	Sig-	Sig-	
	Percentile rank	91	99	55
	Coverage	94%	93%	95%
Mathematics	**Cohort for CVA**	213	186	180
	CVA School score	998.9 ↑	998.1	998.0
	95% confidence interval +/-	1.0	1.0	0.9
	Significance	Sig-	Sig-	Sig-
	Percentile rank	72	86	87
	Coverage	94%	93%	95%

Figure 6.6: Incidences of Key Words in the Study School's Self Evaluation Form 2006 - 2011
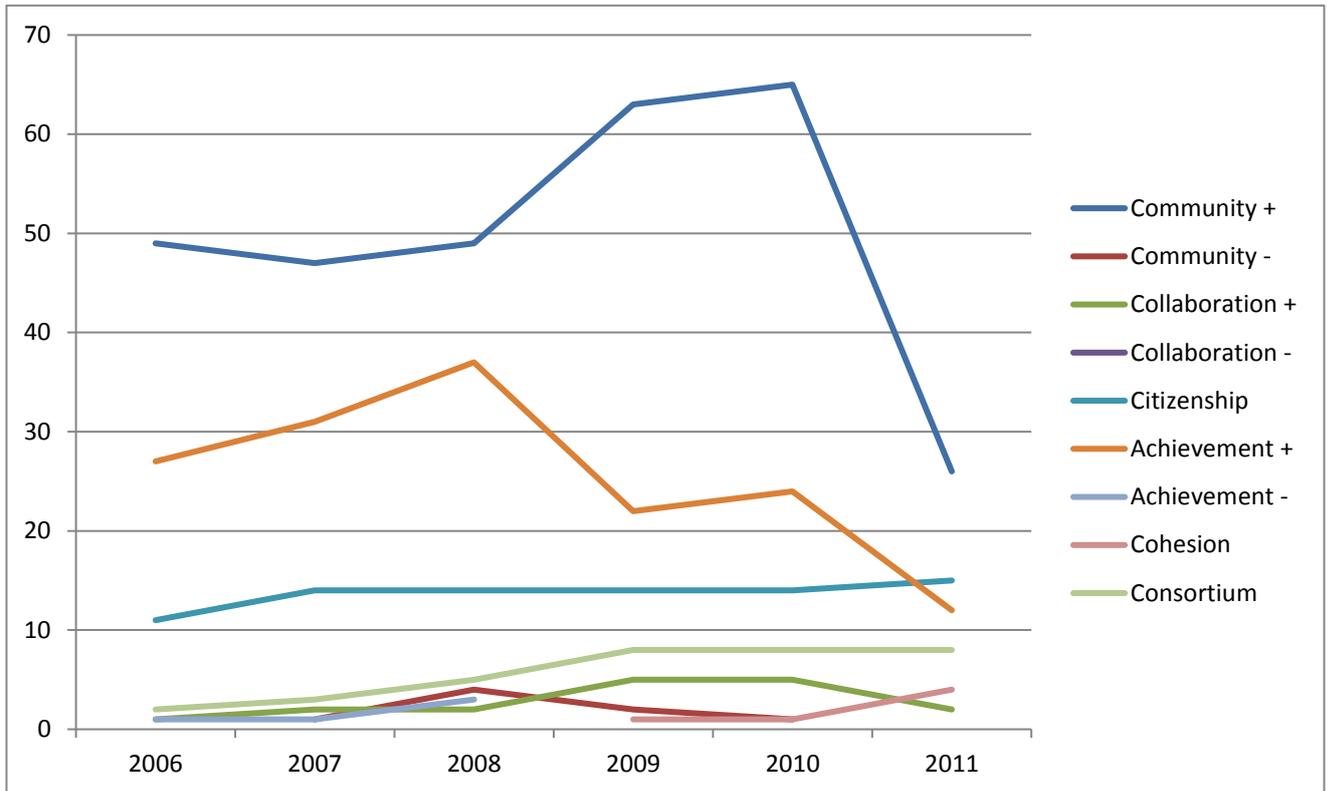
6.2.2 External initiatives

Figure 6.1 records the number of occasions upon which an objective in the school improvement plan could be related to a specific government initiative. The initiatives in question were: Extended Schools, Community Cohesion, Building Schools for the Future, Specialist Schools and Enterprise Education. Each of these was a central government initiative, which (with the exception of Building Schools for the Future) was compulsory for schools to participate in, often in a specified manner. The school improvement plan shows a relatively small number of objectives related to these initiatives and a closer inspection demonstrates that the majority of these were related to Extended Schools. The remaining initiatives merit only a single mention in any given year and their decline between 2010-11 and 2011-12 reflects the change in government which led to the abolition of all the initiatives listed above with the exception of the Specialist Schools programme, the influence of which was significantly reduced at the same time.

The decline in these initiatives offers an opportunity to analyse the extent to which the school's leaders' objectives were based on the demands of the initiatives or their own values. The Community Cohesion, Extended Schools and Specialist Schools initiatives would have had the greatest influence on Community Cohesion. Two of these were abolished but the number of objectives in the school improvement plan relating to Community Cohesion did not decrease at the same time. This suggests that the school was operating on the basis of influences other than external initiatives. Notably the number of objectives relating to external influences, principally comments in Ofsted reports, rose during the same period. Only the mention of literacy in the 2009 report related to a school led initiative, which (indirectly) influenced Community Cohesion. The literacy initiative was also a recommendation heavily focused on achievement and social cohesion and therefore which was closely related to the priorities identified by Ofsted. Achievement and social

cohesion remained the most significant factors in the school improvement plan after the change in national priorities.

Although it was never mentioned in the school improvement plan, Citizenship Education was also an external initiative, which had an impact on the school's relations with local partners. This will be discussed below in particular in relation to the neighbouring Jewish Secondary School.

6.2.3 External relations with local partners

The school improvement plan describes relationships at different stages between 2005 and 2011 with six groups of partner institutions:

- partner primary schools from which the school's new entrants joined the school
- the Extended Schools consortium (largely made up of the partner primary schools and the Jewish secondary school) through which the school ran a range of social and academic support programmes for local families
- 14-19 consortium partners (schools, colleges and training providers) with whom the school worked to teach students in this age group
- the Jewish secondary school with whom relationships were largely based on Community Cohesion initiatives
- a local sports college for which the school acted as a 'spoke' by running and promoting sports activities in the local area
- a range of other partnerships related to the social and learning needs of particular students

Partner primary schools

The relationships with the partner primary schools were largely initiated by the study school in order to improve their image in the local community and attract students. Over time this had come to have a significant relationship to the school's specialist status as an arts college and later to the literacy programme, both of which were detailed in the school improvement plan. The assistant headteacher responsible for teaching and learning was responsible for the outreach programme to partner primary schools. She believed that the visits made to the primary schools by students of the study school were enabling the improvement of the school's image and intake but at the same time enabling students to grow as role models and giving them opportunities to lead and develop 'non-classroom skills'. Both of these represented opportunities for the development of bridging capital, social and Community Cohesion.

14-19 consortium

Cooperation with the 14-19 consortium partners began as a result of a government initiative to promote this mode of teaching. Participation was not compulsory but the school had participated in a variety of activities including cooperating with local colleges in the teaching of a number of specialist subjects and a consortium for the teaching of sixth form students aged 16-19. This was formally still in place at the time of the interviews but the amount of activity had declined. There remained however a number of other relationships including with a local college which offered courses for 14-16 year old students as well as a relationship with a football club through which a large number of sixth form students were completing a football related course. These relationships were all based on academic achievement although again they offered opportunities for social and Community Cohesion.

The Jewish secondary school
The relationship with the Jewish secondary school in the same town was the most difficult of these relationships. It was not founded on academic links but principally on the Community Cohesion and citizenship initiatives. The extent to which activity was being carried forward as a result of these initiatives rather than the school's own agendas was more debatable. Up to the time of the study, links had largely been through year 10 and 11 students in the study school completing projects as part of their Citizenship GCSE course. This had led to a number of visits between the two schools by students to attend lessons or take part in joint activities. This relationship and its potential development will be discussed in greater detail below.

The sports partnership
The sports partnership with another local secondary school involved one member of staff from the study school spending a number of hours a week running sports events in the study school and local primary schools. This formed an element of the specialist schools programme, the partner school was classified as a sports college and one of the conditions of its designation was partnership with the study school. By 2011 this partnership had been discontinued but in the interim it had offered opportunities for links between local schools and improved sporting opportunities potentially contributing to improving bridging capital and social cohesion.

Other partnerships
In addition to these, the pastoral deputy outlined other partnerships under his management, which were contributing to the development of positive bridging capital and yet had not become apparent through the first phase of research. He was clear that this was largely because a number of these

activities were confidential and confined to individuals or small groups of students, often with particular special needs. He went on to describe at length the range of activities run by the school in conjunction with local partners. This included finding work experience for vulnerable students, liaison with services such as educational welfare and running specific programmes to support identified cohorts of students. The last example included a programme run in conjunction with local beauty salons to support less confident girls in preparing for the year 11 prom.

Again this revealed the strength of social cohesion in the school and with the local community. These activities were enabling students to engage in school activities and therefore improve their chances of achieving in various ways, in line with the school's ethos. As a result of these activities students were gaining work experience and enjoying positive relationships within the school community. The broad intention behind such activities was that students would attend school, be engaged in productive activities, build relationships and develop pathways into future employment and social relationships. This is what Davies (2007) terms deep learning, learning which ensures students do not just pass tests but develop knowledge, skills and attitudes which continue to be useful to students long after they have left school. Although there appeared to be good evidence of these initiatives developing social cohesion, their impact on Community Cohesion was weak because they did not directly impact upon relationships between groups of people.

Changing relationships with local partners
By 2011 the Extended Schools consortium was in the process of being disbanded, the school had ceased to work with other schools in the delivery of post 16 education and the sports partnership had ended. As a result of reduced funding the school had reduced its commitment to arts activities in

the partner primary schools. However the 2011-12 school improvement plan still listed a large number of activities which involved the school working in partnership with other schools and organisations. These included:

- To develop a sustainable programme of community activities
- To maintain a sustainable programme of transition outreach work with partner schools
- To develop alternative provision
- To continue to develop literacy across the curriculum and the wider community

None of these programmes was specifically focused on external initiatives although the continuation of the specialist schools programme formed an element of the school's community outreach and transition work. Instead the main drivers behind these programmes were: the school's continued efforts to improve links with primary partners for transition and recruitment, the identification (by the school and Ofsted) of the issue of literacy in the school and local community, the school's desire to continue links with the local community, and the desire to meet the needs of particular students requiring alternative provision.

6.3 The relative influence of external factors and the values of the leadership team

External influences, initiatives and relationships all had a significant influence on the priorities of the school's leadership team. However, the evidence presented above demonstrates that in the case of Community Cohesion national discourse had significantly less influence than in the case of achievement and other national priorities. Priorities relating to

Community Cohesion were apparent in school documentation both before and after the introduction of the national policy. Therefore the agency of the school's leaders was more influential in the decision to maintain a number of activities, which related to Community Cohesion.

The responses of the interviewees suggested reasons for this. Each talked about their desire to see the school and local community flourish, particularly in terms of achievement but also in terms of values. As the discussions developed it became clear that, whilst all of them shared the same objective, each of them perceived the method of attaining that objective differently. Some interviewees talked at greater length about their hopes for the wider community and their belief in the importance of developing bridging capital. The headteacher, when asked whether or not she would prioritise Community Cohesion or academic achievement said:

> Philosophically I want to do both in equal measure but practically speaking I wish I could do more for Community Cohesion a bit more quickly.

She agreed with the principle in system leadership that a headteacher is responsible not only for the achievement of their own students but also for the achievement of students in other schools. She discussed the ways in which this had impacted on a project to improve literacy, which engaged a number of local schools:

> If you look, for example, at the literacy project, that we are doing with the whole town, that is an excellent example of, I think, Community Cohesion, because we have to trade on all of our relationships with all of the primary schools and [Jewish school] are there as well, as a working partner and if there is something that all of the heads, that is 16 headteachers in the area can actually

get together on and agree basic principles for the good of this community and for its ultimate success.

She went on to explain that:

That was not prompted by an accountability framework, it was prompted by a genuine desire to do the best job for the community and a genuine and creative solution to a knotty problem. I am not doing the stuff with the primary schools because of the GCSE English results; I am doing it because I want the standards of English to improve, for a much more basic reason.

This example raises several issues. The literacy project encompassed all of the four elements of system leadership. It began in response to the identification of a literacy issue affecting the students in the school, which was linked to issues faced by all the primary schools in the local area. Ofsted had identified this in 2003 and Raiseonline demonstrated that English results had always been below the national average. Although the headteacher regarded this as an internal initiative commenced at about the same time as performance tables began to include English and maths results. This initiative appears to be an example of the influence both of national discourse and agency but it is impossible to ascertain whether or not the leadership team would have pursued this course of action with the same level of enthusiasm had the external pressures not been present at the same time. The influence of both discourse and agency is an example of intelligent accountability (Hopkins, 2007) whereby the interaction of external and internal actors contribute to the response to an identified issue.

Community Cohesion in the school appears not to have been a consequence of the national Community Cohesion policy. Figure 6.2 demonstrates that the number of objectives related to Community Cohesion remained the same after the Community Cohesion policy was reduced in stature both as a

national and consequently a school policy. Elements of Community Cohesion existed before and after the lifetime of the national Community Cohesion policy. The evidence presented above suggests that this was partly a result of the views of the leadership team who valued Community Cohesion in its own right and in part because of its relationship to achievement as the highest status policy both inside and outside the school. Again this demonstrates the interaction of discourse and agency in school level decision making. However it is more subtle than simply a cause and effect relationship resulting from a change in national policy. This outcome represents a degree of interpretation of one national policy, achievement, which in turn incorporates another, Community Cohesion. What this illustrates is that in this case one policy is dependent upon another. Without Community Cohesion achievement for all students is a harder objective to achieve. The focus on achievement explains the persistence of Community Cohesion in school policy.

The interview with the deputy headteacher responsible for curriculum demonstrated the limits of the pursuit of Community Cohesion as a policy where it did not contribute to achievement. In the case of the 16-19 consortium, concerns about the quality of teaching in Chemistry and Information Technology classes attended by students of the study school at a partner institution, as well as the school's geographical position had created a situation where the negative impact on achievement was great enough to discontinue the work. This was in spite of the fact that there could have been benefits in terms of Community Cohesion. What both examples show is that achievement was the principle value and the impact on this decided what happened to projects irrespective of the influence on Community Cohesion or other school or national level policies. Therefore because of its relatively weaker position in the policy hierarchy, Community Cohesion could only be developed where it related positively to achievement.

The question of the definition of achievement arises again here. The headteacher said of achievement: 'I don't mind what they can do well as long as they do something well' whilst the pastoral deputy said he did not believe achievement should be measured just in the number of C grades students achieved. These values were clearly shared by all the interviewees and yet the responses to issues of achievement appears to have been driven frequently by the externally driven definition of results. The influence of performance tables and Ofsted, representing the national discourse of achievement, appears to have become increasingly significant as the school's performance in national examinations weakened. The consequent reduction in the agency of the leadership team to make their own decisions demonstrates the limits of that agency in the face of issues relating to the dominant national discourse.

6.4 The impact of individual members of the leadership team

In common with the values of system leadership the headteacher took the view that her role personally was key to the promotion of the achievement and wellbeing of all local students. The assistant headteacher responsible for teaching and learning concurred, she was personally committed to the work she was engaged in. Her comments reflected the overlap of her personal values and the effectiveness of an external initiative:

> I feel very passionately about the citizenship curriculum, I think it is a very powerful curriculum, if it is done well and I have dealt with too many racist incidents between our children and [Jewish school] children hitting each other in the back alley behind [local supermarket] and felt it was unnecessary and that if I was going to teach citizenship then I wanted to do it properly. And to do it

properly meant actually making a change and using the vehicle of the citizenship coursework to do that and doing some real citizenship and not just some theory.

This represents the convergence of the values of one member of the leadership team with system leadership, achievement, Community Cohesion and citizenship education. In this case a member of the team had chosen to take responsibility for students both within and beyond the school using external initiatives as a method to do this not only in contemporary relationships between students but also for the long term development and achievement of the community at large.

She emphasised the importance of the manner in which initiatives are implemented. Talking about the citizenship curriculum she emphasised that it must be 'done well' and that doing it 'properly' meant 'real change'. The success of this and other strategies rested on her interpretation of the citizenship curriculum and her will to implement challenging projects rather than 'just some theory'. Therefore it appears that her personal contribution was fundamental to the effectiveness of this project.

As well as the citizenship projects with the Jewish school she was also responsible for the transition programme, the link to the street children's charity in Kenya, the town-wide literacy project and the gifted and talented programme, which included a project with the Jewish school. She described her motivation in terms of her own values and to some extent religious conviction. An important question therefore is whether or not these things would have happened at all or in the way they did if she had not been responsible. This in turn questions the relative influence of policies and those implementing them. What the assistant headteacher implied was that the citizenship curriculum could have been implemented in a way which fulfilled policy expectations but which did not lead to change. National policy had not required most of these activities, what appears to have made the

difference in this was the agency of the school leader and her values, adapting national discourse to achieve school and personal objectives.

Like the assistant headteacher the pastoral deputy agreed with the view that part of the role of the school was to promote good community relations. However he did not value either Community Cohesion or citizenship education as policies in supporting schools to achieve these outcomes. Instead he emphasised the role of the leaders of schools acting in what they perceived to be the best interests of the school. He cited his own efforts to develop community relations before the Community Cohesion policy came into force. He said he had always believed this would be necessary for the long term success of the school. The policy, in his view, largely articulated his own view of how a school ought to relate to its community. Although his understanding of Community Cohesion appeared to owe much to social cohesion, he believed that the school's response to Community Cohesion policy was that they had simply 'identified some of the things that we were already doing'. This was borne out to some extent by the comments in successive Ofsted reports, which show elements of the presence of good bonding and, to a lesser extent, bridging capital from 2007 onwards. This is further evidenced by the representation of Community Cohesion in the school improvement plan before, during and after the introduction of the policy. The values of the pastoral deputy were also having a significant impact on the school but in terms of bonding rather than bridging capital. Again he put this down to his own values rather than the influence of external factors.

The headteacher also explained her motivation in terms of innate values. She said she was 'driven' and: 'I will do it because I will do what I believe to be the right thing to do because that is the job'. In relation to the issue of the impact of policies she stated that it was her belief that Community Cohesion was being made to work using whichever strategies were successful. She

said, 'I don't think it matters what the project is I just think you have to develop things which are successful which will bridge the way for others.' Her opinion was that the loss of the policy would not influence her but that some partners would cooperate less if they were not obliged by the external accountability framework to do so.

Therefore these interviews strongly suggest that the motivation of the senior staff to develop Community Cohesion was rooted in personal conviction rather than national policy. This appears to be supported by the remaining documentation in that:

- Ofsted recorded Community Cohesion related activities throughout the period 2005 – 2011
- The school's improvement plans consistently included Community Cohesion related objectives during the same period
- The school's self-evaluation form also discussed several Community Cohesion related activities
- The school's newsletter talked about several activities related to Community Cohesion

However it is clear that the focus on achievement was the leading value and as has already been noted, where this appeared to be compromised the school would discontinue projects even if they could have continued benefits in terms of Community Cohesion. Because of the relationship between achievement and social and Community Cohesion, the focus on achievement also ensured that the school, as reflected in figure 6.2, had a significant number of activities related to all three concepts. Again though this begs the question of how achievement was defined and the extent to which the school's leaders were acting independently of the pressures placed on them by performance tables and Ofsted inspections. The national discourse appears to have been gaining a greater influence in the school at the expense

of the agency and the values of the school's leaders. As a consequence, although the leaders were engaged in a number of Community Cohesion related projects the scale and impact of these was limited by the extent of their relationship to achievement.

6.5 Issues in the school identified by the interviews

The interviewees broadly agreed with the conclusions of the initial student voice and staff interviews, that the school enjoyed strong bonding capital but weaker bridging capital. It appeared that the strength of bonding capital was largely taken for granted. However the pastoral deputy was at pains to put the success of bonding capital in context. He agreed that bonding capital was strong and stronger than bridging capital but, as stated above, that the strength of bonding capital ought not to be taken for granted. A number of issues related to bonding and bridging capital are discussed below.

6.5.1 Low level racism

There was limited evidence, in any of the research, of significant racist incidents in the school community. Indeed the evidence appears to suggest that relationships were generally harmonious. However a theme did appear in the evidence of low-level issues of racism and anti-Semitism in the school community. This begs the question of whether the school was really as successful as the school leaders believed in addressing all issues relating to bonding capital within the school. This evidence appears to suggest that there were issues, which were not being acknowledged by the leadership team or directly addressed. Owing to their nature low-level issues may be difficult to

eradicate, however a failure to acknowledge their existence makes addressing them in the long-run less likely.

The first evidence of low level racism was in the interview with the group of students. This group had quite deliberately been formed of students who were not members of the majority group in the school and therefore might offer alternative perspectives to those who had taken part in the lessons. This was the forum where the issues of student ignorance on issues of faith and ethnicity were raised as well as concerns regarding racist jokes and comments made by other students. This was the only direct reference made to these issues.

The second piece of evidence was the concern raised by the assistant headteacher responsible for teaching and learning about black boys choosing to segregate themselves in the school canteen. This suggested that, as had been said in the group interview, a level of discomfort existed amongst students of minority backgrounds.

This begs the question about how the school's leaders were responding to the concerns of this minority of students. It was clear from the interviews that staff were aware that low level issues of racism and prejudice were a problem. However, the analysis of the racist incidents book made only very few references to such issues. According to the guidance issued by the local authority (Minority Ethnic Curriculum Support Service, 2006), based on the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2002, all racist incidents should have been recorded, including 'the date, the names and ethnicity of the perpetrators and victims, the nature of the incident, and action taken in response' (p43).

The analysis of the racist incidents book revealed that a number of entries had been made between 2005 and 2007 referring to racist comments or jokes made by students. It was not clear who had entered the information or what action had been taken although the nature of the entries suggested that most,

if not all, had been entered by staff. This suggests that students were unaware of the existence of the racist incidents book and how they should go about making entries in it. If low level racist incidents were common it would suggest that students might have made more frequent use of the book than was apparently the case at the time of the study.

The existence of such issues would warrant a variety of potential responses. The simplest approach, and that closest to what the school appeared to have adopted, would be the position taken by Crick (2008), who argued that such issues were a consequence of change and that they would pass with time as relationships developed. There is some evidence that this was the case in the study school. Students in both the lessons and the group interview said that prejudicial attitudes reduced with time as a result of positive student relationships. This is also consistent with Allport's (1954) theory although this requires more than students simply co-existing in the same place (Hewstone et al, 2007).

The leadership team could have confronted racism more directly by discussing the issue in lessons and assemblies, making clear the existence of the racist incidents book and investigating all entries made in it. The risk of this approach would have been to inflame negative relations that appeared, according to student evidence, to be improving with time without significant intervention.

To take the former approach could be interpreted as institutional racism (Gillborn, 2008; Macpherson 1999) on the grounds that it neglects the needs and concerns of a member or members of a minority community. This charge could also have been laid at the door of the school's leadership team in relation to achievement. According to the data presented achievement had been weak for a number of years. As the curriculum deputy pointed out, there was very little variation between groups but it was also the case that

achievement for all groups was very weak compared to national averages for all students.

6.5.2 Achievement of minority groups

The effects of low level racism were not reflected in the relative achievement of students of any ethnic minority group as shown by the school's 2010 Raiseonline report. This data (appendix 5) illustrates that, although the margins were very narrow, the majority White British cohort were the lowest achievers. The confidence intervals for several groups are very large owing to the small number of students represented in each category. The headteacher explained the lack of variation by the school's ethos and explained that the root of success was in shared values created through internal leadership and accountability:

> I think it is always about shared values and getting your teachers
> to feel the same. I think you have to start with your leadership team
> and making sure we all believe in the same things.

The curriculum deputy described the system of regularly reviewed estimated and target grades used to monitor academic progress. He went on to say, as did the headteacher, that he did not value the focus on groups such as ethnic or social groups. This was only a part of school policy because it was externally enforced through Ofsted inspection and monitoring by the Local Authority. He stated that the school published annual data on the achievement of groups of students by ethnic group only in response to external accountability requirements.

Therefore, he argued that personalised teaching was a more appropriate use of resources and therefore endorsed a 'colour blind policy' (Cline, 2002) in relation to achievement. The effectiveness of this strategy was endorsed by Ofsted in 2009 in relation to students with special educational needs whilst

at the same time noting the performance of students from minority ethnic groups:

> Students with special educational needs make good progress because they are supported well both in and out of lessons. Generally, the performance of students from minority ethnic groups is similar to that of their peers.

Whilst this did not comment on the effectiveness of particular strategies it did endorse the school's view that these strategies were equally effective when measured in terms of outcomes. The problem with this is that outcomes in the same period were significantly below national averages. Figure 6.4 shows that the school's maths and English results were in the lowest 10% nationally on several occasions during the period 2006-8. Therefore although there were limited gaps between groups of students, this was in part explained by the fact that very few students were achieving well at all. One of the chief concerns for this school was the numerical dominance of low income white British students who as a group represent some of the lowest levels of achievement. When compared to this group the results those of other minority groups may quite easily be comparable.

Such outcomes might suggest a culture of low expectations similar to that cited by Gillborn (2008) in relation to students of ethnic minority backgrounds but also in relation to low income White British students who are also amongst the lowest achievers nationally (Ofsted, 2013b). To compare this group against any other would be favourable to those other groups and, because data in Raiseonline is presented by ethnic group only, would mask the fact that the real issue in the school was one of underachievement by social class.

Evidence from the London Challenge (Baars et al, 2014) as well as work by Hopkins (2010a) and several other writers (Sammons et al, 1995; Blair et al,

1998; Cline, 2002; Woods, 2013) emphasises the importance of high expectations. The school's leaders talked about high expectations but the outcomes suggested that this was an area of concern. It could be argued that rather than institutional racism this could be seen as an institutional prejudice based on social class, which was disadvantaging students of all ethnic backgrounds equally. In this sense a colour blind policy was certainly impacting all students equally but not necessarily positively. The solution may have been in targeted interventions by group but in terms of achievement the data suggested that one of the most significant groups in need of support was the White British students.

6.5.2 Relations with partner schools:

Consortium teaching
The study school had made considerable efforts to work in consortium with local schools and colleges in the delivery of subjects for students aged 14-19 years old. The curriculum deputy described the successes of this in the work for younger students, which was continuing through hair and beauty and construction courses. However there had been limited success in the delivery of learning for those aged 16-19. In this category the school had found it very hard to work with schools that were geographically distant. The partnership had foundered completely as a result of this and the quality of teaching and learning, particularly in Chemistry and Information Technology classes for this age group. The study school had not continued working with its partners after a number of the study school's students had performed very badly in these qualifications whilst being taught at a partner school.

Consortium teaching is very closely linked to the principles of system leadership. It involves a concern for the achievement of students in a range of establishments and enables greater personalised learning by broadening

the curriculum through networking. However the national and school priority of achievement could not be compromised in order to enable this. When the quality of teaching and learning fell below that expected at and by the study school the principles of system leadership could not be allowed to override the values of the school and consortium teaching was discontinued. A partnership such as this has significant potential benefits for Community Cohesion however when the demands of achievement are compromised these benefits are lost. This demonstrates again the nature of the policy hierarchy privileging achievement over Community Cohesion.

The one exception to this in the 16-19 category was the football programme which brought a significant number of students from outside the school into the sixth form with, what the curriculum deputy believed to be, a significant positive impact on the school. The majority of students in this cohort were from London boroughs and were Black, Afro-Caribbean boys thus bringing a different cultural group into contact with the school's predominantly White British students. This represented a very positive opportunity but the extent to which positive relationships and positive views of other groups are fostered depends on the ways in which groups of students are integrated into a majority community (Allport 1954). In a community where underlying racial tensions were already apparent the presence of such a group could exacerbate existing tensions or improve relationships.

Extended schools

The extended schools consortium was established, with the study school as the hub, linking all the primary and secondary schools in the town. Its objectives were based on establishing schools as community centres through various means including the hire of buildings for meetings of local groups and offering advice and support to local families. Fundamentally the

extended schools programme was intended to contribute to the achievement of students in the school by offering pastoral support to families. This was very much in line with the values of the school as outlined above however only the pastoral deputy mentioned it in his interview. He described extended schools as a 'great idea…that was going to disappear as soon as it began…because that is not what schools are for.' During the lifetime of the programme it had successfully provided a number of services to the local community however its demise, following a change of government, can again be linked to the fact that it was not sufficiently linked to achievement or the values of the school's leaders. Although extended schools was concerned with both pastoral care and achievement, the greater focus on social services and out of school activities meant that it did not become integral to the school and when the national policy ended so did the programme in the school.

Extended schools are specifically named by Collarbone (2008) as a key element of successful system leadership. The consortium involved significant levels of networking between schools however the lack of specific focus on professionalised teaching, personalised learning or intelligent accountability undermined its place in the school's priorities. In terms of Community Cohesion and social cohesion it offered numerous opportunities. Through its activities it was possible for students from different schools to participate together in activities creating the potential for the building of relationships between different groups. At the same time it enabled families to overcome socio-economic barriers to achievement through activities such as childcare, parenting classes and after school activities as well as offering some financial support. None of these benefits were realised in the long term because the work of the consortium was insufficiently linked to the core purpose of the study school or achievement. The views expressed by several of the school's leaders in support of

Community Cohesion would have suggested that the extended schools programme might have been continued after its national demise. The fact that it did not might again indicate that in reality the national discourse of achievement held greater sway than the values and agency of school leaders. An alternative interpretation of this may be that the school's leaders did not perceive this policy to be contributing to Community Cohesion and therefore did not value its continuation.

The Jewish secondary school
The majority of comments related to the quality of bridging capital regarded relationships with the Jewish community. This was commented on at length by the assistant headteacher responsible for teaching and learning who said she had taught in similar places in the past but that: 'I had never encountered it before, an issue where a community was so segregated'. This was endorsed by the assistant headteacher responsible for professional development, who lived locally to the school. She observed that there was a clear divide between the majority community and the Jewish community. Her opinion was that this was caused by a physical segregation with the Jewish community tending to live on the edge of the town and the majority community tending not to visit other local places, which are home to large Jewish communities. This, she said, contributed to an ignorance of the lifestyles of people different to the majority. She also blamed resentment amongst this community on the perception that the Jewish community had benefited from superior and exclusive resources, particularly state funded schools.

Members of the leadership team talked at length about the difficulties of trying to overcome the barriers between the two communities. They described the challenges presented by both communities in overcoming this. Two members of the team said that they believed this ought to be viewed as

an issue of economic as well as religious division, as the Jewish community was in general wealthier than the majority community.

In the initial phase of research the issues relating to perception of the Jewish community were classed as religious but this analysis suggested this was possibly an economic issue. Identifying which cause it was would have been very important for the school in choosing how best to address the issue. If they chose to view it as a religious issue they would have been likely to address it through Community Cohesion. Had they viewed it as an economic issue, it might have been addressed through social cohesion aiming to enable students to achieve similar levels of economic wellbeing. The work the school had done through the citizenship curriculum was focused on the development of bridging capital through Community Cohesion and therefore did not aim to address the socio-economic factors relating to the two communities.

One member of the leadership team expressed extreme frustration with the failure of the headteacher of the Jewish schoool to attend meetings or cooperate in projects involving the two schools. Furthermore they spoke about practical difficulties, including the high fencing and security guards used to protect the Jewish school which, in their view, made it a harder community to approach physically. Two other members of the team talked about issues between students from the two schools en-route to and from and school. Overall there was frustration amongst the interviewees about the slow development of relationships. The prevailing attitude appeared to be that this was as a consequence of decisions made by the Jewish school's leadership team.

One member of the leadership team, however, took the view that each of the two schools existed with a very different ethos. From this view the study school existed with a community ethos to serve those in its local community, including attempting to address social issues in the community, for example

teenage pregnancy. The Jewish school, by contrast, again from this viewpoint, existed for an altogether different reason, which was to serve the very specific needs of a middle class faith community. Another member of the team pointed out that this relationship was further complicated by the fact that many students attending the Jewish school did not live in the local area:

> I think another issue there is that less than 30% of the [Jewish school] community is local. They get dropped off, maraud through [the local supermarket], go to [Jewish school], come back through [local supermarket], get a bag of chips, get on the bus and go home. It does not help our students as they do not regard them as members of this community because they are visitors.

This perspective reflects the conflation of the issues of relationships with the Jewish school and the Jewish community. It also belies a personal frustration on the part of the interviewee with the school as an institution and faith schools in general. This does not suggest that this member of the leadership team harboured any prejudice against this community but it does suggest that personal relationships may have presented challenges not only to the local community but also to the leadership team themselves.

The school appeared to be an obvious partner for the study school to work to address attitudes to the Jewish community in general. However, if the majority of students at the Jewish school attended came from outside the town the impact on community relations in the town may have been limited. Possibly this was an area in which the school could have chosen to work with additional partners such as local synagogues.

Another member of the leadership team explained that they believed that the families of the students attending the Jewish school appeared not to feel the same sense of responsibility towards the town community as those in their

own school did. They believed this to be in some ways commendable as their focus was on their own communities outside the one in which the study school was situated. In the view of this interviewee it depended on the leadership team of a particular school whether or not being more outward looking is to the benefit of its school community or not.

Observed activities with the Jewish Secondary School
In spite of these challenges, work was taking place between the two schools. The assistant headteacher responsible for teaching and learning and the headteacher talked about those projects which had begun to make progress in developing links with the Jewish school and in some cases partner primary schools. Notably these were achievement led projects including:

- The literacy project as part of the town wide literacy initiative
- Citizenship projects undertaken as part of GCSE citizenship coursework
- A writing project for 'gifted and talented' students

All of these projects were arranged by the assistant headteacher with responsibility for teaching and learning. All the other interviewees referred to these events very positively including one, which the pastoral deputy described as 'genuinely touching'. The assistant headteacher responsible for teaching and learning said the aim of the citizenship projects was to develop student initiated links rather than having projects led by members of staff. This was in order to encourage the development of genuine relationships between students. The project had enabled students to attend lessons in the different schools as well as forming groups based on mutual interests such as computer games. Her view was that this had challenged those students who had taken part and made a significant impact on the views of students from both schools. The assistant headteacher responsible for CPD talked

about the success of this project citing a student from the Jewish school who had attended her lessons:

> I had one particular girl … within my group, who was accepted within my group just like any other student, you would not have even known she was there as such, she just took part in my lesson, all the other students accepted her

This view owes much to Allport's contact theory (Allport, 1954), which proposes that under the right conditions interpersonal contact between members of groups is the best way to reduce prejudice. The first phase of the research also revealed this view amongst staff and students, that when students from different groups spent time together prejudices are eroded. The first phase referred to relationships within the school but the second phase appeared to endorse this in relation to the Jewish community, at least on this one occasion.

This colour blind approach is not favoured in the literature as it is perceived to fail to address many underlying issues in the experiences of minority ethnic students in schools. This particular example is different in that it represents a one off visit rather than a long term experience. The purpose of the visit was to begin to develop friendships between students emphasising what was held in common rather than what was different and the comment appears to reflect that, in the view of the interviewee, this was achieved because the girl in question felt comfortable working with her non-Jewish peers.

Proposed solutions
The curriculum deputy agreed with the success of these projects but noted that their scope was very limited in the number of students they affected and the period of time they operated for. His view, again endorsing Allport's theory, was that a meaningful change in relationships would only be achieved when students were taking part in regular lessons together as part

of timetabled consortium teaching. He stated that, in his view, this was the missing element of cooperation with other schools. Because the Jewish school was situated less than a mile from the study school, this offered, he said, significant benefits. Primarily this was in terms of economies of scale in teaching groups but also offering the best prospect of developing lasting, deep relationships between students in the two schools. The failure of this to happen up to the time of the interview was, he said, down to the leadership team of the Jewish school.

The pastoral deputy spoke at length about his view of why the Jewish school had not developed closer links. He believed that just as the study school had waited several years to begin working in partnership, the Jewish school, which was not long established, needed to wait for an appropriate time to develop such links. He also drew attention to the social, economic and religious differences between the two schools. Parents of students attending the Jewish school may, he suggested, he unwilling to allow their children to attend lessons in the study school for reasons of perceived educational standards. He also was of the view that consortium teaching is not, in general, an effective way of developing achievement because of the differing priorities of schools.

What this demonstrates is that whilst small-scale projects can enable the development of relationships between small numbers of students it can be hard to reconcile the institutional, academic and cultural barriers, which prevent meaningful exchange on a larger scale. There would therefore be a choice for the two schools between high risk / high gain and low risk / low gain projects. If one assumes that the motives of the Jewish school were primarily academic then their reluctance to develop stronger links could be that the academic needs of their students would not be met by cooperation with neighbouring schools. The same phenomenon observed in relation to the study school's previous experience of sixth form consortia could apply

to this. Were either school to take the opinion that such consortium work was undermining the achievement of their students the consortium would be disbanded irrespective of the losses in terms of Community Cohesion. The comments made by the interviewees suggest that this factor was preventing the Jewish school from engaging with the study school in the first place.

Whilst the overwhelming opinion amongst the interviewees was that the high levels of bonding capital observed in the study school were neither instigated as a result of nor enabled by, external initiatives or influences, these comments suggest that bridging capital is different. In this case, a combination of Community Cohesion and the citizenship curriculum appear to have combined to compel one school and enable an initiative in the other with consequent gains in bridging capital between the two. The assistant headteacher in the study school with responsibility for these projects acknowledged that without either policy she would have been likely to have undertaken similar work, but that the citizenship curriculum enabled her to do so effectively. On the other hand the view was expressed, from within the team, that developing a relationship with the Jewish school would have been significantly harder had the Jewish school not felt compelled to do so by the Community Cohesion policy. This member of the team was of the view that they had cooperated partly because they needed to show Ofsted that they had taken part in Community Cohesion initiatives.

This final view was not wholeheartedly shared by all members of the leadership team. At least two interviewees were of the opinion that the lack of engagement by the Jewish school was probably a function of the recent establishment of the institution. In either respect both the citizenship curriculum and Community Cohesion policy had created a framework and set of objectives through which the bridging activities of the two schools were able to work. If the view that participation had been a consequence of the Ofsted framework was correct, it suggests that where a leadership team

does not prioritise Community Cohesion the influence of an external initiative can compel them to act, if only in a limited fashion.

'Anti-rich' sentiment

The research made little reference to prejudice in the study school based on economic difference. The one comment relating to this was from the citizenship teacher who suggested that anti-Semitic feelings amongst the students might actually be to do with the greater wealth of the Jewish community. This became more apparent in other interviews where the appearance of greater wealth was referred to by the assistant headteacher responsible for professional development, the headteacher and the pastoral deputy. The pastoral deputy referred to this as: 'anti-rich', 'chip on the shoulder.' This revealed a possible element of disharmony within the town community, which was not present in the school community owing to the absence of students in the school who the majority regarded as wealthy. Again this is an issue of bridging capital which would have been addressed largely through work with the Jewish school as many of those perceived to be wealthier attended that school. Furthermore it might have been necessary to consider this in terms of links with other schools in the area, particularly independent schools, which were attended by students from wealthier backgrounds. The assistant headteacher responsible for professional development did talk about some work done with one local independent school however this had focused on professionalised teaching and enabled a small number of students from that school to complete some voluntary work in the study school. The slow progress of work with other schools suggested that any work in this area could also be challenging and time consuming. Again, if this did not contribute to the core values of the leadership team it would be unlikely to be successful.

6.5.3 Conclusion

The data collected from the study school revealed that there were very few significant negative incidents relating to Community Cohesion. All the evidence demonstrated that students and staff were not afraid to come to school and nor did they anticipate serious confrontations of any sort. Yet throughout the data collection references were made to issues, which suggested ongoing issues both in terms of Community Cohesion and achievement.

The school's leadership team was operating on the understanding that it had strong Community Cohesion in the form of bonding capital. This view was endorsed by Ofsted and to a great extent by the students who took part in this study. However, there is a potential issue of complacency. In the face of demographic changes to the school and local community the school was facing issues that had been less prevalent before and which presented new challenges, particularly relating to prejudice towards students from diverse ethnic backgrounds. The view of the leadership team was that the correct systems were in place to support the development of bonding capital and that the real weakness was in bridging capital externally.

The evidence, including the judgement of Ofsted, supports this view. But the evidence also suggests that there may have been issues with bonding capital, which were not being adequately addressed. The Ofsted judgement was not able to consider in great depth the nature of community relations within the school and would have been unlikely to uncover the concerns of some students about low-level issues of prejudice. There was a danger that in a community with a changing demographic, policies which had worked well in the past would be inadequate.

The focus of some members of the leadership team on bridging capital may have become a distraction from more pressing concerns internally. This

risked doing exactly what the assistant headteacher responsible for teaching and learning was keen to avoid with the citizenship curriculum, namely teaching the theory and dealing with distant issues whilst failing to deal with those directly affecting students. This bears some relation to the danger highlighted by Alderson's (1999) concern that citizenship education could discuss human rights whilst failing address the human rights of students in schools.

Whilst both bridging and bonding capital were valid concerns and requirements of national policy, a failure to address the internal issues relating to achievement could have led to severe sanctions from Ofsted. A failure to deal with prejudice could have led to declining relationships within the school. Both outcomes would have had a significant negative effect on both social and Community Cohesion. Students educated in an environment with weaker bonding capital and low achievement would have left school less equipped for employment or to play a role in society beyond their time at school.

There would have been an argument for the school's leadership team to review the levels of Community Cohesion within the school more robustly and consider actions based on their findings. National policies would have supported such actions with reference to the expectations of the Community Cohesion guidance (DCSF, 2007c) that schools complete such a review and the requirement of the Race Relations Act (Home Office, 2000) that racist incidents be recorded and addressed. Specific actions could have included:

•   Reviewing the status of the racist incidents book and encouraging its use by students.

•   Consulting students, particularly those from minority groups about their concerns in relation to Community Cohesion.

• Putting in place a plan to monitor bonding capital in the school and respond to any concerns.

• Reviewing the curriculum and other opportunities such as assemblies to ensure that all opportunities were taken to develop bonding capital.

In relation to achievement the school also needed to:

• Consider ways in which it could raise achievement for students of all ethnic and social backgrounds.

• Consider how a culture of high expectations could be fostered in the school.

Chapter 7: Policy production and practice: The responses of the school's leadership team

7.1 Policy production and policy practice

The second phase in Ball's (1994) analysis of policy creation is policy production. This takes place in a variety of venues but this study focused on the ways in which the leadership team of the case study school responded to the demands of the national policy and translated it into school policy. I will also consider in this final chapter the ways in which this was translated into practice in the case study school.

Maguire's (2013) study into the implementation of personalised learning demonstrates that a policy with a low national status can very easily be side-lined by leaders at the school level. The relatively low national status of Community Cohesion meant that it was vulnerable to losing impact in practice. Therefore the influence of the leadership team was key to the success of Community Cohesion in the case study school. It is at this level that the principles of system leadership discussed in Chapter four are significant. The model of leadership adopted in the study school affected both the decisions of the school's leaders and their attitude to specific policies. In addition to this personal values were significant in motivating certain school leaders to invest more fully in Community Cohesion.

7.2 Influencing policy production and practice

The evidence from the study school demonstrated that the principle influences on school policy were external rather than internal. Most

importantly the school's leaders were influenced by recommendations from Ofsted inspections. The school's ethos of achievement was central to its values because it was a national policy promoted and enforced by Ofsted inspection and performance tables. Achievement was key to system leadership and a value of the leadership team themselves. For Community Cohesion to be successful in this environment therefore it needed to be compatible with the core value of achievement.

The evidence in Chapters six and seven recorded that in the view of Ofsted the case study school was 'good' at promoting Community Cohesion. The evidence from the study itself supported this. Therefore this final chapter will review the relationship between Community Cohesion, achievement and leadership to understand how important the school's leaders were in creating good Community Cohesion. This chapter considers this in terms of bonding and bridging capital. First, bonding capital considers the ways Community Cohesion impacted on the culture of the school itself. Second, bridging capital considers relations with the wider community, particular the neighbouring Jewish school.

7.2.1 Bonding capital in the case study school

This case study demonstrated an effective relationship between Community Cohesion, achievement and system leadership in terms of bonding capital. The focus on equal opportunities for students as measured through academic achievement and high expectations of all students combined well with the concepts of personalised learning and professionalised teaching. The values of the study school demonstrated that shared values were an important pre-cursor to this. This did not coincide with a parallel element of Hopkins's model of system leadership. However, as discussed in chapter four, the concept of moral purpose is a strong element both in the work of Hopkins

and other leadership theorists. It was also very apparent in the personal values of the members of the school leadership team interviewed as part of the study.

Both the concept of equal opportunities and the values of the school's leaders are focused on achievement and its contribution to social cohesion. The evidence, particularly that from the school's improvement plans before and after the Community Cohesion policy, suggests that the policy had a very limited impact upon what the school chose to do. However the evidence also suggests that the principles of system leadership do have a great deal in common with those of Community Cohesion and that therefore system leadership was facilitating Community Cohesion for the students of the study school. This is significant because it demonstrates that agency in the form of leadership and personal values can enable Community Cohesion even when Community Cohesion does not exist as a policy. As Maguire's work demonstrated the moral purpose of individual school leaders has a dramatic impact on the final influence of national policies. This is to such an extent that leaders, as illustrated by some of the staff in the study school, will perpetuate policy values beyond the lifetime of the policy itself if they believe that this is right for their students.

7.2.2 Bridging capital

Bridging capital relates most clearly to the third element of the Community Cohesion policy in schools, engagement with others. What made the study school particularly relevant in this context was its relationship with the neighbouring Jewish school. This represented a very clear divide between two communities not dissimilar to the division between Asian and White communities in the north of England. Engagement between the students of

the study school and those outside was limited and offered a number of challenges.

The study demonstrated that efforts were being made with some success by members of the school's leadership team to address the divide between the two communities. Activities such as joint literacy projects and the citizenship curriculum had enabled students to work together and contributed to achievement. Work in this context could potentially have had the greatest impact on the most fundamental cohesion issue affecting the study school, its students and their peers because it was related to achievement. The success of this relationship, in terms of quality and scale, depended on the same values of achievement and Community Cohesion for both partners. The greater benefit was in terms of Community Cohesion, however as it was a low status policy this limited the resources devoted to it and the levels of participation. The publicity surrounding the partnership however, both in school publications and local publications, ensured the benefits were felt more widely in terms of community relations.

7.2.3 Factors influencing engagement

Significantly, two interviewees from the study school, both closely involved with the partnership work with the Jewish school, suggested that the leadership and personal values of the headteacher of the Jewish school limited the amount of work that could be undertaken between the two schools. On the other hand, in their view, the presence of Community Cohesion as a policy and its enforcement through Ofsted inspection had ensured at least a minimum level of cooperation.

The relationship with the 14-19 consortium of schools however demonstrated that where there was not a benefit in terms of achievement, engagement between the students of different schools was limited. The literacy project, working with local primary and secondary schools, illustrated that where there was a perceived common benefit in terms of achievement there was also a shared desire to cooperate and promote engagement because this in turn promoted achievement. The literacy project provided a good example both of bridging capital and networking and innovation. What both these examples also reiterate though is that the emphasis placed on different policies in the study school was related to a perceived hierarchy of national policies.

This hierarchy of policies explains the scope of the work with the Jewish school and sheds considerable light on the process of policy production in and between schools. The benefits, for both schools, in terms of the highest status policy, achievement, were limited and therefore restricted the extent of the work. The benefits to the second highest status value, compliance with Ofsted were higher and therefore raised the status of Community Cohesion and the levels of engagement.

The benefits in terms of Community Cohesion as a policy were, according to the interviewees, of limited interest to the headteacher of the Jewish school. Speaking of her own motivations though, the assistant headteacher in the study school said that the same benefits were coincidental to her own values. Therefore the national policy facilitated rather than instigated her own involvement. This strongly emphasises the interrelationship between policy status and personal and leadership values. The emphasis placed on moral purpose by Fullan and Hopkins, particularly the emphasis on responsibility for students in other schools, was fundamental to the engagement of school leaders in projects such as this.

The most significant project the study school could have undertaken with the Jewish school would have been joint teaching. This would have had the potential to impact the greatest number of students on a regular basis and generate benefits in terms of achievement, social and Community Cohesion. In the view of all those interviewed however such a project seemed unlikely principally because of the inability to ensure high enough standards in teaching and learning in a previous consortium project. The perception of the study school as low achieving in the eyes of the parents at the Jewish school would, in the view of one interviewee, also have undermined any joint teaching project.

The networking and innovation element of system leadership would suggest that if a benefit was apparent the leadership team of the study school may have wished to pursue consortium teaching. However none of the interviews made any reference to any of the staff at the study school actively pursuing this possibility. Consequently the only efforts being made to work together were through the literacy and citizenship projects both of which were led by the same member of staff and therefore depended largely upon her personal values.

The pre-eminence of high status policies and personal values meant that elements of system leadership such as networking could only influence outcomes if they were coincident with the values of school leaders or high status policies. Consequently this study shows that the values of school leaders were influential in implementing policies in a manner consistent with system leadership. This demonstrates that school leadership was very influential in the extent to which Community Cohesion was implemented but that this still depended on the values of individual people.

7.3 The transition from policy influence to policy production

The contrast between the original vision of the policy of Community Cohesion and its implementation in the study context offer an illustration of the conclusions of other studies (Maguire, 2013, MacBeath, 2004, Bottery, 2004). Discourses operating at both national and local levels undermine national policy intentions because of the values promoted nationally and those held personally. What is most striking here is the way in which national policy simultaneously supported Community Cohesion, through Ofsted's role in monitoring compliance, and undermined it, through its low status in the policy hierarchy, particularly with reference to achievement.

7.3.1 Concern for students in other schools

The policy of Community Cohesion in schools overestimated the influence of schools on their communities and the importance of community relations in the minds of school leaders. Similarly the requirement of system leadership that school leaders show concern for the achievement of students in other schools is counter-cultural because it contradicts the competition inherent to a neo-liberal system. The school system in England values the achievement of individual students and their contribution to performance tables, which pits schools against one another. Therefore for school leaders to take a more global view requires them either to value the achievement of students beyond their own schools or value collaboration because of its contribution to achievement in their own schools.

Schools are primarily focused on their own students and their academic achievement. This is reinforced across policy and though the values of system leadership espouse that school leaders should value the achievement of those in other schools, schools are judged individually and therefore focus

principally on their own students, even if in principle the leaders support cooperating with others. The failure of the Community Cohesion policy to make a significant contribution to relationships between different communities is rooted in the fact that the policy enjoys only a limited relationship with achievement and the values of school leaders. Where this study does show an impact is in the way in which it appears to have encouraged the leaders of the Jewish school to engage with the study school and facilitated work which one of the assistant headteachers in the study school was motivated to undertake by her own values.

However what the experience of system leadership in London demonstrates (Baars et al, 2014) is that school leaders can be motivated to cooperate and support one another where there is coordinated action. In this case schools across a large system improved outcomes as a result of cooperation.

7.3.2 The values of school leaders

The values of the school leaders in the study school had a significant influence on the school. These values uniformly coincided with professionalised teaching and personalised learning. The leaders were in agreement concerning these principles and therefore there was a strong emphasis on achievement related policies and consequently social cohesion. Bonding capital was also strong in the priorities of the leadership team and although this could be equated with moral purpose it does not correlate directly with any part of system leadership. However in the eyes of the school's leaders the emphasis on shared values was an essential precursor to achievement as it was this that created a culture within the school community where students felt safe and confident to achieve.

There was less unanimity, in terms of intelligent accountability and networking and innovation. Consequently school policy showed less emphasis on this and there was less demonstrable impact from policies related to these areas.

The focus on groups rather than individuals is what fundamentally separates Community Cohesion from social cohesion, which focuses on individuals. However, the fact that progress by individuals contributes to progress by groups means that social cohesion can make a contribution to the development of Community Cohesion. This in turn means that because of its roots in social cohesion system leadership is an effective method of implementing Community Cohesion in terms of equal opportunities. The weaknesses of all three concepts are revealed where they contradict with the fundamental principle of achievement in schools. The pre-eminence of this principle is so great that anything that does not contribute to it is significantly undermined. The only factor that overcomes this weakness is the values of school leaders, which mean that they are able to promote policies even though they do not directly contribute to achievement. Therefore, although system leadership has the capacity to make a significant contribution to the implementation of the policy of Community Cohesion, the policy can only be fully implemented if the values of school leaders are such that they are willing to promote it.

This study demonstrates that school leaders will invest in policies, which have a direct or indirect impact on achievement even when they are not included in the model of system leadership. Consequently the values of leaders in the study school have led to the development of shared values. However, even where leaders' values are strong, their relevance to achievement still limits the scale and effectiveness of any initiatives. This particularly limits the effectiveness of promoting engagement with students

from other backgrounds. If Community Cohesion can be fully reconciled with achievement, particularly in terms of bridging capital, and system leadership can incorporate shared values, as has occurred in the study school, then system leadership can contribute significantly to Community Cohesion in equal opportunities, shared values and engagement with others.

7.4 Leadership values and accountability

The two main levers of change observed in the study school were: the values of school leaders and the accountability system, particularly Ofsted and examination specifications. Enabling schools to move from an individualistic focus within a neo-liberal context to one that enables young people to build positive relationships and understandings of other groups can be achieved. This requires either school leaders to deliberately enable it using exam specifications or for it to be enforced through the inspection regime. These can be mutually reinforcing as demonstrated by the actions of the assistant headteacher. She had used the school's focus on literacy and the active citizenship requirement of the GCSE citizenship specification, to enable joint projects with the Jewish school. The joint literacy project was intended to contribute to the literacy of the students of both schools and therefore improve their chances of examination success. In addition the activities planned as part of the GCSE citizenship project contributed to the academic achievement of students in the study school. The evaluation of this project was in turn submitted as a part of the citizenship qualification. This example is very much in tune with the objectives of Community Cohesion, particularly when one considers the situation of the northern cities, which inspired the policy. However it required significant inputs of time on the part of school leaders. Therefore it demonstrates that Community Cohesion is

developed most significantly where individuals make it happen as a consequence of their values above and beyond the requirements of policy.

This can also occur in other parts of the curriculum where it is properly planned for. For example the citizenship teacher identified opportunities in both the citizenship and religious education curricula where the beliefs and practices of members of the Jewish community could be explored in lessons.

7.5 Proximity theory and the case study school

The second opportunity in the case study school was the experience students had of working together in the school with students of other backgrounds. Proximity theory suggests that prejudice is eroded as a result of such experiences (Allport, 1952). The interviews with students revealed that, in their view, students attending the school had become more tolerant of people of different groups and willing to work with others simply as a result of spending time together in the same school. This is highly consistent with the expectations of proximity theory and the focus in system leadership on the achievement of all students. For this to take place requires an atmosphere of mutual respect where students feel safe. The views of the students in the study school corroborated this observation. The evidence from school documents and interviews confirmed that it was as a consequence of the conscious decisions and efforts of the school's leadership team that this culture had developed.

The diversity of the school community is one respect in which the case study school had an advantage over other schools. Teaching students about other cultures is enabled when other cultures are represented in the school community. This is not the case in all schools and in those circumstances there is a greater reliance on teaching about rather than experiencing other

cultures. The absence of members of the Jewish community in the study school meant this remained an issue with regard to this particular community. Therefore in this regard curriculum content and experience became more significant in addressing the challenges of prejudice.

7.6 Policy and leadership values

As well as having a significant impact on the culture of the case study school, the values of the study school's leaders also made a significant impact on partner schools in the local community. Both of these outcomes are consistent with the values of Community Cohesion in terms of bonding and bridging capital. However none of the interviewees was able to fully articulate the requirements of the Community Cohesion policy. The fact, therefore, that Ofsted rated the school as making a good contribution to Community Cohesion was significantly influenced by the coincidence of the personal values of the leaders with the values and aims of Community Cohesion.

In contrast, in schools where leaders neither shared these values nor were aware of the expectations of the policy, one would expect to find that the policy would have a reduced impact. The views expressed by some of the school's leaders suggest that this was the case in the Jewish school. However accountability, through Ofsted inspection, appeared to have ensured at least a minimal level of compliance there too indicating at least some knowledge of the requirements of Community Cohesion.

What this suggests is that in the process of moving from influence to practice, policy can be changed significantly. The interviews revealed that a number of people had simply applied the label of Community Cohesion to their idea of desirable values and that these values were not consistent even within the

school's leadership team. Therefore the objective of Community Cohesion to enable groups to interact better with one another was not being clearly communicated through all the actions of the leadership team. The actions of the assistant headteacher were most closely related to the actual objectives of the policy. It is notable that she was also engaged in the citizenship curriculum, which was closely linked to Community Cohesion. The actions of her colleagues were generally complementary to the policy but lacked a full understanding either of what it was trying to achieve or the methods prescribed for this to happen.

This demonstrates the challenges for central government policy-makers in trying to effect particular types of change through schools. Again this relates to the status of the Community Cohesion policy and its relationship to achievement. All the school's leaders were clear about the national expectations of policy in relation to achievement because of its high status but much less so to Community Cohesion even though it formed part of the Ofsted inspection regime.

In the areas of the school where Community Cohesion coincided with the requirements of examination specifications, Community Cohesion was being promoted because of its links to achievement. The citizenship teacher and assistant headteacher for example were both very aware of the expectations of the citizenship GCSE specification because its outcomes were measured through examination results. This demonstrates again that central government policy-makers can have the greatest impact where they combine policies with achievement.

7.7 Does system leadership contribute to Community Cohesion?

What this case study demonstrates is that policy implementation cannot be successful if it treats policy as an 'add-on' to existing practice. In the case study school there was at times a striking confluence of interest between achievement, Community Cohesion, social cohesion and system leadership. This means that system leadership can make a contribution to Community Cohesion. In addition this case study demonstrates that the accountability system can clearly be harnessed to enable this. However, a weak understanding, at the stage of policy influence, of the nature of policy hierarchies, and the overwhelming influence of achievement in schools, undermined the implementation of Community Cohesion. Agency, in the form of the values of school leaders overcame this to some extent in the study school, but the inconsistency of values both within and between schools means this is insufficient to ensure consistent implementation across the system.

System leadership can contribute to Community Cohesion. However, if policymakers intend to fully realise the potential of the relationship between these two concepts policy must be intelligently constructed to ensure that it is fully exploited. My recommendations for this to take place are listed below.

7.8 Recommendations

Although the study school was successful in promoting Community Cohesion there remained areas where the school could make further progress. These included:

- Ensuring that the curriculum provided opportunities for students to learn about significant religious and ethnic groups represented within the local community
- Addressing low level racism within the study school

- Ensuring that achievement was made equally accessible for all the study school's students
- Developing relations with the neighbouring Jewish school
- An over-reliance on certain key members of staff

The following recommendations reflect areas in which the school's leaders might wish to take action to overcome these issues.

7.8.1 Curriculum content

The study showed that there was ignorance amongst students about particular communities. This was a particular issue in relation to the Jewish community and prejudicial attitudes and actions were a significant issue in the local community. Ignorance amongst students may have contributed to prejudice. At the same time students reported that religious education lessons were one of the least effective ways in which values and knowledge about Community Cohesion were communicated. Therefore the school leadership team could consider reviewing the content and delivery of this subject with particular reference to the Jewish community and other key local communities. Units in religious education would be particularly beneficial in teaching students about the religious beliefs and observance of that community and enabling them to understand how this affected the actions of members of that community, for example in worship activities or rules regarding food. Citizenship could make a similar contribution in enabling students to understand the causes and effects of religious and social plurality locally and nationally.

7.8.2 Racism in the school community

Interviews with students and the evidence from the racist incidents book, discussed in chapter six, suggest that low level racism, such as racist jokes, was an issue in the study school. The school's leadership team should consider establishing the nature and extent of these issues as well as considering the best ways in which they could be addressed in line with the Race Relations (amendment) Act. Student voice could make an effective contribution to identifying and addressing these issues.

7.8.3 Achievement

The school should continue to monitor and focus on achievement for all students and focus on ensuring that differences between groups of students are closed or do not develop. The school should continue to ensure that achievement in subjects like citizenship and religious education is prioritised to ensure that it makes the most significant contribution possible to Community Cohesion.

7.8.4 Projects in partnership with the Jewish school

These projects had yielded some benefit but could have been further developed. The key issue was scale and therefore the school needed to investigate the possibility of developing this relationship within the school curriculum. This could take the form of work within the curriculum for example in citizenship or religious education lessons. Alternatively it could be developed through consortium teaching between the two schools, particularly for 16-19 year old students where standards could be ensured.

7.8.5 Reliance on individual staff

The key weakness in the promotion of Community Cohesion and in particular in relationships with the Jewish school was that they relied excessively on one member of staff. If the leadership team values this work they should consider engaging a wider range of individuals in it. They will also need to consider how they train or recruit future staff to ensure the sustainability of Community Cohesion within the school curriculum.

Chapter 8: To what extent does school leadership facilitate Community Cohesion for students in an English secondary school?

This thesis has addressed the relationship between national policy and school leadership. My concluding comments will in this chapter focus on the policy of Community Cohesion and its relationship with the theory of school leadership. This chapter will offer final thoughts on how this relationship was developed in the case study school.

The three stages of the policy cycle – influence, production and practice (Ball, 1994) – have provided a useful structure for much of this discussion. In this final chapter I will concentrate predominantly on the first of these stages, influence. Particularly I will consider how the concept of Community Cohesion was influenced in the policy discourse at the time of its development. I will then move into the production stage and consider how school leadership and Community Cohesion interact as policy moves into practice.

8.1 Policy discourse and Community Cohesion

The New Labour project following the 1997 general election was centred on social justice and neo-liberal public service reform (Barber, 2001). Across the public sector these reforms promised improved service, value for money and equal opportunity for all citizens. As discussed in chapter one this followed a period of 50 years of significant social change in which Britain had become an increasingly multicultural society. The changes in the ethnic and social composition of the population had brought benefits but also posed challenges, not least in the area of 'race relations' which governments had tried to address through the race relations acts of 1965 and 1976.

By 1997 the UK was a multicultural society. However anti-racist criticisms were levelled at multiculturalism for isolating communities from one another and creating division between groups. On the right multiculturalism was attacked for undermining a particular vision of traditional British values. The tensions surrounding multiculturalism had been particularly clear at the times of public disturbances such as those experienced by English cities in the 1980s but perhaps the watershed moment was the murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993 followed by the Macpherson Inquiry (Macpherson, 1999) triggering the Race Relations (amendment) Act 2000.

The parallel introduction of human rights legislation and citizenship education in schools signalled a move towards a rights based society promoting equality. The events of 2001: the disturbances in northern English cities and the terrorist attacks in the United States, however, had a significant impact on policy across government. This ensured that an agenda previously characterised by equality, rights and responsibility in a neo-liberal context was now concerned also with security and identity.

These contradictions were perhaps most apparent in the areas where the need for Community Cohesion was perceived to be the most acute. In the northern towns of Bradford, Burnley and Oldham young men of the socially segregated white and Asian communities had vented frustration at perceived inequality through public disturbances in August 2001. If these events had highlighted issues of inequality and prejudice facing these groups the events of the following month ensured that for the coming decade young Asian men would face a new challenge to equality related less to ethnicity and more to the Muslim faith (Modood, 2005b).

8.1.1 Policy discourses in education and Community Cohesion

Bernard Coard (1971) was one of many whose work illustrated the alienating educational experiences of many children of minority ethnic descent in England in the 1960s. This included a curriculum that appeared irrelevant to their culture and experiences and the attitudes of teachers who did not believe they could achieve. Later studies illustrated a similar experience for children from other backgrounds whose social, linguistic, cultural and religious backgrounds appeared disconnected from the school curriculum.

Attempts to address this through progressive education in the 1970s and early 1980s foundered under neo-liberal and conservative challenges in media and politics culminating with the 1988 Education Reform Act. The ensuing national curriculum, characterised by traditionalist and conservative values, prescribed what should be taught. This though had insufficient regard for the need of both majority and minority citizens of multicultural Britain to understand how the nation was changing (Tomlinson, 2008).

The consequences of the Education Reform Act; performance tables and local management of schools along with Prime Minister Tony Blair's 1997

election promise to make education the number one priority in national policy making, meant that new education policies in citizenship and Community Cohesion were launched into a complex and potentially contradictory policy environment where equality and social justice had to co-exist with the concerns of neo-liberalism and security.

Community Cohesion therefore had a narrow path to tread. As discussed in Chapter Two this was a time when interculturalism was replacing multiculturalism. A model was developing for British government and society built on improved relationships between communities in the context of common national values (LGA, 2004). What emerged was an education policy that required schools to promote the key messages of Community Cohesion: equal opportunities, shared values and engagement with others (DCSF, 2007c). They were to do this through teaching, learning and curriculum, equity and excellence and community engagement and extended services.

Each of these reflected different elements of the policy context and demonstrated areas of tension in policy production at the national level. Equal opportunities and individual rights represented core New Labour values of particular significance in education where the belief was that a well educated population would be equipped to play their role in the global economy. The importance of shared values developed further following the disturbances in the northern cities and the post 9/11 and 7/7 (2005 London bombings) policy environments. 'Shared values' was a concept which was never satisfactorily defined but was still required to be promoted (DCSF, 2007c). Engagement with others appeared to offer the best opportunity to prevent the kinds of attitudes and misconceptions about others that had contributed to the earlier examples of poor Community Cohesion but presented its own challenges.

The policy of Community Cohesion was formed of a mixture of values. Equal opportunities incorporated individualism. British values appeared to be influenced by elements of communitarianism and nationalism (Brown, 2006) whilst the values of individual communities added a further layer of complexity. Along with a suspicion of certain groups fuelled by the media this created a policy, which was open to interpretation and risked actually increasing tension where national and community values appeared to contradict or were inappropriately represented.

8.1.2 Policy production in schools

At school level the means of promoting these values also presented challenges. Teaching, learning and curriculum required that Community Cohesion form a part of the classroom experience of every student, a duty enforced through Ofsted inspection from 2007. However the application in the national curriculum of the term 'writers of other cultures' to a British born Black writer, demonstrated a continuing ethnocentricity at the level of policy production. Additionally the knowledge of teachers about cultures other than their own presented real challenges and risked essentialising cultures and religions.

Cross curricular themes in the original national curriculum had failed to make an impact and therefore introducing citizenship via the same route into a crowded curriculum ensured that Community Cohesion was unlikely to make a significant impact unless it was enforced by being specifically written into exam specifications. Where this did occur, for example in the geography national curriculum, the emphasis on outcomes and achievement ensured that students would have to engage with issues of Community Cohesion in order to achieve academically. Where effectively implemented,

policies like these had the potential to place Community Cohesion at the heart of education policy and practice.

Achievement by groups followed a similar path. From the early days of post-colonial immigration most minority group students underachieved relative to their white peers and data on achievement by social group revealed similar discrepancies. Although students of Indian and Chinese descent achieved at the highest average levels of any group it remained the case that black and often Muslim students and their white peers of low social classes could expect to leave school significantly less well qualified than the most privileged.

A wide variety of factors influenced these levels of achievement. Many commentators have noted the relationship between social class and achievement. Some have taken this as a consequence of poor provision and low teacher expectations in areas dominated by families of particular social classes or ethnic groups. Others blame underachievement on community issues. What is distinctive however is the wide range of writers both from a critical and leadership perspective, as well as those who are critical of both, who cite teacher expectations as a key factor. This is a factor that is in the control of schools and to which I will return.

Experience of others was perhaps the most challenging element of the Community Cohesion policy. Schools were expected to ascertain which groups were represented in their local communities and then take steps to enable students to have experience of interacting with those communities. Strategies like visits to schools or visits to community centres like mosques and churches represented one possible response to this but deeper experiences of other communities such as joint activities between schools, consortium teaching or schools with mixed intakes of students would offer more profound opportunities.

Over the same period though, partially as a consequence of the market in education, social segregation gathered pace in a manner that ensured that increasingly students did not have the opportunity to experience schooling with students of backgrounds different to their own.

8.2 School leadership and Community Cohesion

The growth of school leadership, since the 1980s, as the dominant paradigm in schools and a growing area of academic research, is related to the increasingly neo-liberal education system in England. In a neo-liberal environment schools are focused principally on achievement and school leaders focus much of their energy on improving examination results. Therefore the success of Community Cohesion relies upon its relationship with achievement.

System leadership has had a significant influence on school leadership in England. It has been suggested that this notion was based on the work of Senge and has been developed by theorists including Fullan and Hopkins. This thesis has focused on the four elements of Hopkins' system leadership: professionalised teaching, personalised learning, networking and innovation and intelligent accountability. Here I will discuss how this has influenced the three avenues through which the Community Cohesion policy was designed to influence schools and students; curriculum, achievement and engaging with others.

8.2.1 Curriculum

System leadership has relatively little to say about curriculum content and therefore can claim to be broadly neutral on issues of progressive or

traditional content. However Senge, Hopkins and Fullan all talk about a 'moral purpose'. This relates to the objectives of citizenship education and Community Cohesion through student voice and a vision of schools as preparing students for life in multicultural societies.

Curriculum is the area in which the dominance of achievement can be turned to the advantage of Community Cohesion. A good example of this is in ensuring that appropriate material is compulsory in exam specifications, for example ensuring that literature from a variety of communities is included in the English examination specification or that religious education specifications require the coverage of more than one religious tradition. Where these things are required schools have to ensure that, at least to the extent required to enable success in examinations, students will follow a curriculum that reflects the diversity of the nation in which they live. In this case Community Cohesion is highly compatible both with the neo-liberal approach to education and to school leadership.

Such a strategy still requires the input of teachers who may not be experienced in the content they are being asked to teach or sympathetic to it. As Ball observes, education policy may be formed by governments but it is practised by teachers. The presence of content and the requirement to deliver it are no guarantee that it will be delivered without prejudice or in a fully informed manner. The range of knowledge and experiences represented in any curriculum ensure that many teachers will not be in a position to accurately represent the content they deliver. Training can overcome this to an extent and a degree of consistency through examination specifications should generate demand for similar training in schools nationally.

8.2.2 Achievement

The importance of teacher expectation is unusual in that it is an area of education in which a significant number of educationalists from different backgrounds agree. For Gillborn (2008) this is a significant cause of underachievement for ethnic minority students. For Hopkins (2010a) it is the cause of low levels of student progress across the system. Research from Hattie (2012) and others into teaching and learning supports Hopkins' assertion that it is the relationship between the individual teacher and student, which enables students to make progress in school.

There are issues of both teacher professionalism and expectation, which are closely related to social justice in terms of ensuring that students of all backgrounds have equal access to the curriculum and equal opportunities to achieve. These are supported by system leadership, which sets student and teacher targets for achievement. In addition to this it advocates the 'intelligent' use of accountability processes like performance tables by engaging with value added data to ensure that students in all schools achieve academically. Again relationships like this have the potential to enable social cohesion through individual achievement and Community Cohesion by enabling achievement by students from different social and ethnic groups. The London experience suggests that statistically at least this relationship does exist as minority groups have improved outcomes above national averages.

System leadership provides an illustration of Michael Apple's assertion that the activities of the right can be disrupted by dividing elements of the right against one another. In this case neo-liberal methods and conservative content are divided by a model of school leadership which focuses on achievement in order to achieve social justice but which pays little attention to curriculum content which is very often a conservative concern. Senge's assertion that schools should create spaces for discussion of issues of relevance to the future of young people suggests a progressive desire to

empower young people. The references to moral purpose and citizenship education in the work of Fullan and Hopkins also demonstrate the social objectives of system leadership.

My contention throughout this work has been that, although Community Cohesion and school leadership may be seen as opposing forces in schools they can mutually reinforce one another. Two of the elements of Hopkins' model of system leadership, professionalised teaching and personalised learning, directly influence the key role of teacher expectation in enabling student outcomes. Throughout the literature on diversity and school leadership there is an understanding that teacher expectation is fundamental to outcomes for students. The focus of system leadership on personalised learning and professionalised teaching places this fundamental focus on learning in classrooms at the heart of system leadership. Hopkins goes so far as to assert that the teaching profession lacks a language of professionalism and argues that it is in the development of a common understanding of teaching and learning that schools can develop better outcomes for students of all backgrounds. In addition to this he argues that it is the role of intelligent accountability at school and national levels to ensure that the system produces the outcomes students are capable of.

As chapter four demonstrated the application of these values in schools in London has had a dramatic effect on outcomes with London schools achieving the best exam results in England. This is a positive outcome in terms of social cohesion because it enables students leaving school to access higher status education and work opportunities than otherwise they would have done. Therefore one can conclude that system leadership is compatible with the objectives of social cohesion. The New Labour ideal of equal opportunities fuelled by a successful education system is essentially a model of social cohesion through education. Because system leadership in schools is equally focused on this outcome there is a natural coincidence of values

between the two. This means that schools which are academically successful for groups where students who traditionally have not succeeded in education, are enabling social cohesion.

The question this thesis has sought to answer, however, is whether or not school leadership can contribute to Community Cohesion. This is a more complex question because it relates to values, particularly societal values. Even though system leadership is not concerned primarily with curriculum content it does endorse citizenship education and the role of student voice. Both of these can play a role in the development of Community Cohesion in and through schools although the values of the staff leading those activities influence their effectiveness in promoting Community Cohesion.

As already discussed, national discourse has significantly influenced what is seen as Community Cohesion and the balance between social justice and security can just as easily shift in the classroom as nationally. Therefore the attitudes and values of school leaders and classroom teachers are fundamental to whether or not Community Cohesion is effectively developed in schools. System leadership creates a space where Community Cohesion can be developed, the values of individual staff in schools dictate whether or not those values really are developed in practice.

8.2.3 Engaging with people of other cultures

The final element of the Community Cohesion policy was that students ought to be able to experience working with those from outside their own social and cultural groups. This owes much to contact theory, which suggests that relationships between groups improve where people have contact with one another to build relationships (Allport, 1952). System leadership sees schools as community hubs and through networking and innovation argues

that school leaders need to take responsibility for the education of students in other schools. Again this creates the space for interaction to take place for example through joint teaching initiatives between neighbouring schools.

This is perhaps the most complex element of system leadership because it involves coordination between institutions. Where it was successfully implemented between schools in London in terms of staff training and development, this enabled improved student achievement and therefore social cohesion. This collaboration can also create a space for Community Cohesion to take effect where students have been given the opportunity to work together. Had this been the case in the northern cities prior to 2001 it may have prevented some of the misconceptions that arose between the two communities as a result of a lack of social mixing. Again system leadership creates the opportunity for Community Cohesion to occur. Whether or not the opportunity is taken is an issue of leadership and values in individual schools and classrooms.

As has been discussed throughout this thesis this element of Community Cohesion presents by far the greatest practical challenge in moving from the stages of policy influence to policy practice. For schools in isolated areas ensuring a genuine experience of people of other ethnic, religious, social or cultural groups may be challenging simply on the grounds of distance. However, even where schools are close to one another policy hierarchy presents a significant challenge because curriculum time does not allow space for experiences of other people if those experiences do not contribute to achievement.

There are, however, means by which achievement and curriculum can be mobilised to overcome these challenges. The citizenship curriculum, which I discussed in previous work (Wood, 2006), also required students to engage in active citizenship. This curriculum required students to learn about people of other backgrounds within the UK and to be involved in real experiences

with those people. This enabled Community Cohesion to be promoted through the curriculum and achievement. Where this was incorporated into examination specifications, achievement and leadership could positively impact on Community Cohesion through school processes, inspection and performance tables. As a consequence Community Cohesion would rise in the policy hierarchy by virtue of its association with achievement and leadership.

8.3 Professional values

System leadership is therefore compatible with Community Cohesion. It can certainly be argued that its theorists are even sympathetic to the principles of Community Cohesion. This means that system leadership creates an environment, which *can* contribute to Community Cohesion. The question this thesis asks though is, to what extent *does* school leadership contribute to Community Cohesion? This issue is further developed through the consideration of the case study school. However the theory both on diversity and leadership does make one key point, which is that the role and values of individual professionals are paramount to the successful development of Community Cohesion in classrooms and schools.

As already discussed, at the level of the classroom teacher, expectation is fundamental if students are to succeed at the levels they are capable of. School leaders need the same high expectations and need to value Community Cohesion if it is to form a part of the vision for their schools and their students. Hopkins' analysis and the data from schools suggests that there remains a challenge in many schools to develop the right conditions for social cohesion to develop. Where this is in place the challenge is to move from social to Community Cohesion. System leadership undoubtedly

envisages and, the evidence suggests, creates structures, which directly impact social cohesion. However the same structures appear only to create the potential for Community Cohesion. If system leadership placed a higher value on Community Cohesion it could create the context for improved achievement and improved social cohesion as a result of a more harmonious school environment.

There is a danger of the values of social and Community Cohesion conflicting. Social cohesion focuses on the individual and Community Cohesion on groups. However there are significant areas of overlap, like achievement, which mean that the two are not incompatible. Resolving such conflicts and ensuring that Community Cohesion is valued relies on the values of individual leaders, a point which the results from the case study school illustrate. As has been illustrated by previous policy work, the effectiveness of a policy has a great deal to do with the value with which it is held by the leaders implementing it. The fact that Community Cohesion was a low status policy in the eyes of school leaders and teachers undoubtedly influenced its impact in practice (Maguire, 2013).

At the time of this research there was a national requirement that all schools in England provide a daily act of mainly Christian worship and that they teach religious education according to locally agreed syllabuses. Compliance with the former was limited but with the latter was far more widespread (Comres, 2011; Ofsted, 2013a). This is an illustration of the distance between policy influence, production and practice. School leaders interpret policy and make decisions as to what they will choose to implement and in which ways they will do so.

The case of Community Cohesion is another illustration of this. Community Cohesion would have been more fully implemented in schools where the leaders valued it and less so in those schools where they did not. Even a compulsory curriculum can be manipulated to ensure compliance with

minimal impact and those school leaders who did not value Community Cohesion may have chosen to act in this way. Therefore a key conclusion of this study is that, owing to the nature of policy production and practice, the values of school leaders are central to the success of Community Cohesion.

8.3.1 Values in system leadership

System leadership claims moral purpose as its guiding principle and if that purpose is to prepare students for life in a modern multicultural society then learning about the variety of cultures within that society is an important element of this conception of education. System leadership therefore can be closely aligned with Community Cohesion and comments like that of Senge quoted at the start of chapter four suggest that there is great potential for such a relationship to be formed. The networking and innovation element of Hopkins' system leadership provides the opportunity both for school leaders to take responsibility for the learning of students in other schools and the opportunity for them to influence what they learn. As already discussed the more Community Cohesion contributes to achievement the more beneficial such relationships will be. Whether this takes the form of an ad hoc relationship, a curriculum project or a teaching collaboration will depend on the extent to which that link benefits the schools taking part and the leaders value the outcomes.

8.3.2 Community Cohesion and changing national discourses

The influence of national discourses was perhaps most clearly demonstrated post 2010 when the New Labour administration came to an end. A new policy environment was characterised by the discourses of the 'credit crunch'

and austerity as well as the continuing narratives of security and identity. A more overtly conservative and neo-liberal government removed the requirements of both Community Cohesion and extended schools and introduced a more traditionalist curriculum. This led to reduced diversity in the curriculum and a greater emphasis on academic achievement and examinations which ensured that schools had even less time to spare for non-curriculum activities than before.

However, the 2014 Trojan Horse affair, where a small number of schools were alleged to have been infiltrated by extremist groups, again returned the issues of identity, values and cohesion to education policy (Gove, 2014). These changes at national level had significant consequences for policy production and practice at school level culminating in the DfE issuing guidance to schools on promoting fundamental British Values (DfE, 2014d).

The contested nature of policy (Ball, 2012; Ozga, 2000) is demonstrated by this analysis. My research asks what the intention of the DCSF was in instigating a Community Cohesion policy. The intention in 2001 of promoting equal opportunities, addressing inequality and changing the attitudes of people across the UK to those of other ethnic, religious, cultural and social groups, appears to have been significantly adjusted by changes in circumstance and policy during the intervening years. At the beginning of this period there was an apparent desire to address fundamental issues of prejudice and inequality in British society. With time however the policy focused increasingly on the promotion of core British values as a response to security concerns. The heart of the multicultural debate during this period concerned the role of community and national values and the duty of citizens to adhere to the latter. The debate increased the potential to reinforce prejudice often through a rhetoric critical of the perceived non-participation of certain, particularly Muslim, minority groups in 'British' life and values. What this demonstrates is that the intention of the policy makers at the time

of the inception of policy may bear little relation to the outcome once time has passed and other discourses and actors have been able to influence policy creation, production and practice.

The second insight into policy was offered by Michael Apple's assertion that the conservative and the neo-liberal can be divided by forming alliances with one against the other. To an extent this is visible in the Community Cohesion policy. The policy emphasised the relationships between different groups and acknowledged that the differing values of groups were valid. It also acknowledged the challenges facing certain minority groups in contradiction to many of the traditionalist education policies of the 1980s. Subsequently it attempted to address these through the use of neo-liberal policies including school performance tables and inspection. To an extent the Community Cohesion policy could be viewed as intercultural because it did not initially privilege the values of one group over and above others. However the inability to determine British values meant that the policy was always at the mercy of politicians wishing to harness it to particular, often conservative, conceptions of Britishness.

A more conservative, traditionalist vision of British values developed during the lifetime of the policy and after 2010 this became more pronounced. In this respect therefore it can be argued that Community Cohesion, as a consequence of the discourses in which it was formed became less associated with its core aims as time went on and as the policy entered into the production and practice phases. What this also demonstrates is that policy remains very fluid and changes with society. Equal opportunities however remained central to education policy after 2010 even though Community Cohesion was not retained as a significant policy in its own right. This suggests that even though a policy may have been abandoned some core values do remain and continue to exert an influence on policy discourse. It

is these values, which policies like Community Cohesion need to be associated with if they too are to exert influence.

8.4 Recommendations

The recommendations arising from this discussion relate to teacher and leader values, opportunities to promote Community Cohesion, accountability and relationships between schools. As I have already discussed, it is necessary, in all cases, that Community Cohesion is closely linked to achievement.

Although at the time of writing the promotion of Community Cohesion was no longer a specific responsibility of schools it did remain an element of school inspection under social moral spiritual and cultural education, which had been a part of education legislation since the 1944 Education Act (Department of Education, 1944). Additionally issues such as the Trojan Horse affair ensured that values, 'Britishness' and diversity remained on the political and educational agenda (DfE, 2014d). These recommendations therefore assume first of all that Community Cohesion ought to remain as a policy concern in education. However it is the means by which Community Cohesion is communicated to and through schools that I suggest ought to be the principal focus for policy makers.

8.4.1 Teacher and leader values

Just like Community Cohesion itself the issue of teacher and leader values goes far beyond the auspices of any policy and into the personal beliefs of individuals. It is very hard to fundamentally impact on values without the accusation that training is going beyond its remit. However teachers at all

levels are required to be trained and this offers an opportunity to present Community Cohesion as a policy, to promote its status and to inform educators both of their responsibilities and the content about which they should educate the students in their schools.

For this reason I recommend that teaching courses from Initial Teacher Training to the National Professional Qualification for Headship include modules on Community Cohesion. These should define the policy objectives and encourage teachers and leaders to consider the place of Community Cohesion in their practice in particular in relation to the moral purpose of system leadership. For the many teachers for whom these concerns form an element of their moral purpose such training will provide an opportunity to channel those values in practice.

As NPQH already shares a considerable quantity of values and practices with system leadership developing the presence of Community Cohesion ought to be consistent with the values of system leaders who are keen to ensure that equal opportunities exist for all their learners. Therefore it would assist the promotion of such values if Community Cohesion were to be more fully developed in leadership literature in relationship to moral purpose.

8.4.2 Opportunities to promote Community Cohesion through the curriculum

As has been discussed in this chapter and throughout this thesis the relationship between Community Cohesion and achievement is fundamental to the success of the policy. Where school leaders did not value Community Cohesion it would have acquired a low position on the school's hierarchy of policies. It is not possible to ensure that all school leaders value Community Cohesion enough to implement it effectively. However it is possible through

national policy and accountability regimes to ensure that a minimum standard is achieved.

The means to do this is available in the form of achievement and curriculum. Schools are obliged to teach religious education to the age of 18. Many schools accredit this element of the curriculum, therefore if it were a requirement that all religious education specifications were designed in such a way as to complement the Community Cohesion policy, through a focus for example on significant religions present in the UK it would ensure that all schools which taught GCSE religious education complied with the curriculum element of Community Cohesion.

In addition to this, other subjects should also retain the requirement that content reflects the nature of the society for which the examinations are designed. Citizenship education lends itself particularly well to this but as discussed so too do geography and English. A requirement of examination specifications to ensure the inclusion of content relevant to varied cultures would enable schools to address Community Cohesion across the curriculum without compromising the focus on achievement.

In order to ensure greater compliance the compulsory inclusion of RE or citizenship GCSE in the performance tables would ensure that students in the vast majority of schools followed these courses and were able to experience the relevant curriculum content. This would also create the potential for those schools and leaders who particularly valued Community Cohesion or who had a particular local issue, to use these courses as a means to develop Community Cohesion further.

In addition to the locally agreed religious education syllabus there is scope for a locally agreed citizenship syllabus. This would ensure that citizenship education was geared to the needs of local communities ensuring that

students learned not just about the significant religious groups in their locality but also the social and cultural groups.

8.4.3 Accountability

Community Cohesion remained an element of Ofsted inspection from its inception but its status within inspection was severely curtailed after 2010. This did mean that Ofsted still had the power to ensure that Community Cohesion was addressed in schools. The events of 2014 also demonstrated that where the inspectorate had concerns they were empowered to act. My third recommendation therefore is that Ofsted should retain responsibility for ensuring that Community Cohesion is addressed in the school curriculum and through the achievement of students of different groups both at school and national level. In addition to this Ofsted should be more assertive in the monitoring of the implementation of the locally agreed religious education syllabus and social, moral, spiritual and cultural learning, and therefore ensure that students in all schools are receiving their entitlement in this area.

8.4.4 Enabling schools to offer students opportunities to engage with others

I have reiterated several times in this thesis that this area of Community Cohesion is the most challenging due to the constraints of time and geography. However by far the simplest way for students to engage with others is to attend the same schools as students of different backgrounds. Thomas (2011) identifies that housing is in most parts of England less segregated than schools. Therefore a means to address segregation at school level is to ensure that students attend local schools rather than travelling to schools away from where they live in order to gain access to higher status

institutions. The solution to this issue lies principally in the quality of schools. If the objective contained in the title of Hopkins' book outlining the principles of system leadership, 'Every School a Great School' were to be achieved, then segregation would be likely to decrease as parents chose local schools on the grounds that the academic outcomes were high. Therefore I recommend that national policy and school level policy continues to pursue the agenda of raising achievement for all students so that every local school becomes a viable option for every student to attend.

8.4.5 Increased collaboration

The results from London demonstrate that cooperation between schools makes a contribution to school improvement across a system. Other research demonstrates improved outcomes where schools, which have gained independence from local authority controls under the Academies programme, achieve better outcomes when working as chains of schools (Hutchings et al, 2014; Gilbert, 2014). Therefore increased collaboration between institutions is desirable for school improvement but also presents the potential for students to interact through shared teaching and learning experiences. This could be facilitated by means of national requirements for schools to operate within partnerships of weaker and stronger schools. This again faces the challenges of policy production and practice where school leaders may or may not value the policy and therefore prevent its effective implementation. However, were performance and inspection to be suitably adapted, intelligent accountability could ensure compliance and a positive impact on relationships.

8.5 Final thoughts

This thesis has demonstrated the complexity of implementing policy at the school level. The Community Cohesion policy was influenced by national discourses at the influence stage, which had adjusted its character even before it reached the case study school. Its practice at school level however was at least as much influenced by the agency of school leaders, which had a very significant impact on the policy's outcomes. What is most striking in this case is that it is not the policy intentions alone but the combination of the policy and those implementing it at school level which created the final outcomes. Whether it was Community Cohesion, system leadership or achievement, the school leaders and teachers putting that policy into practice played an enormously significant role in its effectiveness.

What is encouraging from this work is that in spite of the pressures on policies like Community Cohesion from neo-liberal influences, the evidence shows that they are not incompatible. In fact it is clear that where national policies on achievement promote Community Cohesion and vice versa, both are stronger. Policy makers must consider very carefully developing complementary relationships between policies to ensure the greatest impact. The most significant factor in success or failure is the leaders who implement policy in schools. This study suggests that it is the values and motivations of school leaders that make schools successful and which dictate the impact of schools on communities. Values cannot easily be moulded by governments and nor should they be, but what is invested in ensuring strong, principled leadership will bear fruit in the lives of young people.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Lesson plan for lesson with students in case study school

Appendix 2 Focus group questions

Appendix 3 Staff interview schedule – first round

Appendix 4 Staff interview, sample transcript – second round

Appendix 1   Lesson plan for lesson with students in case study school

School Lesson Plan

Subject: General Studies	Year: 10	Class:
Day:	Date:	Time:

Reference to Scheme of Work:	Lesson Number:

Learning Objectives: Students consider the meaning of Community Cohesion Students consider how cohesive their community is

Department Lesson Structure:	**Teacher Lesson Structure:**
LESSON 1 1. Students read Goth article as they enter 2. Discuss what sort of place they think Bacup is. What happened to these people? Why did this happen? 3. Explain purpose of lesson is PhD research. 4. Give students key words: community and cohesion. 5. Students brainstorm in groups what the two words mean. Feedback on board and define as a class. Is Bacup a good or bad example of this? 6. Discuss whether or not something like this could happen in this school. Is this school a cohesive community? 7. Explain to class that they will work in groups to photograph areas of the school which show the school as a cohesive / non-cohesive community. Groups discuss what they could photograph and when ready come to collect cameras and take pictures. LESSON 2 8. Each group chooses one picture. They annotate it to explain why they chose it and what it shows 9. Students circulate around room and annotate each other's pictures commenting on what the picture shows and what other people have said. 10. Students have series of spectrums of effective to ineffective for the citizenship curriculum, assemblies, tutor time, making friends, enrichment activities and staff attitudes. In pairs they discuss whether or not they are and rate their impact from 1 -5. LESSON 3 11. Students write a newspaper article describing an incident involving a former student from this school in 10 years time based on what they have seen. Would they blame the school for what happens, good or bad? E.g. racist attack, inter-ethnic marriage, form a successful company.	

Appendix 2   Focus group instructions
Year 10 focus groups: Community Cohesion

Aim: find the views of Year 10 students on the issue of Community Cohesion

What is Community Cohesion?

All schools have to promote Community Cohesion. This means that schools have to encourage people to understand different cultures, religions and ethnic groups as well as people of different social groups e.g. people who are richer or poorer.

> **Students do not have to take part in any part of this focus group. If they are not willing to answer a question or do an activity it is fine.**

What the students have to do:

1. Look at the picture they have been given and annotate it to explain how they think it shows or does not show cohesion at school. I.e. does it show how people are really treated in the school?
2. Discuss which problems are common in the school:
   - What causes it?
   - How often does it happen?
   - What are the effects?
   - Does the school deal with it adequately?

3. Complete the grid
4. Explain what they have rated as the biggest problem and why in each grid
5. Discuss what they have included in each of the grids, particularly:
   - How the school deals with these problems
   - Why the students choose the newspaper headlines they did

Making our community work

[used in lessons and focus group]

1. Give a score for each of the problems below to show how much of a problem you think each one is at study school.

	1 – not a problem	2	3	4	5 – big problem
Racism towards people who have a different skin colour					
Anti-semitism (anti Jewish)					
Differences in how rich people are					
Differences in age					
Differences in gender					
Differences in religion					
Racism towards people who are white but come from another country					

2. Look at the grid below. Score each of the things listed on the left according to how well they contribute to making Study School a better place

	1 - good	2	3	4	5 - bad
Lessons					
Citizenship lessons					
RE lessons					
Tutor time					
Enrichment					
Staff					
Getting to know students from different backgrounds					
Assemblies					

3. Look at this list of newspaper headlines. Rank them according to which is most likely to happen. 1 is the most likely to happen, 6 is the least:

- Former study school student jailed for racist attack
- Former Study school students marry across the religious divide
- Former Study school students come together to form local business
- Former Study school student cautioned for anti-Semitic comments
- Former Study school student links town to Polish town
- Former Study school students to help build African School
- Former Study school student works to help refugees in London
- Former Study school student begins new life in Germany

4. 4. Write a newspaper article based on one of these headlines. Describe:
   - What happened in the incident
   - What the people involved said about why they did it
   - What the people involved said about their school
   - Your opinion about whether or not people's actions after leaving school are affected by what they are taught at school

Appendix 3   Sample student photograph from lesson activity

Appendix 4 Staff interview schedule – first round

This interview aims to establish the views of a senior member of staff as to the nature of Community Cohesion both in the school community and the local community.

1. How long have you worked in this school?
2. What is your responsibility?
3. Are you aware of the concept of Community Cohesion? What is your understanding of this in relation to this school?
4. The census data from 2001 shows that the local community is about 85% white, working class and 'Christian' with a 12% Jewish minority and a variety of other smaller ethnic communities. Do you believe this to be accurate? Why / why not?
5. School data shows that the school community is about 75% white, working class with a number of smaller minorities particularly around 6% black and 5% non-British white. Do you believe this to be accurate? Why / why not?
6. The local press and census data show growth in all minority communities, particularly the Jewish community. Do you agree with this?
7. The local press shows very few local issues related to ethnicity and religion and that anti-social behaviour amongst young people is the biggest local issue. Do you agree with this?
8. The racist incidents book suggests that name calling and comments based on ethnicity and anti-Semitic comments are the most common issues in the school affecting Community Cohesion. Do you agree with this?
9. Could you define your understanding of citizenship education?
10. Where, other than the citizenship curriculum, do you believe citizenship is represented in the school?
11. How effective do you believe is citizenship provision in this school in addressing the issues of Community Cohesion?
- Stopping intolerance and harassment
- Encouraging mutual civility among different groups, respect for diversity and a commitment to common and shared bonds
- Students understanding of community in relation to the school, the local community, the UK and global communities
- Improving cohesion across different cultures, ethnic groups, religious and nonreligious groups, socio-economic groups

12. Year 10 students identify low level racism and that most other issues are related to friendship. Do you agree with this assessment of Community Cohesion issues?

Appendix 5   Staff interview, sample transcript – second round

Interviewer	Can you tell me what you think? Does that sound about right, the information on bonding capital and bridging capital in the school.
Subject	Yes, absolutely and even the though the views you have are four years old I think they are just the same today. I don't think that has changed at all.
Interviewer	What I am thinking about here is within networking and innovation is four areas; collaboration between schools, curriculum innovation, use of data and leadership. And I am also interested in any other views you have got on this so I will come back to those and I will ask the questions in the order they appeared in the education policy which is equal opportunities, shared values and encouraging pupils to engage with others. So we start with promoting equality of opportunity and inclusion. Can you describe how as a school you support individuals and groups of students using data particularly to ensure that everyone does get equal access to the curriculum, to achievement, to those things
Subject	When we evaluate our performance in the autumn term, the results evaluation document, we look at groups of students. So we take the student body as a whole and look at performance but then we look at groups of students and those are based on ethnicity, as well as ability, SEN and children looked after, in theory if we have any. So we do a comparison to ensure that we can identify where students are underperforming and whether or not that is based on a particular grouping although for us the data says that students perform in line with each other, pretty much
Interviewer	And that policy of looking at data in terms of groups, is that something you have been doing a long time?
Subject	We only started doing probably three years ago but that was in response to the fact ofsted started looking at groups of students rather than just students per se so for us it was in direct response to ofsted and we did not do it initially because we had a gut feel for what the answer would be but a gut feel does not wash with an ofsted inspector so we now look at the data which tells us that students perform broadly in line with one another regardless of their grouping.
Interviewer	So the idea that one takes not of things like ability, ethnicity, SEN is actually one driven by national policy

	rather than school policy and do you feel that there is a kind of moral purpose behind that which you agree with, do you think that the attitude of the school's leadership is that there ought to be equal opportunity and equal outcome
Subject	Yes, absolutely, although the question that everyone raises when we look at groups of students is, 'why are we doing this because we treat everyone equally, so we know that we treat everybody equally therefore we are almost looking for a problem that we know does not exist.'
Interviewer	So actually the policy has had no impact on outcomes for students
Subject	No, none at all
Interviewer	Is there any particular support in place for weaker students?
Subject	We have lots of intervention strategies across year groups but particularly at key stage four and we have funding to support students who are underperforming but that is across the ability range so after every data collection which is termly the head of learning for that particular year group will sit down with me or Cindy and identify groups of students who are underperforming and what we can do to support them
Interviewer	What you are saying is that there is no element of ethnicity, religion etc which comes into that at all
Subject	None whatsoever
Interviewer	Simply because the driver for that is achievement and progress?
Subject	Yes
Interviewer	And does any of your activity with the consortium or other partners outside of the school support that work to raise standards. Do any of those interventions involve other providers?
Subject	The interventions don't, they are very much in house. We obviously do work with other schools within the consortium but not particularly on intervention and there are various reasons for that, some of the reasons are the fact that subjects use different exam boards, different syllabuses, and in the past when we have tried to work together, we are looking for different outcomes so it makes it easier to focus on our students, the exam boards we are using and preparing them for our particular exam.
Interviewer	With other partners you do work like teaching certain subjects at a sixth form college
Subject	Yes

Interviewer	Who gets to do that? Why does a student go there rather than stay in school to do what they are doing?
Subject	To increase choice and opportunity so the curriculum is designed to have something for everyone. It is an inclusive curriculum. So the fact that we can't provide everything on site. We provide as much as we can to the whole range of need and because geographically we are kind of, although Town is quite an easy to get to place and we are served with good transport links actually if we don't provide it the fact that all our education providers are further afield with the exception of Jewish school college, if we don't provide it then they can't access it.
Interviewer	If we talk about achievement, what does that mean you as a school? If a student achieves at the end of their time with you?
Subject	It means that that student can go on to do what they want to do. It gives them options and opportunities so regardless of what they want to do. So regardless of what they want to do whether it is now or at any point in the future they have got the opportunity to do that because they achieved when they were with us.
Interviewer	The second section here is promoting shared values. We are thinking about collaboration, data, innovation and how would you say those things are contributing to the promotion of shared values and obviously there's the question of collaboration with partners which would seem to be a good way to promote shared values what is that contributing
Subject	Collaboration with people like XXXX college and XXXX college means that students are exposed to far more than they would in just a school environment so we do have to broach a college environment rather than just a school environment. Students have to behave differently within a different set of rules but as they are always representing us we have high expectations there and that is part of the requirement of those students getting on those courses.
Interviewer	What about other partners?
Subject	Equally when we are moving sixth formers between schools. For students in other schools and staff in other schools that may be their only experience of us.
Interviewer	Any other partners? Jewish school for example.
Subject	Yes, Jewish school is the sticking point just because we would like to work with them more than we do. From a sixth form collaboration point of view it would make

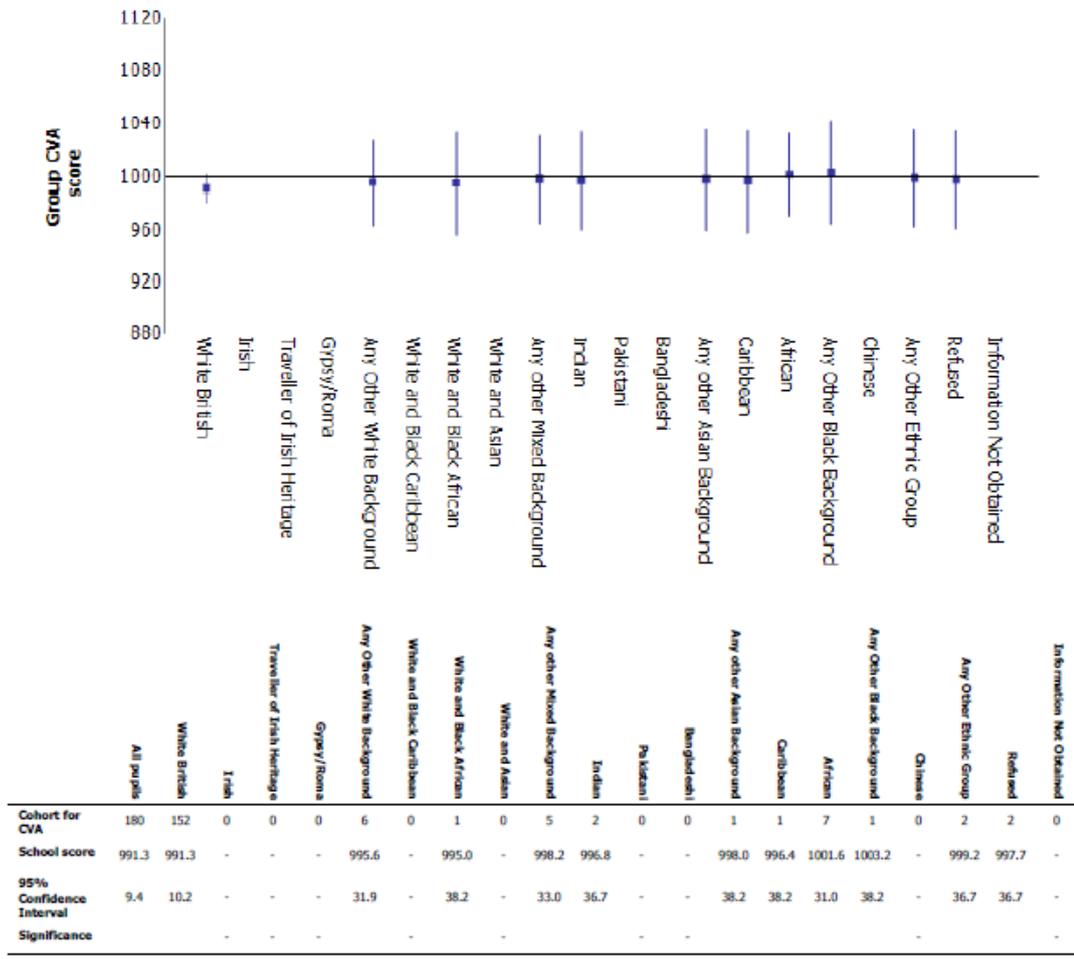|	
	perfect sense but it has not happened yet. That does not mean that it won't ever happen and I think there is a desire on both sides for that to happen but I think currently it would mean Jewish school changing their position and I don't think that they are in a position to do that at the moment. Which is a shame.
Interviewer	Why would you do it? If you were to work with Jewish school more, particularly the sixth form what is the outcome you would be looking for from that relationship?
Subject	Twofold. One is economic in that if we can run groups with larger numbers and they can run groups with larger numbers then there is a mutual benefit and the other one is Community Cohesion.
Interviewer	Do you think it could have a benefit in terms of achievement and results?
Subject	Yes, it could. If you think about some of the subjects we cannot offer or some of the subjects we would like to offer they tend to be your more academic subjects so there could well be a benefit for us in sending our students to another school for those particular subjects where they did not have to travel very far, where they were already in their own town where they could perhaps go there from home or go there after the lesson rather than further afield which is what we do at the moment. If you ask them what was the benefit of their students coming to us they would probably be looking at more vocational courses than they offer currently looking at some of our specialist facilities that they don't have.
Interviewer	The notion of an inclusive and a broad curriculum at the moment is constrained by a lack of partnership and you would like to see that broadened. All things being equal are you saying that you would rather have a better collaboration in order to enable a more inclusive curriculum whoever that was to be with
Subject	Yes and actually it would work better in terms of logistics in terms of our closest neighbour school in our own town.
Interviewer	They would also benefit from that so you can see a benefit for everybody of working in collaboration.
Subject	Yes
Interviewer	What would you say is the purpose of the existence of the school? If I give you the two categories; academic achievement or personal growth / Community Cohesion. Which would you put first?

Subject	In this school? The second, personal achievement and growth.
Interviewer	And that would be benefitted by having that relationship with another school.
Subject	Yes definitely. Although both aspects would benefit in terms of key stage five.
Interviewer	The last area is engaging with others. What opportunities in the curriculum are for students to engage with others either face to face, via the internet or on paper?
Subject	Currently within the citizenship curriculum there are links between ourselves and Jewish school but quite limited links, and only within that particular curriculum. At key stage five we work in a consortium with other schools and FE partners but not Jewish school and we also work with XXXX football club
Interviewer	What is the purpose of those? Are they all links made in order to develop the curriculum in order to enable achievement?
Subject	Yes. In order to enable students to succeed…
Interviewer	…the broadest sense…and do they work in that respect? Is that notion that personal achievement and growth is the key aim of the school. Do those three links enable that to happen?
Subject	The weakest link is the key stage five consortium. Just because the academic results are not any better than we could produce ourselves and the disadvantage those students have because of travel times and transportation means that any benefit of going to another school to study a subject and broaden their horizons probably has an equal negative which is why we don't do it as much as we could.
Interviewer	So actually whilst you would say that personal achievement and all those things are very important they are not actually important enough to put such a big emphasis that you would get over those hurdles.
Subject	Yes
Interviewer	To what extent then do you think Community Cohesion has increased because of those, in the school?
Subject	Certainly having other students from other institutions has been useful. Without doubt having the students on the XXXX football programme who come from all over the south east particularly the London boroughs and bring something different to our school has definitely been advantageous. What is missing is probably the Jewish school link.

Interviewer	Obviously from the previous bit of research I showed you that is the most glaring negative and you said at the beginning of the interview, in four years you don't think we have seen any progress there would you say that is the case
Subject	Yes and in my fifteen years in the town there has been massive progress in terms of the cultural mix that now exists and when I first came here it was very white working class and racism existed without a doubt and that appears to have gone because there is much more of a rich mix and I think until we get a richer mix between the Jewish community and our students it is going to persist.
Interviewer	If we were to take the notion of Community Cohesion forward in Study school, there are four areas of system leadership…which if those levers would you particularly push
Subject	Networking and innovation…because if we were able to work more closely with the school, if students were friends with students from that school, if there were far more collaborative links there it would just become the norm and we would be able to challenge those stereotypes and that is the basis of the problem we have, the fact that students are basing what they think on stereotypes and don't actually know.
Interviewer	Earlier you alluded to the fact that you feel that the change to make that happen needs to happen in Jewish school rather than here and you feel that is where the problem is.
Subject	Yes it is because we are willing and regularly express our willingness to collaborate with them but they need to be willing to collaborate with us. We have started small in the last couple of years with things like citizenship projects but until our students go there and their students come here it is not going to make a massive difference.
Interviewer	So you are saying that a one off event is not enough, it needs to be regular interaction.
Subject	The one off event touches a small number of students for a period of time but I think that if we had more Jewish students living amongst us and if more of our students were living amongst them it would quickly break down those barriers
Interviewer	Do you think that national policy, the government saying; ' we are going to do Community Cohesion', has made any difference at all to the outcomes in terms of Community Cohesion in this community, in this school or beyond the school

Subject	No. I think that anything that we said that ticked a box labelled Community Cohesion would have been something we would have done regardless of government policy because it would have been the right thing to have done for our students and for this community.
Interviewer	XXXX said the same as you but that she thought what has happened with Jewish school would not have happened from their point of view if they had not had to fill that box in on the Ofsted SEF
Subject	Quite possibly. I can't speak for Jewish school but Jewish school is quite early in its development and certainly in our first five years we were quite inward looking, and it was only when we really had a foundation that we started looking elsewhere and started making those links. So I would like to think that Jewish school are currently inward looking partly because that is the nature of a Jewish high school but partly because they are building from scratch and they are building it into something that has a bit of history behind it. And I would like to think that at some point in the not too distant future they looked across here and thought; 'actually there is a useful resource there, there is a useful partner there'. But I don't know, we will see.

Appendix 5

School contextual value added for groups within the school 2010

	All pupils	White British	Irish	Traveller of Irish Heritage	Gypsy/Roma	Any Other White Background	White and Black Caribbean	White and Black African	White and Asian	Any other Mixed Background	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Any other Asian Background	Caribbean	African	Any Other Black Background	Chinese	Any Other Ethnic Group	Refused	Information Not Obtained
Cohort for CVA	180	152	0	0	0	6	0	1	0	5	2	0	0	1	1	7	1	0	2	2	0
School score	991.3	991.3	-	-	-	995.6	-	995.0	-	998.2	996.8	-	-	998.0	996.4	1001.6	1003.2	-	999.2	997.7	-
95% Confidence Interval	9.4	10.2	-	-	-	31.9	-	38.2	-	33.0	36.7	-	-	38.2	38.2	31.0	38.2	-	36.7	36.7	-
Significance		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

7.7 Contextual Value Added Data by Group for the Study School - 2010