Toward Culturally Intelligent Monitoring and Assessment in Study Support:
An Historical and Case Study Analysis.

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Declarations

I hereby declare that this work presented in this thesis is entirely my own. I confirm that the word count, exclusive of appendices and bibliography, and in accordance with the regulations of the PhD of the University of London, is 79, 969 words in total.

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Abstract

Study Support centres, serving minority ethnic children, operate within the framework of two state education policy objectives: to raise academic attainment and foster mutual understanding and respect amongst children from different cultural backgrounds. The academic outcomes of this provision are formally monitored and assessed. However, a model of assessment has failed to emerge to monitor specifically, the intercultural outcomes. In addressing this gap, it is not a new observation that policy objectives, and how they are assessed, do not emerge from within an ideological vacuum.

Post World War II, and contiguous with the rise of community-based Study Support for minority ethnic children, ideologies from market economics and Classical Management theory have been imported into state education policy and thinking. Monitoring and assessment approaches in market economics and Classical Management are rooted in input/output ratios that focus upon tangible outcomes in production. Transposed into education, this formula highlights outcomes that are readily tangible, for example, academic attainment. However, when transposed into the context of monitoring intercultural outcomes, this formula is challenged.

Assessing intercultural outcomes involves thinking about concepts which may or may not be readily tangible: cultural diversity, identity and ethnicity. Neither Classical Management theory nor market economics has a history of thinking in these areas. It is helpful therefore to move toward constructing a model of assessment that is purpose built for Study Support serving minority ethnic students and which engages with these challenges. Namely, a model which aims to be culturally intelligent: it does not replicate, but seeks to learn from the gaps in thinking about cultural diversity, identity, ethnicity, and intercultural outcomes, left by Classical Management and market economic approaches to assessment in education. And to identify and map out via precise examples, how far and in what ways, intercultural outcomes manifest themselves and can be monitored in practice in Study Support.

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Bibliography

Introduction: From Policy Objectives to Assessing Outcomes: the Culture Gap

'Many words do not fill a basket' [1]

Underpinning the government's policy on state education are two key concepts: raising academic attainment and combating racism to foster social cohesion and thus help prepare children to live and work in a culturally diverse British society (OfSTED and HMI 235/2001:7;9;14;36;37; DfES 0283/2004:8;9;11; DfES 0183/2003:4;13;18; OfSTED and Audit Commission 42/2002; DfES 2004; CRE 2000; RR(A)A 2000). It is at the nexus of these two strands of policy that out of school, community-based Study Support for minority ethnic children in inner-cities operates. (DfEE 1998:20;31; MacBeath et al 2001; Education-Extra 2002; Kirwan 2002:5;9;11; DfES November 2004a).

Attendance by students is voluntary and provision takes place outside of normal school hours, in the evenings and weekends. It operates in community centres designated for use for Study Support within inner-cities, and via a nationally consistent organizational structure within each centre comprising supervisor, staff, and students. (DfES 2004a; DfEE 1998; DfEE 1999; OfSTED and HMI 466/2002). Community-based Study Support has a long established history of serving children from minority ethnic groups in inner-cities, targeting areas of socio-economic deprivation, as is its national policy remit. This is reflected in its historical development. Some of the first community-based support centres began by benefiting Bangladeshi, Chinese, Vietnamese and African-Caribbean children in inner-city locations such as Tower Hamlets, Bradford and Liverpool (MacBeath et al 1996:16;18). Study Support for minority ethnic children has had a positive impact upon academic attainment amongst students (DfES 2004b; Kirwan 2002:5;9;11; OfSTED and HMI 235/2001:22; OfSTED 1999:32;125; MORI RB591/2004:1; DfEE 012/2000:12). Indeed, the guidelines for Study Support assessment provided by the DfES have consistently developed, over the years an established and robust framework to monitor the impact upon student examination performance (MacBeath et al 2001; DfEE 1998; DfEE 1999; DfES 2004a; MORI RB591/2004).

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[1] Yoruba proverb from Nigerian oral history (Gbadamosi and Beier1968: 44-46). From Tynan 2002 Paper Presented at EUROFOR: Forum on Ethnic Conflict and Education, Burg Schlaining Peace Centre, Vienna, Austria, April 2002.

But what of assessment in community-based Study Support that is specifically for the purpose of monitoring the outcomes of that other policy objective of this provision: fostering social cohesion in ethnically and religiously diverse inner-city communities, in order to help young people live and work together in a culturally diverse Britain? Recent policy documentation has given the concepts of inclusion, combating racism, social cohesion and fostering positive mutual understanding and respect amongst children from different ethnic and religious backgrounds a central place in policy objectives for state education. This policy direction has been reinforced within a legislative framework (OfSTED and Audit Commission 16/2002; DfES 2004; CRE 2000;RRAA 2000; OfSTED and Audit Commission 42/2002; Cantle et al 2001). These comprise what I term the intercultural objectives of state education policy. But how does this conceptual policy objective translate in practice, in the context of Study Support serving ethnically and religiously diverse inner-city communities? What precisely might be the intercultural outcomes of this educational policy and provision in practice? How is it assessed as being effective and successful? Amidst the studies commissioned by government in this policy and provision, this question has not yet been the investigation focus. Without the clarity and precision afforded by the creation of a formal, purpose built assessment model, which is designed for this provision, and grounded within its precise organizational structure, remit and operational context, government can only assume the intercultural outcomes of this policy. Further, established in the historical analysis in Section (II) of this research, without the creation of a purpose built model with which to monitor the intercultural outcomes, there remains an overt imbalance in the assessment of this policy. Namely, whilst the academic outcomes of this policy are assessed rigorously, the intercultural outcomes remain unaddressed and unmonitored by government. Why has this imbalance and intercultural-shaped gap in the assessment of this policy arisen? And how can a purpose built assessment model with which Study Support can monitor these precise outcomes be created and constructed?

Sections (I) and (II) Background and Historical Analysis

In response to these questions, the background and historical analysis sections explicate how, why and which ideologies and objectives have come to occupy a position of power and influence in government policy, and shaped the methods used in national frameworks of assessment, whilst in comparison other concerns remain marginalised.

The historical analysis reveals this is not a random process. More accurately developments in policy are shaped explicitly by those ideologies that come to occupy a central influence in government policy at any one time (Freire 1970:52-67; Mortimore 1995:28:29; Barber 1997:47-50; Tomlinson 1993: 164-167; Russell 1979:201-205; Ball 1994). The gap located in assessment in this research cannot be said therefore to have occurred randomly, nor as a result of contemporary policy alone, but is the corollary of the ideologies that have historically come to occupy influence in consecutive government thinking over decades.

Established in Chapter 1, in Section (I) is that Study Support for minority ethnic students is not a new phenomenon in 21st century Britain, but is the corollary of a cycle of provision that began in the immediate Post World War II era. Why then is there still a need for Study Support to target minority ethnic groups in Britain's inner-city communities? In response to this question, Chapters 2 and 3 in Section (II) reveal a dichotomy. On the one hand, stemming from the post World War II era, consecutive government policies have instigated community-based learning support for minority ethnic students in inner-cities. However, on the other hand, this has not been accompanied by consistent and rigorous practical monitoring to assess outcomes in practice in policy provision. Discussed in Section (II), this inconsistency has not been evidenced in other areas of assessment such as academic attainment. Rather the assessment of the latter has proliferated greatly. How has this imbalance occurred historically? Which ideologies have come to occupy central positions of power and influence that have shaped the ways in which educational provisions are assessed in national government policy frameworks, that has lead to this deficit in Study Support? How and why have these ideologies worked to highlight the assessment of academic outcomes of this policy, whilst placing intercultural outcomes in the shadows in Study Support targeting minority ethnic youth? Section (II) investigates the history of ideas that came to shape and influence what is now valued in assessments and what is not. Section (II) details how for decades, stemming from the post World War II era, increasingly, whilst factors arising from socio-political circumstance and educational concern, merited the need for a national policy of Study Support to arise serving minority ethnic youth, and both the socio-cultural as well as academic outcomes to be monitored, tunnel vision in assessment occurred. The dominant government focus remained upon monitoring only the academic outcome of this policy and provision, leaving a gap in assessment that remains unaddressed.

In developing a new, purpose built model of assessment for intercultural outcomes in 21st Century community-based Study Support, there is a practical and intellectual rationale underpinning the historical analysis in Section (II). Namely, the new model contributed by this research does not replicate the past, but is informed by it. The historical analysis reveals the gaps in thinking, that the influence of dominant ideologies, that have shaped assessment, have left in Study Support serving ethnically diverse communities of youth in Britain's inner-cities. From this informed standpoint and foundation, an innovative and purpose built model for this policy and provision is then able to be constructed and contributed.

Section (III) the Empirical Study

A key gap identified in the historical analysis (Section II) is that academic outcomes such as examination performance in Study Support for minority ethnic children comprise tangible results, and thus comprise easily and readily measurable data for assessment. Contrarily, concepts of cultural diversity and what comprises intercultural outcomes remain intangible, without a purpose built model to assess them, which is grounded within and therefore understands the intrinsic factors inherent in Study Support policy, organizational structure and its operational context. The first practical and intellectual step in the construction of a new purpose built model was therefore to identify and map out precisely what intercultural outcomes mean within the operational and policy context of community-based Study Support serving minority ethnic youth. The empirical study in Section (III) contributes an investigation which has never hitherto been done before in this policy and provision. Established best practice in the creation of a new purpose built model for an organization, and it precise policy context, is a long term and in depth study. The empirical study (Section III) was thus the practical and logical pre-requisite in order to gain the precision data with which to establish the elements and processes with which to construct a new purpose built assessment model for this policy area and provision (Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Drucker 1999; 2000; Clegg and Birch 1998; Stake 1978; Stake 1994; Denzin and Lincoln 1994). What this means in practice is that the empirical study was able to render transparent, for the first time, in this policy area, the precise ways in which intercultural outcomes manifest themselves amongst students, and of equal import, detail the processes in practice that lead to these outcomes from within the intrinsic organizational factors and operational context of this national policy and provision. The

empirical study was undertaken in a community-based Study Support centre serving an ethnically and religiously diverse inner-city, in North West England. This is a region which at the juncture of the 20th and 21st Centuries has witnessed a history of social unrest amongst different sectors of the youth community, emanating specifically in recent years, clashes between Muslim and non-Muslim youth (Clarke 2001; Ouseley 2001; Cantle 2001; Denham et al 2001).

Section (IV) Critical Analysis of CIMA's Design and Distinct Levels of Contribution

In recent years the riots which have occurred amongst youth in a number of Britain's inner-cities, in the North West England in Burnley, Oldham and Bradford have formed the focus of numerous government reports, concerned with social cohesion. Investigations revealed that whilst socio-economic deprivation may have played a part, in forming a barrier to social cohesion, such riots are increasingly grounded in sectarian patterns forming between youth along religious grounds; in particular government reports are concerned with clashes between Muslim and non-Muslim youth in key cities in the Northern region of Britain (Cantle et al 2001; Denham et al 2001). Study Support, has a long history of serving diverse and minority ethnic communities, often in areas where there is socio-economic deprivation, and the threat of social exclusion is present. Study Support for minority ethnic students therefore operates at the grass roots community level of current policy and legislative attempts to foster mutual understanding and respect amongst youth, in ethnically and religiously diverse communities. Community-based Study Support, it must be remembered, comprises a learning opportunity that operates outside of school hours and in community centres in the city which students choose to attend and meet voluntarily, as opposed to being placed together within a compulsory school setting. Where young people come together like this voluntarily, valuable lessons may be learned about cultural diversity amongst youth and how culturally intelligent frameworks for fostering respect and understanding can be mapped out, shared, learned and built upon amidst ethnically and religiously diverse communities. In Section (IV), grounded in, and informed conjointly by both the historical analysis (Section II) and the empirical study (Section III), this research contributes the culturally intelligent, and of equal import, purpose built assessment model designed for community-based Study Support policy; CIMA, or Culturally Intelligent Monitoring and Assessment. CIMA affords government, for the first time, a purpose built assessment model designed for Study Support serving ethnically and

religiously diverse youth, with which to now monitor, formally and consistently, the intercultural outcomes of this national policy provision. The strength of CIMA's contribution as specifically a culturally intelligent and purpose built model for Study Support is analysed in Chapter 6, in contrast with those assessment models imported into, and grafted onto this provision, discussed in the historical analysis (Section II), whose origins are not grounded in this specific policy, organizational structure and remit. Further, in readiness for implementation by government, Chapter 6 addresses the practical considerations that are contiguous with the application of CIMA. Chapter 7, which concludes the PhD thesis, details each of the distinctive levels of contribution CIMA affords government in being a new culturally intelligent and purpose built model designed for the 21st Century context in which Study Support policy and provision operates.

Grounded in and informed by the challenges identified in both the historical analysis and the empirical study, Chapter 7 concludes that CIMA contributes a new model that comes with a warning to government. Namely, government has a choice. It can either persist in its adherence to religiosity in assessment models, via continuing to use, non-specialist methods imported into and grafted onto Study Support from economics and commerce and other areas of education; which are thus not purpose built for the challenges faced by 21st Century Study Support. Or it can now operate with the clarity and precision afforded a new purpose built model for this policy and provision. Grounded in the conjoined factors identified in the historical analysis and the empirical study, Chapter 7 concludes that amidst the evidenced challenges of change at work in the communities served by Study Support, where government continues to do the same assessments and expect a different result in this policy, it can only serve to place both communities and youth at risk at the dawn of the 21st Century. Alternatively, with the implementation of CIMA, government has an opportunity now to move forward with this area of policy, from new vantage point of a specifically culturally intelligent and purpose built assessment model with which to do so.

Why the Need for a Purpose Built Assessment Model for Intercultural Outcomes in Study Support National Policy and Provision Now?

As I began the empirical research in North West England in 2001, clashes amongst youth in the region, followed by the Islamic Fundamentalist attacks on the Twin Towers

in New York, on September 11th in 2001 and the Iraq war comprised the socio-political context in which Study Support serving ethnically and religiously diverse youth operated. As I was writing the final chapter of the thesis in the summer of 2005, the Islamic Fundamentalist suicide attacks on the London underground unfolded, killing and maiming British citizens on July 7th. Taken together these tragic events unfortunately underscore the challenge that faces government in achieving its policy objective in community-based Study Support to promote social cohesion amongst ethnically and religiously diverse youth in Britain's inner-cities. Whilst government policy and provision is evident in the statements and documents dedicated to its objectives in this regard, as the Yoruba proverb accurately indicated at the beginning of this introduction to the PhD thesis, words form only a start; they are not in themselves enough to gauge tangible results on the ground. Without CIMA, the lack of a purpose built, formal assessment model for Study Support serving ethnically and religiously diverse communities of youth in our British cities leaves government operating blind as to the detail of what is happening on the ground in this provision. Amidst the 21st Century context that Study Support serving ethnically and religiously diverse communities of inner-city youth now operates, it is neither rational nor sufficient for government to operate off assumptions, as opposed to detailed cultural intelligence that is afforded by CIMA. Further, operating off assumptions as opposed to the data that is afforded CIMA as a purpose built and formal assessment model, serves only to perpetuate the reductive historical cycle of ignorance in assessment in this national policy and provision, identified in the historical analysis. CIMA fills a gap in the assessment of this policy and provision that has persisted for decades. At both the intellectual and practical level it now provides government with a tangible vehicle with which to assess the intercultural outcomes of Study Support serving ethnically and religiously diverse inner-city communities of youth. Identified by this research is that amidst the converging factors which impact this policy and provision in the 21st Century, the implementation of CIMA by government is both merited and wise.

Section I: Background

Summary

Chapter 1 Section (I) sets out how community-based Study Support to target minority ethnic students, has arisen historically in the 20th Century, within the context of consecutive government approaches to the issue of cultural diversity amongst youth in state education, beginning with the post World War II era and ending with contemporary policy. Chapter 1 explicates how policies have been inconsistent in this regard. Contiguous with inconsistent policies, government failed to develop a purpose built, formal model of assessment for either the intercultural outcomes of Study Support national policy, or its precursors. An unconstructive historical cycle has ensued. The corollary of which is a gap in the assessment of Study Support national policy which extends over decades, and which is rooted in the systemic inadequacies of the assessment frameworks levied at this policy at the dawn of the 21st Century.

Chapter 1: Study Support for Minority Ethnic Children in the 21st Century

Introduction

"Raising the achievement of minority ethnic children has historically been viewed as a marginalised issue. To reverse this trend and make a sustainable difference, LEAs and schools need to embed this issue within their school improvement systems." (DFES 0283/2004:1).

This acknowledgement by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) is indicative that until only recently, the academic attainment of ethnic minority children has not been a focus of assessment in education policy. Toward that end the intention now is to make sure that this position is reversed (DfES 0283/2004; DfES 0183/2003; DfES 2004; DfEE 1999a; DfEE 0012/2000; OfSTED and Audit Commission 16/2002; DfES 2004c; DfEE 0012/2000:12; DfES 2004b:4; OfSTED 1999; OfSTED and HMI 235/2001:22).

Placing academic attainment for minority ethnic children at the centre of school planning is a concrete start. However, within the context of the analysis set out in this chapter, it is argued that academic attainment in itself is only one half of the gap that has been created. The path that leads to this gap in ethnic minority education has its origins not only in evidence of neglect, but also in a lack of cultural knowledge within consecutive governments. To avoid repetition of this in the present, the chapter maintains that a model for assessing the intercultural, as well as academic outcomes is merited within the context of Study Support for minority ethnic children.

Cultural diversity is not new in 20th and 21st Century Britain

Demographically Britain has been an ethnically diverse region for thousands of years. Increased ethnic diversity continues to characterise communities (DfES 0183/2003: 6). Archaeological remains of Roman encampments have revealed that people of African heritage were part of the cultural tapestry that is British ancient history (Fryer 1984). Key events have been catalysts to increase ethnic diversity in Britain. The Transatlantic Slave Trade, the advent of the British Raj in South Asia, World Wars I and II and the subsequent demise of what was once the Colonial 'British Empire', have all

contributed to the demographic creation of British society (Figueroa 1999:124-126). And yet, despite this rich history of cultural diversity in Britain, until very recently, this richness was not matched by a history of consecutive government concern with this issue (ibid). Instead, cultural and ethnic diversity in Britain remained largely ignored by governments until the mid-20th Century (Troyna 1995:63).

It was to be in the post World War II period, that ethnic diversity in Britain gradually began to emerge as a prominent issue in government (Troyna 1995:65; Figueroa 1999:128; 129). But that prominence could not be said to equate always to a positive concern for the well-being of ethnic minorities in Britain at that time. Rather, the mid-20th Century political stance in Britain was infused by a racist dialectic which manifested itself in the "rivers of blood" speech made by the then Conservative member of parliament, Enoch Powell (Figueroa 1999:125-136; Rose et al 1969; Gillborn and Gipps 1996). The metaphor he used was not his own creation. In the 9th Century C.E. it had been used by the Bishop of Winchester (St.Swithun) to describe the battle which ensued in the diocese of Ockley between Anglo-Saxons and Danish invaders (Bussby 1997:4). Implicit in Powell's choice of metaphor was that ethnic diversity was not something to be celebrated and embraced by British society. More accurately it was something to be fought and reversed. Within this ideology, immigrants would need to be repatriated to their country of origin and other immigrants prevented from entering the country (Rose et al 1969). This approach culminated in the Commonwealth Immigrant's Act of 1968. This was an act which was set up specifically to prevent Asian heritage people from Kenya, who possessed British Passports, from entering Britain (Figueroa 1999:128; Rose et al 1969:619).

For those immigrants who remained in Britain at this time, and for whom English was a second language, it was recommended that they be transported to language learning centres, separate from other learning facilities within their communities (Figueroa 1999; 128; Troyna 1995:68). The children of this targeted group were bussed from their local schools to learning centres where they received special language education outside of their local school; a process that by definition segregated black and white children and thus did little to tackle racism in children's local communities (Troyna 1995:68). Today Study Support targeting minority ethnic children in socio-economically deprived inner-city centres is grounded in students' individual voluntary attendance, outside school hours at weekends and evening, in provision operating in community centres they

choose to attend, as opposed to students being instructed to attend and being bussed in by schools. Nevertheless, half a century has passed and half a decade into a new century there is still a need to target ethnic minority children for provision outside school hours in designated inner-city community centres. So how has state education arrived at this point? And why is there still a need for this targeted out of school Study Support for minority ethnic youth?

'Learning in Terror': the embedded problem of institutionalised racism

During the latter three decades of the 20th Century, the racist discourse that had punctuated political debate in the post-war era did not remain unchallenged. Laws to discourage racial discrimination were effected in 1965, 1968, and 1976, and anti-racist political discourse began to develop in Britain (Figueroa 1999; Troyna 1995). From the 1970s to the mid 1980s "antiracist policy" and "multicultural society" appeared in British political debate. Nevertheless, xenophobic attitudes of the immediate post-war era had left their mark in the socio-cultural fabric of Britain. The overt discourse of British politics and society during the 1970s to 1980s was punctuated with terms of political correctness. Covertly, institutionalised racism, a much more subtle, but nevertheless powerful form of racism, was embedded in the social structures of British society (Hardy and Vieler-Porter 1992:101). From 1985-1987 the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) carried out an enquiry into education which emerged as the report entitled 'Learning in Terror'. The report concluded that from nursery to higher education, racism was rampant in Britain's education system (CRE 1988).

Institutionalised racism, because it operates at a covert and subtle level, cannot be said to be eradicated from education and other public institutions today (Gillborn 2002; OfSTED 16/2002:16: 36; 37). It manifests itself in processes and attitudes that are entwined within the traditions and cultures of individuals and organisations. Within such contexts ethnic minority groups can be excluded from key social structures within those organisations (Gillborn 2002). To begin to combat and eradicate such a complex form of racism that doesn't display itself in crass aggression, but resides in the minds and discreet actions of its perpetrators, what was required in the latter half of the 20th century, and called for by the CRE Report Learning in Terror (1988:19) was a rigour and determination in government policy to stamp it out. This process was not evidenced in practice. Indeed, it was to be at the end of the 20th Century, after the tragic racist

murder of the school boy Stephen Lawrence and the Macpherson report (1999) prompted by it, that the extent of institutionalised racism was brought to the fore in politics. In 2000 an amendment to the 1976 Race Relations Act was made. Effectively section 71 of the 1976 Race Relations Act was replaced by the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (RR(A)A 2000). Twelve years after the recommendation of the CRE (1988) then, the amendment now placed a 'general duty' that good race relations be promoted and discrimination eliminated in organisations in their every day practice. This included public bodies such as schools and LEAs. The amendment went beyond guidance to give statutory force to the tackling of institutionalised racism. In other words this is not now an option for LEAS and/or schools; if they do not comply they can be pressured to do so (CRE 2000).

Riots in Brixton in 1981 and the warnings of the 1982 Scarman Report

In 1981 more violent forms of overt racism came to the fore amongst youth in the ethnically diverse communities of Brixton, Southall, Toxteth in Merseyside, Moss Side in Manchester, Birmingham, Handsworth, Wolverhampton and Smethwick in the West Midlands. An enquiry set up and chaired by Lord Scarman set out to ascertain the causes of the riots. Socio-economic deprivation was not found to be the overwhelming common cause of unrest, even though this formed some of the problems youths were struggling with in these areas. More precisely Scarman (1982) found that the main cause of the riots resided in racism and a lack of cultural understanding between groups that had lead to the violent outbursts. Scarman warned:

"To ignore these factors is to put the nation in peril" (Scarman 1982:15)

Scarman (1982:15) concluded that the education system was not addressing these factors that had lead to the riots:

"The education system has not adjusted itself satisfactorily to their needs"

A year before the Scarman report, in the year of the riots themselves, the Rampton Report (1981) had pointed to the need to promote intercultural understanding amongst children. The report indicated that the Department for Education and Science (DES) had nothing formulated in terms of how it was going to address cultural diversity in Britain.

In the words of the DES quoted in the Rampton report, the DES viewed ethnic diversity as a "handicap" akin to children with special educational needs (Rampton 1981:70-73). This insensitive lumping together by the DES of individual children's needs under the negative term "handicap" presented not only a narrow view of children and their potential, but also, danced, whether intentionally or unintentionally, dangerously near the edges of discrimination against these children.

Between racism and a lack of Cultural Intelligence

Racism, in all its forms, has long been known to affect academic attainment of children from minority ethnic groups (Rampton 1981: 70-73; Klein 1993:3; Swann Report 1985; Gillborn 1990: DfES 0283/2004). Within the history of the British state education system, minority ethnic children were not initially always welcomed as equals in terms of cultural heritage or academic potential, they were considered to come from more 'primitive societies' (Klein 1993:3-33). When the first groups of immigrant children entered British schools their aspirations were high: they wanted to enter the professions and become lawyers and teachers. But such aspirations were found to be either largely ignored or openly ridiculed amongst teachers at that time, and the unskilled areas of employment deemed more suitable destinations (Klein 1993:3; Swan DES 1985). At the dawn of the 21st Century two government reports cited low teacher aspiration as once again linked with low academic achievement amongst ethnic minority children (DfEE 0012/2000:9; OfSTED 1999).

The Swann Report had also identified a lack of mutual respect and understanding amongst different cultural groups within state schools as a factor that lead to underachievement amongst minority ethnic students (DES 1985:85-87). The legal framework now set into motion by the RR(A)A (2000) as discussed earlier, gives the fight against racism at all levels in schools statutory weight. However, to assume that policy is automatically accepted or agreed with by schools and their members is naïve (Ball 1994a:177; Gillborn 1995:94;95; Allcott 1995:169-181). For example, there are those people in education who do not consider themselves racist at all and yet, unintentionally, proceed to offend children from minority ethnic backgrounds. This is what the Macpherson Report (1999) defined as *'unwitting'* racism; that is racism that arises out of good intentioned but a culturally ignorant disposition. This unwitting

racism has helped to fuel exclusion and discrimination for minority ethnic groups (Macpherson 1999:Ch. 6:6.4; 6.17; 6.34; OFSTED and HMI 235/2001:36).

Unwitting racism emerges then from a combination of factors. A person can assume they are doing the right thing, but assuming wrongly. They may however not realise this and continue their actions. They thus lack precise cultural knowledge to inform their judgement. In other words, unwitting racism cannot be said to be borne of a conscious intent to be racist, as much as it operates in ignorant bliss. In such instances the symptom of racist outcomes can be treated at the root cause by educating for cultural diversity. The need for cultural training is reflected in recent reports that point to a lack of confidence amongst teachers in how to meet the needs of diversity in their classrooms (DfES 0183/2003:7; Cline et al 2002). Toward this end the National College for School Leadership is developing training to enlighten school leaders about meeting the needs of cultural diversity and ethnic minority children. From 2004, head teachers will be required to gain the National Qualification for Headship with specific modules targeted at cultural diversity and promoting positive race relations (DfES 0183/2003:2.3).

Implicit within the above government strategy is that combating racism is only one half of a cultural journey for educators. In building bridges of understanding and respect amongst people from different cultural backgrounds, which is the broader policy objective in state education, learning to learn about cultural diversity to foster what I have termed better *'cultural intelligence'* is what logically lies ahead [1]. Learning about culture is to grapple with the complexities that lie *beneath* symptoms such as exclusion and attainment, to engage with the origin of racism: a socio-historical construct (Said 1978). At the end of the 20th Century and dawn of the 21st Century, beginning to fill this cultural gap left by the history of education in this chapter comprises a formidable challenge, not just for children, but for state education itself. Within the specific context of Study Support for minority ethnic children, this begs a number of questions to be answered: to what extent and in what ways is there evidence that mutual understanding

[1]Tynan 2004: Bridging the Gap: Developing Culturally Intelligent Education Partnerships. Department for Trade and Industry (DTI), Kent Chamber of Commerce Lecture for Shanghai Mission Forum.

and respect is played out amongst children from different ethnic and religious backgrounds? How are cultural identities framed by students to define themselves and their peers from different ethnic and religious backgrounds? Within which precise frameworks of meanings and processes are cultural differences negotiated by the students? And what are the implications of this for developing specifically a purpose built culturally intelligent assessment model with which to monitor the intercultural outcomes in this precise policy context and organizational structure of Study Support serving minority ethnic youth? These questions are addressed in the empirical study later in this thesis. But first, if teachers and school leaders have been identified as needing training to prepare them for cultural diversity in schools, what of the content at their disposal to teach children: the National Curriculum?

The National Curriculum, Religious Education and Cultural Diversity

Today teachers are beginning to be given more flexibility in how they deliver the National Curriculum to meet the cultural diversity of students in their class (Blair and Blunkett in DfEE 1999b:1; DfES 0183/2003:9; DfES 0283/2004:10). However, given that teachers cannot be expected to be confident in exercising that flexibility in terms of cultural diversity, and have only recently been targeted for training, it may be some time before the fruits of this change can be realised by students. But the ability of the National Curriculum to serve cultural diversity amongst British students doesn't begin or end with teachers being given more flexibility and training. The content of the curriculum also determines its ability in this regard (Gundara 2000:70-71). When the National Curriculum was introduced with the 1988 Education Reform Act it had a number of opportunities to address cultural diversity from the reports that called for a need to address this, prompted by riots and disaffection amongst youth. The Swann report (1985) concluded that in order to avoid the 'bleak prospect' of balkanisation in Britain, knowledge about diversity in religious practices should be a central feature of education (Swann 1985:518; 519). A curriculum approach that engaged with different cultural and religious traditions in this way would help prepare students for: "life in today's multi-racial Britain, and ....to a greater understanding of diversity in the global community" (Swann 1985:518).

At the time of the Swann report, schools still operated under the 1944 Education Act provision that held religious education as the only foundation subject. However, with

the 1988 Education Act, this was no longer the case. Religious Education became a non-foundation subject within the new curriculum. This demotion of Religious Education, whilst other subjects were apportioned core status, sent a message, whether or not deliberately, to students and their families that religious education was not as important within the curriculum as other subjects. More than this, the way in which Religious Education was to be taught also implied a hierarchy between different religious traditions (Gundara 1993). There was to be a focus upon Christianity in the main in Religious Education, with other religious traditions attended to afterward. This hierarchy was reflected in the changes to the 1944 Education Act obligation for schools to enact daily worship. Christianity was to be the main religion for collective daily worship, with other religions taking what can only be described as second place (Gundara 1993). This suggested that the state education system valued some religions more than others, and for those ethnic groups who may not be Christians, but valued their own faith, this sent an insensitive and negative message (Gundara 1993; Williams 1989 in Pumfrey 1993:43; Verma 1993:19). At the same time, the predicament of Religious Education and collective worship in schools under the ERA 1988, did nothing to redress the gap in religious knowledge that Swann (1985:518;519) had recommended as a key step to alleviate racism amongst children.

Citizenship introduced in 2000 and which was made a compulsory subject from September 2002, has provided some space to learn respect for cultural and religious difference in the National Curriculum (Moon 2001:103; Cantle 2001:32). But it is only a space, in that Citizenship does not focus exclusively upon religious and cultural knowledge to foster mutual respect and understanding amongst religious and cultural groups. Citizenship, as its subject name indicates, works toward a much broader remit including (but not limited to): individual rights and responsibilities, the role of media in society including the internet, criminal and civil justice, developing enquiry skills, and understanding economics (Moon 2001:102-104). Citizenship therefore comes as an ambitious teaching package in its breadth. Given that cultural training has only just begun to be implemented for educators and school leaders, the extent to which a space in the wider remit of Citizenship, can offer the depth and detail of understanding in religious diversity that Swann (1985) advocated is uncertain. It is still early days yet.

Beyond its treatment of religious knowledge, the 1988 ERA set out a National Curriculum that had less to do with embracing cultural diversity, than with a body of

content that reflected a Eurocentric history and monocultural state (Hardy and Vieler-Porter 1992:19; Ball 1994:104; 105). Today, as suggested earlier, New Labour has begun to look at the limitations this puts on teacher flexibility to meet the needs of ethnic minority and all groups of children. They have also gone another step further. All faith groups, and not just Christian denominations, are now invited by LEAs to develop denominational state schools (OfSTED and Audit Commission 16/2002). This may help raise attainment amongst ethnic groups who can attend schools that share their religious beliefs, and where they are thus less likely to encounter barriers to learning presented by racism, and are able to work and mix with children from their own religious background.

Revisiting old ideas in new contexts? Denominational schools and inclusion

In Britain it was in the 1840s that the first community education, in the form of local village schools was formally initiated under the patronage of the Anglican Church (McClelland 1988). Contiguous with this came the development of business patronage to community schools (Handy 1986). That is not to say that the categories of business and Church patronage for such education were always distinctive; they were not. In the latter 19th and early 20th Century period of England, it was not unusual that a community's Church school had financial support from a local business with a particular religious sympathy (Weber 1930).

Religious patronage for education was not confined to the Protestant Churches; during the 19th and 20th Century Roman Catholic Churches also formed their own parish schools. This development followed a gradual process that had begun in the Churches of Britain as far back as the 15th Century (Lawson and Silver 1973:415-466).Up until the mid-20th Century, the financial strength of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Church was solid. By the latter half of the 20th Century schools that historically had been financed by Church funds were now left with a choice in Britain. They could become 'Voluntary Aided', which meant that they received some finance from the state to top up their denominational funding. Or, they could become independent of the state, securing their funds from a mixture of fee-paying education, and patronage as before (Francis and Thatcher 1990).

Since the state began to fund Church affiliated schools, a policy dilemma has prevailed amongst them. Denominational schools must strive to fulfil religious doctrine whilst also implementing DfES state policy so that they may retain state funding. On the one hand the schools' religious affiliation dictates that they should be delivering a distinctively Christian education (Grace 1995). On the other hand, they must comply with DfES national policy to embrace cultural diversity and inclusive education (ibid). In straddling this dilemma, whatever else they may have achieved, Christian schools have only been able to offer, at best, a conditional inclusion of those groups outside of their religious doctrine (Grace 1995). Put another way: children of all denominations are welcome, as long as they can demonstrate that they can conform to a Christian doctrine (Halstead and Khan-Cheema 1990; Skinner 1993; Almond 1988).

In response to the suggestion that denominational schools may therefore be operating a sectarian system, Roman Catholic and Protestant authorities set up committees to address and monitor this issue within their state schools (O'Keefe and O'Keefe 1996). A national study of head teachers in Christian secondary schools found that this issue was a source of angst amongst them. Head teachers in the study were united in the view that their schools continued to reflect a monocultural, as opposed to a multicultural, membership (Grace 1995). For those ethnic groups who had other religious ideals and values, church education was not an attractive option. If it also happened that the most attractive school in their region in academic terms was Christian it narrowed choice for children of other faith or non-faith families. Enabling all faith groups to patronize, and build partnerships to create the schools of their choice does indeed remedy this limitation that church schools have historically placed on ethnic minority groups. However, at the same time it doesn't fill that ideological gap left by the history of Christian state schools in terms of the dilemma concerning inclusion or integration. I am not suggesting here that all Christian state schools over the centuries have purposely worked to exclude groups, and have not been active in trying to promote mutual understanding and respect for cultural diversity. Rather, in the absence of a 19th and 20th century formal assessment model to monitor the precise intercultural outcomes that occurred from Church schools, and the angst that head teachers of such schools have experienced in meeting cultural diversity, the nature of the precise impact on ethnically diverse communities is uncertain.

Recent policy documentation for all schools sets out guidance on developing socially cohesive communities within and amongst schools, and includes developing dialogue between different ethnic groups, which is reinforced within the legal framework of the RR(A)A 2000 set out earlier (DfES 2004). Recent OfSTED and Audit Commission Inspection guidance places a caveat on the development of faith schools in Local Education Authorities. Faith schools are welcome where there is a 'clear agreement' that their inclusion will add to diversity in provision, and where they are ready to work with both other faith and non-denominational schools (OfSTED and Audit Commission 16/2002). However, the point at which dialogue between schools begins to be effective in promoting positive intercultural understanding and respect amongst community groups, is primarily determined by the basis of the cultural knowledge upon which it is founded. The evidence in this chapter points to the not insubstantial chasm in cultural knowledge that is only very recently beginning to be addressed amongst leaders and staff in schools. Old stereotypes, misinformation, institutionalised racism, unwitting racism, current national and international political events cited at the beginning of this thesis, all combine to render the task complex.

At the same time, no matter how effective future dialogue may be, this cannot escape the historical fact played out by Christian schools. Denominational schools are by their nature culturally exclusive, because in the end they are obliged to favour their specific religious doctrine that may or may not be attractive to others. This is reinforced by the problems that patronage has presented for Church schools over history: they could not easily serve two paymasters. Their existence continues to straddle the awkward ideological position of trying to comply with national state policy on the one hand, while remaining true to their religious doctrine on the other.[2]

In the meantime the children who attend denominational schools, as indicated earlier may excel academically. When, how and to what extent their school experience will cultivate a respect for cultural diversity and promote positive intercultural outcomes amongst students in the communities they serve remains less clear. The development of

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[2] In the context of public/private funding partnerships that extend to include plans for all education provision, including study support, there are further implications for assessing intercultural outcomes; these are discussed in Chapter 3.

assessment models to monitor intercultural, as well as academic outcomes therefore becomes important here for two reasons. First, this can assist education providers to track the outcomes. Second, and of equal importance, it can help assist in the development of training for cultural diversity that is currently in developmental stages. Although there is a history of inconsistency and neglect in the area of cultural diversity and ethnic minority children in consecutive governments, it would be a mistake to assume there have not been notable attempts to the contrary. What can Study Support for minority ethnic children at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st Century, learn from past attempts?

The Demise of Section 11 and Lessons Learned: If it isn't Assessed it Doesn't Exist

A key policy for the education of minority ethnic children that emerged out of the 1960s was the 1966 Local Government Act, of which Section 11 was aimed at children from the Commonwealth in Britain. What was unique about Section 11 is that it was the first funding of its kind in Britain to target academic help for ethnic minority children and combat racism (Pumfrey and Verma 1993). Its remit was aimed both at community development and education. This emphasis on community meant that it was funded by the Home Office (Neasham 1993:190). It made accessible funds for which LEAs could bid to provide community education projects for minority ethnic children where they deemed fit. In the first instance, Section 11 funding was to be used by LEAs to target English Language acquisition for minority ethnic children inside schools. During the latter 1970s and mid- 1980s this restricted use of Section 11 funding was broadened. It still maintained its concern with English Language learning for minority ethnic students within LEA schools. But in addition, LEAs were able to develop other projects to support learning with volunteer sectors of the community. These included for example religious groups, to provide educational support for minority ethnic groups outside of their formal school environment (Pumfrey and Verma 1993:220; Neasham 1993:190). Indeed, some of the earliest precursors to what is today called Study Support for minority ethnic children began with Section 11 funding (MacBeath et al 1996:16). Initially these and other community projects, and the Section 11 Funding that enabled them, were welcomed by minority ethnic groups (Pumfrey and Verma 1993:216).

However, in the decades that were to follow, Section 11 became a repository for criticism amongst, not only those it was targeted at, but also educationalists. A key

criticism was that LEAs were not obliged to apply for any of the Section 11 money to provide for minority ethnic children (Pumfrey and Verma 1993). So even if monies were available, it did not always reach the children, schools and communities that it should have. Second, no consistent and rigorous evidence was collated that could demonstrate whether or not the money was being put to best educational purpose. This was because no formal monitoring of LEA provision was carried out to see if it was meeting its objectives on this issue (Richardson and Wood 1999:68; Pumfrey and Verma 1993:216). In some instances, it was not even certain for what purposes LEAs were using Section 11 funds (Neasham 1993:194; 195).

It was not until the 1980s that the issue of monitoring the relationship between Section 11 funding and LEA provision was addressed by government. A series of enquiries during the 1980s to 1990s period found that whatever else it may have done, Section 11 Funding could not be said to have achieved its objectives (Pumfrey and Verma 1993:218). It was eventually abolished and replaced by the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) in 1999. The EMAG remit was to focus upon raising attainment for minority ethnic children in schools and helping students whose first language was not English (DfES 0183/2003:4.5). Monitoring the outcomes of EMAG in this respect is consistent and systematic (DfES 0183/2003; DfES 0283/2004). A rigorous system of pinpointing underachievement is presented with the Pupil Level Annual School Census (PLASC). For the first time in 2002 via PLASC it was possible to gauge the academic performance nationally of pupils within schools from different backgrounds (DfES 0183/2003:1:2). This helped minority ethnic students by dispelling stereotypes about ethnic minority children and achievement also. Indeed, as well as pinpointing areas of underachievement, it demonstrated that children who may come under the label of 'ethnic minority' are not an homogenous whole.[3] For example, research has shown that African-Caribbean children at Key Stage 1 often perform *better* academically than other groups. But in later years their attainment slowly decreases. Such research indicates that academic ability has less to do with ethnic background and everything to do with the environment in which students learn (Gillborn and Gipps 1996; Gillborn and Mirza 2000; DfES 0183/2003).

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[3] Grounded within empirical study (Section III) and its findings, in Section (IV) I question the extent to which the term 'ethnic minority' is useful in developing culturally intelligent assessment models for intercultural outcomes; given that it is a term which glosses over the spectrum of ethnic and religious diversity in student cultural identities within Study Support policy provision.

At the end of its 33 years, what were the intercultural outcomes of provision for ethnic minority groups within the communities targeted under Section 11? How successful was policy in the 1966 Local Government Act to help combat racism? We will never really know the answer to these questions. This is because as indicated earlier, a key reason that Section 11 funding was abolished was that between its inception in 1966 and its demise in 1999, the outcomes of Section 11 were neither formally nor consistently assessed. The extent to which it was successful in intercultural terms is marred by uncertainty and a lack of data. In the absence of a formal model of assessment to capture, in a rigorous and consistent way, any good practice that may have existed, an opportunity was therefore missed; an opportunity that may have afforded valuable insight, formed over three decades of experience, on cultural diversity in communities, and how to foster positive intercultural outcomes within them.

I am not suggesting here that the community provisions for minority ethnic children under Section 11 comprised a utopian era, in which excellent intercultural outcomes may have occurred. Rather, in view of this lost opportunity for an assessment model to develop in this historical regard in the context of Section 11, this research is cautioned to ensure that a similar unproductive cycle is prevented from recurring again today in the context of 21st Century Study Support for minority ethnic children. It is both ironical and tragic to reflect that perhaps with the missing knowledge left by that quarter century gap in intercultural assessment, the rationale and arguments that underpin this research may not have been in existence today.

What does 'Effective' Mean in Terms of Intercultural Outcomes in Study Support?

Throughout the policy documentation discussed here, the message is clear: cultivating respect and understanding for cultural diversity in education is linked to academic achievement for ethnic minority children (OfSTED and HMI 235/2001; DfES 0183/2003; DfES 0283/2004; OfSTED and Audit Commission 42/2002; OfSTED 1999). Schools for example, are regarded as *effective* in this context therefore only when they can demonstrate that they are working to combat racism and to foster mutual understanding and respect amongst staff and students (OfSTED and Audit Commission 42/2002). But how is this assessed as effective in practice? Alongside tracking academic attainment of students, schools and LEAs are advised to monitor policy effectiveness in this area by recording racial incidence (DfES 0283/2004; OfSTED and Audit

Commission 42/2002). As Bhavnani (2001) has pointed out this approach is used in the police service. It generates data that are able to inform local communities of the number of racist incidents, but not however, and of vital import, how or why they occurred. Without data to inform the latter two questions, the continued tracking of racial incidences therefore becomes an assessment exercise in itself. In organizational assessment terms, this in itself is the least effective kind of assessment, precisely because it becomes merely an exercise in assessment for assessment sake (Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Drucker 1999; 2000; Fullan 2001). Namely, this type of assessment is hollow; it provides neither illumination nor practical insight into understanding either the nature or cause of problems, so that a community can move forward positively from a newly informed standpoint.

Effectiveness within the context of intercultural outcomes of education policy therefore warrants an assessment model that thinks beyond approaches that focus upon tracking racial incidence and academic test scores. That education is grappling with this issue, but does not have the answers, is evident from the documentation. For example, in terms of inclusion and fostering mutual respect and understanding amongst students, schools are warned that this is a difficult area to gauge (OfSTED and HMI 235/2001Ofsted 2001: OfSTED and Audit Commission 42/2002). Whilst schools have a duty to report on the effectiveness of these issues, they are warned that "great sensitivity" must be exercised when trying to accumulate evidence (OfSTED and HMI 235/2001:14). In view of this schools are therefore advised to "do your best to discover" whether or not students are in fact tolerant about one another's beliefs, backgrounds and cultures (ibid). Similarly, LEA inspection guidance for effectiveness in this regard concludes that in terms of monitoring rates of improvement in combating racism there are no precise "benchmarks for this area of work" (OfSTED and Audit Commission 42/2002). Not having any benchmarks can be a good or bad thing dependent upon how this is viewed. On the one hand, no benchmarks equates with no ceiling for achievement. This contrasts positively with targets for academic attainment, where the highest score achievable for any student in a GCSE for example is A*. Alternatively with no benchmarks there are no implied minimums for effectiveness in intercultural outcomes either. But perhaps assessments of effectiveness and success in cultural terms are not so much about maximums or minimums, as learning how to think differently, or more precisely, what I term in this research, in a culturally intelligent way.

'Thinking outside the box'

Educational leaders are now encouraged to "think outside the box" to help them address cultural diversity and ethnic minority students in their structure and provision (DfES 0283/2004:9). It is in response to the spirit of this call, and for the purposes of developing a culturally intelligent way of thinking about assessment in Study Support policy and provision, that this research has been undertaken. Assessing levels of academic attainment is a positive step to ensure equal access to academic learning and success for ethnic minority children. However, a narrow focus on academic outcomes of Study Support provision which targets minority ethnic children does nothing to inform either scholarship or government policy with regard to the intercultural outcomes of provision. If the policy objective to foster mutual understanding and respect amongst students in centres located in ethnically and religiously diverse inner-city communities is to be deemed as effective in practice, as is the policy of raising academic attainment, then a purpose built model to enable that assessment to be carried out at the practical level is what is merited now. Toward that end, working within the specific context of Study Support for minority ethnic children, this research, via consecutive logical steps, maps out and identifies the key elements with which to construct a model to assess intercultural outcomes.

Conclusion

But such a model could not claim to think outside the box, nor contribute anything new, if it chooses not to learn from the past. The first step in the creation of a new model therefore is that it informed, as it is here, by the historical analysis in Section II. From this foundation, it is able to ascertain the nature of assessment frameworks that dominate in central government thinking and why we have arrived at the point we are now at, and what can be learned from this historical trajectory. From the discussion in this chapter two facts are evident. First, the continued need for Study Support to target minority ethnic students in the 21st Century stems from an era of government neglect in the assessment of this policy area. Second, this neglect began in the immediate post World Ward II era and then persisted over half a century. This neglect in assessment did not occur in a political vacuum. It took place in parallel with a history of change in approaches to education policy, in which the importation of ideas from outside of pedagogy itself were allowed to shape assessment frameworks and occupy a position of

central power and influence in government. If cultural diversity, ethnic minority children, and socio-cultural outcomes of policy did not occupy the power and focus of central government policy in assessment during this period in history, which ideologies and concerns *did* come to occupy a central place inside policy thinking? And how did those ideologies come to emphasise the assessment of some outcomes of policy, whilst overlooking others? And what impact did this have upon the development of a formal assessment model which could be used to monitor specifically the intercultural outcomes of Study Support for minority ethnic children? It is these questions which are addressed now in the historical analysis in Section (II).

Section II: Historical Analysis

Summary

Operating in parallel with the time period discussed in Section (I), which saw the emergence of Study Support to target minority ethnic children, the historical analysis in Section (II) begins with the immediate post World War II era and ends with contemporary government policy. Critically examined in Section (II) are those ideologies imported from outside of pedagogy which came to occupy a central position of power and influence in state education policy, and which shaped national assessment frameworks. Section (II) explicates how this period of ideological importation into pedagogy, worked to highlight a focus on academic outcomes, using methods from economics and Classical Management, which at the same time created a systemic gap in assessment. In the absence of a purpose built model, grounded within the organizational structure and operational context of 21st Century Study Support provision, with which to assess precisely the intercultural outcomes of this policy, this was a gap that rendered the intercultural outcomes of this policy in practice, unmonitored, marginalised and therefore unknown by government.

Chapter 2: 1950s - 1970s: Education, Economics and Assessing Efficiency

Introduction

Systems to assess outcomes are not unique to government. They form a common feature of both public sector and private enterprise. The system of monitoring outcomes adopted by an organization is rooted not in the outcomes themselves, but in the motives and ideologies that inform and underpin the values of an organization, at any given time (Drucker 1990:51; 81-85). "Monitoring" and "effectiveness" have become key words in the contemporary discourse on education (Richards 2001: 14-15; Mortimore 1995:1-26). But these concepts were not always prominent in public policy. For example, in Chapter 1 it was shown how the demise of Section 11 Funding for minority ethnic children's education was related to an absence of monitoring of this policy's effectiveness in the 1960s and 1970s.

So when did measuring the effectiveness of educational provision come to occupy a prominent position in contemporary public policy? How and why did this come to occur? What ideologies informed the shape and focus of assessments for effectiveness that were levelled at education? And what then are the implications of employing these methods to monitor the intercultural, as well as academic, outcomes of Study Support for minority ethnic children? It is these questions that dominate this and the following chapter.

In this chapter the immediate post-World War II era up until the 1970s forms the focus of analysis. Within the literature three developments emerge as key influences upon public policy in this era. These are in no order of importance: the demise of the British Colonial Empire, the 1970s' global recession, and the introduction of a Corporatist ideology into Britain's government of the public service sector (Ranson and Stewart 1994:12-13; Bourn 1979:26-32; Tomlinson 1994:149). Each of these is discussed consecutively below.

The Demise of the British Colonial Empire and the 1970s Global Recession.

The post World War II era witnessed a reduction in Britain's economic power, alongside the gradual collapse of the British Colonial Empire. Simultaneously, the

economies of America, and other developed countries, such as Japan, began to emerge as formidable competitors in the world's economic market (Begg, Fischer and Dornbusch 1987: 685). Britain faced a new world order in which its economic future was less certain than it had been prior to World Wars I and II.

Notwithstanding the demise of the Colonial Empire, in the immediate post-World War II era, rebuilding the infrastructure of Britain and its public services had been seen as a priority of government. Investing in the welfare state and pumping financial muscle into the public services became a priority of government. At the end of the 1960s the world economy started to slow down. In the 1970s a global recession began. This culminated in the 1973 Oil Crisis, and the recession deepened in Britain. In the new global economy Britain was not immune to this recession (Begg, Fischer and Dornbusch 1987:685).

It is usual government policy that in times of recession public expenditure has to be rethought or even reduced (Winkler 1977:26). The combination of Britain occupying a diminishing place in the world order in the 1950s, combined with a gradual move toward recession in the 1960s, acted as a catalyst for government to conduct a series of reports, concerning their overseas as well as domestic affairs. In short, the government was looking for ways to either generate or save money. It is the reports concerning central and local government that emerge from this period which form the focus of the discussion here. These reports were presented by their chairperson to government in the following chronological order: Lord Snow's Rede Lectures (1959) (which are referred to throughout for simplicity as the Snow Rede Lectures), Plowden (1961), Maud (1967), Fulton (1968), Senior (1969) and Baines (1972). Each of these reports is shown below to have had implications for how public services were to be organized, developed and eventually assessed for effectiveness over this period. Notwithstanding the time lapses between the reports, the themes within them overlap one another. Intentionally therefore, it is the ideological relationships between the reports, rather than the chronological order in which they occur, that forms the structural rationale for this chapter's discussion.

Snow Rede (1959): Government Should Learn from 'Management Science'

The Snow Rede lectures (1959) reported on research into how central and local government operated. The lectures concluded that whilst much money and human resource was expended, the way in which central and local government was organized did not do justice to this investment. The lectures attacked central and local government personnel as being at best "amateur" administrators who lacked 'scientific management' skills (Bourn 1979:6). The words scientific and management are significant here. Until the Snow Rede Lectures (1959) the idea of using 'scientific management' skills in central and local operations was an alien one to British government (Bourn 1979:6).

The distinction between administration and scientific management was key in the Snow Rede Lectures (1959), because it related specifically to the culture not only of central and local government personnel, but to the British education system itself at this time. Government personnel were traditionally drawn from the educated British classes (Snow Rede 1959; Bourn 1979:6). The Snow Rede Lectures (1959) argued that this had lead to a personnel within government strong in literary and administrative skill, but lacking any grounding in the science of management. Toward that end, the lectures concluded that Britain should emulate the scientific model of management that had become prominent in the United States (Snow Rede 1959; Bourn 1979:6).

Reflecting the entrepreneurial birth and character of its nation, America's universities were the first in the world to give both business and management science accredited status. A number of business management schools blossomed in America. (Sharfitz and Ott 2001:6-13). The Snow Rede Lectures (1959) pointed out that within these schools people were taught the "scientific" skills of management. What the lectures also pointed out was that Britain did not have any such management schools. This, argued Lord Snow, (1959) was a key area that needed to be remedied for future practice in British government. It was to be six years *after* the report that the first two British business schools were established in 1965: the Manchester Business School, and the London Graduate Business School, both of which were affiliated with their respective universities.

Implicit in the Snow Rede (1959) lectures was that if local and government personnel were trained in the science of management this would lead to a more efficient use of

public funds. This theme is echoed by two subsequent reports. Alongside the idea of management science, these reports introduced two further concepts to be considered by government: control of expenditure and economic knowledge.

But before that, one might ask: If the Snow Reed lectures of 1959 indicated that government should use management skills derived from American business schools to effect its duties to the public, why was this idea not acted upon immediately? In response to this question two factors are key. First, the management ideas that the Snow Rede (1959) lectures were suggesting to government had not evolved in Britain itself. They came from a country whose economic and social history was different from that of Britain. More than this, if the methods themselves had been applied to American business enterprise, why should they be successful if applied to Britain's public policy? Second, when the Snow Rede Lectures (1959) were delivered there wasn't a world recession, no economic disaster was looming on the political horizon, and therefore there was little motive for change within government or any need to curtail public spending. As is shown later in this chapter, this position was to change, and with it force a government rethink as to its priorities and strategy in the public sector.

The Reports of Plowden (1961) and Fulton (1968) and (1970)

The title of Lord Plowden's (1961) investigation into the public services left the reader clear as to its purpose. Explicit within *The Control of Public Expenditure* (Plowden 1961) was a caution to the government's management of the public services. The report asserted that within the interests of long-term planning and best use of financial resource in the public services, Britain needed to put in place a robust system of controlling public service spending. But if this was the message of the report, how this was to be done in practice remained uncertain. Two reports by Lord Fulton in 1968 and 1970 were to provide further clarification in this regard.

The Fulton report (1968) embraced a wider focus than that of Plowden's (1961) report. It was interested in how the Civil Service was organized. Consciously, or unconsciously, Fulton's (1968) recommendations, reiterated the arguments of Snow Rede (1959) and Plowden (1961). Fulton (1968) argued that government was administrating, as opposed to managing its finances. But Fulton's (1968:104) attack went further than the previous reports. Drawing from the Northcote-Trevelyan report of

1854, Fulton (1968) argued that the 1960s' government style of organization resembled the bureaucratic, departmentalised and hierarchical style of 19th Century Britain. Such a style, Fulton (1968:104) maintained, had cultivated government personnel who were nothing more than general administrators.

Colonialism, Paternalism and Hierarchical Administration

The Northcote-Trevelyan report, written in 1854, reflected a time when Britain's Colonial Empire was alive and well, that Fulton (1968) should have chosen to allude to this document is significant here on two counts. First, ruling an empire as opposed to the idea of managing public expenditure, was the focus of Britain's 19th Century Colonial government (Watson 1989;129; Mudimbe 1988:1). To rule people within the Colonial context is not the same as to include people in a democratic process. Colonial rule was characterised by a paternalistic style of administration whose hierarchy was open only to those with a command of the British language (Masolo 1994:178-179). Within this hierarchical, paternalistic administration, the voices and opinions of indigenous peoples at the grassroots were muted (Masolo 1994:178-179). Fulton (1968) does not make explicit these connotations via the inclusion of references to the Northcote-Trevelyan (1854) report. If Fulton (1968) had done so, the extent to which it can be said that the 1960s' British government was actively concerned with listening to the voices of its people is questionable. Indeed, it will be recalled from Section I of this thesis, that Section 11 funding for minority ethnic children had declined as a result of an apparent government 'oversight' that had endured throughout the 1960s and 1970s period. If Section 11 funding was operating within an administrative government system that had less to do with democratic process, and more to do with the values of a hierarchical Colonial-style approach, it becomes easier to understand, but not to condone, how this 'oversight' may have happened.

Whether or not Fulton (1968) was aware of the implications of his report set out above is not certain, because the question of public expenditure in relation to ethnic minority children does not feature in his report. What is certain is that Fulton called for an end to the bureaucratic administration that dominated government at that time (Bourn 1979:7). Reiterating the recommendations of Snow Rede (1959), Fulton called for a more scientific management approach in government, a restructuring of personnel organization, and clear objectives to be set out.

Fulton (1968;1970) also recommended that government personnel should learn about economics in order to understand better the financial and commercial world within which Britain operated. Finally, there was also to be a system of 'government accounting' introduced so that government could control its financial expenditure in the public services. By way of response, government began working on these recommendations by first restructuring central government personnel into fewer departments, with clearer objectives set out, and less hierarchy than had existed before (Bourn 1979:7).

The recommendations put forward by Snow Rede (1959), Plowden (1961), and Fulton (1968; 1970), united to present government with four basic strategies to consider: controlling financial expenditure, government departments working toward defined objectives, the use of scientific management methods, and developing increased economic knowledge amongst government personnel. Continuing, not contradicting the Snow Rede Lectures (1959), it will not have escaped the reader's attention that the strategies of these combined reports which span a decade, have their ideological origins, not in public sector administration precisely, but in the values and practices of imported management methods derived from private sector enterprise (Bourn 1979: 6-7; Stewart 1971:27). Notwithstanding the weight of these reports, there is no evidence to suggest that the government of this era was ready to adopt wholesale, a management perspective that had its origins in private enterprise, in the government of its public services. The question is why? The answer lies in the ideological values that underpinned government at that time (Ranson and Stewart 1994:12-13). The organization of government, as discussed earlier, may have been hierarchical, departmentalised, and paternalistic in its nature. But the government's ideological objective was in itself well-intentioned. This ideology was to provide a socially democratic state in which government provided for its population's needs via a comprehensive range of public services, from health to education. It is difficult to find political fault with such a well-intentioned ideology. Hence the political ideology itself was capable; it was only the government's organizational structures that attempted to make it a reality that appear to be at fault from the reports examined here (Ranson and Stewart 1994:12-13).

But to attempt to separate organizational ideology from the structures of its delivery is naïve. (Huczynski and Buchanan 1991:1991:369;371; Drucker 1999; 2000; Clegg and Birch 1998; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Tynan 2002). Without the structure to make the objective a reality in practice, neither the ideology of an organization, nor the values and objectives it promotes, are any more meaningful than the paper they are written on (Huczynski and Buchanan 1991:369-371). This prompts the question: was the organizational structure of the government administration promoting the ideology of a democratic state? In response to this question, as demonstrated earlier in this Chapter, the organizational structure that permeated government at this time, emulated a bureaucratic and paternalistic, hierarchical administration, reminiscent of Colonialism. Within the confines of this type of organizational structure, the individuals within it are either active government administrators, or passive public recipients. The lines of communication are open from administrator to recipient, but the converse is not encouraged by the structure. This structure at most stifles and at least restricts the public voice at the grassroots. The administrative structure itself therefore becomes both the sword and the shield upon which the ideology of the social democratic state stagnates. In maintaining administration as its focus, the structure simultaneously, and paradoxically, renders inert the contribution and voice of the people, who are in themselves key to the creation of the social democratic state. As 1970s' Britain entered a period of grave recession, a further report recognized the problems of the administrative structure in government, and presented an antidote: Corporatism.

Corporatism: Control, Cost and Centralized Government.

The ideology underpinning Corporatism, and its implications for the public sector manifested itself in a report chaired by M.A. Baines (1972) entitled: *The New Local Authorities, Management and Structures.* Within the report Corporatism is presented as the antithesis to the departmentalised, bureaucratic structures of the administrative model that it sought to replace. Whether it achieved this in practice is examined here.

Corporatist ideology set out to dismantle departmentalism and encouraged committees to be built into the organizational structure of local government services. Committees are central to the corporatist ideology. Via committees "the structure becomes directly

linked to the main needs, and objectives of the authority." (Bourn 1979:15). Put another way, where the bureaucratic and paternalistic approach it replaced had been concerned with the process of administration, Corporatist ideology was more interested in process and outcomes. The aim of the Corporatist model was to present a united government front to problem solving, in which public participation was to be encouraged, and hence the social ideal of democratic government upheld (Ranson and Stewart 1994:33-34; Bourn 1979:19). But how far did Corporatism effect this in practice?

Corporatism and the Problem with Committees

Committees certainly have a voice which is valued within the corporatist structure. But any member of the public who is outside of the immediate membership of those committees stands less of an opportunity to voice their opinions. Hence, committees can act as barriers to, or champions of, the voices of non-committee members within the wider public. Significantly within this structure, this choice rests with the Committee members themselves, rather than those people outside of its membership. Corporatism's committees had replaced the departmentalisation of the administrative model, but given the limits they presented to public inclusion, they did not ensure increased public participation in the process of government (Ranson and Stewart 1994:13).

'The Cuckoo in the Nest': LEAs Portrayed as the Greediest Consumer of Public Purse

Corporatism did not emulate the precise strategies recommended by the aforementioned reports of Snow Rede (1959), Plowden (1961) and Fulton (1969;1970), but it could not ignore their caution with regard to the control of public expenditure. The economic decline of Britain during the 1970s meant that there was to be no financial waste in corporatism. Corporatism emphasised the importance of a pragmatic and efficient approach to public spending (Ranson and Stewart 1994:13). What this meant in practice was that Corporatism set out a programme of rationalization; a process via which local authorities were restructured to reflect a more efficient use of public funds. Efficiency then within the Corporatist strategy meant that government must retain absolute control of its expenditure. To achieve this, financial expenditure was controlled via a centralized government bureaucracy that was dedicated to this sole objective (Ranson and Stewart 1994:13). Within corporatism then, the focus switched from that of administration, which had dominated the system it replaced, to that of a system of

national accounting and auditing (Bourn 1979:144-145). The way in which Corporatism's emphasis on financial control was to impact on education policy is explored below.

Pre-empting Bain's (1972) Report and the introduction of Corporatism, in 1967 Maud's report focused on the role of local authorities in providing a range of public services. Maud's (1967) report found that local authorities had created a plethora of departments to deliver a wide range of public services. In so doing Maud (1967) found that this departmentalistic approach had in fact failed to deliver public services efficiently. Maud (1967) concluded that it was the administration between and within different departments that itself had become the focus of energy and activity within local authority structures, as opposed to the precise delivery of public services. (Stewart 1971:166-167; Bourn 1979:12). The report recommended that local authorities should be restructured to ensure that both the energies of personnel and government financial resource were expended not in administration but in delivering public services efficiently. (Stewart 1971:166-167).

If Maud (1967) attacked the question of local authority organization in general, Senior (1969) targeted LEAs specifically. Senior argued that within local authorities, education was an alien entity that was financially greedy. LEAs according to Senior (1969) were the "cuckoos" in the local authority nest. Why did he choose this analogy? LEAs, historically straddled the individual educational needs of local communities whilst serving the remit of national policies. LEAs therefore became a liminal entity in which they wholly belonged neither to central nor local government, essentially they were therefore alien to both (Tomlinson 1994:149). State education had burgeoned in the immediate post World War II period. Contiguous with this, the financial consumption of LEAs had also burgeoned. At the time of Senior's report (1969), LEAs consumed 60% of public service funds (ibid). Other public services saw this as an inordinate amount to be apportioned to one service (Tomlinson 1994:149). Senior's report (1969) called for the LEA's 'lion's share' of the public purse to be reviewed.

Until the 1970s, in terms of their finance, LEAs had been accountable to themselves, as opposed to central government (Tomlinson 1994:145). The 60% of the public purse that it consumed made education a target ripe for Corporatism's restructuring and rationalization program. Contiguous with the reports of Maud (1967), Baines (1972)

and then Senior (1969), came the Local Government Act of 1972. In line with corporatist strategy the 1972 Act restructured LEAs to provide both an increased financial accountability to central government, and a diminished claim to the public purse. What Corporatism therefore meant for LEAs was not so much an active participation in a social democratic state, as much as they became the recipients of a national cost-cutting exercise imposed from central government (Tomlinson 1994:149). So what assessment systems did corporatism employ to retain control of public expenditure in the public services? And how did Corporatism's focus on cost control, effect the way in which educational activity within LEAs was assessed? The latter question is addressed after first analysing the operational systems that Corporatism applied to the public service sector.

It will be recalled from earlier in this chapter, that education was dubbed the greedy cuckoo in public service expenditure at this time, but that all public services, not just education, were restructured within the corporatist ideology of centralized government control of public expenditure. It therefore follows that any monitoring model that corporatism applied would logically be informed by budget planning procedures, in order to audit investment versus expenditure and outcome. This is precisely what happened. With cost-control at its focus, Corporatism monitoring was characterised by Planning, Programming and Budgeting Systems or PPBS, Management By Objectives or MBO, and Cost-Benefit Analysis or CBA (Bourn 1979:144-145; Stewart 1971:29;134-135; Taylor and Sparkes 1977:1; Laudon and Laudon 1988). These three systems are explored consecutively below.

What is PPBS: What Does it Tell Us When Applied to the Public Sector and LEAs?

PPBS had its origins in the scientific management that emerged in the United States in the Post World War II era. Within the USA it transcended the boundaries of public and private enterprise, as it was applied to, and experimented with, in both organizational contexts. PPBS's use in the public sector was highlighted on a global scale when it was adopted by Robert McNamara in the United States Defence Department. McNamara's use of this monitoring model had proved effective in controlling costs in this prominent area of American public expenditure. (Taylor and Sparkes 1977:1; Stewart 1971:28). The principles of PPBS, as its title suggests, focus upon planning, programming and budgeting systems. It was derived from economic and system's analysis theories as to

how organizations work (Stewart 1971:27). What does this mean in practice? First, it is a system designed for those in authority to gather the information they need to work to a budget allocation for any given project; it gives absolute control to those in authority (Stewart 1979:29). Second, although it gives power to the decision-maker in authority over the budget, it does not also give that person the power to change the PPBS formula to their own ends or objectives. Rather, PPBS presents a precise formula, which is designed to ensure that in any given project, whether it is an LEA or private enterprise budget, output/spending does not exceed input/ investment (Taylor and Sparkes 1977:4; Stewart 1971:28). Within this prescribed model of assessing effectiveness, there is no opportunity for those in authority to sway from this input/output focus. Rigid control of expenditure is thus ensured by what is essentially a comprehensive accountancy procedure (Wood and Townsley 1983:74: Stewart 1971:28). Third, PPBS provides a transparent system of monitoring input and output, in so far as it is open to inspection to those in authority at any given time. Fourth, this transparency of the PPBS system is reassuring to those who desire to control expenditure. The way in which PPBS achieves this transparency is by focusing on the tangible activity of organizations. Tangible activities are those units that can easily be labelled and defined, and which therefore are readily located and measured – be they within the private sector or public services (Stewart 1971:26; Bourn 1979: 21; Taylor 1977:1). As mentioned earlier, the PPBS system enjoyed particular success when applied to production units in the USA's state military defence budget. However, PPBS was not restricted to state programmes such as this. Within private commercial enterprise, during the 1970s international companies such as IBM, ICL and Shell Oil all benefited from operating a PPBS system (Taylor and Sparkes 1977:1).

PPBS and the Emphasis of a 'Top Down' Approach

In more recent times, the strengths of the PPBS assessment model have also been found to be its weaknesses. First, whilst PPBS provides those in authority with excellent control of expenditure, it relies upon, what today is termed in private enterprise, a 'top down' approach. What this means is that PPBS's focus on cost-control does not take into account what may be happening between the actual people working at the grass roots of an organization (Huczyinski and Buchanan 1991: 398-407; Koulopolous and Frappaulo 1999: 135-137). Contrarily, information from people at the grass roots can be vital to inform future planning, expenditure and control. Second, the PPBS tendency

toward a prescriptive, rigid, top down system of control, hampers its flexibility; flexibility that is essential for organizations to react to unexpected circumstances (Kanter 1996; Clegg and Birch 1998). Within economics, it is accepted that although business can look to the past to forecast trends for the future; that is all economics can do. What it cannot promise is that unaccounted for events may occur in the future that will require new ways of thinking for businesses to succeed (Begg, Fischer and Dornbusch 1987:39; 304). For example, the information technology explosion in the late 20th Century has impacted organizations globally in a way which could not have been fully forecast by economics (Koulopoulos and Frappaulo 1999:68). Third, commitment to transparency is a noble one, but relies on PPBS's key characteristic: focusing on measuring only the immediately tangible aspects of an organization, or those things that can be easily defined, labelled and located in system unit terms. To illustrate why this can be both PPBS's strength and weakness, I return to the example of its original application. In the USA Military Defence programme, PPBS was designed to sell and acquire units of military hardware. Working within the PPBS system, each tangible 'unit' of military hardware is thus accounted for, and cost control rendered transparent. This presented those in authority with an excellent system of cost control in a public programme of national importance for the USA.

But what happens if we transpose PPBS onto another public programme of national importance to Britain and this thesis: LEA expenditure? In 1970, via the government's Public Expenditure Survey Committee or PESC, the PPBS system was applied to an enquiry into the activities of, the then Department for Education and Science (HMSO 1970). Within this document, in line with PPBS formula, all tangible aspects of LEA organization and activity are accounted for. These include for example: staff numbers, salaries, buildings, maintenance, utilities and books/resources (HMSO 1970:109-116). But what about the intangibles that LEAs daily engage with? Can the remit of LEAs be simplistically reduced to just these tangibles of its operation? What about socio-cultural differences in attitudes toward education from community groups, religious identity and ritual observances, and xenophobia — what place do they have in the PPBS formula? Certainly they do not feature in this 1970 government report. Someone may point out that this is because these things were not relevant to LEAs at the time that PPBS via corporatism emerged. But such a view is misinformed, for it has been established here in Section I, that these intangible aspects of Britain's socio-cultural matrix, have not only historically shaped, but also characterise the communities in which education

Study Support serving ethnic minority youth operate. These cultural intangibles were therefore irrelevant to LEA assessments; the rationale of the PPBS system appears to have been unable to accommodate anything other than the tracking of tangible units of expenditure and income. Within the context of LEAs, and the communities of people they serve, the rationale of the PPBS system appears therefore overly simplistic. This is further illustrated by another example of PPBS being applied to LEA activity. In 1968 the accounting and management consultancy firm called McKinsey & Co were invited by government to examine LEA methods of organization, planning and monitoring. (Bourn 1979:40). Three LEAs were targeted: Coventry, Liverpool and Gloucestershire. The traditional PPBS system was applied to Liverpool and Coventry, and focused on measuring the tangible features of its activity in line with the original design and purpose of PPBS. But in Gloucester they were concerned to push beyond the confines of the PPBS assessment formula to include what they termed the LEA's 'educational hemisphere'. (Bourn 1979:40-41). For example, Gloucester LEA's objectives had included: assisting parents to promote "spiritual, moral, mental and physical development" and "basic abilities and attitudes" amongst children to prepare them to become "active members of society" (Bourn 1979:238; Society of Education Officers 1975). But if these objectives appear good intentioned and far-reaching, did they achieve results in practice? And how were these measured as being effective? There are difficulties to answering these questions here on two counts. First, the objectives set by Gloucester assumed a universal agreement and understanding as to what is meant by phrases such as "proper spiritual, moral" development. Second, within the PPBS system, it is difficult to reduce to a single cost unit the objective to "become active members of society". This combination of vague objectives, combined with PPBS' inability to gauge a precise cost value on these intangible concepts, lead Gloucestershire LEA to conclude that it was not yet ready to abandon its traditional PPBS method of planning and budgeting (Bourn 1979:42). The Gloucestershire experience provides an example of PPBS's limits in its practical application to the wide remits of LEA activity, particularly when it comes to assessing the socio-cultural outcomes of policy objectives.

I am not suggesting here that PPBS, as a method of cost-control in the public sector, was not a sign of solid economic house-keeping by the British government, at a time of global recession. However, PPBS, had at the roots of its design a specific set of objectives that made it ideal to track military hardware production in the US defence

programme. Albeit it was applied in practice, its origins, purpose and design made it entirely limited in its capabilities to accommodate and address the complex socio-cultural matrices in which LEAs had historically operated.

The application of PPBS to education did attract some criticism. But this criticism was not based on the limited ability of PPBS to assess the socio-cultural outcomes of education. Instead the criticism was that there was a lack of forecasting and planning capability in PPBS. PPBS's focus on current expenditure left little room for planning ahead (Lord Crowther-Hunt 1976). PPBS remains a system that does not accommodate the strategic planning that is necessary for any organization, public or private (McGlashan and Singleton 1987:160). These criticisms unknowingly lend further weight to the argument of this chapter. PPBS is at best, compliant with its origins and purpose, inculcated into its assessment design, a comprehensive auditing system, for tangible units within specific contexts, such as production management.

The Corporatist concern for rationalization and cost-cutting did not address the PPBS shortfall of focusing only the tangible aspects of an organization. However, Corporatism was concerned that they should have an operational method that would enable them to plan ahead. In response, Corporatism imported into government national education assessment frameworks another method, that had its origins in systems management and that had been applied to both the private and public sectors in the USA: Management By Objectives or MBO (Taylor and Sparkes 1971: 349-350; Bourn 1979:159).

Management by Objectives Imported into Central Assessment Methodology

Within the context of Corporatism and PPBS the term 'objectives' means a:

"general statement of measurable results to be achieved" (Lucey 1987:116).

This is because within such a system of auditing and financial control in order for anything to be meaningful in the management process it has to be measurable and therefore tangible (Clegg and Birch 1998:230). From the discussion on PPBS above, it has been established that only those things which were 'tangible' entered into the audit of education. The introduction of MBO into the public sector alongside PPBS provided a further tool to ensure that all tangible objectives of LEAs were calculated into

planning. (Bourn 1979:159). For example, MBO applied to an LEA might comprise an objective to have a new primary school building constructed within two years. The application of MBO to LEAs therefore did nothing to question the PPBS emphasis on only the tangible aspects of LEA activity.

In management theory today, this inability to see beyond the tangibles of an organization is now seen as a major flaw in MBO. As Clegg and Birch (1998:230) point out, the ideology underpinning MBO is inextricably linked with systems of cost-control, budgeting and measurement. Within such a control-focused system, eventually the objective is in danger of becoming less important than the organization's ability to measure it. In private commercial enterprise this feature of the MBO approach lead to the failure of many potentially creative enterprises. There was therefore a tendency toward its disuse amongst some companies in the late 20th Century private sector (Clegg and Birch 1998:230).

In 1970s' Britain, the introduction of MBO into the public sector compounded the use of PPBS', and hence government's, rigid focus on measuring tangible areas of public expenditure. Government control of expenditure is not the point of contention here. However, what concerns this thesis is that within the conjoined boundaries of MBO and PPBS, those elements of LEAs which were immeasurable or intangible were rendered meaningless and therefore outside the focus of government concern. In short, such a system reduced LEA activity to a set of inanimate units and numbers.

In contrast, LEAs were, and remain, communities with young people from a diverse range of ethnic and socio-cultural heritages, who are neither inanimate units nor merely numbers. Within such a formula the Corporatist claim to value the voice of the people more than did its Colonial-style predecessor, is at least compromised, and at most groundless. With particular reference to community-based ethnic minority education within LEAs, such a reductive approach to assessments of effectiveness provided no overt evidence to factor into plans the growing social phenomenon of ethnic and religious diversity amongst children in Britain at this time, extending the immediate Post World War II era established in Section I.

At this point Stewart (1971:134) might argue that Corporatism did try to take into account intangible aspects of public policy services, via a method termed Cost-Benefit

Analysis or CBA. As its name suggests, CBA is a system that claims to include a global analysis of all conceivable costs and benefits that result within any given project, including intangibles. This claim is discussed now in the context of CBA within educational assessment.

Cost-Benefit Analysis Methods Imported into Central Educational Assessment

Cost Benefits Analysis (CBA), as with PPBS and MBO is primarily a system design for financial control, and has its origins in private enterprise planning models. (Laudon and Laudon 1988:391). It is significant to point out that CBA, PPBS and MBO can all work together or overlap in one project. This is because they are all part of attempts by corporations to plan, cost, budget and audit specified projects (Taylor and Sparkes 1977:188-189; Bourn 1979:51). However, CBA was purposely designed to be far more wide-reaching than PPBS and MBO. CBA as its name indicates is concerned with finding out the most cost effective way of doing things. To do this, CBA attempts to take into account, and cost out, all possible 'values' within an organization. (Laudon and Laudon 1988: 391; Stewart 1971:132). The term 'values' requires clarification here. Values, within the context of CBA, mean that all things within any given organization can be defined in mathematically costed terms. For example, the amount of time someone spends walking around an office chatting to colleagues can be calculated, versus how much more economically productive that person could be if they spent the same amount of time processing sales invoices at their desk. Within this example, the time dedicated to processing sales invoices would provide a better cost-benefit analysis value, than that time spent chatting to colleagues. From this example it can be seen that CBA operates an auditing approach to assessment, that is not dissimilar to PPBS and MBO. But what this example also shows is that CBA recognizes that organizations have people and that they are dynamic rather than static units in their activity. Reflecting this, the planning stages of a project using CBA considers tangible and intangible objectives.

So what happens when this method of analysis is applied to education? In 1971 Morris and Ziderman undertook a CBA analysis to determine the social and economic return on investment in higher education both in England and Wales. According to Bourn (1979:60) this study was able to account for the economic benefits gained from higher education, by, for example, calculating income earned by graduates and comparing this with that of non-graduates, and so on. But what this CBA could not measure was the

intangible social benefits gained by students holding a degree (Bourn 1979:60). Although Bourn (1979) recognizes this, he does not pursue the wider implications of CBA's inability to measure the intangible social benefits (or disadvantages) of government policies. Instead he asserts that to remedy this the field requires more detailed research of the CBA method. (Bourn 1979:61).

Today, it is accepted in private enterprise, that if CBA acknowledges intangibles in its planning process, it does not also provide a system for following through on intangible outcomes in a given project (Laudon and Laudon 1988: 682). This does not mean that institutions, including the public sector and LEAs should not include intangible objectives in their planning. Rather the problem rests in the assessment model itself. Intangible objectives cannot be reduced to simple mathematical value costings that inform the ideological roots of PPBS, MBO and CBA (Laudon and Laudon 1988:682).

The use of CBA, at least, enabled Corporatism to acknowledge that intangible outcomes of policy were a possibility alongside tangible outcomes; but that is all. Essentially CBA provided government with a further method via which it could keep a focus upon achieving, what has been shown in this chapter, to be its predominant objective: financial control of public services expenditures. But what is meant by 'intangibles' when this model for assessment is transposed onto the educational context of community-based Study Support for minority ethnic students? Put another way, to make sense of the term 'intangibles' in this educational setting it is necessary to think outside the assessment formula. What I mean here, is that within the confines of the assessment formulas that came to occupy central power and influence under Corporatism, 'tangibles' are clearly recognizable and made explicit; anything that rests outside its narrow formula is discounted. This in turn serves to highlight all things that can be reduced to mathematical or statistical values: exam performance, academic achievement, attendance, numbers and running costs and so on. All these 'tangible' outcomes are of course important for controlling the financial budget and to enable academic results to be monitored carefully, so that government know that public money is being well spent. But what is the corollary of this formula in assessment?

Within the current DfES policy, this thesis has established that academic attainment forms only one half of another, increasingly significant, objective: social cohesion and fostering mutual understanding and respect amongst children within Britain's diverse

ethnic communities. The latter objective comprises an intangible element that operates beyond the reach and design of the assessment focus of CBA, PPBS and MBO. Human factors sit outside audits of simplistic mathematical values. CBA applied to an assessment of Study support for minority ethnic children in the 21st Century tells us nothing more than how much it costs, whether or not children's academic grades have benefited, and how many children come to the community-based Study Support centre in the city being served by policy. It would not tell us whether or not a Study Support centre was a place where mutual respect and understanding between children from diverse ethnic and religious communities in the city is occurring or not. Without this information being fed back to government on a consistent and formally assessed basis, the DfES has no way of knowing how far community-based Study Support Centres are effecting the intercultural objectives of its current government policy. Policy in essence is thus reduced to an ideology and its concepts; a set of words, as opposed to a concerted and carefully monitored provision, that can only come from a purpose built assessment, grounded in the organizational structure and its objectives. Imported models of assessment, whether imported elsewhere from education, or from economics and managerialism as detailed here, can only ever be non specialist and thus lacking the clarity and precision of an assessment model purpose built for the precise organizational structure, policy and remit of a given provision.

By their very nature and origins PPBS, MBO and CBA are terms which in themselves reduce the possibility for wider public participation and interest at the grassroots of community-based provision which is Study Support. Such assessments, present readers of documents, emanating from their system and methods, with a range of abbreviations and terminology that is exclusive to government auditors; they do not present the 'person in the street' with an open and transparent understanding of what they are about. As with committees discussed earlier language can promote either inclusion or exclusion. Significantly, the choice rests not with the people who are recipients, but with those generating the language itself (Said 1978:203; Leiris 1966:125-145; Clifford 1988:255; 256). In this case that choice to incorporate these methods into the national educational frameworks of assessment, rested with government. The government choice to adopt and maintain these approaches in assessment demonstrated a lack of concern to make explicit their precise meanings to the public. Without easy access to this information the public could not themselves enter into a debate about the assessments that were being used, nor realise their implications for their local education provision.

For those minority ethnic groups in Britain who were newly arrived to Britain, and whose first language was not English, this potential for exclusion from the social democratic process was thus compounded. Such potential for public exclusion from the processes central to Corporatism flew in the face of its ideological aim to provide a socially democratic state, in which public participation was to be valued, as explicated at the beginning of this section's discussion.

The Rise and Fall of Corporatism

Corporatism and its methods had entered the British political arena at a turbulent economic time, and promising much. However, Corporatism's concern with cost in the public services, an over dependence upon committees and a focus on centralizing financial control, in the end produced a government structure in which public participation was lost in the bureaucratic process (Ranson and Stewart 1994:14-15). This was not the ideal outcome of a government that had set out to uphold the ideology of the social democratic state. As the economic crisis of the 1970s become entrenched, and the government's focus on public service spending became tighter and more centralized, Corporatism created a socio-political vacuum in which the public wanted both more voice and choice. It was this vacuum in Corporatism that provided the opportunity for a new ideology to be presented to the people of Britain: New Right Consumerism. Within this ideology the public were to be neither recipients, nor participants, but active consumers of the public services 'market'. (Lawton 1992:83-106; Bowe, Ball and Gold 1992:35-37; Potter 1994:250-265; McKevitt and Lawton 1994; Ranson and Stewart 1994;13-17). With the New Right Consumerist ideology, methodologies were imported that came to occupy positions of extreme power and influence within central government so that they dominated and shaped frameworks of educational assessment in this era. This worked to marginalise further, and neglect entirely, the intercultural outcomes of Study Support at a time when, as discussed in Section I, the latter outcomes as much as the academic ones merited consistent government attention in this policy. Paradoxically, as detailed in Chapter 3 that follows in this Section, this was not given. It is to this Chapter and era, and its legacy for assessment in Study Support serving minority ethnic youth to which the thesis now turns.

Student Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Outcomes Lost in the Midst of Imported Ideologies into Central Government

Before that however, first, this chapter has found that throughout the 1950s' to 1970s' period the government adopted assessment systems derived from early thinking in economics, management science and financial auditing in business enterprise to shape key reforms in education amidst wider public sector changes. But none of the ideologies underpinning the methods adopted were those with precise expertise in, or consideration for, the plight of ethnic minority children's education, cultural diversity, or the promotion of positive intercultural understanding between different cultural groups. If it could be shown that the latter issues were not relevant to this era of reform with which this chapter dealt, and therefore government need not have concerned themselves with them, then this argument would be groundless. However, this is not the case, as is evidenced in Section I. The demise of Section 11 funding during the 1970s stood witness to the historical fact that education for minority ethnic children, promoting intercultural understanding, and bringing newly arrived immigrants into the fold of educational debate, were issues that did not receive consistent focus and attention in policy planning or assessment in central government. Indeed, the paradox of this era is, that had the governments during this period, provided consistent and focused attention, and looked more carefully at the deficit in knowledge created both by a lack of formal assessment for the policies it put in place, and the use of imported models into education, then as the 20th Century came to a close and entered the 21st Century, the need for Study Support for minority ethnic children, may have been at least avoided and at most greatly reduced.

Conclusion

During this era, the issue of cultural diversity, minority ethnic children and the intercultural outcomes of education policy were lost sight of amidst ideas imported outside of pedagogy that shaped both policy and assessment. Against this historical backdrop, an educational gap for Study Support to target minority ethnic children had thus begun to emerge and become entrenched. Consecutive governments however, had an opportunity to reverse the trends discussed in this chapter with the promise of New Right Consumerism. But how far was this opportunity reflected in those methodologies that came to occupy central power and dominance in the national framework of

government assessments that came to shape education policy and impact upon Study Support serving minority ethnic youth? This question is addressed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3. 1980s-2000s: The Gap Between Managerialism and Cultural Knowledge

Introduction

Up until this chapter the research in this thesis has not sought to link the monitoring methods used to assess the efficiency of education policy in the public sector, or the ideologies that underpinned them, with a particular political party. This was intentional. As Lawton (1992:16) has pointed out, in the immediate post World War II era, the spectrum of thinking in British parliament was united in an awareness that education had to be addressed to meet the needs of a new world order and economy. However, at that time, indecisiveness as opposed to concerted action characterized consecutive governments and their approach to education. This is reflected in the time taken for actions in education to occur, in between the various government documents discussed in the previous chapter.

The New Right's decision to introduce Consumerism into the public services brought to an end indecisiveness and a new direction for Britain's state education (Lawton 1992:16).Whatever else it may be, Consumerism was an ideology that was introduced and applied to the management and monitoring of education in Britain, solely under the direction of the New Right. The latter observation is not a new one. Much has been written about the general impact that Consumerism has had on public policy and education (Ranson and Stewart 1994; McKevitt and Lawton 1994 et al; Ball 1994; Lawton 1989;1992; Gewirtz, Ball and Bowe 1995; Bowe, Ball and Gold 1992; Tomlinson 1993). At the root of this literature, four major arguments dominate.

First, a Hayekian philosophy of free market economics underpinned the Consumerist ideology adopted by the New Right and applied to education. At the same time this economic ideology contradicted neo-conservative 'cultural rightism'. Within the Conservative party itself there was therefore disagreement as to how, in what ways and to what extent free market Consumerism should inform, and dominate education policy. Second, when it sought advice on how to develop education in the state sector, the New Right chose to appoint management consultants from commercial enterprise, and passed over established pedagogic expertise. Third, the application of Hayekian derived economics and free market Consumerist ideology to education, lead to a state system in which children became winners or losers, with ethnic minority groups of

children by and large falling into the latter category. Fourth, the model of education that emerged during this period derived from a managerialist model. The managerialist model is at odds with the complexity of pedagogy. The traditional value that educators have placed on meeting the needs of individual children, historically overrides managerialism's concern with the 'financial bottom line'. The long term effects of this ideological juxtaposition, and how to form public/private trust and partnerships that can serve state education continue to fuel controversy and debate.

The purpose of the research in this chapter is to find the answers specifically to the following questions. First, how did these precise ideologies come to shape the way in which education was assessed as being effective in the 1980s – 1990s period? Second, to what extent did these assessment models dissolve or exacerbate the lack of policy attention to cultural diversity and the intercultural outcomes of policy identified in the previous chapter? Third, with the advent of New Labour in 1997, to what extent is a change and/or continuity evidenced in approach? Each of these questions is dealt with consecutively in sections I, II and III of this chapter, the content of which is summarised in brief below.

In Section (I), in agreement with the established literature, it is maintained that Hayek's economic theory stood in contradiction to the 'neo-conservative cultural rightism' within the Conservative government. The corollary of this was that it was a distortion of Hayek's market theory that was applied to education. However, over and above these established observations, it is argued here that the New Right's interpretation of Hayekian economics was a reductive one. This reductive interpretation comprised in particular a missed opportunity to embrace cultural diversity as a part not only of education, but market economics itself.

In Section (II) it is argued that the management models applied to education via the New Right were heavily influenced, and shaped by Classical Management theory. Such theory was not at the cutting edge of managerial thinking, and therefore represented approaches which were already becoming outdated in private business enterprise. Classical Management theory is heavily weighted toward production management models of assessment. Value is placed upon measuring units of tangible, and inanimate outcomes, such as financial profit. Transposed within the context of education this serves to emphasize academic outcomes, but devalues anything which is not

immediately reduced to a tangible unit of measurement. Issues such as cultural diversity and intercultural outcomes fall into the latter category because they are sociological, organic and dynamic. They are thus not able to be accommodated by assessment models designed for example to monitor the efficiency of bottling plants.

In Section (III), the historical analysis engages with the fact that minority ethnic education, study support, and cultural diversity did not comprise prevalent words in the New Right's educational policy. However, as discussed in Chapter 1, Study Support for minority ethnic children, social cohesion and fostering mutual understanding and respect in culturally diverse communities are key policy concerns under New Labour. At the dawn of New Labour, Barber (1997:37) maintained that the flaw in the arguments against the New Right's market approach to education was that they were not able to present an alternative way forward. It is not therefore the purpose of this thesis to present a solution to this far-reaching ideological struggle in which British politics is currently engaged. Rather the discussion here operates from within the precise context of two key policy areas: public/private funding partnerships in education, which extend plans for Study Support provision, and social cohesion. Study Support for minority ethnic children operates at the nexus of public/private funding, and serves students at risk of social exclusion in ethnically and religiously diverse inner-city communities with a history of clashes amongst youth (Cantle et al 2001; Denham et al 2001; Ouseley et al 2001). Such a policy and context merits the need for a purpose built model for this policy and provision, with which specifically to monitor the intercultural outcomes, where currently none has been designed for this provision and no such assessment takes place. How might the construction of such a model be informed by the cultural gaps in thinking identified in Managerialism and Corporatism? In response, Section (I) below begins this chapter's historical analysis by first juxtaposing critical ethnography with the ideological roots that have formed the foundation of Western private enterprise.

Section (I) Ideologies and the New Right or the 'Pure Products Go Crazy' [1]

Critical ethnographical study has developed an understanding of culture as something which is not static but dynamic, chaotic as opposed to ordered. Via a myriad of motivations and processes ranging from religious, political, or commercial colonization, to the exodus of peoples due to environmental or political reasons, the notion 'culture' is a slippery one. (Clifford 1988:94;95; Wittgenstein 1992:93; Lippard 1990; Williams 1976;1990:87). It arises at multi-levelled points of interface within and between different histories of peoples, their languages, experiences, and beliefs. The more ethnographical research has learned about the significance of interface within the history of human cultural development, the less the ideology that any one group of human beings or their culture can claim to be a '*pure* product' (Clifford 1988:1-17). In the observations and words of Williams (1923) the latter assertion is 'crazy', and remains so in a 21st Century world where commerce, economies, people and their families are increasingly 'global' as opposed to 'local' (Appiah 1994).

But if this is the complex history of human cultural development, the history and nature of commercial enterprise is one which, despite cultural interchange, has its origins and practices deeply rooted in a specifically Western philosophy (Shafritz and Ott 2001; Morgan 1997:326-331). In the early 1980s, when the New Right was in its first years of office, the ideologies that dominated business and management practice had their origins in a discourse which had begun in the pre-20th Century, in 18th Century Europe, and which was developed further, particularly by North American writers (Shafritz and Ott 2001; Morgan 1997).

The Cultural Insularity of Dominant Business Enterprise

The Western prominence in business enterprise, philosophy and practice at the advent of the New Right emanated from a series of Eurocentric events. The Industrial Revolution, together with the monetary and scientific spin offs in the West that emerged

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[1] 'The Pure Products Go Crazy', is taken from a poem by William Carlos Williams (1923) in Clifford 1988:1. In the poem Williams celebrates humanity as infused with cultural diversity. Culture is something which is "universal in the local, the whole in the part" and is echoed in similar works such as those of Brazilian poet Oswald de Andrade and his *Manifesto antropofago* (1928).

during this era, helped to fuel European commercial enterprise. Slavery and the plunder of Africa reinforced the European and North American industrial power base. The cultural, linguistic and technological developments, or what I term the 'commercial hang-over' of post-Colonialism and World War II, also played a part in reinforcing the strength of Western-based commerce. In the post-Colonial and post World War II era, rightly or wrongly, English became the main language of business. Vast amounts of money were invested into engineering and construction as Europe and the World rebuilt its cities, and utility infrastructures that had been destroyed in the war. American business spearheaded the economic power wielded by the West (Hutton 2002). Developments in science and technology, which had proved themselves of strategic importance in World War II did not stop in 1945. They continued to burgeon in the fields of electronics, medicine and automobile production to name but a few (Reekie and Allen 1988: 230-232).

Dominant Mass Production Model and its Dehumanizing Effect in Organizations

In the 1950s to 1960s the mass production of everything from canned food to the Ford 'automobile' dominated business enterprise models (Morgan 1997:12-15). The mathematical efficiency of input/output ratios became central to assessing profit via the mass production process. Effectiveness was measured in terms of numerical calculations of raw material cost, labour, time, and unit sales (Morgan 1997:12-15). The idea of such productive efficiency was not new. It had its origins in such writings as Taylor's *Science of Management* (written in 1911) and Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) which focused on making a pin factory achieve maximum cost efficiency via labour division.

Hence, although the latter 20th Century presented a new opportunity for commercial growth, particularly in the Western world, the view of business that dominated the managerial realms of corporate Europe and North America was not borne of that era. More accurately it had its ideological roots in previous centuries of European thinking on what business was about (Peters 1992; Shafritz and Ott 2001:27). That thinking, at its most basic came down to one thing: how to control business in order to effect an efficient financial profit (Kelly and Kelly 1986; Peters 1992; Morgan 1997).

As established in the historical analysis in Chapter 2 here, the academic study of business was a relatively new one, particularly in Britain. Peters, a North American prominent guru of business management in the early 1980s, describes how basic things were before the academic rigour was entered into the equation. Prior to this, he maintains, the "the seat-of-the-pants technique" was the established wisdom within management in commercial enterprise (Peters and Waterman 1982:32).

In North America, it was not until the 1960s that the Ford model of mass production started to be analysed (Shafritz and Ott 2001:13;14). In 1961 Likert began to question whether an authoritarian style of management is less efficient than a participatory one. Burns and Stalker (1961) began to think beyond a mechanistic style of production, and to experiment with systems as organic and dynamic.

In 1972 the potential for mass production to have a negative impact on the human psyche became evident at General Motors. Employees at the Ohio plant went on a strike on the grounds that mass production mentality was causing their workplace to become dysfunctional. Workers argued that their workplace was "dehumanised and made monotonous" by production management (Shafritz and Ott 2001).

In 1974 Cohen and March argued the case that the mass production and mechanistic model could not be applied to all types of activity or organizations. Cohen and March in *Leadership and Ambiguity* (1974) asserted that individual disorganization, as opposed to any imposed organization, could lead to the most efficient productivity amongst academic staff in universities. They termed this phenomenon as 'organized anarchy' which had developed in universities due to the very different creative needs of academics, as distinct from those assembly plants in commerce. A decade later a text that became respected amongst business schools pointed out the importance of thinking about humans in organizational behaviour (Huczynski and Buchanan 1985).

However, as Section (I), chapter 1 here illustrated, it need not be assumed that if a change in approach is recommended, then established thought is automatically dismantled. These academic insights on the dehumanising impacts of production management were not immediately embraced by private enterprise. Indeed, some commercial organizations remain impervious to them today (Morgan 1997:28; Kanter 1983:37-65; Boyle 2001). And in the 1980s, for those not at the cutting edge of

thinking, the dominant model for business enterprise remained tightly linked to mass production and a mechanistic view of work practices (Kanter 1983:37-65; Peters 1992; Porter 1980; Morgan 1997).

In the 1980s the most famous name amongst business schools was Harvard or HBS in abbreviated form (Kelly and Kelly 1986). Cutting-edge management thinking became associated with the Harvard Masters in Business Administration or MBA programme (Kelly and Kelly 1986). How far did Harvard university's MBA programme demonstrate a departure from the mass production and mechanistic model of business? The Harvard MBA was based upon three core subjects: Production Management, Finance and Human Resources (Kelly and Kelly 1986). These subjects dominated the top 10 MBA programmes (Silbiger 1999). The emphasis on Human Resources suggests that the programme evidenced a departure from thinking about business in purely mechanistic terms. But it would be a mistake to assume that the presence of Human Resources in the course content ensured that students were influenced to learn about this. Kelly and Kelly (1986:11) point out that Human Resources was a subject that was considered "soft" management practice, and was often therefore "orphaned" by the main core of HBS students. Attractive to the main core of students was Production Management. This was not because most graduates intended to pursue Production Management as a career in itself. Contrarily, in the 1980s the most likely destination for many HBS graduates was in the board rooms of America's Fortune 500 companies. The reason that students valued Production Management was that it was understood by students that in North American business the ability to "produce a good product at the right time, in the right quantities for the right price" was the respected definition of a profitable, and therefore successful company (Kelly and Kelly 1986:11). In the 1980s, within MBA programmes generally, and the management consultancy that burgeoned contiguous with these programmes, a preponderance on financial control, and strategies for business adapted straight from mathematical theorem on input/output ratios remained dominant concerns (Peters 1982:30; Boyle 2001).

Understanding other cultures has today become part of the course content in MBAs (Silbiger 1999:322). But this was not so in the 1980s with the focus of the course residing in case studies of specifically "America's best-run companies" (Peters and Waterman 1982). The idea that business comprised peoples from different cultures was not something that was emphasized in the 1980 Harvard MBA (Kelly and Kelly

1986:259:260). This was evidenced in the membership of the programme itself which comprised predominantly white European and North American students (Kelly and Kelly 1986:260).

There were those in business who tried to look beyond Western approaches to practice. In the 1980s, Japan became the focus of a business management text by Pascale and Athos (1986:118). As Pascale and Athos (1986:118) put it, within the context of established Western production management, the Japanese approach appeared "soft". This was because Japanese production emphasised the individual skills of people, and the power of teams as opposed to hierarchies. This "softness", concluded Pascale and Athos, was not therefore able to translate easily in Western organizations which traditionally placed an emphasis on direction and ideas coming from the 'top', in an entrenched top down systems approach, as opposed to listening to people working on the 'shop floor' at the grassroots of organizations.

By the 1980s then Classical Management thinking about productivity had come under fire from researchers working at the cutting edge. Not withstanding these challenges, rationalization, hierarchy, mechanistic organization, and the numerical calculation of input/output ratios to gauge success remained dominant concepts in Western business (Porter 1980; Peters and Waterman 1982). This was because dominant within commercial enterprise was the belief that the input/output assessment model resulted in the most efficient outcome: financial profit (Porter 1980; Peters and Waterman 1982). Thinking about cultural diversity, or how such an approach left out the 'people' factor in production, did not enter into the equation.

It will be recalled from Chapter 2 in this historical analysis, that the idea of formally monitoring public services was a new development in British government, which had only taken hold in the 1970s. This monitoring was found not to have taken into account the intercultural outcomes of education policy. Both the New Right government and business thinking therefore can be said to have shared two things in common at the beginning of the 1980s. The origins of each were embedded in Western philosophy. Neither of them therefore had an established framework via which they were able to consider things in a context of cultural diversity. In contrast, Chapter 1 discussed that the ability to understand and appreciate cultural diversity in Britain merited the serious attention of British government at this time.

Successful entrepreneurs are accustomed to risk-taking. They therefore invest in consulting information from as many reliable sources as they can, before they make a decision (Roos et al 1997: 16-19). From this foundation of reliable knowledge they then take an informed risk. Within the context of entrepreneurship, without innovation, original thinking, and some risk-taking there can be no progress. If an entrepreneur assumes a risk and then finds she/he has made a mistake, depending upon the size of the venture, it will result in either a few or many job losses. If a government makes a mistake with state education policy, a nation will feel its impact for decades.

When the Conservative Party came into office in 1979 they chose to pass over academic expertise in education in favour of consulting 'outside' business management experts. (Blackstone 1989:86; Lawton 1998; Ball 1994; Bowe, Ball and Gold 1992). It is now widespread, and I believe not unreasonable criticism, that this combination of a rapid change in political direction, and applying business 'know how' to education, was carried out without being at all certain what the outcomes would be (Lawton 1989; Blackstone 1989; Ball 1994; Bowe, Ball and Gold 1992).

Education in the Britain of 1979, in contrast with the story told by the New Right, had a very long established history of precedents, ideas and practices. I am not suggesting here that there was ever a utopia in the history of state education in Britain. However, the information that underpinned the New Right's decision on education in the 1980s, was heavily sourced and shaped by just one discipline: specifically private enterprise management. At this time, it has been shown here, that the mass production and mechanistic approach formed the dominant assessment model for assessing success in private enterprise. It has also been shown that within this model, neither the needs of individual people, nor cultural diversity were prominent. In applying such a narrowly focused assessment model of education in a multicultural Britain, the government undertook a risk. Within this context, the outcomes of such policy were uncertain. This is a criticism that has already been set out in the extant literature above. However, over and above this criticism, it is argued here in this historical analysis, that the potential to foster cultural ignorance, and for the intercultural outcomes of education policy to become a low priority was increased, via the central position of power and influence that assessment models derived specifically from economics and business enterprise came to occupy under the New Right.

In the early 1980s, the move toward managerialism was not something which was peculiar to Britain. The world recession in the late 1970s, high unemployment, and university students taking to the streets to demonstrate in Europe and the USA, spurred government action on education elsewhere. In comparison with Japan, mentioned earlier, economic analysts noted that Britain and the USA spent more of their gross domestic product (GDP) on public services and welfare (Begg, Fischer and Dornbusch 1987:7). With public expenditure rising and gross domestic product falling due to recession, Britain and the USA were keen to dismantle the costs involved in the ideology of the 'welfare state' (Lawton 1989:101-103). Education formed a key area with which to start that process (Lawton 1992:2).

In the USA the idea of managerialism in education was advocated by President George Bush (Senior). Bush (Senior) saw this approach as the policy remedy to education's problems, which would lead to a congenial solution for all (Ball 1994: 105). The American policy approach to education drew from the Adam Smith philosophy that choice for the consumer leads to increased diversity from producers within any given market. The theory was that by creating choice and diversity in education, minority ethnic groups would benefit and the American ideal of a 'cultural melting pot' would be fulfilled. Whether or not this educational policy has been realised for ethnic minority youth who come from lower income families is questionable (Ball 1994:105; Hutton 2002:154).

In Britain it was not Adam Smith's philosophy that formed the dominant ideological base of education reform, as much as the theory of the 1940s Austrian economist and historian Friedrich August von Hayek. There were other influences, such as Milton Friedman, but Hayekian economic principles dominated public policy on education at this time (Lawton 1992:3-6;40; Ball 1994:106-107). Both Friedman and Hayek believed that education should be free from state control (Lawton 1992:40). Whether or not this describes the precise arrangement for education that transpired under the New Right is analysed next.

Hayekian Economics 'Meets' Education, or Does It?

Mrs. Thatcher is thought to have read Hayek's attack on socialism, *The Road to Serfdom* (Hayek 1944), whilst at Oxford (Lawton 1992:6). Whether or not she studied the entire 22 volumes of his eventual works is not known, and I return to the implications of this for cultural diversity in education later. In the New Right, Sir Keith Joseph was a key strategic thinker in government policy on education, and an advocate of Hayekian economics (Lawton 1992:6).

Three key beliefs underpin Hayekian economics. First, centralized planning can only hamper the progress of the market, so it is to be avoided at all costs. Such planning gets in the way of the 'beautiful' chaos that arises from people interacting with one another. The chaos for Hayek *is* the market. Second, the selfish pursuit of the individual is the source of energy that feeds and fuels the market. The economic spin off is that all the people in the market benefit, but inevitably there will be losers and winners. This is because random events, rather than rational ones, are the key to market success. Within this chaotic free market, chance rather than justice, is king. Third, people must be free to choose their own course of action, unassisted by the state and with rules and legal guidance kept to an absolute minimum. The end result of this freedom of choice is variety and diversity within the market. The only rules that should exist in a truly free market are those that did not arise out of central state planning, but out of the market itself, for example, property law and business contracts. The idea is that if you leave people to their own devices, and choices, within the free market, everything will turn out for the betterment of everyone. No one can claim to say exactly how this works in practice, because as Hayek argues, the chaos that arises out of the market is so complex, that its outcomes cannot be determined (Hayek 1988; Peters 1992: 497-502; Lawton 1992:5-7; Ball 1994:106-107). This is what economists term the "invisible hand" of free market theory. It is one of the oldest staples of free market philosophy and relates back to the Scottish philosopher, Adam Smith and his treatise on the free market, referred to earlier, in the *Wealth of Nations* (Smith 1776; Begg, Fischer and Dornbusch 1987:12).

Before moving on to my own criticisms of applying Hayek's economic theory to education, particularly in terms of its implications for the intercultural outcomes of education at this time, it is both relevant and significant here to review the established

criticisms that have been levelled at this approach. First, as stated earlier, two mainstays of Hayekian theory are that there should be no central planning, and that second, via decentralization, variety and diversity within the market is maintained. This approach stands in stark contrast to the neo-conservative cultural rightist approach to education (Lawton 1992:3:7).

The introduction of the National Curriculum in the 1988 Education Reform Act discussed in Section I, Chapter 1 here, centralized the control of the pedagogical process itself via the National Curriculum (Ball 1994: 104; 105). This in turn restricted schools' abilities to operate as autonomous entrepreneurs, which is the basic prerequisite underpinning Hayek's theory of how the market will work to create variety and diversity (Hayek 1980). Hence the criticism that it was the 'Kentucky Fried Curriculum'; schools had to 'run the restaurant', but 'central government set the menu' (Ball in Barber 1997:50).

Another way in which the 1988 Education Act hampers schools and headteachers from being able to operate as free market entrepreneurs resided in issues of funding. Within Hayek's free market, sources of funding are not linked to the state, but the market itself. In Hayek's free market, notions of justice and obligation have no value, no meaning, so how funding is acquired by an individual or entrepreneur is a matter of pure self-interest, and of course *choice*. Via the Local Management of Schools (LMS), granting schools partially independent or Grant Maintained (GM) status, and allocating a funding formula in which children themselves became cash credits, parents were given 'go to market money'. In principle, within this funding formula parents had the choice to pick their own school. There are a number of problems within this funding formula that do not sit well with Hayek's entrepreneurial free market. First, no matter how you divide the financial pie of state education, at the local level, the funding, whatever else it may be, is centrally controlled and budgeted within government, not 'the market'. Second, the New Right introduced League Tables, which within the Hayekian context is a symptom of centralized bureaucracy that can only hamper the 'beauty' of the free market. League Tables focused upon how well students did in the subjects examined within the National Curriculum. The benchmark for success was academic attainment. This combined with National Curriculum, and League Tables is a centrally imposed idea, which again reasserts centralized control, and which again has no place in Hayek's theory. Third, in protecting their self-interest to do well in the League Tables, schools

are then placed in a position which is alien not only to Hayek's theory but general business theory. It is in the school's interest to seek out only the most able children/customers in order that they maximize their own exam results, and therefore excel in the League Tables.

In this quasi/market context then, the producer (school) actually begins to be selective about its customers (children), ensuring that it 'creams off' as many 'able' children/customers as possible (Ball 1994:115-119). This in turn narrows down, rather than widens the choice for the customer. What is then applied to education here, is a very distorted view, not only of what Hayek meant by the free market, but also of education itself. Within such a system, rather than being a productive free market, with a diverse choice for customers, the outcome is a reductive one. Children are reduced to cash credits, in which their needs become less important than their ability to perform in nationally monitored public exams. Parental choice is hindered as schools screen out, as best they can, those children that cannot be seen to be immediately good academic performers for league table purposes (Bowe, Ball and Gold 1992:24;25; Gewirtz, Ball and Bowe 1995:143). This is particularly crucial for those children whose parents come from families where the first language is not English, or where socio-economic circumstance might deter them from incurring expenses to send their child to a school, outside their immediate locality (Gewirtz, Ball and Bowe 1995:146). At the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s the earnings of West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis were on average, significantly *less* than the national average (Field 1981; McNab and Psacharopoulos 1980; Begg, Fischer and Dornbusch 1987:252). This economic fact, combined with sometimes a less than perfect grasp of the English language, meant that families and children from minority ethnic groups were often viewed by schools as the less attractive 'customer' (Gewirtz, Ball and Bowe 1995:146; Ball 1994:123).[2] This is not fair or just, but in Hayek's market, as established earlier, justice has no meaning or value. During the 1980s, the exclusions of particularly West Indian children, from state schools rose disproportionately in comparison with any other group within the state education system (Gewirtz, Ball and Bowe 1995:158). The Hayekian market for these

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[2] Notwithstanding the national trend set out here, some minority groups of children excelled within the new market system. Notably Asian heritage girls, who became sought after and 'valued customers' amongst schools (Gewirtz, Ball and Bowe 1995:165). But the point here is that this should not have been the exception but the rule – for all children.

families meant disenfranchisement from state education rather than inclusion, and feeling undervalued in free market choice. Such disenfranchisement can lead both children and society to become segregated, with the result that the white middle class are advantaged to the detriment of everyone else (Whitty 1991:19-20; Ball 1994:124). Headteachers of schools were not unaware of these injustices and potential outcomes in this market approach, but their ability to do anything about it was limited (Ball 1994: 140-145). Within this distorted Hayekian scenario, the Headteacher cannot be a free-willed entrepreneur, because the school's curriculum, league table competition, and paymaster, are all held in the grip of centralized government (Gewirtz, Ball and Bowe 1995:143-145). These then are the established criticisms of the Hayekian market approach to education which have come to impact, in an unprecedented way not only how education was managed, but how the idea of success in education was to be measured.

Hayekian Economics and Cultural Diversity: "The Mess is the Message"

Gundara (2000:65), below has warned government of the dangers they invite if they do not actively work to construct intercultural policy within mainstream education.

"For if intercultural education is not fundamentally integrated into the mainstream educational system, the main social policy provision can be counter-productive and have racist consequences. It can also lead to disillusionment amongst the subordinate communities and tend to their balkanisation within the state."

Recent national events have unfortunately suggested that this may have begun to happen in Britain. However, as I said at the end of Chapter 2, there were opportunities to redress those issues which Gundara (2000) points out above.

In the discussion that follows I argue that Hayek's theory was misinterpreted in its application to education. And that within the context of this misapplication, balkanisation amongst disenfranchised ethnic groups cannot be ruled out, as a result. At the same time, via this distorted application of Hayek's theory to education, an opportunity has been missed. An opportunity whereby the intercultural outcomes of this period may have been different from those described earlier in this chapter. The assessment framework applied to education via central government, rather than one

which revolved around academic attainment, might have begun to consider cultural diversity. And the monitoring of intercultural outcomes may have been given equal import both in policy thinking and assessment as that of academic attainment.

Hayek's Warning to the Free market: There can be 'Unintended Consequences'

Although borne of two distinct trajectories of thinking, a lynchpin in Hayek's theory, is that also espoused by Marx. Namely, that the dominant factor in the construction of the concept 'society' is the economic relationship that exists between individuals (Lawton 1992:4; Peters 1992:498). Of course, the similarity between Hayek and Marx stops there. But Hayek's emphasis on the importance of the dynamism and diversity in people in the market doesn't stop there. Hayek himself points to a major flaw to beware of for the entrepreneur engaged in business markets. Due to the chaotic dynamism and energy that is the interaction essentially between people in the market, there will be "unintended consequences" (Hayek 1988:142). As I said earlier in this chapter Hayek had written 22 volumes on his particular version of the free market. Whether or not Mrs. Thatcher or the New Right had all read and studied the implications of those 22 volumes, and were therefore fully aware of this warning of "unintended consequences", yet chose not to heed it, isn't certain. But what is certain is that Hayek considered it not only arrogant, but an act of self-delusion, or in his terms, the "fatal conceit", for any individual to think that they could be successful in the market, without respecting the importance of the most unpredictable, and complex thing of all within it: human interaction and behaviour (Hayek 1988:142; Peters 1992:497). Paradoxically, this economic view stands at odds with the thinking that was dominant in management practice, and shaping central government policy on education, at the time.

As already shown here, the dominant thinking in management practice in the early 1980s was organization as rational, mechanistic and thus dehumanised process. It was this kind of thinking that was prevalent in the case studies discussed in a prominent business text of the era: Peters and Waterman's *In Search of Excellence* (1982). However in the Peters and Waterman's (1982) text there is no mention of Hayek. It is only a decade after, in Peters' following text: *Liberation Management* (1992) that eventually Hayek is featured within the first 14 pages, and wherein his market economics theorem dominates a whole chapter. Why might this be? Hayek's message about the dynamism and unpredictability of the human factor flies in the face of rational

and mechanistic approaches to the workplace and production (Peters 1992:496;497). The mess, asserts Peters (1992), is the message for success in business at the end of the 20th Century. Hayek, asserts Peters (1992), highlights that appreciating the complexity and dynamism of the human factor in the market, is essential for anyone interested in business or socio-economic policy:

"To fail to appreciate — in the fullest sense of the term — the richness, passion, and raggedness of the market mechanism is to be unprepared to lead a firm (or a regional or national economy) — especially in today's unhinged global marketplace." (Peters 1992:501).

Within this interpretation of Hayek, the market is not a rational but emotional organism. Wealth of diversity is understood, and a move toward understanding the market and world in global rather than just Westernised terms is beginning to develop.

My point is this simply, if this interpretation of Hayek had been applied to education in the 1980s, the importance of embracing and nurturing in education the richness that Britian's cultural diversity exudes, may have been a possibility. And that richness may then have been able to inform two decades of preparing children for life and work in the global knowledge economy and how educational provision is assessed. Within this interpretation of Hayek, focusing upon rational and mechanical management process is adequate neither for governments nor business in the global market of the late 20th Century. This interpretation forces governments as well as businesses to respect the idea that people are the market. Therefore markets are not rational and static, but infused with the dynamism of cultural diversity that forms the "richness" that *is* the lifeblood of the market itself. Within the New Right's interpretation of Hayek the message to minority ethnic groups was far less positive. By and large they were often reduced to a negative credit value within the context of League Tables. Indeed, they were sometimes completely excluded from mainstream state education. As Gundara (2000) warned at the beginning of this discussion, where the identity of a person becomes disconnected or excluded from the mainstream process of education, identity and belonging will be sought from another source.

Within such a context, an unintended outcome of Hayekian market economics, could be that those people then decide that if the state education system does not want them,

they do not want the education, nor the state which is its ideological architect. The possibility for balkanisation under the New Right was therefore enhanced.

The 'Pure Products had gone Crazy': But What had the New Right Created?

What the New Right's interpretation of Hayek chose to leave out was the only thing that in the end could have made education work better for ethnic minority groups in the 1980s and 1990s: cultural diversity amongst people. Two academic disciplines had been force-fused to create a hybrid. The hybrid that was created, by definition, could not be said to be either education or commerce. Neither can it be said that its fruits reflected ethnic diversity in Britain. One of the problems with hybrids is that they cannot be undone. The academic disciplines had been allowed to go crazy, but not it seems enough to make the British education system embrace fully ethnic minority children. As I said at the beginning of this discussion, I am not suggesting that there was ever a utopian era of education in Britain. The historical analysis here and in Chapter 2 indicates otherwise. But the nature of the operational hybrid that flourished under the New Right was reductive rather than productive in an intercultural sense. What I mean here is that where education and Hayekian market economics were forced to meet under the New Right, it spawned only a narrow idea of the value of cultural diversity in education. Defenders of the New Right might argue here that this was not the intended outcome. Of course, how could it be? Within Hayek's market theory, outcome is never certain. The free market knows no central control and has no one but itself to account to for its outcomes. But education itself had government to account to, via a system of monitoring and assessment whose development and rigour under the New Right was unprecedented. (Richards 2001:1).

Section (II): 'Business Knows Best': But What Does It Know?

Despite a change of government in 1979 Britain was still in recession. To be financially efficient in education formed one of the first focuses of government under the New Right (Lawton 1992:39). The 1988 Education Reform Act emerged against the backdrop of a series of scrutinies into the effectiveness and efficiency of the public services. These scrutinies were undertaken by Sir Derek Rayner. Rayner was recruited by Prime Minister Thatcher, and came from the Marks & Spencer retail giant. Rayner's job was to make the public services financially fitter (Lawton 1998:117). Economy,

Efficiency and Effectiveness, became notions inextricably linked to the New Right's vision of education, and became known as the '3 Es' approach to public services (Lawton 1998:117).

This thesis does not question that economy, efficiency and effectiveness are good intentioned objectives, and that all public services, including education must be accountable to government and the people of Britain. But how does a government measure public services for effectiveness, if they have applied Hayekian market economics to education, recruited a retail expert to help public services run better, but at the same wish to retain centralized government control of education? As Metcalfe (1991:5 in Ball 1994:55) points out:

"Reformers, in particular, dogmatically assume that public sector management problems are sufficiently similar to those of business to allow the principles of private sector management (if such exist) to be extensively applied" (brackets Metcalfe's own).

This thesis maintains that private sector management has principles pertaining to its own history and trajectory of thinking, but that the New Right emphasised too much the sourcing of private sector expertise in order to manage its public sector affairs. Rayner was just one of the business management experts that the New Right recruited to advise them in public service policy. During the 1980s' to 1990s' period government appointed a management consultancy firm to advise on education: Coopers & Lybrand.

A central instrument in transforming education into a market within the 1988 Education Reform Act was what became known as the Local Management of Schools (LMS). Prior to the 1988 Act, Coopers & Lybrand were commissioned by the government in May 1987 to design a new structure and assessment model for education. This emerged in their 1988 report as: The Local Management of Schools. Coopers & Lybrand were no less the designers of this new system in education.

In 1992 under the direction of a government appointed LMS panel and in conjunction with the National Foundation for Educational Research, Coopers were then asked to do a study of how LEAs were adapting to LMS (Coopers & Lybrand et al 1992). In the same year the Association of County Councils turned to Coopers to provide them with a report concerning the future role of LEAs themselves (Coopers & Lybrand 1992b).

In 1991 and 1995 Coopers were also commissioned by the National Union of Teachers to investigate the funding of education in relation to pay for teachers. The latter two documents are not directly relevant to this enquiry. But it is significant to note here that given Coopers' involvement in education only began in 1987, they quickly became the 'experts' central to the changes that were taking place. By 1991 they had been invited by the National Union of Teachers to help them work within the framework of education as a market. (Coopers & Lybrand 1996:1).

There were numerous management consultancy firms that the government could have chosen. So why did they choose Coopers & Lybrand to advise them on education? Coopers & Lybrand were (and still are) a management consultancy with specialist expertise in accounting and financial management . The precise nature of the task they were given in May 1987 is made explicit at the back of the LMS 1988 report. It states:

"Coopers & Lybrand were appointed to provide independent advice on the implementation of financial delegation" (Coopers & Lybrand 1988:50).

Thus, although the report and the eventual model Coopers proposed to government was called the Local Management of Schools, from this statement of intent, it is clear that the objective of the report is to provide not so much a management model, as more specifically a financial management model. Given this precise nature of the task, and their history of expertise, Coopers was therefore in an excellent position to give a business perspective on this.

At the back of the 1988 LMS report Coopers also state their methodological approach: case study. In the 1980s the case study, as has been shown in this chapter, was a cornerstone of HBS MBA programmes and thus management consultancy, and still is. (Kelly & Kelly 1986; Silbiger 1999). The term 'case study' also has an established history in educational research (Cohen and Manion 1997). But the similarity stops there. The case study formula within the management consultancy context is the name given to a process of investigation which 'trouble shoots' companies, to determine how they can become more financially effective. If being financially effective in business is the prime objective of an organization, then this method and process is a logical one. But what happens when this method is applied to state education? As many researchers have pointed out placing education within a commercial definition of success is problematic

(Ball 1994; Metcalfe 1991; Bowe, Ball and Gold 1992; Lawton 1989; 1992; Lawton 1998). It is not the purpose of this thesis to repeat the general arguments that have been raised on this issue. This research is not concerned with the generalities of this debate. The specific purpose here is to establish what value, if any, was given to cultural diversity and intercultural outcomes in education, within this business formula for measuring success. What formula for assessing effectiveness in education did Coopers advocate for central government? From where did its systems' methods originate? What values were highlighted within it? I begin by examining these questions from within the LMS model recommended to government in Coopers' 1988 Report.

Education as Effective Machine

For Coopers, a school or LEA can be reduced to a simple three part working formula: 'Input', 'Process', and 'Outcome' (Coopers & Lybrand 1988:51). This is the standard Classical Management formula we saw earlier that was used in Ford's car plants, and which flourished in the Industrial Revolution (Morgan 1997:15;Walley 1980:23; Taylor and Davis 1977). Businesses today who still use Classical Management Theory characteristically uphold the following central beliefs:

"The basic thrust of [their] thinking is captured in the idea that management is a process of planning, organization, command, co-ordination and control. Collectively they set the basis for many modern management techniques, such as management by objectives (MBO); planning, programming, budgeting systems (PPBS); and other methods stressing rational planning and control." (Morgan 1997:18).

By the late 20th Century, Classical Management Theory had become known in the field, as McDonaldization (Morgan 1997:24). This was because the fast-food chain of McDonalds epitomized the values implicit in Classical Management operations. "Ruthless efficiency" of input/output ratios was put before concerns for human resources which had a detrimental effect on people that operated in such organisations. (Morgan 1997:24).

MBO and PPBS are already familiar terms within this thesis, discussed at length in Chapter 2 in this historical analysis. Contrary therefore to Morgan's predication above, they are not at all 'modern' but over half a century old, and were adopted by the

previous government in the Corporatist reforms to rationalise expenditure in public services to central government. Centralised control and planning is the ideological plank upon which the welfare state is based. Therefore, the introduction of MBO and PPBS did not offend the central ideology of government at that time. But for the New Right, the introduction of Consumerism and Hayekian economics meant that anything which might reinforce centralized government control was at odds with the ideologies that underpinned their policies. Chapter 2 identified the intercultural gap left by Corporatism's approach to public sector management and the monitoring of education.

To avoid repetition of this gap the New Right would have needed to adopt management and monitoring methods for education that were distinct from those already used in Corporatism. Coopers & Lybrand's LMS formula, placed education into a Classical Management model of input, process and output (Coopers & Lybrand 1988:51). The LMS formula did not therefore displace the assessment models of PPBS and MBO that were adopted by the previous government. The cultural gap left by these models was thus not challenged under LMS, more accurately it was reinforced.

Macro Economics versus Micro Perspectives

The economist views an organization differently from the accountant or financial manager. The economist sees the organization in macro terms. For the economist an organization is only a small part of a wider process. The accountant or financial manager takes a micro view. The organization itself as opposed to the wider process is the primary focus of attention (Pizzey 1985:255). It cannot be assumed therefore that organizations and economic theories necessarily share the same interests and objectives. Coopers & Lybrand were not appointed to produce a report on the role of education from the macro perspective of economics. As already established here, Coopers & Lybrand were appointed by government to produce a management and assessment model for education. The Coopers & Lybrand (1988) report does not mention Hayekian economics. Why should it? Classical Management Theory dominated business practice in the 1980s. The implications of Hayekian economics for management theory had not yet entered into mainstream business thinking (Peters 1992). The LMS model does not therefore expand to accommodate Hayekian economics. Coopers & Lybrand (1988) do not engage with the problems of monitoring educational outcomes from within this wider socio-economic or intercultural context. What I mean here is that if the LMS

model provides a method of monitoring educational outcomes, those outcomes do not occur in isolation within each school in an individual LEA. Collectively they form the outcomes of national state education policy. Within this wider socio-political context, who decides what is meant by effective outcomes? More precisely who sets the standard within this market scenario? These questions are explored next.

TQM: Lessons for Education from a Coca-Cola Bottling Plant (?)

In business operations, via careful financial management and measurement, a quality product can be produced (Silbiger 1999:250). From input to output each unit is followed through the production process. Each step of the production of each individual unit is measured for efficiency (Silbiger 1999:251). In industry this process is termed Total Quality Management or TQM. Its proponents in the mid 1950s were W. Edwards Deming and W. A. Shewhart, who developed a system of measuring efficiency via Statistical Process Control or SPC (Silbiger 1999:251).

SPC is applied to automated production operations such as *Coca Cola's* bottling plants. Using SPC, production engineers can assess how efficient a bottling plant is, in terms of input, process and output. For example, the company standard may be that it wants every bottle of *Coca Cola* to have a prescribed amount of liquid. The machines may be able to do this to within several millilitres. The product team will try to improve upon this standard as much as they can. They will draw up a bell curve showing the extent to which the expected outcome can be reached. This will project production capability, taking into account one standard deviation, or what is sometimes called "one sigma", from the expected outcome. Any production that is consistently measured as being inefficient to one sigma would not be considered to be reaching the quality standard. In America the quality standard used by many companies is 'three sigma' (Silbiger 1999:251). In Britain it is this adherence to standards that gives a product the 'Kite Mark' of quality.

A kite mark of quality in education was recommended within the LMS system. (Coopers & Lybrand et al 1992:Sect 1130). It was recommended that a statistical analysis formula BS5750, similar to the standard TQM process of SPC described above, should be used to measure the tangible outcomes of educational production against intended objectives. LEAs were not in favour of using BS5750 to kite mark

quality in education, because they felt it "inappropriate" (Coopers & Lybrand et al 1992:Section 1130) . This is understandable, because whilst methods akin to SPC may work well with automated bottling plants, children are not static, but dynamic units – more than this they are human. Nevertheless the report maintains that TQM should have some place within the overall measurement of standards and effectiveness in education (ibid).

Coopers and Lybrand's report shows that they are aware that implementing LMS and TQM may be difficult in schools as it would require them to train their clients in a different way of thinking:

"To implement LMS across the country will not be cheap. It will require both staff, time and cash. The largest single component of staff time will be for training…We are under no illusions that many LEAs will find the process difficult and perhaps even unsettling. The tasks are not easy, nor some of the decisions which will be needed. But the result, if done well, will help produce a more responsive effective school system"

(Coopers and Lybrand 1988:6).

But if there was already a concern amongst teachers, as suggested above, in what ways were TQM and the result of this plan to be measured in education? To answer this question it is necessary to understand how exactly Coopers fit education into the input, process, output LMS formula. Essentially, input = pupils, process = teaching and output = exam results (Coopers & Lybrand 1988:51;Coopers & Lybrand et al 1992:Sect1121 Table 4). The strong emphasis on exam results is underscored by Coopers. They maintain that in line with the 1992 Schools Bill their report:

"sets out the performance indicators on which the Government wishes to focus…these are: National Curriculum test results, exam results, truancy rates and school leavers' destinations to further and higher education or into employment "

(Coopers & Lybrand et al 1992:Sect 1121).

From this statement it is clear that for government the main performance indicator for education policy outcome and its effectiveness is pupil achievement in the National Curriculum test results, alongside other public examinations. Performance tests, attendance and truancy are easy to measure using quantitative or statistical measures,

because they are easily reduced to tangible figures and units. Coopers & Lybrand note in their 1992 review of LMS that many LEAs were beginning to measure these tangible outcomes via quantitative methods. However, some schools and LEAs also tried to make the case that these methods alone were insufficient to measure educational outcomes in total. In response the report states:

"many so-called indicators [suggested by the schools] relate more to background features of the school rather than aspects of performance. They may be important in arriving at comparative judgements but are not performance indicators in their own right"   (Coopers & Lybrand et al 1992: 1122).

From this response it is clear that within the LMS formula, tangible outcomes such as examination performance are valued, over and above more subtle and complex socio-cultural factors in education. It is significant to note here that the 1988 Coopers & Lybrand LMS report is less confident in applying performance management ideas to education:

"Performance measurement in schools is a contentious subject. At best performance indicators can only measure some aspects of a school (and at worst they are positively dangerous); nevertheless they can be a useful filter, especially for the school itself...."
                                           (Coopers & Lybrand 1988:31).

What this suggests, is that specifically, the government's decision to focus on examination performance in the 1992 Education Bill has displaced Coopers & Lybrand's (1988) initial doubt about using such narrow performance indicators in education.

I am not suggesting here that quality of performance in examinations, attendance and monitoring truancy are not all extremely important in education; they are. Nor am I arguing that quantitative or statistical measurements of performance do not have their place in education; they do. Rather, my point is this, Chapter 2 clearly demonstrated that the plight of minority ethnic secondary school children in education, combined with the increasingly diverse ethnic matrix of Britain itself, demanded the attention of government at this time. But within the LMS input/process/output model, the only

mention of the culturally diverse context in which education operates, is confined to an entry under 'input' (Coopers & Lybrand 1988:51).

In both the 1988 and 1992 reports on LMS, it is recommended that schools use quantitative methods of monitoring financial efficiency and exam performance. Schools are encouraged to use computerized systems that are equipped to deal with quantitative data, so that they can keep a constant track of pupil units throughout the educational process. (Coopers & Lybrand 1988:31;32; 36-40;51;53; Coopers & Lybrand et al 1992:1132).

In the category of 'input', pupils are departmentalised into the following units: 'Handicap' (a term that is generally agreed to be offensive in education and demonstrates a lack of sensitivity by Coopers, particularly given that the Warnock report into Special Educational Needs (1981) preceded their 1988 report); 'socio-economic background'; 'cultural background'; 'ability'; 'academic attainment' and 'pupil and parent expectation' (Coopers & Lybrand 1988:51). Before discussing what Coopers mean by 'cultural background' and how you might measure that as a unit in TQM, two further things are significant here. First, who benefits most from this departmentalisation? The children or the people who are attempting to measure these things? What I mean here is that it is possible to attempt to measure, for example ability, but within psychology trying to define and measure human ability remains a spurious endeavour (Gardner 1993; Heller et al 1993). A child may have special educational needs but also have exceptional academic ability (Yewchuk and Luppart 1993). Such a child transgresses the categories imposed by LMS here. Second, if test results can provide a measure of academic attainment, how do you measure 'pupil and parent expectation'? Coopers (1988) do not engage with this question nor what is meant by, or how they propose to measure, 'cultural background'. Indeed, later in the 1992 review of LMS, 'cultural background' no longer features, and has been replaced by 'ethnic minority background' (Coopers & Lybrand et al 1992 table 4).

'Ethnic minority background', although entered as an 'input' unit, in the LMS model, unlike the *Coca Cola* bottles mentioned earlier, has neither a process nor outcome indicator within LMS. Its unit progress cannot therefore be tracked through the LMS system. On one level this flouts the intrinsic rules of TQM that have been made explicit earlier in this section: a unit's progress must be followed through from start to finish.

But on another level, no rule of TQM has been flouted at all here. This TQM methodology as demonstrated above, derives from an era in which, European military strategy combined with a Western focus upon business as efficient machine, dominated management thinking. Within this trajectory of thinking, Section I has demonstrated that people and cultural diversity held no place. TQM has therefore developed into an assessment model that lacks the ability to deal with elements that do not lend themselves immediately to tangible units of measurement, and in particular the intercultural outcomes of education policy. I am not suggesting that the TQM method itself, is at fault. Rather, the point here is that when TQM is transposed onto education, it is then operating in a context that it was not originally designed for. In transposing this input/output production model onto education a blurring of the original logic of TQM ensues. Within the TQM method, things which are easily tangible are valued because they can be measured immediately. Hence when the TQM method is applied to education, financial control and exam performance are propelled to the fore, while subtle, but no less important socio-cultural outcomes are marginalised. More than this, it is an approach whose emphasis on centralized control leaves little or no room for the public voice.

The objective of TQM in conjunction with the introduction of the Parent's Charter (1991) was to empower the choice of the Consumer. This may have been the policy objective, but TQM as a theory in itself has never promised a flawless outcome. Contrarily, within the context of TQM, 'quality' is defined as that:

"which meets the standards set by either the manufacturer or the consumer. Quality does not necessarily mean a flawless product or service." (Silbiger 1999:250).

Who then set the standard for quality within the education market instigated by the New Right? The manufacturer or the consumer? I address first the manufacturer in this educational context. The New Right were the manufacturers of educational reform. Via the 1988 Education Reform Act government had ultimate control of finance (input), the content of the National Curriculum (process), and also of the monitoring of educational outcomes (output). We have seen already that the content of the National Curriculum reflected a Eurocentric focus, that was heavily weighted in favour of the cultural restorationists amongst the Conservative Party (Hardy and Vieler-Porter 1995:112-113; Gundara 2000:71;72; Lawton 1992:7; Verma 1993). Religious Education was

marginalized to a non-foundation subject. The control at the disposal of the manufacturer in this context means that they are able both to assume standards for quality and prescribe what the consumer 'wants'.

I now address the consumer in this educational context. If the consumer is a Muslim or Christian their preference might be for Religious Education not to be marginalized but centralized in the curriculum. That potential for choice and diversity was not sufficiently attended to within the state education system under the 1988 Education Reform Act. The point here, is that the National Curriculum, as given earlier, prescribed essentially one menu for many 'consumer customers', of potentially, a great many different cultural tastes. Within such a formula no matter how much TQM is strived for, quality means that which has satisfied only those Consumers whose cultural tastes comply with the National Curriculum and therefore the manufacturer itself: government. TQM within this scenario therefore works to devalue cultural diversity and choice in education. The minority ethnic voice in particular has the potential to be lost in this process.

But there was a further element that was working to strengthen the vision of education embodied by the manufacturer, as opposed to that of the consumer customer within the LMS formula. The 1992 Education Bill introduced a new form of inspection for schools and LEAs. Coopers & Lybrand et al (1992:1125) were aware of this and the new powers that it gave to government. The new inspectorate was to be called OfSTED or the Office for Standards in Education. OfSTED was not to be an advisory body, as had been the traditional role of Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI). With the 1992 Education Bill, HMI was distanced from LEAs and the DES (Coopers & Lybrand et al 1992:1126). At the same time LEAs themselves were made smaller (Coopers & Lybrand 1992(b):3). This restructuring meant that LEAs experienced a reduction in their overall powers and funding. LEAs could no longer fund their own inspections as and when they saw fit. Instead, OfSTED inspections of LEAs were to be regularly carried out at four year intervals. Notwithstanding that the results of OfSTED inspections were available to the public, OfSTED was set up to report back to government on the implementation of its reforms in educational policy. (Richards 2001:1). LMS, had already become a central plank of the 1988 Education Reform Act. OfSTED's presence did not therefore contradict the LMS model of assessment, more accurately it reinforced its implementation. Within its inspectorate capacity, OfSTED

could have provided an alternative method of analysing educational outcomes than that offered within the confines of LMS. In terms of monitoring the intercultural outcomes of educational reforms OfSTED did not exercise this power under the New Right. It was to be a decade later that the first OfSTED report directed at ethnic minority children came out under New Labour, and focused upon academic attainment (OfSTED 1999).

As pointed out earlier, management consultants Coopers & Lybrand were originally appointed by government in 1987 to devise a system of financial management for schools. Theoretically, this suggested a move toward decentralization which was in line with Hayekian economics. But what has been shown here is that this good intention cannot be said to have become a practical reality. As has been demonstrated, at the same time, consumer choice in the newly created education market, did not extend to include cultural diversity nor the voices of minority ethnic groups. This is because the precise control of education remained within the grasp of central government not the people. This position was reinforced via the 1988 Education Reform Act, the focus of assessment models made explicit in the LMS formula, and the introduction of OfSTED to reinforce their objectives.

Coopers & Lybrand (1988) may have played a key role in advising on, and proposing models of assessment to monitor efficiency and effectiveness that could be applied to education. But 'could' is the operative word. This thesis does not seek to find fault with Coopers & Lybrand; they were simply recruited from private enterprise, to perform a precise task for central government and they executed it. The decision for the future of policy focus and assessment rested with government, not Coopers & Lybrand. In choosing to incorporate the LMS as the framework for British state education, the New Right adopted a managerialist model that could not in itself accommodate a focus upon intercultural outcomes. By way of contrast the riots that erupted during the 1980s and discussed in Chapter 1, Section (I) here, merited the need for cultural diversity amongst youth in Britain not only to be assessed but attended to rigorously.

However, despite these warnings, as schools became competitors in League Tables, and the LMS formula was introduced into LEAs, attention to assessing and refining academic attainment dominated the concerns of LEAs. Amidst the implementation of LMS, and the pressure from central government to achieve high academic results, monitoring socio-cultural outcomes suffered (CRE 1989:50; Sect. 249; Troyna

1990:154 in Tomlinson and Craft 1990). This is evidenced, for example, in the plight of LEA departments that tried to promote racial equality at this time. In LEAs such as Brent, Haringey and Avon the racial equality departments experienced closure. This development stood in direct contrast to the recommendations of the CRE (1988) that, as mentioned earlier, had called for tighter monitoring of racial equality in education (Troyna 1995:150 in Tomlinson and Craft 1995). Fearing for the future of ethnic minority groups in education the CRE recommended, that notwithstanding the pressures education was undergoing in implementing these reforms in the 1988 ERA, good race relations needed to be given:

"the highest priority and incorporated into all reorganizational strategies" (CRE 1989:50;Sect. 249).

This didn't happen. Viewed side by side, the history of social unrest amongst ethnically and religiously diverse communities, and the numerous report warnings to government to address cultural diversity in Chapter 1, Section (I), and the expertise that the New Right chose to consult in central policy development and assessment in education, *operated in parallel universes*. A chasm had evolved between the government's inculcation of managerialist ideologies and methods into central policy and assessment on the one hand, and the burgeoning issue of social unrest amidst cultural diversity in Britain's inner-city communities on the other. It was this legacy that met New Labour as they arrived into office in 1997.

Section (III) New Labour: Continuity, Contradictions, and Cultural Diversity

The Third Way as 'Distinctive' Approach: but Are We There Yet?

New Labour has been criticized for not mapping out clearly enough a new ideological direction in education; one which is distinct from the managerialist and market economics model they inherited from the New Right (Hills and Stewart et al 2005; Lawton 2005). Indeed Lawton argues that the continuity of the ideologies of free market and commercialisation in education have been "tested to destruction" under New Labour (Lawton 2005:166). It is not the purpose of this discussion to determine the extent to which this is true or not. However, within the current discourse on government ideology and policy there is much confusion about New Labour's Third Way. This is

because there is uncertainty as to what it actually is (Olsen et al 2004:6; Giddens 2000; Lawton 2005:123; Sefton and Sutherland 2005:233). Important questions arise out of this uncertainty for educational provision and in particular ethnic minorities and cultural diversity. To what extent does the Third Way challenge or continue the gap left by Hayekian economics with regard to social justice? Does the Third Way mean a continuance of the cultural gaps left by managerialist approaches to education and assessment? How well do public/private funding partnerships, which include academy sponsorship from individuals in business and faith groups, sit with the national policy of fostering community cohesion? Given that Study Support for minority ethnic children operates within this policy context, what might a formal assessment model of intercultural outcomes in study support have to contribute to education at this time? Each of these questions is dealt with now below.

Market Economics and Social Justice: Compatible Marriage or the 'Odd Couple'?

"New Labour believes that it is possible to combine a free market economy with social justice; liberty of the individual with wider opportunities for all"

(Mandelson and Liddle 1996:17)

Market economics is a fact of life that cannot be ignored by any government. For better or worse countries live and exist within a global economy. In this sense governments do not have a choice here. Choosing to ignore this fact is to place jobs and the security of the nation and its families at risk. The statement above is recognition of this fact, and in this sense shares continuity of the importance attached to market economics under the New Right. But it does not engage with the wider issue that New Labour inherited in terms of the market in education. For Hayek (1976), the idea of social justice is, in his words, "a mirage" in a world dominated by market economics. In the context of the education market it has inherited, how is New Labour tackling this ideologically with regard to minority ethnic children and cultural diversity?

On the one hand, New Labour has a vision that seeks to rid all public policy such as health and education of centralised control (Mandelson and Liddle 1996 21;22). On the other hand, in order to rectify the gap left in ethnic minority education, race relations and cultural diversity, New Labour has instigated centrally imposed controls and a legislative framework to protect minority ethnic groups. For example, OFSTED now

has in place inspection criteria for combating racism. The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 places a statutory duty for schools to have policies in place, and the CRE can enforce this. However, despite these changes, New Labour's response to redressing the gap left by the New Right has been criticised as slow, inconsistent and patchy (Phillips in Hills and Stewart 2005:206; Gundara 2000, Stone et al 2004:3). Such criticism suggests that government may then produce either more legislation and or centrally-imposed controls to regulate this policy area.

Within Hayek's version of market economics, it has been seen earlier in this chapter that it is the 'fatal conceit' for governments to assume that they can plan and centrally control people's lives and welfare. This is seen as a central "error of Socialism" because it takes an oversimplified view of people (Hayek 1988). Within Hayek's view of the world people are dynamic, emotional, diverse, complex, and in particular, they are unpredictable. To try to impose centralized controls will inevitably only work for some people, whilst failing for others, precisely because humanity is so diverse. When the New Right put in place centralised controls with the National Curriculum, as was discussed earlier, this contradicted the market they were trying to create.

But the most fatal conceit of all for governments to partake in for Hayek is legislation. Hayek (1988) takes great pains to show how within the spirit of free market, legislation is a fatal mistake, for it is the weakness of socialism, and why, for Hayek, socialism doesn't work. Any attempts by New Labour therefore to implement centralised control, and in particular legislation, not only recreates the contradictions that the New Right played out, more crucially it restricts the law of liberty that is central to free market entrepreneurialism and success (Hayek 1976; Hayek 1978:57; Hayek 1988). This therefore places New Labour's response to cultural diversity and ethnic minority groups, between a rock and a hard place in politics, as they try to balance their vision of social justice with civil liberties that are essential to free market success.

This may be the predicament of New Labour but it is not new to debates about models for market economics. For example, in the 1960s Strauss had argued that it was folly for the state to try to structure society for equity and freedom. Within such structures, Strauss argued, people lose a sense that they are in the end responsible for their own choices, and the consequences of their own actions. By leaving people to make their own choices they were more likely to become more morally centred and virtuous

citizens because there was no alternative but to be responsible for their own actions and outcomes (Hutton 2002: 95). The problem with this of course is that when you introduce socio-economic reality into the equation it becomes more complicated. Keynesian economics understood this. Governments do exist, they do legislate. People are not born into the same economic privileges, and notwithstanding that an individual may start off economically poor but end up rich via the opportunities of a free market, where you start within such a system has implications for the way in which you will develop a respect for, and understanding of, the society that you operate in. If government does not appear to extend a helping hand, this can cause resentment from groups who not only feel, but can be, disadvantaged within such a system. It is these two sides of the liberalist coin that have formed the philosophical context in which market economics in education resides, ever since it was introduced by the New Right. Introducing legislation and duties in schools and LEAs to create social equality for all engages therefore with the gap in policy concern for ethnic minority groups. But the juxtaposition of centralised legislation, with liberty for entrepreneurial activity, remains at odds with the market model of education. For if any legislation is introduced it operates not just for those groups it is aimed at protecting, but also within the wider remit of education policy itself. The implications of this and the resultant areas of contradiction therefore are discussed next.

Public Private Funded Partnerships and Social Cohesion

The idea of public private funded partnerships is not one which is new to New Labour, but which began in the New Right era (Lawton 2005: 106;107). Indeed they are very relevant to this research. Public/private funding partnerships predicate the history of community-based out of school Study Support for minority ethnic youth. This community-based out of school Study Support was not taken under the wing of mainstream education and funding until New Labour adopted it as part of their strategy to raise standards in 1997. Out of school community-based Study Support centres for minority ethnic children had begun to develop under Section 11 (MacBeath et al 1996). Established in Chapter 1, Section I, here, Section 11 funding eventually was abolished. But this did not mean that some of the Study Support centres serving minority ethnic children in British inner-cities also came to an end. In 1991 The Princes Trust, in conjunction with sponsors from private enterprise, and education business partnerships began funding more centres for Study Support throughout the country, notably in inner-

city areas of socio-economic deprivation, such as Tower Hamlets and Liverpool (MacBeath et al 1996:5). After six years, the Prince's Trust commissioned a study into the centres. It was found that Study Support had a positive impact on academic attainment and helped develop self-confidence in learning amongst the students who attended (MacBeath et al 1996). New Labour adopted the idea, and wanted to roll it out across the country. Funding then started to come from the New Opportunities Fund (NOF), the National Lottery, and the Standards Fund. But a key emphasis in funding has always been on building partnerships with local organisations, including business, faith, charity and volunteer groups (MacBeath et al 1996; DfES 1998; DfES 2004a).

Study Support serving minority ethnic children in Britain's inner-cities, operates at the nexus of two prominent policy objectives: the future development of public/private partnership funding, and the fostering of social cohesion amongst children in ethnically and religiously diverse communities. What then are the implications of this for the way in which an intercultural model of assessment may be constructed? I discuss first the co-existence of the public/private partnership and social cohesion policy.

Sponsors, Religion, Business and Cultural Harmony: Vision Impossible?

Funding and building academies to revitalise education in deprived areas is key to the public/private initiative. This development resides in enabling funding partnerships to flourish. As with community-based, out of school Study Support, funding is invited from faith groups, business, private individuals, the state, charities, and every combination that may come in between In this sense, this freedom epitomises free market entrepreneurialism that New Labour wishes to see flourish in education and society (White Paper DfES 2005; White Paper DTI 1998).

On the other hand, there is a central policy commitment, to address racism, break down cultural barriers and foster socially cohesive communities. The importance of this social vision has been further propelled into a priority in political consciousness for government, via recent tragic national and international events involving religious identity in the wake of the Islamic Fundamentalist attack on the New York Twin Towers, on September 11th 2001. How well then does the public/private partnership vision sit with this vision for cultural harmony when operating in such a socio-political

historical context? This question is examined first from within the context of faith schools.

Back to the Future with Denominational Schools

Chapter 1, Section (I) showed how the history of Christian denominational schools had gone through different funding arrangements to reach the situation where it is today. A situation that is not easy either ideologically or practically, and held a warning therefore for others who may wish to tread this path. Christian state schools combine funding from their denomination with state funding. Both paymasters have an agenda that these schools are obliged to serve: state policy on the one hand and religious doctrine on the other. The experience of head teachers in these schools is that it has been, and continues to be difficult serving two masters in this way. This difficulty manifested itself in the state policy context of inclusion. Whilst many Church schools want to embrace cultural diversity, the reality in practice tends toward monocultural as opposed to multicultural membership. This is because, operating from within the confines of their remit as Church schools and state providers, everyone is welcome. But only in so far as they are willing to demonstrate a commitment to the religious values the school upholds. Prior to state aided Church Schools the situation was less difficult for school leaders. Financially independent from the state they served the children of the state, but were only accountable to themselves and the doctrine they espoused.

With the new opportunity for funding partnerships, some parts of the Christian community see this as chance to reinvigorate their positioning in education. Speaking on how he saw the future within this funding framework, Peter Bruinvels articulated it thus:

> "Schools are today's and tomorrow's future. It's all about front-line evangelism"
>
> Peter Bruinvels, Church Commissioners's Mission Fund
>
> *Guardian* Tuesday July 20th, 2004

There is enthusiasm for both education and Christian beliefs in this statement. This is very positive for those families and children who may be Christian or espouse Christian values. But within the terms of this statement, if they have been accurately recorded, there isn't a concern with seeing academies as an opportunity to embrace cultural diversity. More accurately, the motivation to be a part of public/private partnership is

the opportunity to accumulate more followers of Christianity itself. Where then is the opportunity to work toward the other and equally important policy here: social cohesion in culturally diverse communities? Public/private partnership therefore reiterates and does not contradict the historical predicament of Church schools.

Hindu, Muslim, Jewish, Sikh and Buddhist schools also have their own doctrines. New to the fold of state education, they face both the challenges that Church schools in the past and present grapple with in terms of inclusion and cultural diversity. On the one hand this widening of the opportunity for all faiths to be involved in shaping education presents a move toward inclusion. At the same time however, informed by the history of Church schools, it cannot be assumed that denominational schools, whatever their religious doctrine, will be passive agents. Legislation and policy is one aspect only; getting it all to work together toward cultural harmony is another. For example, couching the public/private partnership opportunity for denominational schools within the terms of "front line evangelism" may not be useful within the context of national and international politics that place a spotlight on religion.

Private Sponsors from Business: business knows best but what does it know revisited?

Central to the idea of academies themselves are that individual sponsors should inform the vision, ethos and spirit of an academy (DfES 2005:14;15). For example, Sir Peter Vardy is a highly successful businessman. As a sponsor he brings to education a wealth of entrepreneurial experience. He thus epitomises the policy vision of academies to bring the entrepreneurial spirit into Britian's education (White Paper DfES 2005; White Paper DTI 1998). As the sponsor of new academies he has also brought with him a vision so unorthodox on creationism that he has been singularly unique in bringing together two hitherto notorious polarities. Richard Dawkins, a long-standing professor at Oxford University, who is famous for his atheist view, and the Bishop of Oxford both agree that Sir Peter Vardy's philosophy in this regard is not for the greater good (*Guardian*, Tuesday July 20th, 2004).

What knowledge of, or experience in, religious philosophy, and/or teaching religious education, that Sir Peter Vardy has is unclear. Within the academy literature available to date the only information provided is that he was extremely successful in the car hire business. This does not mean that he is not entitled to an opinion on creationism, he is.

But the point here is that children are also entitled to an informed opinion, one which is grounded in wider literature, as for example market economics and science are, and not just upon one person's idealism. At the same time, that idealism, however well-intended, if not fully informed, may provoke an outcry amongst many different religious groups, because it touches on sensitive areas of doctrine. Creationism is a case in point which has this potential. Instances like this are not helpful in either working toward social cohesion or widening choice in education.

Sponsors, unlike head teachers and teachers do not come under the remit of the recent framework for training in ethnic minority issues, referred to in Section I, Chapter 1. New head teachers are to undergo this training as part of their wider preparation for national qualification. However, private sponsors at the moment operate outside this remit and thus have a free reign over the vision they want to see espoused within a school. At this point it is also significant to point out that the RR(A)A 2000 is not directed specifically at private enterprise as much as public institutions. Within private enterprise many conscientious board directors have however, since the 1990s been able to avail themselves voluntarily of the Commission for Racial Equality's Leadership Challenge (*Director*, September 1997:4). This trains directors in good employment practice for all, and works toward implementing written policy to guard against racial discrimination. It is not however to be compulsory for private sponsors who may run academies. Education and the law do not stand still. Academies are still finding their way, and so in future this may change.

Academies and public/private partnerships continue to fuel controversy and debate (Lawton 2005:107). But if this is the context in which education now operates, how then are academies being assessed? To what extent does their assessment reflect a distinctive approach from what has passed before in this thesis? Is there an equal and tangible concern with intercultural as well as academic outcomes? Namely, one which shows more sophistication with regard to what this thesis terms 'cultural intelligence' than for example that developed in the New Right's LMS assessment model?

PricewaterhouseCoopers (PWC) formerly Coopers & Lybrand was the company first introduced to this chapter in the context of the New Right's policy to implement LMS. They were the management consultants the New Right employed to design a system for monitoring LMS. Today, PWC are the management consultants commissioned by New

Labour to assess the success of academies. In their most recent report, school performance in examinations and attendance comprise the most prevalent indicator for success throughout (DfES 2005:1.3; 2.8; 3.25-3.30; 4.1; 4.3; 4.5; 4.10). Other outcomes extend to focus on inclusion with specific regard to Special Educational Needs and monitoring the number of students who attend on free school meals (FSM index) (DfES 2005). Academies are directed at deprived areas and FSM has long been used as a poverty indicator. However, a recent report by Secondary School Heads, warns that such an index does not always take into consideration cultural diversity and can therefore gloss over the issue of ethnic minorities (SHA 2004:13). Within the PWC report (2005), beyond this, replicating not rectifying the gaps in the LMS assessment, there is no precise attention paid to intercultural outcomes. Academies may be inclusive in the children they target in deprived areas, and thus embrace cultural diversity. However, in the spirit of social cohesion, the concept at its root, is bridging cultural gaps and fostering greater harmony. If this is not factored into assessments for success at this stage, then when will this happen? The involvement from people from a wide variety of business, religious and education backgrounds presents a unique opportunity for assessment to engage with the complexity of gauging intercultural outcomes. Done at the start, it would have a better chance of becoming a central part of this dynamic new development in education. Delaying this might simultaneously risk any assessment that is likely to evolve becoming an 'add on' or passed over yet again. And this is not in the spirit of New Labour's policy vision, which is far more ambitious, and eloquent in its intent. But in finding ways to assess intercultural outcomes effectively in tangible ways, government are not alone. Cultural diversity and its growing implications for the market present a challenge for business also.

Challenge and Import of Cross-cultural Understanding, in Global Knowledge Economy

"Economists believing themselves to be the most hardheaded of social scientists, generally dislike dealing with the concept of culture: it is not susceptible to simple definition and hence cannot serve as the basis for a clear model of human behaviour, as in the case of humans as "rational utility maximizers" (Fukuyama 1997:33).

And there lies the challenge to modern economic thinking. In having now to deal with the concept of cultural diversity, economists have been caught unawares. The ways they have traditionally monitored success in the markets is increasingly challenged by the

importance of cultural diversity. This is because cultural diversity evades the rationalised units economists are accustomed to dealing with. Cultural identity is not a static but fluid concept that resides in between, rather than within categories that anyone may try to confine within 'rationalised units'. Indeed, as we saw earlier, Coopers & Lybrand's formulaic approach to assessing LMS, began by trying to reduce the concept of cultural background to a rationalised unit. But this could not be followed through in their formula, so in their next attempt there appeared the term 'ethnic minority', and cultural background had disappeared. In the following sections of this research and thesis, the extent to which this 'one size fits all' label 'ethnic minority' is useful in the construction of a Culturally Intelligent assessment model purpose built for Study Support serving ethnically and religiously diverse inner-city youth communities in Britain is discussed.

Fukuyama (1997) warned business markets that future clashes, within and between countries would not be grounded in competition as much as the challenge posed by cultural identity. Commerce today brings corporations as much as countries into competition more than ever before. As the saying goes in Asia: 'The sun never sets in the global organization'. It is not therefore sufficient to focus upon profitability alone as the key indicator of success. Exploring, embracing, and respecting cultural diversity will become increasingly vital in order to avoid cultural clashes within and between global as well as local enterprise. It is this business thinking that operates at the cutting edge of challenges for commerce today. But how to assess the precise impact of cultural diversity within organizations, and therefore how to factor it into 'traditional bottom line' measurements remains elusive. When it comes to received wisdom about cultural diversity business cannot provide education with any precise answers here, they are still grappling with the issue themselves (Fukuyama 1997:10; 56; 57; 69; Sen 1999; Olsen et al 2005:6-7; Chowdhury 2002:4; 90-91; 142-3; Stonehouse et al 2000: 106, 275; Hilton and Gibbons 2002:41-44).

Creativity Key in Cutting Edge Assessment Models

Creativity, alongside culture, was another word hardly mentioned in assessment models in private enterprise in the 1980s. Today, it is ubiquitous in business thinking (Conklin and Tapp 2000: 221-230; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002: 150-162; Roos et al 1997). Creativity is linked to notions of cross-cultural working in globalisation in order to

maximise processes of innovation and idea-creation (Conklin and Tapp 2000:226; Moss Kanter 2000:254-261; *Director* September 1997:4). This concept of creativity embedded in cross-cultural is forcing new ways of thinking about how business is assessed as successful. This is because creativity, like cultural diversity, does not lend itself to numerical units of measurement (Roos et al 1997). Nevertheless, not being able to measure creativity in traditional accountancy methods has not deterred its value in business. Instead new models have been developed that focus upon creativity as 'Intellectual Capital'. Intellectual Capital is not an output or number as much as the knowledge, ideas, energy and thinking power of people, and the processes that enable them to flourish within an organization (Roos et al 1997; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Clegg and Birch 1998:248). Within the context of preparing children for the global knowledge economy attention to creativity and cultural diversity are therefore logically interlinked. Both engage with the skills that will equip children for the dynamism of the global knowledge economy (Tynan 2002b). [3]

Implicit in the development of public/private partnerships, as well as the concept of social cohesion, is that government wishes education to embrace the importance of creativity and cultural diversity within the global knowledge economy. Toward this end, it is keen for example, that children should be able to learn different languages such as Chinese and Arabic, and maximise the use of ICT, to develop the skills that will prepare them for life and work in the global marketplace (Blair 2002). [4]

It is evident that when the New Right set out its vision for education, knowingly or unknowingly, it adopted assessment models that were not at the cutting edge of private enterprise. The effects of this, and in particular the implications for ethnic minority children and cultural diversity, have been discussed earlier in this chapter. Does the assessment criterion recently being set out for Local Authorities on social cohesion by New Labour, reflect the cutting edge thinking about cultural diversity and creativity apparent in business enterprise, or is it merely the language of audit and Corporatism revisited? I analyse this question from within the current context of standards guidelines for community cohesion in Local Authorities (DfES 2004).

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[3] Tynan: 'Managing Mozart' in the global knowledge economy, 10th Annual Conference of the Technology Colleges Trust (now Specialist Schools Trust), 27th November 2002, Birmingham International Conference Centre.

[4] Prime Minister Tony Blair's address on education, 10th Annual Conference of the Technology Colleges Trust (now Specialist Schools Trust), 27th November 2002, Birmingham International Conference Centre.

Community cohesion guidelines that have been prepared for Local Authorities are broad in their objectives. Schools are to develop this policy not just amongst their management staff and students, but also within their community, families, parents and partners (DfES 2004:4;6;7). They are to work together to:

"Develop common values of citizenship based on dialogue, mutual respect and acceptance of diversity" (DfES 2004:4).

This is a noble aim. But where and how precisely is this dialogue to take place? What are the actual processes that will make it happen? In response the document advises:

"All pupils, parents and community members have access to education and training provision in the local area" (ibid).

However, access to, does not mean the same as motivation to join in training. Training in this sense is something imposed centrally and from the outside of local communities themselves. Training is a crucial positive start to educating about diversity, but it does not give people ownership for those at the grassroots. For those at the grassroots of communities if they feel that the design and momentum for training has an agenda which is not home grown, they may not respect it as something which they worked to build themselves. At the same time head teachers unless already trained themselves will not be able to determine the quality of training they receive. A national programme of training about cultural diversity has only just begun to be implemented for head teachers, and funding structures are uncertain; as a result, it may be some time before plans are able to come together here in practical terms.

At the same time, whilst the document aims to be inclusive, it does place a huge responsibility upon the shoulders of governors and governing bodies to execute implementation. Indeed, within this document on community cohesion governor committees are a central plank for planning and auditing. In the Audit and Planning sections, the words 'governor' and/or 'governing body' appear no less than 38 times in the 12 page document. Planning and audit for community cohesion, no matter what may be mentioned in between, begins and ends therefore with governors and their

committees (DfES 2004:4; 6; 7; 9; 10; 11; 12). Such a 'top heavy' approach is reminiscent of the emphasis placed on committees and those in authority that occurred under Corporatism. The intention was to be inclusive. But it will be recalled from Chapter 2, in the historical analysis here that it was Labour's use of the Corporatist model in the 1970s that provided the gap in the public voice that Consumerism was left to fill (Ranson and Stewart 1998). From history it can be seen that relying too much on the power of committees to implement inclusion creates two problems. First, the opinions of committee members don't always reflect those of the members of the public they are supposed to represent. Second, they tend to focus on 'top down' approaches to audit and control.

Committees are useful in making a start here, but only is so far that lessons from history are learned, and that they can only stand a chance of being effective when complemented by a focus of data gathering amongst people themselves at the grass roots. Otherwise, there is a tendency, as the demise of Corporatism has shown, to leave some groups feeling disenfranchised. Working with people themselves at the grass roots, and growing developments from there upward, creates the opportunity for people and committees to meet at least half way.

Pupils are referred to in the document also, but nowhere in the document are they given the opportunity to self-define their cultural identity as they, and not others in authority might see it. Again, this works to reinforce the mistakes of the corporatist model of assessments. PPBS failed to engage with precisely these kinds of intangibles in assessment frameworks. LMS also failed to engage with this by attempting to shrink cultural identity and diversity to a single unit of 'ethnic minority'. Within such an approach, although the intent is to be inclusive, it can in these subtle, but no less important ways, become exclusive. This happens when those in authority via committees are empowered to make key decisions that may not therefore be fully informed by, but work on assumptions about, those people their policies are directed at.

At this point I would like to draw out the distinction between the ways in which children are referred to in community-based out of school Study Support and this document in schools. Within the context of community-based out of school Study Support policy and provision, because attendance is voluntary, the responsibility for learning therefore rests, in the first instance with the children who attend this provision.

They are not therefore passive but active agents in their own learning. In view of this, young people are not termed pupils but 'students' within Study Support. The word student is defined in the Oxford Dictionary as a person who studies, and is derived from the Latin verb *studere*, to study. Implicit in this definition is that a person is an active agent in their own learning. The word pupil is defined as a person under the direct supervision of a teacher, derived from Middle English meaning orphan or ward. Implicit in this definition is that a person takes a passive role in learning. Within the context of this social cohesion document for schools the difference between these two words becomes pronounced. 'Pupils' suggests that the children in the schools are passive recipients, as opposed to potentially active agents in fostering socially cohesive communities. In order then that the past cultural gaps left by Corporatism are not repeated, the construction of an assessment model for intercultural outcomes in community-based out of school Study Support serving minority ethnic youth, logically begins with self-naming, and self-defining carried out by the students themselves.

That is not to suggest that 'pupils' are not given a central consideration in the standards guidance. They are, and particularly in terms of access to academic achievement (DfES 2004:7;8). This objective is clearly followed through from implementation to assessment in the document:

"Assessment arrangements enable all pupils to attain at the highest level possible and do not put any group of pupils at substantial disadvantage"

The clarity on how success is to be assessed in academic terms here is strong. But what about that other more elusive aim in the document: community cohesion itself? Here the path from policy concept to assessed practice is entirely fuzzier. The idea is that good race relations will be fostered by promoting race equality and focusing upon academic attainment standards (DfES 2004:7;8). The term 'race equality' is one such approach favoured by New Labour, but not one which is favoured by all experts in the field. This is because it paints over the complexities of cultural diversity to appear as 'naïve multiculturalism' (Bourne 2001:14 and Gillborn 2001:19 in Hills and Stewart 2005:207). Underplaying these complexities in the 'barriers to learning' that this document aims for, thus runs the risk of being the pedagogical equivalent of using an elastoplast to stem a heart wound.

For example, discussed already in this thesis and chapter the intercultural implications of denominational schools do not feature in the public/private partnership policy documentation prepared by PriceWaterhouseCoopers (PWC) (DfES 2005). How then are bridges to be built in communities between different faith groups? Details like these are not engaged in and in doing so lend an air of the document only scratching the surface of how cohesion is to be fostered.

Within the context of public/private academies the lack of clarity in this document could lead to confusion which might hamper implementation. For example, in the recent PWC report, some school sponsors were frustrated with their academy's involvement in national initiatives such as Excellence in Cities. They questioned why, if they were technically independent of the state, they should have to be involved with such matters (DfES 2005:16)). Implicit from this is that much work lies ahead as many initiatives attempt to work together in local communities, least of which is the challenge that social cohesion presents within the context of public/private partnerships.

Minding the Gaps: Assessment, ICT and Cultural Diversity

The government has introduced what it terms a New Relationship with Schools (NRwS) (DfES 2004d). Within this new relationship the burden of OfSTED on schools is to be reduced, and a move to a more self-evaluative framework of assessment introduced (ibid). However, whilst this move may be new in schools, within community-based out of school Study Support there is a well established self-evaluation framework for centres (DfES 2004a). The self-evaluation framework used at present enables Study Support centres to feed back to local schools the impact of students attending their centre in academic terms (DfES 2004a). Whilst schools and Study Support comprise separate policy areas in state education, both are thus accustomed to monitoring academic attainment. However the policy of social cohesion is new for both; of especial import here is that in the absence of an assessment model tailored to meet these precise outcomes, that takes into account the precise differences in policy, organizational structure, context and settings, lack of adequate government attention in assessment here, runs the risk of it replaying the mistakes of history. For example, it will be remembered from Section (I), Chapter 1 that this is not the first time a government has tried to address cultural diversity in a national policy. Section 11, was far more modest in its aims than what is being envisioned by New Labour, and yet it failed amidst a

dearth of data, and a lack of a formal and comprehensive systems framework of assessment with which to evidence what it might have achieved.

At this point it is significant to point out that contiguous with the introduction of NRwS, OfSTED staff will be cut (DfES 2005a). This has implications for the implementation of legislation on combating racism and fostering cohesive communities in LEAs. OfSTED currently has responsibility for required judgment inspections toward this end (OfSTED and Audit Commission 42/2002).

The cut to OfSTED comes in response to Sir Peter Gershon's report to create more efficiency in public sector spending (DfES 2005a). The idea is to devolve resources to more self-evaluative structures, entrust the professional knowledge of teachers, and make use of ICT in assessment. This in turn will reduce administration costs in inspection (DfES 2005a). This makes practical sense for schools in the context of traditional audits. Academic performance, including PLASC data to track ethnic minority attainment, is already held on computer systems in schools. But how might intercultural outcomes be factored into this ICT-based self-evaluative system? For example, monitoring the number of racial incidents, as Bhavnani (2001) pointed out in an earlier discussion in this thesis, is only a small part of a more complex whole. The move to use new technology to record extant data does not therefore change this.

This lack of detail therefore combined with: (i) proposed cuts in OfSTED, (ii) the planned development of academies whose sponsors may or may not be trained in dealing with cultural diversity, and (iii) guidance for LEAS on social cohesion that harks back in key ways to Corporatism, creates the potential for a cultural gap to occur again in assessment. In short, the policy is there, but the precision afforded purpose built assessment models, designed for specific policy areas, provision and organizational systems structures, are missing. This is exactly the problem that is perpetuated, minus a purpose built model for community-based out of school Study Support for minority ethnic youth, so that intercultural outcomes can be assessed and monitored in practice.

Thinking outside the box: Learning from Culture

Over the history of assessment models discussed in this section, influences from accountancy, military production units, market economics, Corporatism and Classical

Managerialism have all shaped how education policy is monitored for effectiveness. Quality standards formulas similar to those used in *Coca Cola* bottling plants, input/output ratios used in production management, have all worked to place education in an assessment box. A box in which success in education has become synonymous with academic attainment. Within the context of the New Right this followed through policy to outcomes, as they had made this their primary focus. With New Labour the rules of engagement have, within the documentation at least, changed. But to return to the Yoruba proverb with which this thesis began, 'many words do not fill a basket'. At the moment there is not an assessment model that follows through from the policy objective to foster mutual understanding and respect amongst children from diverse cultural backgrounds. For community-based out of school Study Support which operates at the epicentre of ethnically and religiously diverse, socio-economically deprived inner-cities of Britain, where students are at risk of becoming socially excluded from the mainstream, this gap left unattended to in assessment is unhelpful and unconstructive.

Conclusion

Within the context of the historical analysis explicated here, this gap in assessment resides in part with a failure of previous governments to address cultural diversity. But it also resides in the limits of the assessment models themselves. They were not tailor-made to address cultural diversity or to deal with concepts such as intercultural harmony. They were designed specifically around numerical units of analysis of inanimate objects. Such models have their place in education. But in the absence of tangibles to relate them back to culture, they lack the plasticity to negotiate the complexity of cultural diversity. At the same time these assessment models have often come to resemble audits that place emphasis and power with those in control. They are not especially designed to listen, or give voice to those at the grass roots of policy in education: young people. To think outside the box, is therefore in this context, to think outside of these models of assessment and more toward learning about cultural diversity itself. How are cultural identities formed within and between students amidst ethnic and religious diversity? In what ways do students define themselves in cultural terms whilst operating in such a context? What might mutual understanding and respect for cultural diversity look like and mean in practical, as opposed to theoretical contexts? Working from within the practical operational context of a community-based Study Support

Centre for minority ethnic youth, these questions are investigated in the empirical study in Section (III); Chapters 4 and 5. Section III begins with Chapter 4's explication of the ethical, practical, paradigmatic and methodological pre-requisite considerations and foundations which form the platform and operational context of the empirical study in Chapter 5. Ethics was important in the empirical study, first because it is not a new observation that researching cultural identity and diversity can comprise a sensitive issue for children (Taylor et al 2002; Angrosino and Perez in Denzin and Lincoln 2003; Blair 2004). Second, the import of ethics was reinforced due to the era in which the research took place, whereby issues about ethnic and religious identity and diversity in Britain had been brought to popular consciousness via tragic international events.

Summary

In Section (III), Chapter 4 explicates the ethical, paradigmatic, methodological and practical considerations that informed the design of the empirical study and its objectives. Chapter 5 presents the empirical study which was then carried out in the North West of England, in a community-based inner-city Study Support Centre serving ethnically and religiously diverse youth. Each of the consecutive elements and processes identified in the empirical study which lead to effective provision are detailed. Collectively these combine to inform the construction of CIMA, a culturally intelligent and purpose built assessment model designed for Study Support that is presented at the end of Chapter 5.

Chapter 4: Researching Cultural Diversity as Spectrum.

Introduction

The first problem facing the development of a formal assessment model for intercultural outcomes is conceptual. What does the conceptual aim to foster mutual understanding and respect for cultural diversity mean in practice? Second, to work within the concept of cultural diversity is to realise that the cultural identity of people only superficially lends itself to categorisation. More accurately cultural identity is not static but dynamic. Rather than be bound by limits in definition it can operate between and beyond categorization. Third, at the same time something cannot be assessed if it is not known how it manifests itself in practice. In the creation of a new model this is because the tangible pegs with which to map out and construct a formal assessment model are missing.

The purpose of this research has been to approach this problem from what is termed a culturally intelligent perspective, one which is context-bound but makes no assumptions about children's cultural identities, how they might define themselves and/or their peers. Here cultural diversity is understood as a spectrum. A culturally intelligent approach starts therefore not with categorization but with the children themselves. It generates insight and meaning by giving the children the power to self-define their own cultural identity as they perceive it. From this foundation a culturally intelligent model for assessment can be constructed. At the same time, it incorporates ownership of voice of participants into the construction of the model in the research process itself.

The term 'intercultural' has its roots in the historical discourse on how cultural identities, and the notions of difference and commonality between them, are both 'mobile' and mutable (Clifford 1988:15). Identifying intercultural outcomes is then as much about process as it is about outcomes themselves. The two are interlinked. To map out tangible meanings requires that light is shed on these processes amongst children. How and in what ways do they relate to others whom they perceive to be from a different cultural background to their own? By asking these questions tangible examples can be located and recorded. Again, the aim is not to set limits or pre-determined categories on what these might be. It is an explorative journey where meaning resides in listening to, working with, and observing how children work together in the Study Support Centre. It

also means looking at the environment and the context in which these intercultural processes and outcomes arise. For example, community-based Study Support centres operate a national strategy with organizational structures in which the children work. Therefore, this means exploring how staff and supervisors in the operating structure of the centre are/are not interlinked with the processes and outcomes that take place.[1] This then sets out the theoretical rationale underpinning my objectives.

In practical terms, the paradigm that the research operated in, together with the methods, strategy, design and tools used, are all discussed in this chapter. The starting point for their selection was grounded in three objectives. The first refers to the ways in which I could collect and analyse data about children's cultural identities that began from their own standpoint. The second objective refers to the ways I could also gain data that would enable me to identify and map out examples of intercultural processes and outcomes in practice. Finally, the ways of finding out how and to what extent the staff and students within the centre were interlinked with these processes and outcomes, within the organizational context of community-based Study Support policy and provision were established.

From the beginning of the research I had wanted an analytical paradigm that would enable me to work through logically from the historical critical analysis, at the theoretical level, to the practical level of the empirical study, through to the creation and design of a new practical assessment model, purpose built for this policy and provision. When I did my literature review prior to undertaking the research, I began to locate the cultural gaps that I later developed in the historical analysis in the previous chapters. At that point it was apparent that this research was going to be about addressing these gaps both at the theoretical and practical levels and may involve therefore a mixed methods approach. I therefore sought to operate within a research paradigm that would enable me to develop a line of thought in which data collection and analysis formed a logically interconnected and unified whole. At the same time the paradigm adopted must be able

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[1] This is complicit with and grounded within established best practice in organizational research and assessment. Namely, the creation of a new purpose built formal model of assessment is always logically grounded in the intrinsic factors and processes that form constants specific to the organizational structure concerned (Stake 1978; Stake 2004; Dahler-Larson in Ferlie, Lynn and Pollitt 2005; Guba and Lincoln 1981; Denzin and Lincoln 1994; Goetz and LeCompte 1984; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Albers-Mohrrman, and Cummings 1989). For example Study Support national policy operates a national structure of supervisor, staff, and students, and as explicated in the historical analysis (Section II) is specifically: voluntarily attended; operates in community centres outside of schools; promulgates a relaxed working atmosphere, comprises staff termed tutors not teachers; children termed students not pupils, and serves socio-economically deprived inner-city areas of minority ethnic youth (MacBeath et al 2001; Elliott et al 2004).

to inform an explorative framework in which I would seek to map out meanings in a practical working operational context and organizational structure of community-based Study Support policy and provision.

Significantly, given that I wanted to develop a culturally intelligent model that relied not on imposed meanings, but on meanings developed from people themselves, I required a paradigm that facilitated this approach. Given that I was working with no pre-set variables, an explorative case study within a centre would best provide the opportunity to answer the questions in my research (Yin 1994; Stake 1994; Creswell and Asmussen 1998; Lincoln and Guba 1994). The constructionist paradigm I adopted provided a particularly appropriate framework within which to work. (Lincoln and Guba 1994:115; Denzin and Lincoln 1994; Creswell 1998; Yin 1994; Coffey and Atkinson 1996; Ely et al 1997; Stake 2004; Stake 1994).

Constructionist Paradigm: Trust, Authenticity and Ethics as Unified Research Practice

The constructionist paradigm became especially important in the case study aspect of the research. Implicit within the constructionist paradigm, in the practical stages of working with people, is that ethics, trust, authenticity and verifiability are inextricably linked (Lincoln and Guba 1994:100; 115; Schwandt 1994).

The bedrock of the constructionist paradigm is that meanings are constructed between the participant and the researcher (Stake 2004). It is within this process and relationship that authenticity and verifiability resides. The participant takes an active part in reflecting upon, and informing the interpretation being constructed by the researcher. What this means in practice is that the better the relationship between participant and researcher, the greater is the trustworthiness and authenticity of the study itself. In order that the effectiveness of this process can be maximised, the relationship between the researcher and participants is paramount. It must be one which cultivates a trust in which the participant feels comfortable, that both they and their opinions are valued. [2]

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[2] Ethical and practical process is integral here. This paradigm and approach is especially ethnical and appropriate when the researcher is working with groups who may be underprivileged, operating in areas where there may be a history of sectarian tensions for example so was especially best fit both in practical and intellectual terms for the Empirical Study investigation (Dahler-Larsen 2005; Stake 2004; Stake 1994; Lincoln and Guba 1994).

In the context of my research in particular this was important because of the nature of what I was researching. As other researchers working in culturally diverse contexts have noted, notions of race, ethnicity, class and gender are sensitive issues that are telescoped in qualitative research (Taylor et al 2002; Angrosino and Perez in Denzin and Lincoln 2003; Denzin and Lincoln 1994; Blair 2004; Alibhai-Brown 2001). In my case, I had chosen to ground the explorative case study element of the research in an inner-city borough in North West England. I had been commissioned by government to undertake previous research of Study Support in this region. [3] But I did not assume that this familiarity with the policy somehow might preclude me from the problems implicit in working with people in culturally diverse contexts. The qualitative researcher's 'reflexive turn', punctuated my analysis of the research process itself. I could not read peoples' minds, nor therefore how participants may perceive me, but I could reflect upon how I could instil trust.

As I began the study the tragic events of September 11th 2001 unfolded in New York and worked to place issues of cultural diversity into the spotlight of politics and the media, as had the riots in North West England cities in the summer of the same year (Cantle et al 2001). In view of all of these factors, and in order to establish a climate of trust I upheld the precedent ethic of previous research in issues of cultural identity. To protect students and staff from any unforeseen consequences of publication, the case study and its participants were to be kept anonymous. (Mac an Ghaill 1988; Wright 1995; Creswell and Asmussen 1998; Stake 1994: 244; Altheide and Johnson in Lincoln and Denzin 1994:487). This important ethical point was explained to all students and staff prior to their agreeing to taking part.

Historical Analysis: Locating Gaps

As I said in the introduction, the line of analysis worked as a continuum. The historical critical analysis, in Section II, had identified theoretical gaps in the assessment of

[3] I refer here to a quantitative study I was previously asked to carry out for government that worked within the Study Support Code of Practice Guidelines (1999) to determine academic outcomes. It was in carrying out this study that I noticed that students wanted to talk about the intercultural aspects of coming to Study Support. But that this was not part of the study, and nor was there provision written into the assessment policy to monitor this outcomes, even though it was a stipulated objective for policy provision. The latter experience prompted me to do a literature review to find out why there wasn't a formal model with which to assess the intercultural outcomes of Study Support provision within communities and to undertake this research in order to create a purpose built model, in an area of policy assessment which had hitherto been neglected.

intercultural outcomes. It had shown how, whether wittingly/unwittingly, assessments that had become central in educational change had underplayed both cultural diversity and the problem of getting to grips with intangible concepts. The next logical step therefore was to engage with these gaps in practice. The explorative case study began from this informed stance. It saw how assessments from Classical and production line management, derived from mechanistic input/output ratios, underplayed human process. Within any organizational context, outcomes do not merely happen. They are created by people (Huczynski and Buchanan 1991). Organizations are not in this sense passive machines. They have skeletal structures comprising key actors who interact. This is the process within an organization that leads to outcomes (Cloke and Goldsmith 2002:134-141; Morgan 1997; Huczynski and Buchanan 1991). In the explorative case study that followed on from the historical analysis therefore, attention focused not just on the intercultural outcomes but the precise processes that lead to them. This was reinforced by the constructionist paradigm itself in which the value of people is intrinsic.[4]

Explorative Case Study Design: Addressing the Gaps

By definition an exploratory case study is embedded in human interaction (Stake 1994; Creswell 1998; Yin 1994). In depth and focusing on one case are the operative words in this approach. I was not seeking to make comparisons, because in the absence of any formal models of assessment for intercultural outcomes, there was no way of knowing what to compare. Looking at a cluster of cases at this stage would only draw energy and focus away from the in depth foundation analysis that was required here to begin to fill the gap in the field (Stake 1994; Creswell and Asmussen 1998).[5] It was not therefore the number of cases I was interested in, but rather the focus of the enquiry: 'what did cultural diversity and intercultural outcomes' mean in a Centre?' Within each centre the assumption was not that the nature of cultural identity would all be the same. Rather I

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[4] Explicated in the historical analysis is that there is a deficit in consecutive models applied to Study Support, resulting from models imported into centralized national frameworks of government assessment that are not purpose built for this precise policy area and practical provision. In contrast therefore with models imported from elsewhere, a newly created model which is grounded in a precise policy's organizational structure, function and processes for which it has been designed, is logically superior as it is best fit for purpose. (Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Drucker 1999; 2000; Clegg and Birch 1998; Moss-Kanter 1996; Albers-Mohrman and Cummings 1989).

[5] Intellectually and practically this reinforces the logical pre-requisite and foundation in the construction of a new model purpose built for a precise policy and organizational structure. This is complicit with established best practice in the creation of a new model in organizational assessment (Stake 1978; Cloke and Goldsmwith 2002; Guba and Lincoln 1981; Denzin and Lincoln 1994; Goetz and LeCompte 1984; Schofield in Hammersley 1996; Stake 2004)

worked from the point that cultural diversity, because of its mutable and fluid nature would never be exactly the same in any two centres. What mattered in the construction of a culturally intelligent assessment model was that the cultural diversity and intercultural outcomes could then be understood within the precise context of a given Centre.[6]

Empirical Case Study Design

An explorative case study comprises not a static, but a reflexive and emergent design. The constructionist framework was therefore useful here in that it allowed for emergent issues to inform the richness of the study. In practice this meant that following the themes that developed, I was able to incorporate important emergent sources of data as the study, based on the feedback of the participants themselves, progressed. For example when I began the study it was not immediately clear that some of the initial core group of students I had identified were not in fact 'student participants' but were former student helpers who volunteered to return to the Centre to help others. These former students, who chose to give of their free time helping the children in the Centre, had already gone through the experience of being at the Study Support Centre, and they offered a different perspective that I also wanted to incorporate into the study. When I approached them they were interested in, and agreed to take part in, the study under the same terms and conditions as the other participants outlined earlier.

What I also observed during the process of the study was that the precise physical lay out of the centre was never exactly the same at each session. This meant that unlike a classroom in a school for example, tables were not in danger of becoming student 'territories'. They did not 'belong' to any particular groups of students. Each week the seating arrangement of students was different and sporadic. This had implications in terms of how students got to know and work with different peers, and is discussed in later chapters.

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[6] This is termed the 'cultural matrix' of the Centre in empirical study presented in Chapter 5 and informs the culturally intelligent foundations of CIMA which does not rely on the assumptions implicit in pre-imposed classifications of student cultural identities as 'minority ethnic' or 'Asian for example', but operates instead from the foundation of transparency, clarity and precision afforded by students being able to self define their own cultural identity, and articulate how they locate points of commonality and difference amongst themselves.

A key aspect of the explorative case study is one which has already been shown here to be central to the constructionist paradigm: participant verification of interpretation and analysis (Yin 1994; Stake 1994). In practice this meant that when participants had for example completed an interview, I summarised an overview in my own words and then allowed them time to validate it. At this point they had an opportunity to reflect if that was what they had really wanted to communicate. We could then discuss this so that the final interpretation was informed by this shared process, reflective of best practice.

A Study Support Centre in a Former Mill City in North West England 2001-2003

In keeping with the explorative case study design, my investigation was bounded by time and place (Stake 1994). The Centre was located in a former mill city in North West England. It serves secondary age ranges of children in an inner-city community rich in cultural diversity. In line with the national strategy for community-based Study Support it operates out of school hours during the week, in a community centre, and offers a 2 hour session at the weekends. This national DfES programme for Study Support runs concurrently with the state school year of 36 weeks. However this did not mean that I had 36 weeks each year at my disposal to do the study; I knew from my previous quantitative study experience of the centre that some weeks, particularly in the run up to GCSE examinations, sessions are used for intense revision and study. It was not ethical or appropriate for students at this time to be involved in interviews and observations. There were also bank holiday weekends and religious holidays that meant that some weeks the centre was closed. In addition, given the 2 hour length of the sessions, and factoring in any unforeseen circumstances that may come into play, I bounded the study over the academic years (2001-2003).

Data Collection

As is usual in an exploratory case study, data collection began by identifying the key actors within the organization (Creswell 1998; Stake 1994; Yin 1994). Study support as a national strategy is diverse but as fully detailed earlier, operates within an organizational structure of: supervisor, staff and students who attend voluntarily (DfES 2004a). In the Centre, this translated into to 1 supervisor, 3 subject staff (one of whom chose not to take part), 4 volunteer helpers that are former students, and the students themselves. From the register I was able to identify 31 students all of secondary school

age that attended the centre. However, it must be remembered this is not a compulsory school setting, but a voluntary one, and so not all students attend as regularly as others. I identified a core group of 15 students who attended every week. Crucially the first stage of this enquiry, for the reasons detailed earlier, focused upon students being able to self-define their own cultural identity. From there, a culturally intelligent model of intercultural processes and outcomes could be constructed. Consistency in this first step was essential and thus formed the basis of my sample. The remainder of students helped in piloting the interview schedule.

Protocol and Practicalities: Gaining Access and Establishing a Working Relationship

In the first instance I approached Senior Management within the borough. A meeting was then set up with the department team. We discussed the outline of what I would be doing and also the parameters in which I would work. What I mean here is that having undertaken research in community-based Study Support before, it is important to realise that the demands of student homework from week to week will differ. This means that there will be different demands made of students and staff each week. This was convenient for observations, but not for interviews, for example. In addition I did not want the research to be intrusive to the extent that it stopped the natural flow of a centre. Flexibility and patience therefore were key words in my work. Having discussed these issues, the next step was that I was asked to select a centre to work with and meet the supervisor there. My research was not about academic outcomes. At the same time however I did not assume intercultural and academic outcomes to be mutually exclusive. I also knew that centres that were academically successful had an established core of attendees which was essential to my study. I therefore made my selection on this basis. A meeting was set up with the supervisor and staff and students, in which I introduced myself, set out what I would be doing, and let people ask questions. Whilst this was a formal meeting, I also offered from the start an open and approachable stance. I stayed long into the session, chatting with staff, supervisor and some of the students whose siblings had worked with me before on a previous study. Complicit with ethics and good practice in research, I then left them to think about it for two weeks so that they could decide if they were happy to take part. Only one member of staff as indicated earlier declined without reason to partake.

Practical Research Tools: Mapping Intercultural Outcomes in Interviews and Observations

To create the depth of analysis in the case study that I wanted, I used semi-structured interviews for all the key actors within the organizational structure. These comprised questions purposely designed to overlap so that I might be able to trace linkages between and within them. I also included as a means of cross-reference with the register an indication of how long students had been coming to the centre. This was to ensure that quality of experience was being recorded. An example of the student schedule is provided in Appendix I. These data were then triangulated with observations of verbal and non-verbal interactions between them, using observational notes.

Two stages of interviewing were used in the study, and comprised either taped recordings or extended notes. Participants were given the choice of which they preferred. The medium used also often depended on noise background not from the centre itself but from outside. This was particularly the case during the warmer months when the community-based centre trebles as place for Hindu and Muslim weddings and community fairs for local residents. These are organized on the grassland outside. The Centre isn't air-conditioned so the only ventilation is to open windows. The microphone kept picking up the music from these events rather than the interview on occasion, so that often I had to switch quickly to note-taking to ensure the flow of the interview was not interrupted. The research did not presume that intercultural outcomes would be good or bad in the centre. Informed by the historical analysis, the idea was to ascertain the extent to which students felt that the experience of attending the Centre promoted positive mutual understanding and respect amongst them. Whatever their response, they were then asked to provide an example to support their opinion. This was then cross-analysed with supervisor, former student and staff responses.

The second stage of interviews took place after I had analysed the data from the first set of interviews and the various observations. At this stage I had mapped out my initial interpretation. Operating within the constructionist paradigm, and the exploratory case study design, I then discussed my interpretation with the participants to verify that this in their view was an authentic representation. At this point I made notes of any divergent or common views. This then formed another useful layer of data analysis, before I then went away and analysed the data again from my own perspective and

concerns. The precise mechanics of coding and the analytical process are discussed below in this chapter.

Observations

The observations indicated by Figure 1 comprised: extended note taking on the verbal and non-verbal interactions between the different key actors, as well as the physical lay out of the room indicated earlier. What also emerged during the study was what I came to term 'intercultural events'. These random and impromptu events occurred throughout the period of the study. They tended to happen in small or whole group activities and when children had finished their homework. Staff and Supervisor would engage the children in these activities at these times, as and when they occurred. Examples included an 'Eid and Christmas Quiz', which took place just before the winter holidays created by staff, listening to a 'vital' local football match on the radio one spring, and watching U/PG Certificate Bollywood and/or Hollywood films together. These are discussed in full in the following Chapter 5.

Data source	Semi-structured interviews	Observations for interactions between students	Observations for interactions between staff and students	Observations of interactions in whole group activities	Observation of physical set up of the centre	Student numbers and ages
Students	X	X	X	X		
Former Student Helpers	X			X		
Supervisor	X		X	X		
Subject Staff	X		X	X		
Centre & Register					X	X
Group learning activities				X	X	

Figure 1. Matrix of Data Collected and Sources

Analysis: Mechanics, and Process of Woven Continuum

As I said at the beginning of this chapter, analysis and data collection were interwoven as a continuum in this study. Data generated in the matrix of Figure 1, were triangulated and repeatedly revisited. This was in order to locate criss-crosses in the data that could be further reflected upon and verified with participants (Stake 1994:242). But what were the precise mechanics of how I worked with the raw data collected in the first instance?

Mechanics

First of all, I read carefully through the data collected from the first set of interviews and observations two or three times and let them sink into my mind to get an overall feel for them. I then took each separate transcript and started the process of aggregating the data into codes (Creswell 1998: 154; Coffey & Atkinson 1996; Ely et al 1997: 170). The point of working within a constructionist and exploratory case study framework was to let concepts related to the research questions emerge. I did not therefore use any pre-coded schedule to do this. That doesn't mean that I began this process not knowing where I was going or how to get there. All the concepts and themes generated in my analysis are the same as others' analysis in this sense. In the end they are all pre-determined by the fact that whilst you do not know the precise nature of what you will find, you are still seeking to locate patterns in the data that inform your research questions (Miles and Huberman 1994:57; Coffey and Atkinson 1996). In my case this was: what are the examples and processes in which intercultural outcomes can be located and defined in the Centre? How and in what ways are they linked? How do they inform the construction of a culturally intelligent assessment design?

Before I began coding at all, I made notes of thoughts and ideas I had next to paragraphs in the extended notes and transcripts. Coding in this study was therefore paragraph based. However, neither human thought nor therefore the ways in which people articulate their ideas are linear. This was reflected in the interviews for example. Often participants would start off answering one question and then move away from one focus, and come back to it later. Ideas therefore about a similar topic occurred within, across and between paragraphs in the data (Ely et al 1997; Coffey & Atkinson 1996). I then set up a system of coding clustered bits of paragraphs within and across the interviews that related to different concepts. These codes were then clustered to comprise different

categories relating broadly to the key questions I was interested in. To use the analogy of pitching a tent, here I sought the t-junctions, poles and clips that linked: (i) how children identified themselves in cultural terms; (ii) how this framed the ways in which they formed understandings about the cultural background of their peers; (iii) processes in the Centre that fostered the ways in which the children interacted within it; (iv) how staff and supervisor either did or did not work to create these processes; (v) how this then produced the intercultural outcomes of the Centre operating from within the processes intrinsic to policy provision and its organizational structures. Elements identified within these categories were then collapsed into more precise themes by establishing patterns of inter-related concepts in the coding.

The process was not linear. However, in setting out the methodical steps I took to reach the end point above it may appear that way. In practice, a lot of thinking time took place in between. During this process I had a lot of different ideas, some of which when I revisited the data I found were red herrings or not leading anywhere. That is not to say that if I could see concepts starting to emerge that were interesting but did not inform the research questions on first visiting them, that I didn't then remove them. These I kept in a filing system for later reference if something occurred to me. In qualitative data analysis, this discipline is necessary in order to keep the focus of the study alive and invigorated.

Throughout the interviews I also kept a record of quotations from participants from both sets of interviews, particularly where a quotation had illustrated a theme or exception to a theme developed from my coding and analysis. [7] These evidentiary quotations are discussed within the context of their related themes in the following chapter.

It will be recalled from an earlier discussion in the chapter that one of the emergent elements in the case study was the different physical set up of the Centre during sessions. I kept a record of these, how they occurred, and also to what extent this impacted on the potential for students to mix, work and socialise with different people and groups each week.

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7. (Creswell 1998:154) refers to this as 'direct interpretation'. I found this useful, both in terms of participant quotations which supported emergent dominant patterns, as well as those that diverged from these patterns, because this worked to inculcate and maintain rigour throughout my reflections upon the data and its analysis.

When I had developed the main themes from the process set out here, I wrote a preliminary draft interpretation of the case which included the following: how students in the Centre defined their own cultural identities and that of their peers; how intercultural processes and outcomes might be linked; how these manifested themselves in practice in the Centre; how processes and outcomes were linked, in terms of the role staff and students played in the Centre, within the organizational structure and intrinsic aspects of policy and practice. I discussed my interpretations with participants to validate them. Having done this, I then re-analysed the interpretations again from within the confines of my own specific concerns to create the purpose built model. What themes finally emerged? Which processes and outcomes do they comprise? How do these inform the construction of a new culturally intelligent and purpose built assessment design for 21st Century Study Support serving ethnically and religiously diverse inner-city communities of youth? In response to these questions, Chapter 5 explicates the key elements and respective processes that emerged in the case study in the construction of CIMA: a culturally intelligent monitoring and assessment design, purpose built to assess the intercultural outcomes of community-based Study Support.

Praxis and Dissemination

Implicit in this research design is that the spectrum of cultural identity amongst students within a centre within this policy provision resides in how students choose to define themselves and not in 'one size fits all' pre-determined classifications which, for example, connote homogeneity, where in fact there might be none. This is discussed and explicated in the empirical study presented in Chapter 5. Further, community-based Study Support operates a national strategy and organizational structure that is constant throughout. The organizational structure of the Centre in the empirical study of supervisor, staff and students, is not therefore local but national. In detailing the precise processes within this organizational structure, via which intercultural outcomes occur in practice in this policy provision, the CIMA model, presented as a whole at the end of Chapter 5 incorporates transferability within the policy provision for which it is designed. Explicated in Chapter 6 is that grounded in best practice in organizational assessment, and effective provision, CIMA in being a purpose built design, affords the benefits of a dual assessment and educative application in less than effective settings in community-based Study Support. This aspect of CIMA, means that it is equipped to be able to take the policy area forward effectively (Fullan 1991; Reid and Barrington 1995;

Hopkins, Ainscow and West 1996; Morgan 1997; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002). Community-based Study Support has a history of practitioner assessors in other areas of its assessment within provision (Elliott et al 2004). In Chapter 6 attention is paid to practical considerations for practitioner assessors within different contexts within community-based Study Support to enable effective implementation of CIMA assessment. Finally, in Chapter 7, grounded in the empirical study, the historical analysis, and best practice in organizational assessment, which inform its design, CIMA's contribution is analysed in the context of the government policy arena it has been created to serve.

Chapter 5. Empirical Study: Study Support in a North West Inner-City Centre.

Introduction

The Study Support Centre: I drive to the Study Support Centre that nestles at the heart of terraced streets. Rows of shiny slate roofs are punctuated with derelict mill steeples, church spires and mosque domes. It's the end of a rain shower. I turn a corner and the street shops are bustling: fresh, whole green watermelon, the size of basketballs, and generous yellow mangoes spill out on to the puddle-dented pavements outside grocers. Swathes of sapphire, scarlet and saffron silks all trimmed with gold, glitter in sari shop windows. Spicy aromas of freshly baked samosas [1] float through my car window. As I arrive at the community Study Support Centre, inside a gentle buzz of relaxed chat fills the air. Staff are stood or sat at different tables, busily helping different students. One member of staff shares a joke with some students and relaxed laughter rises briefly above the chatter. A shaft of pale sunlight through the windows captures the peach and purple silks of the khalwar shameez [2] worn by two students. They share their table with another student who is wearing a black leather jacket, jeans and a Harry Potter T-Shirt. This is not school, no uniforms here, students attend voluntarily and they can wear what they like...A week later and the two students in the khalwar shameez have swapped their silks for something different. One wears a cool blue Western-style trouser suit. The other sits in hipster jeans and T-shirt with GAP on it. Their colleague in the Harry Potter T-shirt last week arrives in a cream dish-dash [3] this week. I look at myself for a moment. I am wearing: three India-cut gold bracelets nearly as old as me from a suuq[4] in the Middle East, the continent I grew up in; a beige top and trousers that I got in London; and a wooden Aboriginal necklace my Australian family gave me. Tomorrow I may have a glass of Guinness with friends, a propensity for which I attribute to Irish genes, and then listen to some African music – which I cannot attribute to any genes or family member. I just like African music... Extract from Observations and Reflections

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[1] Samosas: small pastry containing either vegetables or meat. In either case they are infused with herbs. Crispy to the bite, they are deep fried. Origin: South Asia.

[2] Khalwar Shameez: costume worn by women in Pakistan, it consists of a long top over long trousers, these can be close fitting or loose, depending on current fashion trends. Origin: Pakistan

[3] Dish-dash: Middle Eastern dress worn by men. Full length shirt that reaches ankles; cream, white or pale blue/grey cotton, with collar, long sleeves and cuffs, can be warn with cufflinks for formal and/business occasions. Origin: Middle East.

[4] Suuq: Arabic for market place.

Culture is complex. It is dynamic, organic, and mutable (Williams 1976;Geertz 1973; Said 1978;Clifford and Marcus 1986; Appiah 1992). The problems of articulating it don't decrease with time, they increase. In the 21st Century, with economic migration and globalisation of business and industry accelerating, the local becomes global and vice versa. Communities of people are multicultural within and amongst families (Stonehouse et al 2000; Appiah 1992; Alibhai-Brown 2001). The notions of defining the self as distinct from the 'other' in cultural terms are wrought with ideological and practical difficulties (Williams 1976:87; Said 1978; Clifford 1988; Lippard 1990; Appiah 1992; Stonehouse et al 2000:6:77; Alibhai-Brown 2001). Any attempt to classify 'others' as belonging to any cultural heritage, ethnicity or background becomes immediately reductive, if research does not engage with the complexities involved. Integral to this study therefore is the avoidance of such a reduction. This empirical study is designed to address the culturally intelligent and intercultural-shaped holes in assessment that were identified in the historical analysis within this policy's provision.

In order to locate precisely the elements and processes through which intercultural outcomes are achieved in practice in this provision, the empirical study begins by establishing a culturally intelligent foundation from which to work: this means that it does not rely on pre-imposed student classifications such as 'ethnic minority', assumptions about homogeneity based on what students look like in the Centre, or the application of terms which may imply this, such as 'Asian' or 'Muslim'. Rather it investigates how students define themselves, and locate points of difference as well as commonality amongst their peers within the Centre. From these culturally intelligent foundations, and grounded in the organizational structure of the Centre, each of the different elements and processes that lead to intercultural outcomes are then identified.

It is important that each of the elements and processes identified in the empirical study are grounded in the factors intrinsic to this policy and its organizational structure, in order to create a new purpose built assessment model (Fullan 1991; Morgan 1997; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Hargreaves and Hopkins 1996; Drucker 1999). This is because non-purpose built models imported into provision, as discussed in the historical analysis, cannot afford the benefit of being best fit (Fullan 2001). They cannot take assessment forward effectively because they are ignorant of the intrinsic factors that are integral to this policy and its provision, and are unable to engage with the complexities involved. In contrast, the model derived from the empirical study, in being both

culturally intelligent and purpose built, is designed precisely to engage with the complexities involved. Each of the individual elements and processes identified in the empirical study, and how they inform the culturally intelligent monitoring and assessment model (CIMA) presented at the end of this chapter, are detailed and discussed consecutively below. I begin with the two elements which inform CIMA's culturally intelligent assessment foundations.

CIMA's Culturally Intelligent Foundations Reveal the Centre's Cultural Matrix

The culturally intelligent foundations of the CIMA model derive from two elements in the empirical study: (i) how students define their cultural identity; and (ii) the ways in which students articulate how their identity is different from that of their peers within the Centre. As shown in Fig. 2 below, this reveals the range of different reference points that students use both to articulate differences and define their own cultural identities within the cultural matrix of the Centre.

Fig. 2 CIMA's Culturally intelligent foundation elements reveal Centre's cultural matrix

Religion	Religion/ Country	Country/ Continent	Dual Country/ Continent	Trio Country/ Continent	Language
Muslim	British/Muslim	Pakistani	British/Pakistani	African, Pakistani, English	Bengali
Hindu		European	Pakistani/Indian		Gujurati
Christian		Bangladeshi			
Sikh		Indian			
		Asian/Pakistani			
		British			
		English			

The points of reference that students use to locate their cultural identity afforded three significant insights within the study: (i) where groups of students identify themselves as being Muslim this does not confer homogeneity amongst them; (ii) students do not obey pre-categorisations of their identity such as 'minority ethnic' or 'ethnic minority'; (iii)

betwixt and between their ancestral heritage and their present lived experiences and languages, there is evidenced a glocality in student identities. Each of these findings is detailed and discussed below.

Being Muslim did not confer homogeneity; it illuminated diversity in the Centre

Assuming homogeneity can be a misleading and misguided proxy for the complexity of cultural identities within the Centre as evidenced, for example, in this student's articulation of his identity:

"I am a Muslim and my family's from Pakistan and well before I came here, you see, well I go to a school that's like mostly Pakistani Muslim yeah, and when, well comin' here I have met a lot of new people, different Muslim traditions like from me, they are from different places like Bangladesh yeah right, and some from Africa an' that, and well, 'ere we can just talk about everythin', and I've learned loads of stuff about 'em, like we're different traditions, we do things different from African and Bangladeshi Muslim, like me mate from Africa who comes 'ere, he's Muslim but they're not as strict as us, and I like that, we don't do all the same things, we're different. But I like coming here, here it's like we don't all have to be the same to be friends an I think that's good, I like that here."
                                                                                Anwar (Student 8)

In the North West of England where this Centre is located there have been a number of clashes, between 'Muslim' and 'non-Muslim' youth, that have merited government concern (Cantle et al 2001; Denham et al 2001). Perceptions of homogeneity implicit in the term 'Muslim' can be unhelpful and misleading in such contexts. For example, for Anwar, being Muslim does not necessarily confer unequivocal uniformity with all those peers who practice this religion, in the different ways that they do in the Centre. Ethnicity and the traditions that they bring with them from, for example, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Africa within the Centre impact on Muslim practices, cementing points of divergence and not homogeneity amongst these students. Further, clearly, being Muslim has not precluded Anwar, and those other students who identified themselves as members of this faith, from actively seeking out and making new friends in the Centre that transcend both their ethnicity and religion within this inner-city locale.

Student definitions do not conform to pre-imposed categorisations

As demonstrated in Fig. 2, when given the opportunity to self-define none of the students in the Centre conform to the dictates of policy terminology such as ethnic minority or minority ethnic (DfES 2005b). At this point it is significant to point out that whereas government terminology is one thing; whether or not 'minority ethnic' groups are content to see themselves in these ways is another. For example in America those people termed by government policy as 'Hispanics' have long been outraged because the term denudes the individual of the diversity in cultural heritages they are able to draw upon, and are themselves comfortable with, such as: Chicano, Puerto Rican and so on. Moreover, it links them with the Spanish colonisation of their ancestral countries, which they do not wish to remember, or be associated with (Gomez-Pena 1990:131;132). This illuminates a further problem with the use of pre-categorisations; they cannot assume to have any value or meaning to the people they are directed at (Lippard 1990). Self-defining is empowering for the individual. By allowing them to choose the points of reference they want to use, it gives a person both ownership of an important process, and a cultural identity which, vitally, has meaning for them (ibid). The spectrum of diversity manifest in the different reference points students have used to define their cultural identities goes beyond the confines of other pre-imposed classifications. Pre-categorizations such as 'Asian' viewed within the context of the detailed range of references used by students in Fig. 2 appear vague and sloppy. Indeed, it is significant that in the one instance a student used this term it was in fact immediately qualified by them in their clarification that they were Pakistani. The point is that terminology such as 'Asian' promotes the idea of homogeneity where there is none within this ethnically and religiously diverse student community. A culturally intelligent approach recognizes this, and avoids therefore a situation whereby assumptions about student identities are grounded in nothing more sophisticated than how they may appear.

Glocality implicit in student definitions in contrast with the term 'minority ethnic'

The term 'minority ethnic' connotes something small that is a part of something bigger. In contrast, none of the terms used by the students fits into this category. For example the term 'Bengali' takes in a language that spans the continent of South Asia, and is spoken in parts of the Far East, Middle East, East Africa and Europe. There is nothing

small about the connotations involved in any of these terms. Similarly, the religions students use to define themselves with are not local, but global in reach and membership: Islam, Hinduism, Christianity and Sikhism comprise four of the world's largest religions (Haslam 1996). Further, it is evident that for many of the students in the Centre, their cultural identity resides betwixt and between the complexities of ancestral heritages in different parts of the world, and their current lived experiences:

"My nationality is English, but my ethnic origin is half African, and half Pakistani, because I am half Pakistani, because my grandfather was Pakistani and my parents were born in Africa."   Mumtaz (Student 14)

"I am Indian and Pakistani, I mean that is where I am from, but I have relatives in other countries and I am here [England], I guess I am all over the place."

Rabia (Former Student 1)

"I don't think they [the students] know where they are at, it's like religious dates, all of a sudden the veils will come out, they'll wear the traditional head gear, they'll wear traditional sort of dress, and then they'll go out but their accents will be very Northern [North of England]."   Rukshana (Staff Tutor)

The last quotation by Rukshana, suggests that students occupy a confused predicament. However, whether they occupy a confused predicament or not depends upon how these students are viewed, and what expectations are applied to them. The students themselves were incisive about their identities; they did not hesitate in articulating the complexity of their predicament. For example, evident from Mumtaz is that the reality is that his cultural identity is not neatly bounded merely by his localised experience. Any expectation that it should be so, conveniently glosses over the complexities of his predicament as he has articulated it. Betwixt and between the ethnicities and traditions of their ancestral heritage and their current lived experiences, the predicament of Mumtaz and Rabia is that they are glocally, and not locally, bounded. This predicament is not something that these students choose to occupy, it is where they find themselves.

The word 'tradition' is an important one to consider here in forming an understanding of this glocalised predicament that these students occupy. It is a word that is often mixed readily with the concept of resistance to change, without first examining what the

word itself means (Picton and Mack 1992). If we look at the etymology of the word 'tradition', it is derived from the Latin 'tradere' which means 'to hand over' (ibid). This connotes the idea of something moving, not standing still. Indeed, traditions are things which are handed over to new generations which then negotiate their importance and meaning in different contexts and eras. If this process did not happen, then we would never hear the phrase, "that's a tradition that's died out now" (Picton and Mack 1992). However, where the individual is still in the process of negotiating and engaging with those traditions, as demonstrated by Rukshana's quotation above, they oscillate between the current predicament they find themselves in, and their cultural inheritance. This process of oscillation is manifest in the fact, for example, that during religious dates 'all of a sudden' some of the girls in the Centre are wearing their traditional dress with veils, albeit, as Rukshana points out, their accents show that they live in the North of England.

One size fits all definitions promote myths of homogeneity

Grounded in those issues identified by the empirical study and discussed here, definitions such as 'Asian', 'Muslim' and 'ethnic minority' fail to engage with, and do not communicate the detailed complexities of student identities in the Centre. This is not useful in the construction of an assessment model for intercultural outcomes on two counts. First, as demonstrated here, especially in the case of students who are Muslim, this promotes the myth of homogeneity where there is in fact diversity within provision. Second, students have demonstrated that they do not conform to pre-imposed classifications. Importantly, a culturally intelligent assessment design engages with both these points.

The importance of establishing culturally intelligent foundations

A culturally intelligent assessment design inculcates the importance of students having the opportunity to self-define their own cultural identities. This culturally intelligent foundation is a pre-requisite process in the development of a model to assess intercultural outcomes in community-based Study Support. Unless the cultural identities of students are grounded in their own definitions and experiences, they can only ever be an interpretation. Further, any account of processes in human relationships is an interpretation only, if it is not first grounded in those things which have meaning and value for the people themselves (Dingwall and Strangleman 2005; 469; Beattie

1966:13). Interpretations are not useful in the construction of a new assessment design for intercultural outcomes therefore. With the opportunity to self-define importantly clarity forms the foundation of a culturally intelligent assessment; cultural identities are revealed which have value and meaning for the students themselves. And from this culturally intelligent foundation, the ways in which students locate commonality and difference amongst themselves can be revealed within the Centre. Having established their ethnically and religiously diverse cultural identities, the next step in the construction of an assessment model to monitor intercultural outcomes in this provision is to investigate the following questions: through which processes do these students establish intercultural relationships within the Centre? Which elements and processes lead to intercultural outcomes in the Centre? Grounded within the factors intrinsic to the organizational structure and remit of community-based Study Support policy, each of the elements and its respective processes identified in the Centre that lead to effective intercultural outcomes are detailed and discussed consecutively below. Neither the number nor the order in which each element is discussed confers especial import. Rather, each element, and its respective processes, comprises an integral contributor to the achievement of interculturally effective provision. In Fig. 3 below, I begin with Element 3 and its respective processes identified in the study which informed this next part of the CIMA model.

Fig. 3.CIMA Element 3: Mutual Understanding and Respect within the Centre Resides in Multilayered Processes

Outcome:	Processes:	Evidence Base:
Mutual Understanding and Respect within Student Cultural Matrix of Study Support Centre Resides in Layered Processes	• *Process 1: Lateral Communication (Amongst Students: Peer to Peer) Opportunity for students to discuss commonality and difference:* ➤ *Within 'apparently' homogenous religious group of Muslim students from different ethnicities* ➤ *Between different religions Example: Christian and Muslim.*	*Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members of Organizational Structure*
	• *Process 2: Vertical Communication (Student to Staff and Vice Versa) Opportunity for staff and students to discuss respective different cultural and/or religious traditions. Example: Sikh and non-Sikh.*	*Triangulated Data: Interviews with all members of Organizational Structure*
	• *Process 3: Opportunity for Whole Student Group to Share Appreciation of Popular Culture in Community Space Afforded by Study Support. Examples: watching a Bollywood or Hollywood movie; listening to a football match on the radio.*	*Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members of Organisational Structure*

Wherever there is diversity in cultural identity, this has implications as to how cultural differences are defined and articulated (Appiah 1992; Alibhai-Brown 2001). The question of whether there is mutual understanding and respect for cultural difference in such a context begins first with where an individual decides that their own cultural identity stops and the other person's begins. The question will not start from an assumption that there is necessarily a mutual exclusivity between 'self' and 'other' that denies areas of common ground. Cultural 'difference' in such a context, is like Plato's beauty, it does not have a universally-binding consensus as to what it actually means (Fukuyama 1997:33).

Grounded in the clarity of meaning afforded by the culturally intelligent foundations discussed earlier, students were asked whether or not they felt that coming to the Study Support Centre helped to foster mutual understanding and respect amongst them; and if so, in what ways they located this for themselves. In response, a consensus arose amongst the students that when further triangulated with interviews with all the other members of the organizational structure, and my own observations, indicated the affirmative: the Centre helped to foster mutual understanding and respect amongst the students who attended. This is a positive outcome. However, for those reasons already evidenced and explicated in the historical analysis (Section II), it is insufficient to talk about outcomes only. What is required to take assessment forward here is an illumination of processes that lead to effective outcomes in the Centre. Within this element, three processes were identified in the Centre which lead to this positive intercultural outcome.

The first process in Element 3 of the CIMA model refers to lateral communication; that is, the opportunity for students to discuss commonality and difference, within this ethnically and religiously diverse Centre. In particular, the opportunity that the Study Support Centre provides students to be able meet in a relaxed policy context and setting is an integral process through which they establish positive intercultural relationships that transcended their ethnic and religious differences. This opportunity and process was especially important for Muslim students who, outside of this community-based Study Support Centre, otherwise attended Muslim faith schools:

"Yeah, you learn a lot about each other here, before I came here, it was like I am in a school yeah, that's not very mixed, it is Muslim inheritance, mainly like from Pakistan,

but ever since I came here [the Centre], I've mixed with other cultures and backgrounds, and learned quite a bit you know, like chatting with friends I've made here [the Centre], like I can remember when we were talking about Bangladesh and Pakistan, in our culture in Islam [Pakistani]; it is a lot about respecting reading and writing, being able to read and write, but my friend here, she is Muslim yeah, but her family is from Bangladesh and it is not the same there, like her Mum and Dad are Muslim but they can't read and write properly because that kind of stuff isn't really respected in their community, like they don't respect it, study that much, but my friend she's Bangladeshi but different, I've learned that, I respect that she does like readin' and writin', and we chat about so many things, and so yeah we are different, but you know like here, we've like had a chance to understand each other, she's my friend now." Huda (Student 13)

"In Islam there's different stuff to Christianity but it's still we don't really make a big difference and there's like Hindus and stuff so, we don't, we're still human so that's what we basically aim at. To stay all the same, be treated equally" Hasan (Student 9)

"Yeah you get to make friends, you can talk about anything. Just everyday general stuff like your cultures and traditions and stuff, I mean just like, I mean we can talk about Eid to someone who doesn't know exactly what Eid is and stuff and they talk about Christmas and Easter and stuff like that." Karim (Student 3)

Religion as bridge in the formation of student mutual respect and understanding: within and across religions

Significantly, students established intercultural bridges within and between their faiths. For example, as evidenced in the interview with Huda (Student 13) above, until she attended the Centre she had not been able to mix and establish friendships with other ethnicities and traditions within the Muslim spectrum. At the same time, other students such as, for example Hasan (Student 9) and Karim (Student 3), made friends that transcended the different faiths of Hinduism, Christianity and Islam. As is evidenced above, this process afforded by the Centre was of especial importance to those students, like Huda (Student 13) who otherwise attended predominantly Pakistani and Muslim faith schools during the week.

The second process that contributed to the positive intercultural outcomes in this element was the facility of vertical communication in the Centre; that is the opportunity for staff and students to discuss differences in culture and religion with each other. This process was identified, as with the previous one in this element, within triangulated data comprising interviews with all members of the organizational structure and my own observations. As detailed below, this aspect of the provision was clearly an important process for students as well as staff, through which mutual understanding and respect was achieved in the Centre.

"Before I came here I didn't know anyone who was that religion, but we've got a tutor who is Sikh religion and it has really helped me to understand that religion as well, it's the way you talk to them (tutors) because like before I wouldn't feel comfortable talking with a Sikh religion person, but once you've got to know someone like that, yeah it opens new doors. You respect what they [tutor]do and how they feel and what they believe you know, because you understand it a bit more, because you can read about it in books and that, but until you've actually met someone who is from a different religion you don't actually understand."   Patrick (Former Student 4)

"You find out that the teachers who teach you are usually different colours, different cultures, like English or Sikh, any religion but they're all teaching you, and helping you in many different ways, they're from a different cultural background but they're still helping you."   Ali (Student 7)

"I think that the fact that you have got tutors here from different cultural backgrounds, who welcome students from any cultural background, it does help promote that [mutual understanding and respect]."   Karandeep (Staff Tutor)

Exemplified here is that vertical communication within the organizational structure is free flowing, non-assuming and open amongst its members. There is a 'stress free' atmosphere in which students and staff talk about cultural and religious diversity.[5] In contrast, in the time-starved, stressed and pressure-rich environment that more often

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[5] MacBeath et al (2001) that came out as I was doing this study also found that study support centres tend to have relaxed atmospheres that staff and students enjoy working in that is supported and encouraged in national policy.

than not characterises schools, such an opportunity for either staff or students would be unusual (Hutchinson 1996; Dunham 1992; Kyriaciou 1980). And that is precisely the point. Study Support is not school. That is not to say that the only activity undertaken by staff and students in Study Support is to discuss cultural and/or religious diversity. As is evidenced in Element 5 and its respective processes detailed and discussed later, they do not. Rather, it is the opportunities explicit within these lateral and vertical processes, to discuss ethnic and religious diversity, in a non-pressured environment, that contributes to the positive intercultural outcomes within this element. Opportunities that, as evidenced by Huda (Student 13), are not available automatically or facilitated in the context of, for example, the Pakistani-dominated Muslim faith school she otherwise attends in the city.

The third process identified by the study that informs CIMA Element 3, relates to the opportunity for students to participate in whole group shared appreciation of popular culture together within the community space afforded by the Study Support Centre. So far in this element, I have focussed upon the overt processes involved in the formation of student mutual respect and understanding amongst students. This however, provides only a one dimensional view of the processes involved in this element. Study Support is not a 'classroom' situation, and therefore its operational activities are not governed by 'classroom' rules. [6] So, unless it is exam time in schools, when the staff run revision and study skills sessions for students in the Centre, once they finish their homework, students have options; they can choose to leave early. Being by definition, in this national policy context, voluntary attendees, and notwithstanding that students have the right to exercise this option, significant in this interculturally effective Study Support Centre they do not go home; they stay and actively partake in activities provided by staff:

"When we finish homework and study, we like to give the students choices to do things together in the centre, we sometimes watch a PG rated movie together, we try to have a wide range, you know like not all from USA, so there is a mix and students experience that too."   Rukshana (Staff Tutor)

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[6] That this community provision is voluntary attended and thus is, and must feel, distinct from school for students is compliant with Study Support policy (DfES 1998;DfES1999;DfES 2004).

"We worked hard and studied together, but then sometimes students can choose a DVD to all watch together, that's good I think, because all the DVD are not all from the same place, some are from Bollywood as well so it's more mixed."

<div align="right">Patrick (Former Student 4)</div>

Activities vary to include for example watching a recent U-rated or PG Bollywood or Hollywood film together, such as Harry Potter, or listening to a football match. Importantly, staff do not waste this time, they turn it into an opportunity for students to partake in a shared cultural experience together within their community-based Study Support provision. Below is an extract from an observation. With five minutes left to the end of the session, the students have opted to stay and listen to a football match on the radio with staff:

"It is a warm afternoon, all the students have finished their homework, there's about 5 minutes left to the end of the session, and two members of the core group I am observing have gone home as they are entitled to do. But the rest are all huddled together now on tables and chairs in the far corner listening to the football on the radio. 'Their team' City, an institution as old as the terrace streets that the Centre is located in, are playing and it's a major game. All eyes and ears, including those of staff, are focussed on the radio, and there is absolute silence in the Centre, apart from the radio, nothing. Then there's a rapid, staccato message from the radio commentator that there's a penalty and it's 'their' team City. They all start shuffling about, one's got their head in their hands, the pressure is on; they need their team to score. Some of them can't keep their stress inside " Come on! Come on! Come on!" they shout at the radio. They all start nudging each other not to shout out. "Shh!" one of the students whispers gently and smiling "we's won' be able to listen alls you lot!". Everyone looks up a minute and there is an exchange of smiles as well as fake stress grimaces at the tension of the match. They are enjoying it. Silence is resumed. The penalty shot is made but City don't get the goal. Everyone in the group commiserates. Gasps all around: 'aww!!! Ahhh no!'. One of the students twists their fringe tight around their fingers agitatedly. The clock on the wall indicates that the study session is now formally over, but the radio is still on. The staff begin to put the books away silently, and one of the students turns the radio up, no one objects. All the group, including the staff start to put the tables and chairs away gently, and without being asked... and in silence...the focus of the group is still on the game, everyone is still listening." Observation

<div align="right">124</div>

Already established is that students had identified themselves as comprising an ethnically and religiously diverse group, in which their identities are framed by glocal, as opposed to local, heritages. Observing the students and staff listening to the football on the radio however, religion, ethnicity and glocality of lived experience is rendered irrelevant. The students form a cohesive intercultural group, united by a team in a football game on the radio. There is no racial incidence, no fighting, no name calling, nothing whatsoever sensational like that. There is not even any chatting amongst them, which was something so important to the students in the previous processes discussed. It is just a group of staff and students. Students who are having the opportunity to enjoy a shared cultural experience together, in an ordered way, on a balmy afternoon, in a Study Support Centre which is otherwise located in an inner-city locale, wherein resides a history of social unrest amongst youth from diverse ethnic and/or religious backgrounds; most notably in this region involving recent clashes amongst Muslim and non-Muslim youth (Cantle et al 2001).

Importantly, unless these positive intercultural outcomes, and the processes via which they arise, are able to be factored into the assessment framework, with the benefit of a purpose built design with which to do this within provision, then they cannot be recorded and used to inform policy. The latter is important so that both local and national government is informed as to whether provision invested in, is indeed working effectively to achieve intercultural outcomes. This is especially vital in inner-city contexts where social cohesion in Britain is a priority at the beginning of the 21st Century (Cantle et al 2001; Denham et al 2001).

Interculturally effective outcomes, as evidenced and detailed in the processes of Element 3, don't 'just happen' within an organization; they are created via the conjoined commitment from all members of the organizational structure (Huczynski and Buchanan 1991). Voluntary attending students are vital members of the Study Support organizational structure and community in the Centre. This then merits the following question: was it the football match, or the community of which they share an active part in creating, by choosing to attend each week, that compelled the students to stay past the end of the session? It is possible that the students could have been interested in football, and that was the sole reason that they decided to stay beyond the end of the Study Support session, and dedicate more of their free time together at the Centre. But that would not corroborate the evidence to the contrary in the study. This is because for

students, the Study Support Centre is not just any community space they come to occupy voluntarily each session. Rather, the Centre is clearly an 'oasis' for students who, in choosing to attend voluntarily each session, are knowingly and actively engaged in its creation and maintenance. This integral aspect of interculturally effective provision informed the 4th element of the CIMA model that is detailed in Fig. 4. below.

Fig. 4. CIMA Element 4: Study Support Centre as Oasis for Positive Intercultural Exchange for Students within their Inner-City Community

Outcome	Processes	Evidence Base
Study Support Centre as Oasis for Positive Intercultural Exchange for Students within Inner-City Community of Ethnically and Religiously Diverse Youth	• *Process 1: Shared values on racial equality, respect for cultural diversity and inclusiveness evident throughout the organizational structure*	*Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members of Organizational Structure*
	• *Process 2: Physical set up within Study Support Centre is fluid; this effectively encourages students mixing and discourages formation of student ghettoes*	*Triangulated Data: Observations Student Interviews*
	• *Process 3: Study Support Centre has relaxed but not lax working atmosphere*	*Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members of Organizational Structure*
	• *Process 4: Intercultural skills of staff as stewards racial equality in Study Support*	*Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members of Organizational Structure*
	• *Process 5: Teacher-pupil polarity replaced with staff and Centre as a family within student inner-City Study Support Centre*	*Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members of Organizational Structure*

The Centre was for these students an oasis for positive intercultural exchange that contrasted with their external experience of an inner-city locale, haunted by tensions amongst youth from different ethnic and religious groups. Five processes combined to produce this integral element in the interculturally effective Study Support Centre. Each process is discussed consecutively below. However, important to point out here is that

neither the process number nor its order confers especial import. Rather, all processes are equally important contributors that enabled an effective outcome within this element.

The first process in this element is that all members of the organizational structure demonstrated a shared value of racial equality and respect for cultural diversity. As every management expert knows, that clarity, delineated throughout an organizational structure, is formulaic (Drucker 2000; Fincham and Rhodes 1992: 385; Huczynski and Buchanan 1991). Namely, it is precisely the clarity that every organization that aspires to be effective aims at but rarely achieves (Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Clegg and Birch 1998; Chowdhury 2002:96-103; Morgan 1997). It doesn't happen by accident, it is enabled by excellent lines of communication being evident throughout all members of the organizational structure. Within the extremely flattened organizational structure that is intrinsic to Study Support, this means, as exemplified in the illustrations below that all members evidence that they are equally complicit in advocating this value and respect for diversity within their Centre. Importantly, the cross-verification afforded by a triangulated evidence base reiterates this:

"The great constant of the world is that we all need to feel positively regarded. You know it's the positive regard thing. I think children need that more than anybody else and I think that when they come here they feel positively regarded, regardless of their background, regardless of what they are (smiles), I dare say if we had somebody who was non human they would feel valued if they could speak, because we are totally non-assuming here. You know. Erm and I think it's not easy, because we have to work hard at that, because at the end of the day we're all human"   Akbar (Supervisor)

"We do respect one another and that shows and the pupils pick up on that and that we don't tolerate any kind of discrimination, anybody can come here."

Rukshana (Staff Tutor)

"Yeah I think there was mutual respect with absolutely everyone there (student emphasis) I never saw anybody unhappy there. It was really friendly, it was a place that you wanted to go – that was the motivation otherwise you wouldn't come on a rainy day."   Leila (Former Student 2)

"We treat each other with respect here, because all of these people if you treat them with respect they respect you back, but some people outside the centre don't treat you with respect."   Karishma (Student 12)

It will be recalled that it was not the purpose, focus or remit of the empirical study to ascertain how this evidently pristine flow of shared values had ever got started in the Centre, other than it was clearly inculcated into, and understood by, all members of the organizational structure. My purpose was to identify and thus map out processes in practice which contributed to an interculturally effective Centre. What can be reported is how it felt to enter into, and operate in, its midst. It was like entering into an ordered family house in which everyone knows the rules; they all just get on with it, calmly and uneventfully.

The second process in this element refers to the physical set-up within the Study Support Centre, which effectively encourages students to mix and discourages the formation of student ghettoes. On the one hand certainly the 'family' part of the description I used above to describe the inclusive and orderly working atmosphere of the Centre is accurate. However, the word 'ordered' that I used suggests regimented desks or something of that ilk within the Centre. But this is not the case in this interculturally effective provision. Fluidity, not regimentation, best identifies the physical set up inside the Centre's space. As illustrated in Figure 5 below, the set up is never the same twice. Significantly, staff utilise the space to create a random and fluid set up for each session. As a result, there are no opportunities for student ghettos to form, or take over static territories of tables, as can happen in a classroom situation for example. Instead, students work in random patterns with each other, facilitated by fluidity and variation in each session set up.

This variation and fluidity, afforded by the non-static physical set up, encourages the opportunity for students to mix and get to know each other, as detailed below:

"When we work together, we all, even if we don't know them [another student] we'll still make them join in so they don't feel left out and then everyone's like doing the same thing and then that person feels like they're involved and everything, so they don't feel left out."   Fatima (Student 15)

The opportunity to mix by working together on different tables each session, and which is encouraged via the fluid set up inside, is not something that can be assumed to be available automatically to students outside of the Centre:

"I've made quite a few friends, like sitting on tables, and like if you sit next to 'em [other students], then you get talking whilst you are doing your work, you have like a bit of a chat, and like friendly, everyone's friendly. Outside it's different."

Anwar   (Student 8)

Fig. 5: Fluidity in physical set up of the Centre discourages student ghettos

$\bigotimes$ = Staff/Supervisor
$\bigcirc\hspace{-0.9em}Y$ = Former Students
X = Students
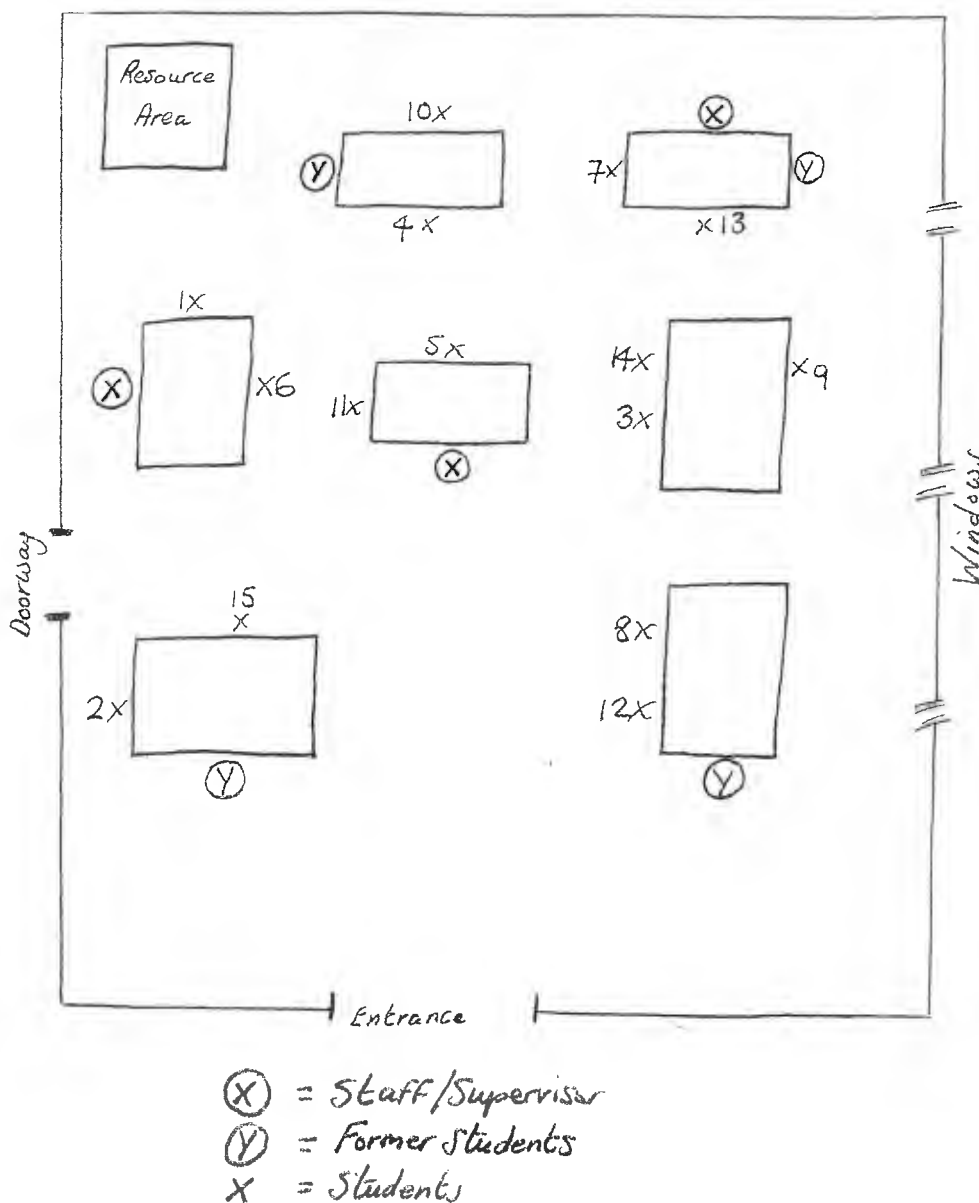
One of the practical reasons for the rearrangement of chairs and tables each week is that compliant with policy practice, this provision takes place within a designated community centre within the inner-city. At the end of the session, each group is thus obliged to stack the furniture away, in order to make it ready for the next. However, the significant point here is that the staff and supervisor could have chosen to regiment the Study Support Centre, but they didn't. They have utilised this opportunity, to allow fluidity and mixing amongst the diverse cultural matrix of students who attend. The result is the tremendous sense of ease with which students move onto different tables, working with different peers from different ethnic and/or religious backgrounds. At the same time staff are not static either. They move around supporting students alternately. Sometimes staff may sit down to work on one task with a student or group. However, most of the time they will be on their feet, getting resources for the children when they need them, and so on. The whole set up is fluid, relaxed and organized all at the same time.

The third process in this element refers to the relaxed nature of the community-based Study Support Centre. Established already in this chapter is that Study Support policy provision is meant to be a relaxed learning environment that is distinct from school (MacBeath 1996; Macbeath et al 2001). Previous studies had focussed upon the effect of the relaxed Study Support atmosphere in raising self-esteem in academic work (MacBeath et al 2001). However, no previous studies have looked at the intercultural outcomes in Study Support serving ethnically and religiously diverse inner-city communities of youth. This means that previous studies have not examined how the relaxed atmosphere intrinsic to Study Support policy may/may not impact on intercultural outcomes. The relaxed atmosphere was an important contributor to the achievement of interculturally effective provision within the Centre. This was because the relaxed atmosphere comprised a pivotal point at which students made a clear distinction between their experience 'inside' the Centre versus their experience in school and in the City 'outside'.

Relaxed, calm atmosphere inside the Centre as oasis versus school and the City 'outside'

"It's the atmosphere, you can learn in this atmosphere. At school it's like work, teacher. Whereas 'ere, you can 'ave a good time, relax, work, everything."   Ayaz (Student 4)

Mention the word 'relaxed' in education and people could be misinterpreted as meaning 'lax'. This would be incorrect in the context of this policy and its provision. From research carried out in recent years it has been found that schools are amongst the most stressful and pressured places to operate in (Hutchinson 1996:119-123); relaxed is not therefore a word that may automatically enter discussions when considering educational policy and contexts. This is however paradoxical, given that other sets of research concerning optimum learning environments show that being in a relaxed yet alert state is when we learn best (Rose 1989). Compliant with the relaxed Study Support policy and context, there is a constructive yet non-pressured and relaxed working atmosphere in the Centre. Work gets done, but the atmosphere is not tense. Within such a relaxed and productively working environment, students are in a situation where the probabilities for positive intercultural outcomes are heightened. Indeed, it would be a mistake to assume the Study Support Centre's calmly constructive climate and environment is one which the students are accustomed to, or take for granted. They do not. Students clearly articulate a distinction between the Study Support atmosphere 'inside' the Centre, and that which they experience 'outside':

"Inside the centre it is a calm, calm environment, outside, it's unfortunately, it's a different world."   Ahmad (Student 5)

The Centre is compliant with Study Support's national policy remit; it is located in an inner-city area. It has been established already here that in this City there is a history of tensions amongst youth from different ethnic and/or religious backgrounds, in which sectarianism has formed between Muslim and non-Muslim youth. Ahmad (Student 5) went on to explain how outside the Centre, other groups of students who do not attend this provision often get into fights with each other from different sections of the community. Unfortunately, as Ahmad (Student 5) says, 'outside' the Centre, the inner-city community is a different world. For example, one former student recalled a time years ago, when their school teacher outside the Centre had told them that because they were from a 'certain cultural background' they would never do well in English. When that student came to the Study Support Centre, they had made it one of their ambitions to become excellent in English. They achieved their goal. At GCSE recently the student had achieved an A* in both English Literature and Language and also studied advanced GCSE English material in a special 'top class' at secondary school. The student went on to say that the Centre had been a different experience from school. Staff did not care

where you were from and were relaxed, regardless of what your cultural background; what mattered most in the Centre, the student concluded, was what someone wanted to achieve, and how to help them do this. Significant here, is that the tensions 'outside', be they residing within students' school, or inner-city clashes as given above, do not happen inside the Centre. 'Inside' the Centre it is different for students. The intrinsically relaxed and calm way in which students are thus able to come together and mix in Study Support provision, undoubtedly impacts positively upon other processes detailed in this element, and provides an integral process via which the Centre is an effective oasis for students within this inner-city community.

The fourth process in this element refers to the intercultural skills of staff as stewards of racial equality in the Study Support Centre. However, it is important to point out here, before discussing this process, that the intercultural skills demonstrated by staff are not the only process via which they achieve effective outcomes in the Centre. Significantly, there are two further and equally important processes at work, with regard to staff skills, which are linked to factors intrinsic to the Study Support policy and operational context. These are as follows: (i) the importance of staff being able to achieve effective staff-student symbiosis in this distinctly voluntary attended student provision, in order to establish and maintain student attendance; and (ii) staff utilisation of the opportunity afforded them to exercise creative freedom in the context of Study Support policy and provision. Comprising skills and processes, different and separate from those being discussed in this element here, these logically merited another dedicated element in the construction of the CIMA model, and are thus detailed in full in Element 5.

I now want to address CIMA Element 4 Process 4 which comprises a further contribution in the creation of the Centre as an oasis for students: the intercultural skills of staff. Discrimination can occur in many forms; it isn't always overt or even knowingly meted out (Klein 1993; Gill et al 1992). However, operating in a multicultural context of this Study Support Centre, having tutors who are sensitive to and thus able to work across cultural diversity in a relaxed way, so that students feel welcome and respected, regardless of religion and ethnicity is important. Staff have effectively achieved this in this Centre.

"When they're [tutors] are talking to us [students], they won't really concentrate on one pupil just because they're from a different race or anything, they still treat us both

equally 'cos erm even though there's a difference, if they (tutors) don't make it seem like there's a difference, obviously they [students] won't realise that difference."

<div align="right">Zaynab (Student 2)</div>

"There's loads of different people here, and in school it's like everyone's erm categoried. There's like different categories for people. Here it's like everyone mixes together."

<div align="right">Seema (Student 10)</div>

In this Centre, implicit and explicit in the way in which staff deal with students and articulate their equal regard for them, they are what I term 'stewards of racial equality'. Namely, staff and supervisor 'practice what they preach'; they don't just talk about it, they do it, and students benefit. As Ball (1994) points out, you cannot change people's perceptions or actions with policies alone. Policies are one thing, action in practice is another. Combined with the different elements and each of the respective processes discussed, this steward-like stance of staff on racial equality is another process that contributes to the Study Support Centre as an oasis for students within their inner-city community.[7] The point here is that in contrast to the negative experiences of students in school, in this Study Support Centre students feel welcome. Supervisor and staff are able to demonstrate that they are relaxed and comfortable with the pedagogical challenges presented by cultural diversity within the Study Support policy context. The following example demonstrates this in a situation in which the supervisor does not have much time to think before he must act, and then does so effectively.

'Four of the students in the core group finished their homework; they asked the supervisor if they could do something else, a game of Scrabble was suggested. The students agreed and set up the game. Everything was going very well...until later in the game something happened and there was a bit of a rumpus. One of the students sat back in his chair and then peered over incredulously at what his colleague had spelled out and said "That's not English in it? What's that Urdu or summat?" The other student he was speaking to shot back "Well, you 'ad Bengali before, nudging his partner for support beside him, "din ee?". Another student around the table started laughing and exclaimed " Eh! A got a French word 'ere!", the student next to them

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[7] It is relevant to point out that staff in this Centre operated a zero tolerance of discrimination of any kind, for example I never witnessed any sexist remarks and this was appreciated by the female students in the provision.

chips in "No a think that's Spanish!" They both started laughing, but the other two students weren't laughing. At that point, the supervisor walked over quickly, looked at all the words swiftly in front of the players around the table, smiled and said firmly but kindly "Yeah full marks for creativity, but not for English! What's the problem fellas?" The student who had begun the conversation earlier smiled and looked at the supervisor and replied: "As stuck 'ere 'av ya got a dictionary?" The supervisor walked calmly over to the library in the corner and brings back two Oxford English dictionaries, one for each of the pairs of students playing at either sides of the table – " Yeah, here are two, now let's see some good English here okay fellas"... and then walked away, and let's them get on with it.'   Observation

First, the supervisor is extremely quick at diffusing the situation and offers an effective, equitable solution for the students involved, which he executes with calm and efficiency. The problem is that the students are quite literally stuck for English words and need a dictionary to expand their vocabulary. Importantly for effective intercultural outcomes here, the supervisor does not focus the solution on what had been the focus of dispute: two students who are trying to use their different respective languages, outside of English, to win at Scrabble. The supervisor diffuses the polarity that could have escalated here between the respective students and the languages they are using, by switching the event into a positive one: *"full marks for creativity, but not for English!"*. The supervisor neither makes a fuss of, nor is he stumped by the fact that students are trying to use different languages on the table. In fact the supervisor moves the focus away from that, back to the focus of the game itself: to improve students' English. Significant is that this doesn't belittle the diverse languages spoken and used by the students. The supervisor has already credited this as 'creative', so importantly everyone wins. Giving a dictionary to both pairs of students on either side of the table denotes equitable treatment and advantage. More than this it removes grounds for further arguments later on, which could occur, if only one of the students had been given a dictionary. The ability of staff to understand, feel comfortable with, and thus respond sensitively and effectively to student diversity, comprises another process integral to the Centre as an oasis for students in this inner-city policy provision and context.

The fifth process in this element refers to the concept of family within the Centre. Being diverse in cultural identity doesn't negate the fact that it is human nature for people to want to 'belong' somewhere and to have ownership of a space within their community

(Miller 1991). Clearly evident and consistent amongst students, former students, and staff, is the concept of staff and Centre as family:

"Yeah like you communicate with people, and also communicate with staff, I've learned like, because I've been 'ere a long time, it's like family, you know what I mean? Coz staff are like uncles and aunties you know (smiles)."   Ayaz (Student 4)

"It's [tutor support] like having a big brother or sister, don't you see? Because in that environment [the centre] you could be, you could be having a good time, talking, you know, doing your homework and enjoying time spending with others."
                Tahir (Former Student 3)

"We were like family together, that was one reason I kept on coming to the Centre (pauses), really, it was like somewhere, a place you felt welcome, somewhere you could work together, that is why I keep on coming here."   Rabia (Former Student 1)

"We try to be a supportive family here for students, a place where the students can feel at home, get their study and homework done, study but also come to relax and work together in a friendly atmosphere."   Karandeep (Staff Tutor)

For one student the centre was preferable to being at home:

"It's a nice environment, everything is just here, plus it's a nice area, because you know if you're bored at home, if you come here, you can be more happy, you know if you come here you get to meet new people and be happy."   Zaynab (Student 2)

Discussed earlier (in Element 4: Process 3), is that Study Support provision is meant to be a relaxed, informal community setting for students. Hence, staff-student relationships in Study Support are not about replicating a school context (MacBeath 2001; Elliot et al 2004; DfES 2004). In locating the element and its respective processes that contribute to the Centre as an intercultural oasis for students, this difference between Study Support provision and school takes on another level of importance here. A key process whereby the Centre has become an effective oasis for this culturally diverse community of youth, in this inner-city locale, is that the experience for students is like being part of a family. The 1992 Education Reform Act, whether intentionally or unintentionally set teachers

and children up as polarities in opposition to one another (Ball 1994; Ranson and Stewart 1994). Such oppositional frames of references have no place in the creation of an oasis for positive intercultural exchange in effective Study Support. Supervisor and staff have achieved an effective and positive result in this regard:

"I want us to be a happy family here...there is a lot of cynicism right now [in education], but you know we work hard here, and I think that shows in the way the students are [in the centre]. We are here for them, and I think they know that, I hope they do. And they can feel confident in that, this is their centre, and we are here for them." Akbar (Supervisor)

Ultimately, therefore instead of a 'them' and 'us' pupil-teacher polarity discussed earlier, there is only a united family of students and staff, working together in the Centre. It is vital to remember again here that community-based Study Support is specifically a voluntary attended student provision. If students were not happy with the Centre as 'family', and wanted or preferred a more 'them and us' teacher– pupil polarity akin to formal educational contexts, they could opt not to attend. However, evident is that students have not done this because they are happy as detailed and thus continue to attend voluntarily each session. Importantly therefore, within the distinctive Study Support policy context, both staff and students are active contributors to, and thus have joint ownership of, the creation of this aspect of the community within the Centre as family. It has been established already, that this Centre operates in an inner-city context, characterised by social unrest amongst ethnically and religiously diverse young people. In the combined processes detailed here in Element 4, and in contrast to what is happening outside, vitally, the Centre inside provides an oasis of positive intercultural exchange; wherein the young people feel part of a family working together. That the Centre provides an oasis for students is therefore a further integral element in, and contributor towards, interculturally effective provision within this inner-city locale.

The fifth element in the CIMA model, shown in Fig. 6 below, incorporates two processes that are important in this interculturally effective provision within its policy context. The first process relates to the importance of staff being able to establish a staff-student symbiosis within this voluntary attended student provision. The second process relates to the significance of staff utilising the opportunity afforded to them in

Study Support to exercise creative freedom, and how this contributes to interculturally effective provision.

Fig. 6 CIMA Element 5: Staff as Creative Facilitators of Holistic Learning within Study Support

Outcome	Processes	Evidence Base
Staff are Creative Facilitators in Whole Learning in Study Support: both Academic and Intercultural	• *Process 1: Staff understand the importance of voluntary student attendance in Study Support policy context and achieve an effective staff-student symbiosis. Attendance is thus established and consistent in the Centre*	*Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members of Organizational Structure*
	• *Process 2: Opportunity for creative freedom afforded by Study Support utilised by staff in creating novel games which involve both academic and intercultural learning*	*Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members of Organizational Structure*

So far, I have focused on overt processes via which effective intercultural outcomes are achieved in the Centre. This may give the impression that all that the staff do in the Centre is attend to the intercultural aspect of their provision. They do not. Compliant with national policy in Study Support staff attend to student academic work as well. Established in the historical analysis (Section II) is that assessment models which have not been purpose built for Study Support, but nevertheless imported into it, have worked to promulgate an ignorance of, and inattention to, the intercultural outcomes of this provision. Further, they assume that there is a separation between intercultural and academic outcomes within provision. However, this is at odds with the policy's dual remit, and the work of staff whose job it is to attend to both objectives in practice. In a distinct departure from these past assessment models therefore, CIMA, in being a purpose built design that is grounded in practice, discontinues this artificial separation between academic and intercultural processes and outcomes. Identified in the Centre, is that in practice, academic and intercultural outcomes and processes are embedded within staff and student activity, and interwoven with those factors which are intrinsic to this policy and its provision. This begins with the first vital process identified in this element: the importance of staff understanding that this is an intrinsically voluntary

attended policy context, and that establishing an effective staff-student symbiosis is central to ensure attendance is maintained, and learning can take place.

Underpinning the nomenclature adopted by Study Support policy, this is a provision that is meant to be distinct from school (MacBeath et al 2001). Reflective of this, purposefully staff are not referred to as teachers but as 'tutors'. The etymology of the word 'tutor' is an instructor or supervisor of an undergraduate 'student', the latter of which is an active learner; with shared responsibility for acquiring knowledge in this relationship.[8] Precisely because Study Support is not school: and all students actively participate voluntarily, tutors cannot, as it were, force a student, either to attend or to learn anything, be it intercultural or academic. Rather, Study Support tutors must adopt a non-imposed stance that reflects this intrinsically voluntary aspect of this policy and its provision. This is understood amongst the staff in this effective Centre.

"The formal education system is imposed on people, whereas here, it is softly, softly. I see myself first and foremost a facilitator."   Rukshana (Staff Tutor)

The teacher-pupil relationship in school, wherein the onus of responsibility resides with the former is rendered both irrelevant and thus inapplicable in the Study Support policy context. First, intrinsic to this policy, is that it is the student who must first choose to attend the provision. Hence, the first level of responsibility for learning, whether academic or intercultural, rests not with the tutor but with the student in Study Support. Second, once the student has made that choice, and arrived at the Centre, the second level of responsibility is then with the tutors. Critically, staff must be able to: (i) understand and act on the principle that this is not school and that therefore the student is not obliged to attend; (ii) staff must then be able to respond appropriately by presenting themselves not as a teacher to the student but as a Study Support tutor. Within the Study Support context, both student and staff are therefore equal contributors in the achievement of a crucial staff-student symbiosis. This symbiotic process begins when a student first attends, and then a tutor meets them half way. Here that process has

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[8] The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Word and Origins (1986) Edited by T.F.Hoad. It will be recalled that this intrinsic aspect of Study Support policy and the import of this nomenclature therein was explicated in the historical analysis (Section II).

happened effectively and student attendance is thus established and consistent. Indicative of the importance of this staff-student symbiotic relationship in this interculturally effective Centre, both staff and students understand and operate on the premise that Study Support is a provision distinct from school and the teacher-pupil relationship therein. Of equal importance is that this is clearly evident throughout the organizational structure of the Centre as detailed below.

"It's not like school where you have to do something, here it's your own time, the tutors are there to help you, which is a lot of help." [student's emphasis 'have']

Reena (Student 11)

"We are not trying to emulate school for these kids that come here, and they know that, we respect that students are coming here in their own free time, we are here to facilitate that learning, to support students who come here." Akbar (Supervisor)

"It was classroom free. It wasn't quite a teacher pupil kind of relationship it was more integrated, it was a social place as well, without being a party place, but you knew if you were stuck [with academic work], you could just turn around and speak to someone and somebody would be there." Rabia (Former Student 1)

"It's not like a classroom situation, we have tutors, called by their first names and we have library resources, we know when, if they need help, we are here to help them."

Karandeep (Staff Tutor)

The tutors do not view themselves, and the students do not class them, as 'imposers of learning' as if operating in the obligatory context of school. Staff are 'facilitators' in the learning process. However, the fact that students then reciprocate in this distinctive operational context, by continuing to attend consistently, as they have done here, means that establishing, maintaining, and developing voluntary attendance resides in both students and tutors sharing this understanding of, and responsibility for, this vital symbiotic process within this policy context. Both are complicit in the achievement of this effective equilibrium in the context of Study Support. The effectiveness of the Centre, whether intercultural or academic, depends upon this symbiosis having being achieved. This is because without this symbiosis being achieved student attendance is less than certain, and without students there can be no intercultural or academic learning

or outcomes. With an effective staff-student symbiosis in operation, this Centre has solid foundations through which to maintain and develop an upward spiral of attendance. Staff-student symbiosis is thus an integral process in the achievement of interculturally effective provision.

The second process in CIMA's Element 5 refers to the opportunity for creative freedom afforded to staff by Study Support policy, and how this is utilised effectively within this Centre. Within Study Support, a lot of the time tutors have to be pro-active and reactive in how they meet the demands of different sessions. Intrinsically, Study Support is not as predictable as is a school time-table. This is particularly the case around the time of public holidays, such as Christmas, when there is a dearth of homework. Students arrive with homework that does not require an entire session to complete. But this does not mean that staff work is expected to stop before the session ends. Rather, in view of this intrinsic aspect of its policy and provision, in Study Support staff can use this time to create novel learning activities which continue their work toward the dual objectives of fostering positive intercultural, as well as, academic outcomes.

Within this effective Centre, two members of staff were University of the First Age trained. [9] However, what is more important, is that regardless of whether some staff had any of the latter training or not, all staff in the Centre worked to utilise this opportunity to exercise creative freedom, that is afforded them by Study Support. Staff therefore designed creative learning activities to deal effectively with, for example, end of term sessions. The work that staff did at the end of terms included special revision and study skills sessions for GCSE and SATs students. However, on the grounds of ethics and duty of care to students, with regard to any such sessions, involving specifically students' preparation for national examinations, it would have been neither helpful nor constructive for them to be interrupted by research. The study therefore focused on learning activities that staff planned and created for students, entailing educational puzzles and/or quizzes, involving academic subject areas such as English, Maths, Religious Studies, and/or general knowledge. In the observation that follows, the

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9 University of the First Age (UFA) provides training in Howard Gardner's theory of Multiple Intelligences. I do not want to engage here in this approach to teaching and learning that is not the point or purpose here. Multiple Intelligences is not without its critics being a theory as opposed to a definitive description of how the brain actually works (White 1998). The point is that with or without this training staff have *utilised* the opportunity to apply their creativity, afforded the freedom to do this within the context of Study Support.

learning activity created by staff was focused upon Religious Studies. With the theme of Christian and Islamic festivals, including Christmas and Eid [10], this coincided with imminent celebrations as students broke up for the end of term holidays.

"It was coming up to Eid and the end of Christmas term. Despite the bad weather, the core students had arrived and in the first half of the session everyone had been busy, with people working at different tables, but now people were taking books back to the library in the corner, and things were starting to slow down, some of the students chatted happily, others started looking bored. Then the supervisor and tutors announced that there was going to be a Christmas-Eid Quiz and everyone could join in; they first had to organize themselves into teams. I watched to see where the core 15 went, all of them ended up dispersed between three different teams of 8 each. Tables and chairs were quickly moved into a semi-circle of team play; all facing the tutors who had drawn up a score table on a white board in front of the teams' tables. The tutors announced that the teams had to give themselves names. Pieces of A4 paper and a thick marker pen were given to the tables to make team name cards for themselves. Then the tutors said that each of the teams had to pick a captain. Each of the teams' discussions around this revolved on ability, "so and so is good at quizzes", or "so and so is good at Maths", "yeah but it's not about Maths" and so on. There was much friendliness and logic in their choices which revolved around students' track record in other quizzes, and it took only a moment or so for all three teams to agree on their captain. The names were also decided upon very quickly amongst the teams: The A Team, The Whiz Kids and All Stars. The supervisor explained that the answers had to be transferred along the team to the captain and then they would put their hand up for the team. Amongst staff, it was decided who was going to be score keeper. The questions then came. The staff borrowing a bit from a Trivial Pursuit game they had in the library on the question of religious festival; the questions flowed and so did the conferring, the excitement, the scores, the laughter. Laughter was very evident, the staff got the scores mixed up temporarily and there was much joking between the team captains, and former students who acted as helpers when any of the teams got really stuck. Everyone got stuck on one question, it was to do with a religious festival but absolutely nobody

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[10] Eid: abbreviation for *Eid-ul-Fitr* 'break of fast', which occurs at the end of Ramadan. Eid does not always coincide with Christmas; it follows the lunar cycle. In this instance it the respective religious festivals were within two weeks of one another.

could think what it was, as I observed, finally someone got it "Lent!" the captain of the Whiz Kids eventually shouted triumphantly and everyone clapped them. Finally, it was a draw between two teams, but there was no 'sour grapes' between the teams. At the end of the session everyone packed up the tables and chairs as usual and the supervisor and staff wished them all a Happy Christmas and Eid, and a safe journey home. Sitting there inside the Centre, with the children obviously having such a great time, contrasted with the dark, cold wintry afternoon outside. Inside here was a convivial, welcoming atmosphere, outside only grey slate roofs in the amber lamp light."   Observation

"When we plan these activities we [staff team] enjoy it, I like that, I think it is good to be trusted like we are here in Study Support, [pauses] it's unfortunate, but I don't think teachers get much of a chance in school to do this, if you like, and I think that's sad, because here we do get the chance to, if you like, to think for ourselves. When we plan things for students, we do think about the academic content yeah, because that's important to us. But where we are, here in this area, the students are diverse, and so we are wanting everyone to get something out of it. This year Eid and Christmas are happening together, and we have just had Divali, the Hindu festival already, so we thought it would be a great idea to do a quiz about Religious Studies, we thought it would be a great idea to do something on that, and we did. But we do things different, other times like we will say alright fellas [referring to students], let's do something, and we will focus on something like Maths, English and so forth. We will have different things, like one time we did this thing where we had the students thinking about Science in history, you know looking at different countries and how they helped in all that, things like that. Erm, and I think this gives the students another view of something, the things that different people in the other parts of the world have bought ideas to science, we try to think about it like that."   Akbar (Supervisor)

In each case, whether the novel learning activity planned and created is directed at a particular subject area, such as Religious Studies in the observation above, or for example, in Science, as indicated by the supervisor, staff are thinking about both academic and intercultural learning, that can be afforded the students in the Centre.

However, if staff were utilising the opportunity afforded by Study Support to plan and create these novel learning situations, what was the impact of this upon students themselves? In response, students cited these novel games that staff created, as a

process via which they experienced positive intercultural outcomes in the Centre. For example, when I was interviewing one student about whether or not they felt that coming to the centre helped them to understand and respect that people come from different cultural backgrounds, it was clear that a novel learning activity created by staff had been pivotal for him. The student described how a peer of his outside the Centre, and who had been racist toward him had decided to attend a session. At that session they had both ended up on the same team, playing a puzzle game created by staff. Afterward instead of making racist comments, the peer now treated the student in a friendlier way:

"I've like, we, I can remember like when we had this puzzle game and I think it was some holiday I can remember and we were in groups and then we [the person who had made racist remarks] were actually together, we were discussing the answer and then like the leader puts up their hand to answer the question. That's how we got to know a few more people. And it felt like sound, alright! So outside, instead of having racist remarks and everythin' they [his peer] was like more casual, more friendly."

Mustafa (Student 6)

It cannot be assumed that what goes on in the Centre is the same as what goes on outside it in intercultural terms. The point here is that what does go on inside the Centre is effective interculturally. And that one of the important processes that facilitates the achievement of this effective provision is that staff utilise the creative freedom that Study Support affords them, and design activities which are considerate of both intercultural and academic outcomes in the Centre. An apparently simple game activity has impacted positively on intercultural relations; it has begun a new cycle in one student's experiences in this inner-city community. Operating as this Study Support Centre does, within an inner-city locale wrought with a history of social unrest amongst ethnically and religiously diverse young people, even if this novel activity, created by staff, makes only one positive difference, to one student, in one centre; in intercultural terms, it is an important and positive step forward.

Working within a pressurized time frame to meet National Curriculum targets, and the demands of a full timetable, means that within schools there is not necessarily the time afforded, or entrusted to staff, to experiment with novel creative learning games and

quizzes' like these.[11] But this is not school, this is community-based Study Support serving ethnically and religiously diverse groups of young people. Within this operational context, understanding the interconnectedness between academic and intercultural processes and outcomes in activities created and planned by staff is integral to a purpose built assessment design. It inculcates the important contribution to effective provision that is made within the Centre when staff utilise the opportunity for creative freedom and apply it in practice.

The sixth element in the CIMA model is shown in Fig. 7 below. It elucidates the importance of other processes and opportunities involved in academic learning, and how these interlink, and contribute to effective intercultural outcomes in the Centre.

Fig. 7 CIMA Element 6: Positive Intercultural Learning as Spin Off of Focused Academic Activity among Students within Study Support

Outcome	Process	Evidence Base
Positive Intercultural Learning as Spin off of Focused Academic Activity Among Students within Study Support Centre.	• *Process 1: Staff and students understand objective to attain academically*	*Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members within Organizational Structure*
	• *Process 2: Opportunity for students to focus upon academic work together enables intercultural spin off to occur within student cultural matrix*	*As this is essentially an unplanned, internalised process for students that leads to this positive intercultural outcome, interviews with students comprised the best data with which to assess this process in practice*

Element 5 had identified positive intercultural outcomes resulting from staff-planned student learning activity. However, what about intercultural outcomes in the process of unplanned student learning activity within Study Support? Element 6 addresses the

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[11] Elliot et al (2004) for example found that study support provides a unique opportunity for teachers to exercise their creativity and imagination, as professionals as and when they deem fit, in a manner they are not able to in the classroom to the same extent.

unplanned positive intercultural outcomes that arise when students within the Centre, sharing a common academic interest come together each session voluntarily, and independently of staff, to focus upon a subject of their choice; and how this produces intercultural friendships between, for example, Muslim and non-Muslim within the Centre.

The first process in this element relates to staff and students both understanding the policy objective of academic attainment. Notwithstanding that the Centre is interculturally effective, it must be understood that in the first instance, students do not come to Study Support, to develop intercultural friendships. Students come to the Centre in the first instance to get help with their academic grades. One student went further than that, to make a direct economic link between coming to the Centre, studying hard, and getting a good job in the future:

"I come here to study hard, get a good job, and get a good car." Mumtaz (Student 14)

It is significant that all members of the organizational structure understand that they are there to work and attain academically:

"We all work hard here, we have fun, but we study a lot and that is how it is here, we study, I want to do better in Maths, and I am doing that now."   Seema (Student 11)

"I wanted to go to university, no one in my family had been, I wanted to be an architect, coming here to study, it has helped, we work hard here, and it has helped me learn better and get the grades."   Tahir Former (Student 3)

"I think the climate here is very important, it is conducive to learning and people come here because they know there's nothing else tolerated here, I mean people come here and the whole ethos is work related, that's what we do here, it's a resource area."
Karandeep (Staff Tutor)

"I am a facilitator, I am an ambassador for knowledge, that knowledge is good, it brings you benefits in life, that it allows you to relate with people, that knowledge is good basically in bold if you like, in capital letters and full stop. Another role that I

instil hopefully both implicitly and explicitly is that valuing all human beings is important, regardless of race, regardless of gender, regardless of ethnicity."

<div align="right">Akbar (Supervisor)</div>

It has already been established that there is a shared understanding throughout the organizational structure, pertaining to the intercultural objectives of the Centre. Clearly evident from the above is that the latter is equally matched by another shared understanding throughout the organizational structure, pertaining to the academic objectives of the Centre. In such a policy context, this begs the following question: in Study Support, which processes and outcomes are influencing which, in this interculturally effective Centre? In response, the second process identified in this element demonstrates that within the context of student academic activity, these processes and outcomes are not mutually exclusive; rather they are interwoven in practice.

The second process in this element refers specifically to academic activities in the Centre that students partake in which are not planned by staff. It illuminates the importance of the opportunity the Centre provides for students to focus together, voluntarily and independent of staff, on academic topics of their choice, and which interest them. This enables positive intercultural spin-offs to occur within the cultural matrix of students in the Centre. For example, Huda (Student 13) is one of the Muslim students in the Centre who attends an otherwise all Muslim faith school in the City. Attending the Study Support Centre as she does voluntarily each session, Huda has located students who share her interest in English Literature, and who are also from different religious backgrounds. Each session they come together to study English Literature at the Centre. In this way, Huda relates below, how she has made new friends, outside her religion, that she might not otherwise have had the opportunity to do.

"We come here and we study hard here, but I've made some friends. Before I came here, [pauses], you see I go to a Muslim school, and well,[pauses] I didn't find it so easy to make friends outside, I never met anyone from another religion, you know, but here, my friends are different religions, we all, all my friends here, we all like studying English Literature, and we like to study together, it's fun ,we laugh quite a bit too, and

I've made loads of different friends, Hindu, Christian, we just like come here every week and study together."   Huda (Student 13)

"When you solve a problem together [Maths] it brings you, I would say closer, and that you are striving to the same point, you are striving toward getting results. If you see someone across the street, that goes to the Centre, then I always stop and maybe just say hello just because I knew 'em may be like by solving a problem once [Maths], so it brings together like a group of people, like a club if you can call it that."

                                     Patrick (Former Student 4)

"Everybody [in the Centre] wanted to do well they had some kind of aspiration. And we integrated soooo well! So I don't know what it is; it's an interest in each other, if you have an interest in each other...and we all worked hard and we wanted to get good grades, it didn't matter who, what your background was."   Rabia (Former Student 1)

"It's [the Centre] for homework really, but I think it does in a way too, there's X and he is a Sikh and some of my friends here are Bangladeshi and they do things different to us, but we're the same. We work and study our homework together but we've learned other stuff as well, you know about our traditions, you know different religions and stuff."   Bijal (Student 1)

Clearly indicated above, is that through coming to the Centre, and having the opportunity to come together voluntarily to work on their chosen areas of academic interest, students have established positive intercultural relationships that transcend the diversity within the cultural matrix of the Centre. Precisely because this activity and its outcome is unplanned by staff, and occurs through an independent student process that is academically driven in the first instance, but which then becomes important in how students develop positive intercultural relationships in the Centre, I refer to this process as: the intercultural spin off of focussed academic study.

Further, as indicated in the data extracts above, the process which produces this positive intercultural outcome occurs at an internal level for students. Namely, it occurs at the point where the students are conscious of two things: first, as established in the culturally intelligent foundation elements of CIMA, these students are aware that they comprise a diverse cultural matrix; second, they are conscious that in choosing to

partake together in this focused academic learning activity they are making friendships that transcend ethnic and religious differences within the Centre. Most important of all they are conscious of both the academic and intercultural benefits this activity has afforded them in personal terms. The words of this former student articulate the depth of the positive internal impact this process has afforded him:

"When you actually learn together, you've actually, you've got, you've learned together, it like becomes a cog, they [their student peer within the centre], become a part of you now, because he's [the other student] helped you to 'get' something [understand something in an academic sense] and it's all part of it, it's self-building, if you can call it that...you can't just lay it all on the grades and what you come out with, because like the people you worked with, whether they are from different cultures or not, they all come together, and they like, they'll be a part of you for like years to come, it makes you, it all adds to who you are."   Patrick   (Former Student 4)

The opportunity to partake in this process afforded by this effective Centre is of particular importance to those students who are from different faiths, attending respective schools within the City. For example, in the case of the Muslim student Huda (Student 13), this process afforded by the Centre provides her with an opportunity to develop intercultural relationships that is otherwise remote given that she comes from an all Muslim faith school. The second process in this element therefore contributes a further integral aspect of effective provision identified in the study which informs the CIMA model as a purpose built assessment for this policy and its provision.

The concluding element 7 of the CIMA model in fig. 8 below relates to the process of verifying the model with participants within the study, and then cross-analysing their responses with best practice in organizational assessment. This is an important foundation in the creation of an assessment model. In reflecting upon, and being grounded within, factors intrinsic to a precise organization, an assessment model is created that incorporates the strengths of being best fit for purpose within the policy and provision it is designed to serve (Hucyznski and Buchanan 1991; Drucker 1999; Hanna 1988; Albers-Mohrman and Cummings 1989; Morgan 1997; Clegg and Birch 1998; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002).

Fig.8 CIMA Element 7: Effective Monitoring and Assessment of Intercultural Outcomes: Rationale Underpinning CIMA's Purpose Built Design for Study Support

Outcome	Process	Triangulated Evidence Base
CIMA Assessment Design that is Purpose Built for community-based Study Support	• Process 1: Each of CIMA's Elements work together to provide an holistic assessment model to monitor the intercultural outcomes of Study Support provision within the Centre	Rationale which underpins CIMA's design is informed by convergent factors: the gaps identified in the historical analysis; the empirical study and best practice in organizational assessment. Grounded both in effective provision and those factors intrinsic to the organizational structure of community-based Study Support. CIMA thus comprises a systems' design that incorporates the strength of being purpose built for the operational context and policy it has been designed to serve (Morgan 1997; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Clegg and Birch 1998)
	• Process 2: CIMA incorporates and advocates the use of a triangulated evidence base for each of its different elements to ensure rigour in assessment, and to ensure that the model is democratic incorporating all members of the organizational structure within the Study Support Centre	
	• Process 3: CIMA records formally effective practice so that compliant with established practice in assessment in other areas of Study Support examples of best practice can be shared within provision and used to perform a dual educative and assessment role	

The first process in element 7 relates to the concerns identified by participants in the empirical study about models which have been imported into this policy and provision, but which are not purpose built for it, and their failure to be able to view what they do in the Centre holistically. There is also a concern amongst participants that imported models have tended to focus upon academic outcomes for example, but paid no attention to other outcomes and processes within the Centre:

"You know the great bureaucrats of the world, the accountants of this world, they want to measure, want to have 'value for money', but if we could just look at the process, they will find that the ingredients are all there, but that they are not even looking at that. And so I would say to them [to the bureaucrats], go back to the process, think about process, otherwise they are not getting the whole picture here [Study Support] so you can say students achieve, in the sense that yeah, we're an academically successful

Centre here, we measure the grades, but that's not the full picture of what goes on in here from a cultural perspective, otherwise we are going in circles."

<div align="right">Akbar (Supervisor)</div>

"We are getting so hung up on product that we are actually not looking at the process. We need to look at the process, and I think it is the process that makes the product successful, if that makes sense."

<div align="right">Rukshana (Staff Tutor)</div>

"It's no point us doing all this in this Centre and then not being able to prove it with something that evaluates it, because when you have nothing on paper, like we do now, nothing to show for it, other than the normal 'tick box' thing we get that is just about grades, well then people say it's just 'tread of mill again' and then its [the intercultural work in the centre], going nowhere. There's nothing in assessment on the different types of things that are going on here. Well now somebody is actually thinking about this [referring to my empirical study], the current assessment models they are just looking at academic grades, it needs to be defined better than that, and you [referring to CIMA] you are doing that now. Can you see? Everything you say, is just waiting to, it needs to be integrated into other Centres, so that it can be used in other Centres, and that's what you are doing now."

<div align="right">Karandeep (Staff Tutor)</div>

This focus on outcomes in assessment is a problem that has been identified in other areas of education. In particular it has been noted that 'performance indicators' have become shorthand "proxies" for the "difficult to measure" objectives and processes that are important within policies (O'Neill 2002). Where an assessment model is not home grown, and not designed specifically for a precise organizational structure and its policy context, it cannot engage with the detailed processes that are integral to understanding how an organization and policy can be effective in practice (Hanna 1988; Albers-Mohrman and Cummings 1989; Argyris and Schon 1996; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Clegg and Birch 1998). For example, it will be recalled from the historical analysis in Section (II), that models derived from Classical Management and quasi-economics which have been grafted onto this provision have ignored the intercultural outcomes of centres which operate at the grassroots of policy, and further imposed an artificial separation between people, processes and outcomes that is skewing assessment toward only academic outcomes. These types of assessments are easily reduced to numerical analysis (Boyle 2001). However, such models fail to provide detailed intelligence

regarding how or why an organization is/is not effective (Boyle 2001; Hart 2005). Namely, by focusing on outcomes only, they underplay the importance of understanding the interconnectedness between people and processes, and how these factors impact on effectiveness in practice (Tynan 2002; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Morgan 1997). As is evidenced above, these problems with assessment designs which are not home grown for Study Support are clearly of no benefit to those professionals at the grassroots of this policy and provision. It is therefore important that in being a purpose built design CIMA is able to afford a holistic view of the organization and comprises a detailed account of the different processes that lead to effective outcomes in practice.

The second process in this element refers to the importance of a democratic design which advocates the involvement of all members of the organizational structure, and the rigour that is afforded by the cross-verification of triangulated data in assessment. Both of these points are important in community-based Study Support. Identified in the empirical study is that student active and consistent participation, in this intrinsically voluntary attended policy context, is a vital contributor to effective provision. Namely, without students there can be no intercultural or academic outcomes. That CIMA works to inculcate a democratic assessment design that emphasises student as well as staff participation is not only best fit for this operational context, it is reiterated by participants within the study:

"Ask the students how they feel about the Centre, and come and see it themselves, how it is, rather than just [look at] grades."   Ayaz (Student 4)

"Ask us, ask the students, we come here every week, we know it, because we are here, we experience it yeah, this is our centre we know it."   Patrick (Former Student 4)

There is another reason why this second process in element 7 emphasises the importance of inculcating a democratic design which is inclusive of all members of the organizational structure in Study Support. Identified in the historical analysis is that assessment systems which undervalue people can impact negatively upon professionals and people at the grassroots of organizations. (Fullan 2001; Hargreaves and Hopkins 1991; Agyris and Schon 1996; Moss Kanter 1996; Huczynski and Buchanan 1991; Clegg and Birch 1998). Exemplified and evident in the participant data below is the widespread demoralisation amongst the people that operate at the grass roots of this

provision, resulting from top down and imported assessment models in other areas in which they are currently assessed:

"No one wants to hear it [assessment] from someone who hasn't got experience, doesn't understand [the context], I think we see too much of that right now in schools and so I wouldn't want that approach in the Centre, I don't think that would be helpful. That is a kind of 'top down' approach I feel everywhere in education right now...there is no positive regard for people, and that process, I think it turns people off in my opinion, in a top down approach, so I think it would have to be one of us doing this; someone outside Study Support wont necessarily have the experience or be able to understand what it is we actually do." Akbar (Supervisor)

"This is not school and students know that, and at the moment there are a lot of assessments in school, and a lot of pressure comes with that, and I don't like that it's not good, well it wasn't like that with this. Because you see, this hasn't felt, I mean the way you did it, [the Empirical Study], it didn't feel pressured, it was like you involved them [the students], you understood that, so they were like relaxed." Karandeep (Staff Tutor)

"It [assessment] needs to be calm like with you. Cos I know you, and there's no pressure to do it, it's up to me." Tahir (Former Student 3)

CIMA's purpose built model inculcates a democratic assessment design in which the emphasis is on shared participation amongst students and staff. And in so doing it works with, rather than against the factors which are intrinsic to effective practice and its operational structure. This is vital in order that the assessment design does not jeopardize those factors which are intrinsic to provision and effective practice, such as for example: the importance of understanding that this is voluntary attended student provision in which student-staff symbiosis is important, and that all members of this provision comprise equal contributors in the creation and achievement of effective outcomes. Further, it affords rigour within assessment by being able to cross-verify triangulated data that is generated from involving all members of the organizational structure.

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The third process in this element refers to participant concern that best practice should be able to be shared so that it can be used to problem-solve within provision.

"They [the centres], if they could see how it is in other places, have a look to see how it works, figure things out together, you know like any problems together, I think that could be a good thing for the centres, and tutors to be able to do as well."

<div align="right">Patrick (Former Student 4)</div>

"Get together more, look at solvin' problems together if they 'ave any an' stuff, like then they [centres] can see what goes on like, look at each other and talk about it with each other, may be share stuff they are doin', you know yeah, stuff like that."

<div align="right">Anwar (Student 8)</div>

"Right now we don't have any way of sharing best practice, you know this part of what we do, well it isn't assessed, so we don't know what is and is not good or effective you know, but I think it would be good to do that. It would be good for us and the students."

<div align="right">Karandeep (Staff Tutor)</div>

The sharing of effective practice to reinvigorate provision is compliant with established best practice in organizational assessment, and within other areas already assessed in Study Support (MacBeath et al 2001; Elliott et al 2004). Importantly, where the assessment model is grounded both in those factors intrinsic to a policy and its organizational structure and effective provision, it is equipped to perform a dual educative as well as assessment role within the policy area it is designed to serve (Fullan 1991; 2001 Hopkins et al 1994; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002). Put another way, 'assessment should never be for assessment sake' (Fullan 1991). Rather, during assessment, where best practice is located, intelligence should be able to be recorded and used to inform policy and practice. In this way new models are able to take forward effectively the policy provision for which they have been designed (Fullan 2001; Fullan 1991; Hargreaves and Hopkins 1991;Hopkins et al 1996; Moss Kanter 1996; Morgan 1997; Tynan 2002b; Tynan 2003). This concludes those factors which are embedded into the rationales underpinning CIMA's assessment design as delineated in each of the processes set out within element 7.

The CIMA Model

Each element of CIMA and its processes corresponds precisely to those which were identified, numbered, evidenced and discussed consecutively throughout the empirical study detailed in this chapter. Combined each of these individual elements and their respective processes, which lead to interculturally effective provision, comprise the CIMA Model shown in Fig. 9 at the end of this chapter.

At the Cross Roads in 21st Century Study Support

At the dawn of the 21st Century this Centre operates at the nexus of converging factors which comprise a changing landscape in the City it serves. Evidenced in the observation below, and the one which began this empirical study, glocality and religiosity resides in student cultural identities. Global issues have become telescoped in the local community. For example, the riots in 2001 in this region, in which clashes between Muslim and non-Muslim youth became pronounced, have been conflagrated by the more global issue of the rise in Islamic Fundamentalism at the dawn of the 21st Century (Stone et al 2005; Cantle et al 2001; Ouseley et al 2001; Denham et al 2001). The beginning and end of this research was punctuated by two historical and tragic events; the Islamic Fundamentalist attacks carried out on the Twin Towers in New York on September 11th 2001 and the London Underground that took place on July 7th 2005. Both these issues, although not local in themselves, have nevertheless worked to exacerbate moves towards sectarianism between Muslims and non-Muslims within the City; and has catalysed the proliferation of far right extremist groups such as the British National Party (BNP) in the region (Stone et al 2005; Cantle et al 2001; Denham et al 2001; Ouseley et al 2001; Ritchie et al 2001). The Centre operates in an inner-city in which global tensions impact on the local community to create incidences of volatile social unrest in this economically depressed area. For example, on route to, and minutes from, the Centre, I was stopped by police because of a demonstration ahead. The police advised an alternate route; however it then became closed due to a Hindu wedding. With no alternative, I had to wait in the car at the crossroads, and recorded the scenes to my left and in front of me:

The road ahead is blocked off by police and their motorcycles. There is now a gathering of people for a demonstration, it isn't large, may be 70 people. The people in the

procession are young and old, black and white, and from one of the banners I can see that they are demonstrating about America, some of the banners are written in Arabic, others in English, some I think in Urdu but I am not sure it could be Gujurati, everyone is shouting, some in their mother tongue that I can't understand, others in Arabic and English. Someone has just set fire to an American flag and it is smouldering now as they have let it drop to the street.

The road to my left, the scene is so very different. The street is tranquil, nothing just grey terrace houses and pavement, then like a mirage, a beautiful white horse moves now gracefully carrying a bridegroom resplendent in the glory of his Hindu wedding attire, the gold and white fringe sheathing his face glistening in the sunlight, as he makes his way to the bride's house.

I am at the Centre now, everything is as usual here, the students are busy working; one of them looked up at me as I walked in and smiled, eyes bright, as she worked away. I have set myself up in a room to conduct an interview with a member of staff. I am looking out over the city. The chimney stacks from derelict mills stand witness to the past when Irish immigrants, some of my ancestors included, flooded in to the city to fill the jobs, when Britain was a manufacturing giant. Now it is less than prosperous with business competing with vibrant emergent economies in the Far East and Asia. Looking at the students this morning, happily working hard in their free time like this, multilingual and with a worldliness that comes from their rich cultural heritage, it occurs to me in a global market place that their hard work, talent, multilingual skills and world heritage mean that they don't just have the skills to work in this city, their reach is far more global than that, they have the world's job market at their feet. Are we celebrating and embracing this aspect of their cultural diversity enough?

<div align="right">Observation Extract</div>

The challenges of change are an inevitable aspect of any policy and its provision (Fullan 1991; 2001; Hargreaves and Hopkins 1996; Hopkins et al 1994; Moss-Kanter 1996). Within the Centre both religiosity and glocality are evidenced in student cultural identities. Outside the Centre these factors impact upon the inner-city context in which this provision operates at the dawn of the 21st Century. It is significant that inside the Centre these students, notwithstanding the sectarianism they know exists outside, or the religiosity and glocality evident in their cultural identities, are voluntarily engaged in

creating and maintaining interculturally effective provision in their inner-city locale. Without CIMA this voluntary and positive contribution made by this provision and its students is neither recorded nor celebrated within the policy's assessment framework. Further, and equally important, is that assessment does not engage with the glocality and religiosity that is manifested both in student cultural identities and the 21st Century operational context this provision serves. In such a context, without a culturally intelligent approach assumptions about student homogeneity are unhelpful and misrepresentative of the individuals involved and their precise cultural identities. In Section (IV) I critically analyse the strengths and benefits that CIMA affords local and national government, at both the theoretical and practical levels, within this policy arena in being a culturally intelligent and purpose built model designed to meet the challenges of change faced by 21st Century provision.

CIMA's Culturally Intelligent Foundation Elements 1 and 2 Reveal Centre's Cultural Matrix

Element 1		
Outcomes	Process	Evidence Base
Importantly,cultural identities of students are revealed which have meaning and value for them.	• *Students given the opportunity to self-define their cultural identity; pre-categorisations are not applied*	*Student interviews*
Element 2		
Outcomes	Process	Evidence Base
The ways in which students locate both commonality and difference amongst themselves is revealed, exposing the flaws of assuming ethnic and religious homogeneity where there is diversity. *Combined, Elements 1 and 2 reveal the cultural matrix of students in the Centre.*	• *Students articulate the ways in which they locate commonality and difference within the matrix of cultural identifies they have within the Centre*	*Student interviews*

CIMA Element 3: _Mutual Understanding and Respect within the Centre Resides in Multilayered Processes_

Outcome:	Processes:	Evidence Base:
Mutual Understanding and Respect within Student Cultural Matrix of Study Support Centre Resides in Layered Processes	• *Process 1: Lateral Communication (Amongst Students: Peer to Peer) Opportunity for students to discuss commonality and difference:* ➢ *Within 'apparently' homogenous religious group of Muslim students from different ethnicities* ➢ *Between different religions Example: Christian and Muslim.*	*Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members of Organizational Structure*
	• *Process 2: Vertical Communication (Student to Staff and Vice Versa) Opportunity for staff and students to discuss respective different cultural and/or religious traditions. Example: Sikh and non-Sikh.*	*Triangulated Data: Interviews with all members of Organizational Structure*
	• *Process 3: Opportunity for Whole Student Group to Share Appreciation of Popular Culture in Community Space Afforded by Study Support. Examples: watching a Bollywood or Hollywood movie; listening to a Football Match on the radio.*	*Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members of Organisational Structure*

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CIMA Element 4: Support Centre as Oasis for Positive Intercultural Exchange for Students within their Inner-City Community

Outcome	Processes	Evidence Base
Study Support Centre as Oasis for Positive Intercultural Exchange for Students within Inner-City Community of Ethnically and Religiously Diverse Youth	• Process 1: Shared values on racial equality, respect for cultural diversity and inclusiveness evident throughout the organizational structure	Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members of Organizational Structure
	• Process 2: Physical set up within Study Support Centre is fluid; this effectively encourages students mixing and discourages formation of student ghettoes	Triangulated Data: Observations Student Interviews
	• Process 3: Study Support Centre has relaxed but not lax working atmosphere	Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members of Organizational Structure
	• Process 4: Intercultural skills of staff as stewards of racial equality in Study Support	Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members of Organizational Structure
	• Process 5: Teacher-pupil polarity replaced with staff and centre as a family within student inner-city Study Support Centre	Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members of Organizational Structure

CIMA Element 5: Staff as Creative Facilitators of Holistic Learning in Study Support

Outcome	Processes	Evidence Base
Staff are Creative Facilitators in Whole Learning in Study Support: both academic and intercultural	• Process 1: Staff understand the importance of voluntary student attendance in Study Support policy context and achieve an effective staff-student symbiosis. Attendance is thus established and consistent in the Centre	Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members of Organizational Structure
	• Process 2: Opportunity for creative freedom afforded by Study Support utilised by staff in creating novel games which involve both academic and intercultural learning	Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members of Organizational Structure

CIMA Element 6: Positive Intercultural Learning as Spin Off of Focused Academic Activity among Students within Study Support

Outcome	Process	Evidence Base
Positive Intercultural Learning as Spin off of Focused Academic Activity Among Students within Study Support Centre.	• *Process 1: Staff and students understand objective to attain academically*	*Triangulated Data: Observations Interviews with all members within Organizational Structure*
	• *Process 2: Opportunity for students to focus upon academic work together enables intercultural spin off to occur within student cultural matrix*	*As this is essentially an unplanned, internalised process for students that leads to this positive intercultural outcome, interviews with students comprised the best data with which to assess this process in practice*

CIMA Element 7: Effective Monitoring and Assessment of Intercultural Outcomes: Rationale Underpinning CIMA's Purpose Built Design for Study Support.

Outcome	Process	Triangulated Evidence Base
CIMA Assessment Design that is Purpose Built for community-based Study Support	• *Process 1: Each of CIMA's Elements work together to provide an holistic assessment model to monitor the intercultural outcomes of Study Support provision within the Centre*	*Rationale which underpins CIMA's design is informed by convergent factors: identified in the historical analysis; the empirical study and best practice in organizational assessment. Grounded both in effective provision and those factors intrinsic to the organizational structure of community-based Study Support. CIMA thus comprises a systems' design that incorporates the strength of being purpose built for the operational context and policy it has been designed to serve (Morgan 1997; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Clegg and Birch 1998)*
	• *Process 2: CIMA incorporates and advocates the use of a triangulated evidence base for each of its different elements to ensure rigour in assessment, and to ensure that the model is democratic incorporating all members of the organizational structure within the Study Support Centre*	
	• *Process 3: CIMA records formally effective practice so that compliant with established practice in assessment in other areas of Study Support examples of best practice can be shared within provision and used to perform a dual educative and assessment role*	

Section IV: Critical Analysis of CIMA's Design and Distinct Levels of Contribution

Summary

It has been established in the historical analysis (Section II) and the empirical study (Section III), that current assessments used in Study Support operate on assumptions implicit in: (i) the use of pre-imposed classifications of cultural identity upon students; and (ii) pre and 20th Century-derived 'top down', and non-purpose built assessment models, imported into this policy. In contrast to these models, Chapter 6 Section (I), critically analyses the strengths CIMA has in being both a culturally intelligent and purpose built assessment design.

Chapter 6 Section IIA shows how, within the context of converging factors which impact on this provision in the 21st Century, CIMA in being a purpose built model is equipped both to address, and inform an area of national policy. Chapter 6 Section IIB explicates the different strengths of CIMA's design, for both local and national government, in the context of apparently homogenous centres. Section IIB, illuminates how, without the culturally intelligent clarity and purpose built design afforded by CIMA, false assumptions are allowed to proliferate, concerning homogeneity, student ethnicity and religion.

Chapter 6 Section IIC demonstrates CIMA's practical design strengths in the context of less than effective centre settings, in which homogeneity is not assumed, but in which there are weaknesses that are preventing the provision from being interculturally effective. Grounded in effective provision, and informed by best practice in organizational assessment, CIMA incorporates transferability and affords less than effective centres the benefits of a dual educative and assessment application (Drucker 1999;Hopkins et al 1994; Moss-Kanter 1996; Morgan 1997; Fullan 1991; Fullan 2001).

At the level of implementation of CIMA within a national policy arena and context, the assessment skills of assessors cannot be assumed to be uniform (Tynan 2003; Hargreaves and Fullan 1998; Fullan 2001:128). Section IID explicates why therefore it is important to make provision for this within assessment. Section IID demonstrates how CIMA enables equality of opportunity, and 'assessment literacy' for assessors (Fullan 2001), via the provision of practical guidance and differentiated materials, in readiness for government implementation in Study Support centres.

Grounded in the historical analysis, the empirical study, and those factors identified by the research which define the 21st Century operational context of policy and provision, Chapter 7 explicates the negative impacts derived from a continued 20th Century religiosity in government assessment. These negative impacts are analysed in the context of the young people served by this provision, and the inability of such assessments to inform with validity and precision the government's strategy in this policy area. In contrast, Chapter 7 identifies the tangible benefits and illuminative contribution afforded the government in this policy area, with CIMA's specifically culturally intelligent and purpose built design which is equipped for the challenges of 21st Century provision.

Introduction

CIMA in being both culturally intelligent and purpose built for the 21st Century context, in which Study Support operates, does not inculcate the assumptions implicit in 20th Century assessment models which previously have been imported into, and grafted onto, this policy provision. Critically analysed in Section (I) below is how the different aspects of CIMA's purpose built design embody a particular strength of rationale, which in contrast, imported and non-purpose built models cannot provide.

Section (I): The strength of rationale underpinning CIMA's design

(i) The rationale for CIMA's culturally intelligent foundations as against the continued application of pre-imposed classifications of student cultural identities

"The hell with an identity I've got to search for" you scream. "I need one for immediate use!" (Judith Wilson Autobiography: 1989:10).

The vocabulary in the discourse on cultural identity today is faced with three interlinked challenges. First, inherent in contemporary vocabulary associated with cultural identity are classifications inherited from colonialism, slavery and a Eurocentric discourse on race (Said 1978; Brah 1996: 100-102; Mudimbe 1988:181; Lippard 1990; Appiah 1990). Second, discourse on cultural identity is not confined to any one continent, just as the people are not; glocality in cultural identity intensifies with the increasing impact of a global knowledge economy (Appiah 1990; Alibhai-Brown 2001; Lippard 1990). Third, vocabulary for cultural identity that was once designed to imply fairness and equality by one generation, is then overturned by the next: for example, Martin Luther King referred positively to the terms 'negro' and 'coloured' in the fight for Civil Rights in the mid-20th Century. However, by the end of the 20th Century African-Americans had deemed these terms neither positive nor appropriate for their cultural identity (Gillborn 1990:2).

Viewed from within the collective context of these three interconnected challenges in the discourse on cultural identity, self-defining is a demanding intellectual task. It is fraught with ideological difficulties, whereby it becomes more akin to a search, than a taken-for granted notion. To engage with the fullness of this task demands rigour and patience.

Such rigour can present a formidable, if not also frustrating, obstacle for a person, such as Judith Wilson, who wants to know their cultural identity, today. What the empirical study cannot reveal is whether or not the students in this centre, consciously engaged with all these challenges and complexities in their minds when they defined their own cultural identities, in the myriad of different ways that they did. However, what can be said is that the opportunity for students to self-define their own cultural identity resulted in responses which were sophisticated. Their responses engaged with religious, linguistic, geographical and/or ancestral identities reflecting student glocal heritages. Cultural identities that arise in the act of self-defining are complex, precisely because they comprise the glocality of student lived experience. For example, in defining themselves as a 'Muslim' this cultural identity comprises a religion which is not only local, but global in membership and reach. Further, and of equal importance, is that the spectrums the students chose to place themselves in had meaning for them. To quash the possibility for students to self-define their cultural identity in this way, in an intercultural assessment model, built for 21st Century Study Support, would be to ignore the glocality of student lived experience, and the sophistication of their cultural identity. Ignoring either the glocality or religiosity evident in student cultural identities would not negate its existence; it would continue a process in which assessment is denuding itself of clarity. Recognizing the sophistication manifest in student cultural identities, as self-defined by them, places clarity not delusion at the roots of CIMA's design in being a culturally intelligent model of assessment. The importance of this aspect of CIMA's design, in being purpose built for the 21st Century context in which Study Support operates, is examined further below.

(ii) Culturally intelligent assessment shows that student identities do not conform to pre-imposed classifications

Government pre-imposition of socio-political classification such as 'Hispanics' in the North American context has backfired, because it assumes conformity to the imposed nomenclature, and that the terminology used has meaning and/or value to the people to whom it is applied; whereas people are not obedient to these pre-imposed terms, because they hold no value or meaning for them (Guillermo-Gomez Pena 1990). Implicit in the pre-categorisation of cultural identities in 21st Century Study Support, is the assumption of student conformity to 20th Century Eurocentrically-derived classification of their own cultural identity. However, explicit in the glocality and religiosity of student definitions such as 'Pakistani Muslim', are cultural identities neither bounded by a Eurocentric

heritage, nor obedient to the limits imposed by any government pre-classifications. Further, evidenced in these student self-definitions is that they do not conform to government terms, such as 'minority ethnic/ethnic minority'. With a culturally intelligent and purpose built design for the 21st Century context in which Study Support now operates government has an informed choice. It can continue to delude itself by operating as if religiosity and glocality evident in student cultural identity does not exist. Or, more logically, it can inculcate a culturally intelligent and purpose built assessment that in being so, is equipped to engage with the 21st Century context in which Study Support operates. There is another reason for the strength of rationale underpinning CIMA's design, which works to jettison the fuzziness that results from using pre-classifications. This relates to the position that religiosity has come to occupy in the conflicts within the cities served by community-based Study Support in the 21st Century. This is discussed next.

(iii) CIMA exposes the futility of ignoring religiosity in student cultural identity

Government reports, following the riots in the North of England in 2001, point to the rising importance of religiosity and dangers of both right wing political extremism, such as the British National Party, and Islamic Fundamentalism, which is working to fuel clashes amongst Muslim and non-Muslim youth and sectarianism in British cities served by Study Support (Cantle et al 2001; Ouseley et al 2001; Clarke et al 2001; Ritchie et al 2001; Denham et al 2001; DfES 2004). In response to the strength of public feeling that arose against Islam following the 2001 riots in the North of England and the tragedy of the New York Twin Towers incurred by Islamic Fundamentalists, the Crown Prosecution Service established a new legislative category, in which any attack found to be motivated out of discrimination toward any religion in Britain, is to be treated as a 'crime against the whole community,' with penalties (Crown Prosecution Service 2003). This legislation may work to discourage tensions between Muslim and non-Muslim youth in the cities of for example, Bradford, Burnley and Oldham that Study Support serves.

However legislation is one matter; religious belief is another. Legislation alone cannot displace the centrality that Muslim religious identity occupied in the 2001 riots, or in the sectarianism within the inner-cities served by 21st Century Study Support. The issue of the Muslim religion as cultural identity is one which is extant, clear and present amongst the groups of students community-based Study Support serves. Denying the existence or importance of student religious identity via the use of pre-imposed classifications, only

clouds the waters in assessment; it does not take us forward with clarity. Implicit in the words of Ted Cantle, is a frustration at what he terms, feeling the need to 'tiptoe around the issue' of religiosity amidst community riots and tensions in Britain's inner-cities (Cantle et al 2001). CIMA does not 'tiptoe' around this issue. The glocality of student cultural identity, inclusive of for example, those who define themselves, 'Muslim', 'Hindu', 'Sikh', and thus a member of a religion with a world view unbounded by Eurocentric heritage or thought, is openly engaged with in CIMA. The alternative course of action in assessment, at the dawn of this new century, is the intellectual equivalent of sweeping religious identity amongst student communities under the carpet, in the hope that its importance in the current landscape of sectarianism in which community-based Study Support operates will somehow dissipate. The latter route has nothing to contribute to a model which in being purpose built, must be equipped to deal with the challenges presented by the 21st Century context in which Study Support operates.

(iv) CIMA illuminates the importance of religion as a bridge in diversity and identifies the dangers implicit in the myth of homogeneity

Culturally intelligent assessment illuminates the fact that religious identity does not necessarily mean homogeneity amongst ethnically diverse students. Moreover, CIMA, in being purpose built for Study Support serving ethnically/religiously diverse communities of young people, elucidates the role that religion has to play in acting as a bridge, via which students locate both commonality and divergence within and between ethnicity and religious faiths. That CIMA does this is of especial importance in the context of inner-cities dogged by sectarianism such as Bradford, Burnley and Oldham, in which Study Support operates (Cantle et al 2001; Clarke et al 2001; Ritchie et al 2001; Ouseley et al 2001). From outside the community-based Study Support centre, based on what students looked like, it may be assumed that students were for example 'Asian' and homogenous either ethnically or religiously. Whereas, inside the centre, Muslim students for example, who comprised one religion represented in the student community, could not be said to consist of an homogenous group whatsoever. It is significant that they did not identify themselves as such. It is evident that Pakistani Muslim students articulated differences between themselves, and Muslim peers, for example, from Bangladeshi and/or African heritage. It is not a new observation that localised indigenous ethnic traditions and practices of countries become synchronised with global religious doctrine. For example, South America, Africa and the Philippines account for some of the largest Christian populations in the world (Brown 2000:133). A Christian church in Goa, India,

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and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, will each reflect indigenous aspects that have been developed locally (Tribe 1996). Outside the recent rise of Islamic Fundamentalism, within Islam, since its point of origin, it is important to point out here that there is no evidence of a history of absolute unity in all aspects pertaining to central pillars of its doctrine. Long held conflicts and differences are established between for example the Muslim traditions of Sunni, Shi'ite, Kharijite, and Sufi (Lapidus 1989; Jomier 1989:22; Mansfield 1990). Sunni Muslims recognize not one, but no less than four different schools of law: Hanifi, Maliki, Shafei and Hanbali (Jomier 1989). In the case of Sufi Muslims, their traditions have become entwined with those of indigenous peoples in for example North Africa and Asia (Mansfield 1990:70-71; Jomier 1989; Lapidus 1989:470-475). That CIMA engages with, and inculcates within its processes and elements, the diversity located by students within and between their ethnicity and religion(s), is important in a model purpose built for 21st Century provision serving ethnically and religiously diverse youth. CIMA's culturally intelligent foundations work to replace assumptions about student ethnic and/or religious homogeneity with precision as to where divergence and commonality occur amongst students.

(v) CIMA shows the importance of interculturally effective Study Support in ethnically and religiously diverse youth communities

Multiculturalism celebrates diversity, but not how that diversity finds commonality and belonging amidst the complex jigsaw that is Britain (Almond 1988; Troyna and Carrington 1990; Parekh 2000). Muliticulturalism may have 'good intent', but implicit within it, is an assumption that 'somehow' diversity will always generate an effort by all toward harmony and pluralism; whereas within the context of lived realities, this constitutes an over-simplified theory of society (McLaren in Halsey et al 2003:520-522).

At the dawn of the 21st Century, the idealism implicit in multiculturalism, increasingly is under siege in Britain from Islamic Fundamentalists, catalysing sectarianism amongst British inner-city communities, and helping to fuel the proliferation of right wing extremism such as the British National Party (Stone et al 2005). Amidst this contemporary and historical backdrop a question therefore hangs in the air: how are we all to live together harmoniously (Phillips 2005)? At the grassroots level of Study Support policy and practice, the answer lies in understanding how interculturally effective centres can operate and prosper within cities in which sectarianism exists. One of the distinctive elements of interculturally effective Study Support is that importantly it

comprises a tangible oasis in the city, within which students from diverse ethnic and/or religious backgrounds feel they belong, and can mix and relax together. This is of especial importance to students attending the community-based Study Support centre who otherwise attend Muslim faith schools. Muslim students from Muslim faith schools articulate clearly, that community-based Study Support provides them with a unique opportunity, to meet, mix and make friends with students from different religions and/or ethnic backgrounds. And that without the interculturally effective 'oasis' Study Support provided them, they had no other tangible space in their inner-city community to do this. This unique opportunity afforded these students by this provision stands in stark contrast to life in their City, outside the centre, in which sectarian clashes amongst Muslim and non-Muslim youth proliferates. It is critical therefore that community-based Study Support provision is able to demonstrate that it comprises an interculturally effective oasis and positive experience for students within their inner-city locale.

(vi) CIMA highlights the role of shared responsibility in interculturally effective Study Support

Given the centrality that religious identity has come to occupy in social unrest in the cities served by Study Support, in for example Bradford, Burnley and Oldham, a new government department to deal with religion has been set up: the Faith Communities Unit or FCU at the Home Office (Stone et al 2005:2). The FCU now deals with faith and religion which was previously part of the Race Equality Unit (REU) (Stone et al 2005:2). The FCU is to work in parallel with the REU and Community Cohesion Unit (CCU). In 2003, the Crown Prosecution Service, following on from the 2000 Amended Race Relations Act, rendered religious discrimination a crime against the community. The collective aim of this activity is to provide a robust legislative and policy framework for government to enforce community cohesion. However, policy in itself cannot change how people actually 'think' (Ball 1994). For policy to work, it is not just about telling people what to do therefore, it is also a matter of: (i) providing them with the appropriate opportunities to enact policy in practice; and (ii) understanding that in a democratic society, all people benefiting from it have a shared responsibility to meet the aims of policy. In other words, no matter how well-intentioned, policy can't work if the people don't make it happen by demonstrating both a commitment, and a shared responsibility toward its practical achievement (Denham et al 2001:34).

I first want to address point (i) which relates to the FCU's policy remit: to promote 'interfaith dialogue' between religious groups in a multicultural Britain (Stone et al 2005). Where is the opportunity to do this in tangible terms within communities, where students attend for example, Muslim faith schools, and live in cities in which Islamaphobia and right wing extremism underpins moves toward sectarianism in 21st Century Britian? For Muslim students attending Muslim faith schools, uniquely as detailed above, interculturally effective Study Support provides them with a tangible opportunity, not only to engage in interfaith dialogues, but also to establish intercultural friendships within the ethnic/religious diversity of their inner-city community.

I want to address now point (ii), and how this relates to the important lessons for multiculturalism to be learned from CIMA and interculturally effective provision from which it emanates. Intrinsic to Study Support policy and its organizational framework and remit, is that students attend voluntarily. In a desert, oasis dwellers understand, that in order to partake of the benefits of the resource they must not only share in it, but actively contribute to maintaining it (Mansfield 1990). Within the oasis of interculturally effective Study Support, students feel they are a part of a family; a family that they are conscious of, can articulate with precision, and are actively complicit in creating by their continued voluntary attendance. What is significant is that within this provision, in choosing to attend, students are thus sharing responsibility in, and a commitment to, the intercultural effectiveness of the Study Support centre. Moreover, students are conscious of what they choose to contribute to creating and maintaining in their centre, and how this experience contrasts with sectarianism that exists outside in their inner-city locale.

Together, these points, which arise from interculturally effective Study Support, highlight two factors that are important for policy and provision. First, amidst the plethora of legislation and policy directives, harmony amongst disparate ethnic and/or religious young people can only happen, where all groups, religious or otherwise, evidence a willingness to partake in a shared responsibility, and an equal commitment to the achievement of social cohesion within multicultural communities. Second, in practice, in order for young people to have the opportunity to express and enact this process within their local community, they need to have the tangible facility and space in which to do so. Importantly, disparate ethnic and/or religious groups of young people have demonstrated this within the interculturally effective Study Support centre.

(vii) CIMA elucidates the significance of staff-student symbiosis in Study Support assessment

Establishing staff-student symbiosis is a critical pre-requisite in this voluntarily attended policy arena to enable a foundation of consistent student attendance. With this foundation in place, then, via the interconnected processes intrinsic to the policy and organizational structure of Study Support, staff and students are able to work together, to produce positive academic and intercultural outcomes. In interculturally effective Study Support, a further way in which staff members achieve both these two outcomes is via their utilisation of another aspect of Study Support: the opportunity to exercise creative freedom. I address the latter point in a moment. But first, it has been noted that the staff and supervisor of this centre were drawn from diverse cultural backgrounds. However, this research is cautious of the belief that cultural identity, rather than the skills of professional practitioners, is the key to promoting positive intercultural understanding in education. Intercultural skills can be taught and learned (Davcheva 2003; Carte and Fox 2004). Anthropology in the 20th Century underwent a complete 360 degree cycle of thinking that is useful to inform intercultural policy and assessment at this point. Anthropology, stemming from the colonial era, is rooted in a history of Eurocentric discourse (Marcus 1997; Mudimbe 1988). By the mid-20th Century, non-European researchers, trained in Eurocentric methods, argued that the only meaningful anthropological research was that which could be carried out by people from the same cultural background. This argument however later backfired, when at the end of the 20th Century, African-American anthropologists wanting to research 'white' communities, had to confront the same argument from their subjects. Anthropology has now moved on from this unconstructive historical cul-de-sac which was not fostering, but actually preventing, better intercultural knowledge and understanding (Erve 2003; Marcus 1997).

The important lesson to be learned is that within the context of interculturally effective Study Support, what matters less is the cultural background of staff; more salient is that they all: (i) evidence and demonstrate in practice, a shared understanding of the importance of establishing staff-student symbiosis; and (ii) utilise the opportunity afforded by Study Support, to exercise their creative powers (DfES 2004b). In interculturally effective provision, this means that staff must be able to evidence their consideration of both intercultural and academic outcomes, in their creation of novel learning activities for students.

(viii) CIMA demonstrates the importance of designing assessments which are purpose built for the organizational structure of Study Support

Top down assessment emanates from a combination of military, paternalistic, colonial, autocratic Classical Management, and industrial production line models. Heavily dependent upon hierarchy and the idea of organizations as pyramids, the balance of power in these models is concentrated at the top, and diminishes with 'order, rank and file' downward through the organizational structure (Clegg and Birch 1998; Huczynski and Buchanan 1991; Morgan 1997; Fincham and Rhodes 1992; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002:87). However, within the policy context of community-based Study Support, there is an extremely flattened organizational structure, due to both the non-obligatory nature of student attendance, and the importance of staff-student symbiosis within this policy arena. Within such an organizational structure and policy context, the application of a top down model dependent upon hierarchy, is the assessment model equivalent, of riding roughshod throughout the organizational structure of Study Support; it ignores the importance of intrinsic factors, processes and elements, which combine to produce interculturally effective provision. By way of contrast, grounded in the precise organizational structure, specific factors, people and processes that are intrinsic to Study Support policy and provision, CIMA is purpose built. It therefore has the benefit of being able to work precisely with, as opposed to against, the organizational structure and policy that it has been designed for.

(ix) CIMA's design facilitates vertical flow of communication in assessment

It is a failure of 'top down' assessment models, that they stifle vertical communication from those at the grassroots of an organization (Morgan 1997; Birch and Clegg 1998; Drucker 1999; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002:95). In contrast, CIMA, in being a home grown model is tailored to the organizational structure as given in point (viii), and understands the intrinsic importance of staff-student symbiosis, and shared responsibility between staff and students in the success of this voluntarily attended context as given in point (vii). Over and above these two aspects of its design, it is significant that CIMA throughout each of its elements emphasises the importance of consulting all members of the centre's organizational structure during assessment. Otherwise, if either students, or any member of this organizational structure felt excluded during assessment, it would jeopardise staff-student symbiosis, and contravene the importance of the flattened down organizational structure, both of which are integral to effective Study Support. For all

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these reasons, Study Support assessment does not need, or benefit from, another imported, or top down model that doesn't understand the importance of these intrinsic aspects of provision, and at the same time stifles communication from the grassroots. There is a further intellectual and practical reason as to why this aspect of CIMA's design is important in community-based Study Support assessment; this is discussed next.

(x) CIMA's democratic design closes the loophole of silence in assessment

With the application of top down models, silence from those at the grassroots becomes both acceptable and expected in assessment (Drucker 1999; Fullan 1991; 2001; Moss-Kanter 1996; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002). The corollary of this within the context of Study Support policy and provision is threefold. First, this means that problems that may exist at the grassroots of provision are not heard and factored into the assessment process; they are allowed to fester. Second, this leaves a loophole of silence in assessment that is useful only for the unchecked development of dissent and disengagement from policy objectives at the grassroots. Third, it communicates a negative message to professionals and young people within provision: their views and ideas are not valued in the assessment process. In contrast, CIMA's democratic design renders null and void this loophole of silence in assessment which has been created by the application of top down and imported models. This democratic aspect of CIMA's design, combined with its culturally intelligent approach which engages with religious identity, is especially important for local government in the context of apparently homogenous provision, and is discussed further in Section IIB.

(xi) CIMA in contrast with non-purpose and imported models recognizes the importance of a relaxed working atmosphere that is intrinsic to Study Support

One of the intrinsic factors, identified by the empirical study and which has been incorporated into CIMA's design is the importance in effective Study Support of a relaxed working atmosphere (Elliott et al 2004). This intrinsic feature of Study Support is interconnected with the processes and outcomes that lead to both academic and intercultural effectiveness in the centre. Indeed, this relaxed and voluntarily attended operational context of Study Support, in which staff-student symbiosis is enacted and achieved, was identified by staff and students as comprising one which was different from school, and the tensions they had experienced therein. A non-purpose built model

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imported into this policy and provision can neither understand, nor therefore recognize, the integral value of this intrinsic aspect of policy, and its role in the achievement of interculturally effective outcomes. In contrast, CIMA, in being a home grown assessment design that is purpose built for Study Support, highlights the significance of understanding this important operational factor, and its impact on processes and outcomes.

(xii) CIMA exposes the artificial separations imposed between academic and intercultural outcomes that have been created by imported and top down assessment

It was established in the historical analysis (Section II) that imported and non-specialist models applied to community-based Study Support have ignored the intercultural outcomes, emphasised academic outcomes, and in the process have forced an artificial separation in assessment between the former and the latter. However, as has been evidenced in the empirical study (Section III), this creates an artificial separation; in the practical operational context of Study Support serving ethnically/religiously diverse youth, academic and intercultural processes and outcomes are interconnected. In contrast to CIMA, a model that is parachuted into, rather than being purpose built for this policy and provision, cannot address simultaneously the interconnectedness of these two processes and outcomes, and thus ignores vital insights into how interculturally effective Study Support is achieved.

(xiii) CIMA's triangulated evidence base throughout the assessment process emphasises the importance of having built-in checks and balances

Top down models of assessment, being undemocratic and autocratic in both function and design prevent the thoroughness of a 360 degree analysis of an organizational structure, because they do not include all members, and therefore deny the opportunity for the cross-verification of the data that is generated during assessment (Morgan 1997; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Clegg and Birch 1998). In contrast, CIMA's democratic design, in being inclusive of all members of the organizational structure, enables a 360 degree analysis and the cross-verification of data generated during assessment, via the use of a triangulated evidence base. The corollary of this, is that CIMA's design incorporates checks and balances so that assessment cannot then be used to promulgate misinformation, by for example, either professionals or students. Any inconsistency and/or contrast in opinion amongst different members of the organizational structure is

detectable. Grounded within the precise organizational structure it is designed to operate in, this practical strength of CIMA's design ensures that rigour is built into the assessment process throughout.

(xiv) CIMA is transferable within the policy context it is purpose built to serve

CIMA is embedded within those intrinsic factors which pertain to the organizational structure and policy for which it has been designed. These intrinsic factors comprise constants in community-based Study Support policy which are nationwide and are as follows: first, all centres must comply with the national policy's organizational structure which comprises a uniform one of: supervisor, staff and students; second, provision is without exception voluntarily attended; third, provision is relaxed and distinct from school; fourth, provision operates outside of schools in community centres in the evenings and weekends; fifth, provision targets ethnically and religiously diverse inner-city areas of socio-economic deprivation; sixth, the objective of national policy is not homogeneous provision. Whether a centre is operating therefore in Bradford, Leicester, or Burnley these intrinsic factors in policy and provision remain constant throughout (MacBeath et al 2001; Elliott et al 2004). Assessment models that are best fit to take their field forward are those that are grounded within the intrinsic factors that pertain to the precise policy and organizational structure for which they are designed, precisely because they provide the benefit of transferability (Fullan 1991; Blake et al 1989; Morgan 1986; Morgan 1997; Mullins 1996: 780-781; Hopkins et al 1994; Argyris and Schon 1996; Clegg and Birch 1998). CIMA's design from inception to realisation, grounded in this best practice in organizational assessment thus has the advantage of being transferable within the policy provision and operational context for which it has been created. The benefits of this are described below.

(xv) CIMA incorporates a dual educative and assessment application

Established best practice in organizational assessment advocates that 'assessment should never be just for assessment sake'. Rather intelligence generated from assessment models should be able to be: (i) fed back into its organization in order to re-invigorate it; (ii) shared amongst members within the organization in order to provide examples of effective practice (MacBeath et al 2001; Fullan 1991; 2001; Argyris and Schon 1996:32-36; 1997:Morgan 87-90; Cloke and Goldsmith 254;255). This is already achieved in other areas of Study Support which are currently assessed. Best fit for purpose in the

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design of a new model, so that it is able to perform this dual educative as well as assessment role, is one which is grounded in: (i) the intrinsic processes integral to a policy and its precise organizational structure; (ii) effective policy provision (Hopkins et al 1994; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Morgan 1997; Drucker 1999; 16;17; Moss-Kanter 1996; Fullan 1991; 2001). CIMA in being grounded in both these pre-requisites means that over and above its transferability within the policy for which it has been designed, it is purposely and especially well-equipped to perform both an educative as well assessment role. This strength, that arises from CIMA's design and contribution is of particular importance in the context of less effective provision within community-based Study Support, and is demonstrated in detail in Section IIC.

Conclusion

This concludes this section's analysis of the strengths of CIMA's culturally intelligent and purpose built design for 21st Century community-based Study Support serving ethnically and religiously diverse youth. Before discussing the strengths and benefits of CIMA in different contexts and settings within the policy area for which it has been created in Sections IIB and IIC, first Section IIA below details how, PFI funding and other concomitant factors which define the 21st Century context in which it operates, the model informs an area of national government policy.

Section IIA: CIMA in the context of PFI funding in 21st Century Study Support and its ability to inform an area of national government policy

The ultimate test of any new assessment model, resides in its ability: (i) to inform an area of immediate concern in national government policy; (ii) to engage people at the local level of policy from within its structure and design. (Ferlie et al 2005; Pollitt 2003:120; Narayan et al 2005:4;5; Tynan 2003:56;57;58;98; Fullan 1991:164). Explicated in Section (I) of this chapter is that CIMA fulfils criterion (ii) in being both a culturally intelligent and democratic model, purpose built to engage professionals and students, who operate at the grassroots of 21st Century Study Support policy. Explicated in this section is how CIMA fulfils criterion (i).

The gap in assessment which CIMA fills is of especial importance under PFI funding arrangements, and converging factors which define the 21st Century context of policy

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provision. In the cities served by this provision, government reports point to a rise in: (i) Islamic Fundamentalism; (ii) sectarianism between Muslim and non-Muslim youth; and (iii) right wing extremism in the form of the British National Party. These factors threaten social cohesion in the cities in which Study Support centres operate (Cantle et al 2001; Ouseley et al 2001; Denham 2001 et al; Ritchie et al 2001; Stone et al 2005). Indeed, it was the 2001 riots in these cities, in which clashes between Muslim and non-Muslim youth were prominent, that prompted the Home Office to produce the first reports aimed specifically at social cohesion (Stone et al 2005). However, this aim of social cohesion remains a challenge for these communities, following the attacks carried out by Islamic Fundamentalists on September 11th 2001 in New York, and then again on British soil in London on July 7th 2005.

It was established in the historical analysis (Section II) that Study Support policy under PFI funding arrangements invites patronage from religious and charitable groups. It is not a new observation that the patronage of educational provision in socio-economically deprived contexts, such as in those cities served by community-based Study Support, creates recruitment opportunities for religious groups (Bryk, Lee and Holland 1993; James 1987; Rathgeb-Smith in Ferlie, Lynn and Pollitt 2005:598). Significant to say here; this is not to undervalue the work done by charities and religious denominations nationally in a variety of patronage for the educational benefit of children. As a charity trustee of a non-religious organization since 2003, to support children, families and schools, and given in the historical analysis of this research that Study Support began as a charitable concern operated by the Princes Trust; there is much to commend religious and/or charitable patronage in British education and youth communities. However, the point here is that given the current nature of social unrest in the cities in which community-based Study Support operates, under PFI, religious patronage or otherwise, cannot be assumed automatically to be passive in its intent. Due to the seriousness of sectarianism forming in those cities served by community-based Study Support, government cannot afford to be complacent about what activities occur within centres. Government needs to be able to ascertain, with precision, whether activity in such centres is, or is not assisting the development of socially cohesive communities amongst young people.

Accountability in Assessment under PFI

First, without CIMA there are no clear lines of accountability from centres to local and national government built into this policy's assessment. Second, without the precision afforded government by CIMA's culturally intelligent foundations, assumptions about ethnic and, or religious homogeneity within such Centres, take the place of detailed and illuminative data. Given all those converging factors discussed here, assumptions in particular in community-based Study Support about apparently homogenous Muslim centres are not useful for either government or the communities this policy serves. Demonstrative of CIMA's culturally intelligent and democratic design, the strength of CIMA in the context of apparently 'homogenous' and Muslim centres is explicated now in Section IIB below.

Section IIB: Strengths of CIMA in apparently homogenous Muslim centres

(i) Cultural intelligence shows that being Muslim does not confer homogeneity

The word apparent is the operative one here. It has been shown that without CIMA's culturally intelligent foundations in assessment, students may be presumed to be Muslim and therefore homogenous within the centre. However, a culturally intelligent assessment provides local and national government with the benefit of more precise data. Namely, as evidenced in the empirical study, being Muslim does not confer homogeneity amongst students. Rather a culturally intelligent assessment reveals that being Muslim comprises the point through which these students locate divergence amidst the myriad of traditions they bring with them from different geographical heritages, ethnicities, and experiences.

(ii) Culturally intelligent assessment helps to guard against disenfranchisement

Government is concerned to find new ways of engaging Muslim youth, in the cities served by Study Support, in which there is a history, and continued danger of them becoming disenfranchised (Denham et al 2001). Where a new assessment model enables government to recognize formally the efforts of people working at the grassroots of communities, it also works to counter disenfranchisement from national policy objectives (Dahler-Larson 2005; Narayan et al 2005). Of vital importance therefore, is that CIMA enables local government to identify and recognize with precision, the diversity that exists amongst 'apparently' homogenous Muslim youth. CIMA also highlights that,

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notwithstanding their ethnic diversity, students voluntarily attend and mix together in this community based provision. Without CIMA this level of insight and precision is not being factored into local assessment so that it can inform national government policy and strategy. At the same time, both local and national government runs the risk of disenfranchising young people, by undervaluing, within the extant assessment processes, the positive voluntary contribution they make in a centre which may appear to be homogenous.

(iii) The importance for Muslim students of having a tangible space in their community in which to meet and mix with other ethnicities and religions

Prior to the empirical study and CIMA, unrecorded and unattended to in assessment is the importance of the tangible space this policy provision affords Muslim students who otherwise attend Muslim faith schools. CIMA and the empirical study demonstrates that an interculturally effective centre provides Muslim students who identified themselves as attending pre-dominantly Pakistani Muslim schools, with the only tangible opportunity in their lives to meet voluntarily, and establish positive intercultural friendships which transcend ethnic and religious differences within their community.

(iv) Checks and balances are necessary to ensure that diversity and not homogeneity remains the priority in provision

CIMA's intricate in-built system of checks and balances, grounded in its emphasis on a triangulated evidence base is important for government in the context of apparently homogenous community-based Study Support provision. CIMA only needs to identify one student or professional within a centre's organizational structure, to evidence deviation from the positive intercultural policy objective of Study Support, and the effectiveness of the centre is rendered questionable. This may appear to be a demanding requirement in assessment. However, grounded in the precision and discipline of the empirical study from which it is derived, CIMA is intentionally so. This is because CIMA is alert to the importance of converging factors which define the 21st Century context of Study Support, and the importance of promoting interculturally effective, as opposed to homogenous, provision. Rigour in assessment is necessary to achieve this end and to ensure that homogeneity is guarded against and intercultural effectiveness remains the priority in all provision.

(v) A democratic model of assessment is vital when religious identity is prominent

Given the sectarianism of the inner-city locales served by community-based Study Support, a centre's non-compliance with the policy objective to work toward intercultural effectiveness would be detrimental to both the young people who attend and local communities. Further, where government is blind as to what is happening in centres for example, controlled by religious groups under PFI, this has the potential to leave young people at risk. It has been established throughout this research that Study Support national policy objectives are not, and never have been about promoting homogeneity; rather its remit is to support interculturally effective provision. However, without the benefit of a design that is purpose built to equip them with clear lines of accountablility under PFI and religious patronage, government is not best served in assessment on two counts. First, it has been shown that systemic in top down, non-specialist models which have been imported into Study Support, is a failure to engage with and inculcate religious identity. However, excluding religious identity is a failure to understand the centrality that religion has come to occupy in the conflicts within inner-cities served by this policy. Not engaging in assessment with the central place that religion has come to occupy, does not negate its existence and importance, in this policy's 21st Century operational context.

Second, it has already been established that top down models which stifle vertical communication, have marginalised grassroot opinion in assessment (Clegg and Birch 1998; Morgan 1997; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002;95; Dahler-Larson 2005:362; Cloke and Goldmsith 2002:144; Narayan 2005:5). CIMA's design closes off this unconstructive loophole of silence in top down assessment; via its democratic design CIMA inculcates an upward flow of communication from those at the grassroots, which is inclusive of, and engages with their religious identity. This is not to suggest that CIMA supports the idea that government should acquiesce to any religion within its national assessment framework of this policy and provision. Rather, whenever religion, or religious conflicts, impact on public policy and provision, it is imperative that: (i) the government is equipped with assessments which enable them to address this; (ii) the government is provided with assessments which have a democratic, ethical and moral design (Tynan 2002). Otherwise, the government leaves itself vulnerable to the charge of being prejudiced against particular religious groups. Indeed, in the case of religious organizations in particular, the government's failure to engage with and address the group's concerns can work to drive them underground where problems are left to fester

outside the realm of assessment (Narayan et al 2005). The corollary of this is that it renders these issues even more difficult for government policy to tackle effectively (ibid).

To conclude this section's discussion, it is significant that the strength and rigour within the CIMA model is as of equal importance in the context of any centre that may appear to be promoting homogeneity rather than diversity. Namely, CIMA's purpose and design is not contra religious identity; be that Muslim or otherwise. Rather, CIMA is designed to ensure that this policy's objectives are adhered to, and maintained, so that homogeneity is actively guarded against within centres and intercultural effectiveness is prioritised in all provision. Without CIMA, the point is government does not have a culturally intelligent and purpose built design that equips them to be able to assess this.

Section IIC: CIMA's practical strengths and benefits analysed and tested in the context of less effective Study Support

It has been established that in compliance with best practice in the creation of a new model of assessment for a precise policy area, CIMA has the following benefits within its purpose built design; (i) it is grounded in constant factors which are intrinsic to the organizational structure, operational context and remit for the policy for which it has been designed; (ii) it is grounded in effective provision; (iii) it is equipped to take its policy area forward effectively, through its ability to act in a transferable way and be educative in less than effective settings (Moss-Kanter 1996; Hopkins et al 1994; Drucker 1999:16;17; Morgan 1997; Fullan 1991; Blake et al 1989; Morgan 1986; 1997; Mullins 1996:780-781; Hopkins et al 1994; Argyris and Schon 1996; Clegg and Birch 1998).

At implementation, a model is best able to serve a particular policy when it is designed not just to identify specific weaknesses, but to enable personnel to solve problems within their provision so that they can progress effectively (Fullan 1991; 2001; Hargreaves and Hopkins 1996; Hopkins et al 1994). Importantly, where a model is able to do this it is more likely to have the advocacy of local government and personnel within policy provision, because it provides them both with a practical benefit (Fullan 1991; 2001; Hargreaves and Hopkins 1996). Further, where the model empowers staff with the availability of practical solutions, they are more likely to feel motivated about the policy objective it addresses, and more supportive of the assessment process itself (Fullan 1991; 2001; Hargreaves and Hopkins 1996; Huczynski and Buchanan 1991; Tynan 2003; Drucker 1999). CIMA, in being both a purpose built design and grounded in effective

provision has the benefit therefore of being able to identify specific problems in less than effective centres within community-based Study Support, and then provide them with practical solutions to help them progress more effectively.

In contrast, these benefits of a purpose built assessment design cannot happen where models, which are not purpose built for a policy and its organizational structure, are simply imported into an ineffective setting. Indeed, this underpins the reason why, for example, 'effectiveness' programmes, albeit well intentioned, cannot transfer from one organization and its intrinsic structure, to another (Fullan 1991; 2001; Moss-Kanter 1996; Morgan 1997; Hopkins et al 1994; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Blake et al 1989; Clegg and Birch 1998). At both the practical and intellectual level, of immediate benefit to less than effective Study Support centres is an assessment model, that in being purpose built for the precise policy and its organizational structure, is therefore able to provide them with detailed solutions, that show them how to become more effective (Hopkins et al 1994; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Morgan 1997; Drucker 1999; 16;17; Moss-Kanter 1996; Fullan 1991). In the community-based Study Support provision that formed the centrepiece of the empirical study, all the factors identified for effectiveness were in operation.

However, there are less than effective centres operating. Detailed below are four scenarios depicting less than effective centres. The purpose here is not to present a definitive list of all the different possible scenarios that CIMA may encounter, in interculturally ineffective Study Support centres serving ethnically/religiously diverse youth. Rather, what is being both tested and demonstrated here is the strength of CIMA, grounded in its purpose built design, and how it is therefore equipped to take each of the centres forward more effectively, with the advantage of being able to provide detailed solutions.

A First Example

A first scenario is of a Study Support centre which has passed its academic attainment assessment; however CIMA assessment reveals it is less than interculturally effective. Students are complaining that: (i) they don't think that the way staff organize the room provides much opportunity for mixing; (ii) and when they finish their homework, no activities are offered by staff, and therefore students leave early.

Immediately via the precision of CIMA assessment the centre can be identified as failing in two specific areas. The first refers to CIMA Element 4: Process 2 (physical set up of the room). The second refers to CIMA Element 5: Process 2 (staff utilisation of the opportunity afforded them in Study Support to exercise creative freedom). I deal with the latter points for improvement in this ineffective provision first. There will be times when the homework students bring to the centre will be limited. Staff are therefore afforded the opportunity to exercise their creative freedom to design novel learning activities (Elliott et al 2004). In order to improve the intercultural effectiveness of their provision, immediately evident from the CIMA assessment, staff must now do the following. They must utilise this opportunity afforded them to create novel learning activities that are considerate of both academic and intercultural outcomes. Otherwise, staff are not using the time they are paid for effectively. Exemplified here is CIMA's strength in being a model grounded in interculturally effective provision. Rather than simply just being able to pinpoint areas of weakness; CIMA shows the centre what they need to do to improve.

To address now the remaining obstacle in this less than effective setting: students complaining they don't feel that the way the room is organized provides much opportunity for them to mix. Element 4: Process 2 again presents an immediate and practical solution: to work toward more interculturally effective provision, staff can prevent student ghettoes forming in the centre, by ensuring that the physical set up of the room encourages fluidity and the mixing of students. With regard to the issue of practicality and accessibility to staff, this process again provides a further example of CIMA's purpose-built design strength in less than effective settings. Practitioners are typically 'time starved'; hence they want and need practical solutions that they can implement immediately to remedy problems identified through assessment (Fullan 1991:164; Tynan 2003:2). During implementation the needs of practitioners should never be underplayed. When assessment provides immediately tangible solutions, it presents less of a threat, and becomes more attractive for the practitioner in conceptual as well as practical terms; and ultimately this creates value for the model amongst practitioners that helps support effective implementation in practice (Tynan 2003:2;4;57; Fullan 1991; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002). CIMA's design is informed by these practical considerations and thus works to facilitate effective implementation.

A Second Example

A Study Support centre has passed its academic assessment; however its CIMA assessment has revealed three problems: (i) student numbers are dropping off; (ii) students are complaining that a new member of staff makes them feel pressured and as if they are in school; and now they don't feel relaxed in the centre; (iii) students are not being given the opportunity to appreciate a shared cultural experience in the community space afforded them by the Study Support centre.

Importantly in this setting, the immediate strength of CIMA in being a purpose built model is that it is understands the interconnectedness of processes in Study Support that lead to interculturally effective provision. Hence, problems (i) and (ii) are in practice interconnected processes. Namely, problem (i) will continue, where the new member of staff fails to appreciate the distinction between school and Study Support and the importance therein of staff-student symbiosis (Element 5: process 1) in this voluntarily attended student provision. Problem (i) then impacts negatively upon another intrinsic process within interculturally effective Study Support: CIMA Element 4: Process 3: the importance of a relaxed working atmosphere. This is because in making students feel pressured the new staff member has jeopardized this latter intrinsic process integral to interculturally effective Study Support. In terms of problem (iii) the centre is missing entirely CIMA Element 3: Process 3: the opportunity for students to partake in shared cultural experience within their centre.

To return to problem (i); given the interconnectedness of process and outcomes in Study Support identified by CIMA, collectively none of these failings are constructive if this centre is either to maintain, or improve upon its current student numbers. To redress problem (iii), the centre needs to inculcate CIMA Element 3: Process 3, and provide students with the opportunity for whole group shared appreciation of popular culture, within the community space afforded by Study Support, starting with for example: a PG rated Bollywood or Hollywood film. In terms of the second problem, it is clear that the new member of staff needs to emulate his colleagues in understanding the importance of staff-student symbiosis and a relaxed working atmosphere in interculturally effective Study Support. In this way the interconnected processes provided by CIMA shows the centre how to change their provision to ensure that problem (i) is guarded against and student attendance is restored.

Exemplified again in this setting is CIMA's strength and practical applicability in being a purpose built design. Importantly, in understanding how processes interconnect, CIMA is able to elucidate for practitioners in this less than effective setting, how in addressing and remedying one process, this then can also impact positively on other processes, and contribute towards better intercultural effectiveness. In contrast, imported and/or top down models, not purpose built for this provision, will always be inadequate in this regard. In the first place, they are not grounded in the intrinsic processes of provision or its organizational structure. Hence, they are unable to understand the interconnectedness of intrinsic processes and how they work together within the precise organizational structure of Study Support, to produce interculturally effective provision. Vitally, CIMA is able to provide staff with detailed and holistic solutions, informed by its understanding of interconnected processes in interculturally effective provision, and take the centre forward practically and effectively.

A Third Example

A Study Support centre has not passed its academic assessment. CIMA has identified that it is also less than effective: students do not have the opportunity to work on focussed academic learning together. What is significant and of particular benefit in this setting is that CIMA in being a purpose built assessment design does not impose an artificial separation between academic and intercultural outcomes in Study Support, as imported models have previously done. CIMA exposes and details, how in practice, at both the staff and student levels, academic and intercultural processes and outcomes are not separated but interconnected. Hence, in the context of this centre, the strength of CIMA is that it is able to illuminate for staff the interconnectedness of academic and intercultural process in practice. It is therefore immediately able both to identify the problem, and at the same time, via Element 6: process 2, provide a practical solution that is considerate of both the centre's academic and intercultural remit.

A Fourth Example

A fourth scenario is a new Study Support centre for ethnically/religiously diverse youth being introduced in an inner-city, following local government and community concerns about social cohesion, and students from different faith schools having no tangible space in their community in which to establish positive intercultural relationships. CIMA provides local government and the new centre itself with a blueprint for interculturally

effective provision, where previously, there was none. Achieving and maintaining effectiveness is not a static state for an organization; it is an ongoing process in practice (Fullan 1991; 2001; Hargreaves and Hopkins 1996; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Moss-Kanter 1996). Significantly therefore, prior to CIMA, local government and personnel in the centre would have had to waste time and resources learning, by trial and error, how to achieve interculturally effective provision. Now, informed by CIMA, this new provision can work immediately toward being interculturally effective. Of equal importance in initiation, is that personnel within the centre are also able to monitor their progress with CIMA, with the rigorous checks and balances incorporated into its design and discussed earlier in this chapter (Hargreaves and Hopkins 1996; Fullan 1991; 2001). This in turn enables both the centre and the local authority to continue to monitor the extent to which they are complying with, and working effectively toward, policy objectives. CIMA ultimately affords immediate, tangible and practical benefits both to the professionals and students within this Study Support centre and local government, and cements the foundations for effective implementation.

Section IID: Practical Considerations for Assessors in Study Support in Order to Facilitate Effective CIMA Implementation.

At the implementation stage of an assessment model for national policy, it cannot be assumed that assessors will have skills which are uniform (Hargreaves and Fullan 1998; Fullan 2001; Tynan 2003). For example, within the different strands of the government's National EiC Strategy, all schools targeted by the programme operated within their national organizational structure of cluster groups comprising: local authority managers; head teachers of primary and secondary schools, and teacher-co-ordinators. However, within this spectrum of professionals, personnel varied in their experience with, and knowledge of, assessment skills such as interviewing and observing colleagues and students (Tynan 2003). In order to ensure equality of opportunity for all CIMA assessors at implementation it is a pre-requisite that consideration is given to 'assessor literacy' (Hargreaves and Fullan 1998; Fullan 2001:127). Towards this end CIMA assessors are provided with differentiated and practical materials. These are explicated below in this section. But first, it is significant to detail the rationale which underpins a practitioner assessor model as best fit for purpose for CIMA assessment at implementation.

Why Practitioner Assessors are Best Fit for Purpose in CIMA's Assessment Design within this Policy and Provision

The assessor model adopted for an organization and its assessment at implementation, must be best fit for purpose (Louis and Kruse 1995; Hargreaves and Fullan 1998; Fullan 1991; 2001). In practice this means making sure that the assessor model adopted does not run contra to the factors intrinsic to an organizational structure and those processes which lead to effective provision (Louis and Kruse 1995; Hargreaves and Fullan 1998; Fullan 1991; Moss-Kanter 1996:84-86). Two factors are important for consideration here. First, it has been established that Study Support comprises a flattened down, as opposed to an hierarchical organizational structure. Second, Study Support already has an established history of practitioner assessors to monitor and assess other areas and aspects of its provision (MacBeath et al 2001; Elliott et al 2004). Informed by both these factors best fit for CIMA's purpose built assessment design is the practitioner assessor model. In a flattened down organizational structure, the practitioner best equipped for the role of assessor is the most experienced in assessment and the skills required therein (Morgan 1997:86-87; Argyris and Schon 1996; Tynan 2003). This democratic assessment and practitioner assessor model, grounded in established best practice, and emanating CIMA's purpose built design, is the modus operandi for Study Support centres, which are operating in compliance with national policy.

However, in the case of dysfunctional centres; namely those that fail to comply with local authorities or are suspected of operating contra to national objectives, then as with the other areas assessed within this policy, a 'paradise lost' scenario is installed in CIMA. The good will and practice of democratic privilege, extended by CIMA to practitioner assessors in such centres, is immediately withdrawn, and power passes on to the local authority and legislative control in order to safeguard young people and the communities involved. In which case, compliant with best practice in organizational assessment, an external assessor, from an already extant interculturally effective Study Support centre, is recruited, in order to ensure that: (i) CIMA assessment is carried out; (ii) ineffective provision is founded in the CIMA blue print of interculturally effective Study Support; (iii) on going assessment is carried out to monitor the centre's progression toward more effective provision (Hopkins, Ainscow and West 1996: 80-83; Moss-Kanter 1996).

Assessors are provided with differentiated materials and practical guidance

In compliance with best practice in organizational assessment, all assessors are provided with differentiated and practical guidance materials to ensure equality of opportunity in all centres. First, this begins with an introduction to CIMA for assessors, replete with an explication of its design, and its immediate benefits of CIMA assessment; an example of this is provided in Appendix II. This introduction to CIMA, is an important first step to ensure effective implementation amongst practitioner assessors. This is because, for practical reasons, being typically busy and human, practitioner assessors like to know that what they are doing is of benefit to their organization and is thus time well spent and invested (Fullan 1991; Tynan 2003:64).

Second, assessors are provided with practical guidance on the skills which are a pre-requisite to CIMA assessment; these allow for differentiation amongst assessors from the least experienced upwards. For example, consistent with established best practice in practitioner assessor models at implementation, there is written into the CIMA practical materials, immediate guidance and/or revision for them of the practical skills involved in, for example, carrying out effective interviews with participants. Further, this guidance encourages all practitioner assessors whether experienced or otherwise, to practice or refresh these skills, and reflect upon these, before progressing to full CIMA assessment (Tynan 2003:98; Hargreaves and Fullan 1998; Louis and Kruse 1995; Schon 1983). An example of this practical guidance and support for practitioner assessors is provided in Appendix III.

In the implementation of a new model for national policy, best practice is that initial support for practitioner assessors is provided via central and local government, operating within budget, and inclusive of mentors experienced in the precise provision being addressed. (Tynan 2003; Lewis 1996;15; Kelly et al in Kerry and Mayes: 1995:253;254). These are the recommendations for government that the author as the creator of CIMA has considered in full, in readiness for national roll out and implementation. In support of that process, a further purpose of the practical materials and guidance provided for assessors is to enable them to see the benefits of CIMA within their centre. For example, established in Section IIC, is that CIMA is not only able to pinpoint problems during assessment, but provide immediate solutions in less than effective settings. This is an especially useful and practical benefit of CIMA for practitioner assessors to be aware of from the outset. Indeed, one of the frequent complaints from practitioner assessors during

the implementation of national policy is that, ordinarily, assessments less informed and considered than CIMA, only ever enable practitioner assessors to identify and create problems. Whereas, practical solutions, that they are then able to offer staff in their setting, are not as equally forthcoming in the models offered for implementation (Fullan 1991:164-165; Tynan 2003). Established in Section IIC above, is that CIMA, in being a purpose built design grounded in effective practice, and rooted in the processes intrinsic to the national policy and organizational structure of Study Support, means that at implementation CIMA assessors are able to show less than effective staff in their centres effective practice and provision. The practical corollary of this strength of CIMA, is that assessors are immediately able to support staff in their provision, with the precision of immediate and practical solutions (Tynan 2003; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002:53-56; Hucyznski and Buchanan 1991:54). Being equipped to offer practical and immediate solutions empowers the CIMA practitioner assessor so that they can help staff in their centre move forward effectively and expeditiously (Tynan 2003; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002:53-56; Huczynski and Buchanan 1991:54). Using the example of one of the variations of less than effective settings discussed in Section IIC, this aspect of CIMA is detailed for practitioner assessors in the practical guidance (Appendix IV), so that they can utilise this benefit of the assessment design within their centre.

It will be recalled that grounded in established best practice, CIMA's educative as well as assessment design, provides the further practical benefit and opportunity for examples of best practice to be shared, in order that both individual centres and wider provision within the organization can be taken forward more effectively (Louis and Kruse 1995 in Fullan 2001:127; Hargreaves and Hopkins 1996; Morgan 1997: 104; 105; Fullan 1995:86-87; Reid and Barrington 1995: 149; 150; 154; Hopkins, Ainsow and West 1996; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002). This ability to share examples of best practice is established in other areas and aspects of Study Support that are assessed (MacBeath et al 2001; Elliott et al 2004). CIMA provides the opportunity for assessors to maximise upon the use of intelligence gleaned and recorded from assessment to inform their practice. Compliant with government concern toward cost, time and eco-efficiency in assessment frameworks used nationally to monitor public policy, CIMA advocates the use of digital data storage to facilitate this process of sharing best practice. Best practice identified during CIMA assessment within an individual centre is stored in what are termed Knowledge Banks (© Tynan 2002) on the CIMA CD provided for the centre at implementation. (Tynan 2002b; Tynan 2002c; Margetts 2005; Snellen 2005; Silverston

2001; 104; 105; Kakabadse and Kouzmin 2003). This practical aspect, purpose and benefit of CIMA's design is clearly detailed for practitioners in Appendix IV. For the same practical reasons already given, the CIMA CD Rom provided to centres includes electronic versions of the differentiated guidance materials for assessors that have been discussed here.

Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the features and benefits of CIMA's culturally intelligent and purpose built design, in contrast to those models which are neither culturally intelligent nor purpose built and which have been imported into this policy area. Some of the scenarios in the settings discussed for analytical purposes may themselves be hypothetical; but what is not hypothetical is the systems' design strength and effectiveness. Grounded in and informed by both the historical analysis and the empirical study, Chapter 7 examines in further detail CIMA's contribution at both the local and national government level, amidst the depth and breadth of change processes which in particular impact on 21st Century policy and provision.

Introduction

Informed by, and grounded conjointly within the historical analysis and the empirical study, this research spans the immediate post-World War II era to the present day. Notwithstanding the passage of time, what remains a constant in both of the quotations below, is that education is as central to young people and the foundations of civic society today, as it ever was:

"The tragedy of July 7th demands that all of us, both in public life and in civil and religious society, confront together the problems of Islamaphobia, racism, unemployment, economic depravation and social exclusion – factors that may be alienating some of our children and driving them towards the path of anger and desperation...there is therefore a great deal of positive work to be done with everyone in our wider community in order to channel the energy and talent of youth into constructive avenues...The youth need understanding not bashing."

Moulana Shahid Raza, Head Imam at the Leicester Central Mosque July 2005

"My school...taught me to work, to read, and to think. It gave me friendships. It filled me entirely and utterly for nearly the space of seven years. Outside the cottage, I had nothing but my school; but having my school I had everything."

Ernest Barker, former Principle of King's College 1953

However, not everything remains the same. New challenges arise with change which impact on 21st Century Study Support policy.

The 'way we were' versus the 'way we are now' in 21st Century Study Support

Study Support targeting minority ethnic youth began in the 20th Century as a national programme funded by the Princes Trust charity, aimed at those young people in socio-economically deprived British inner-cities, which was then subsequently adopted by the DfES (MacBeath et al 1996; 2001; Elliot et al 2004). In the 21st Century, the cities served by Study Support have sustained substantial economic depression; they now comprise some of the most disadvantaged cities in the country. Burnley and Oldham are in the top 1% of socio-economically deprived cities in Britain; Bradford is in the top 20% of

economically depressed cities (Indices of Deprivation; Denham et al 2001). This economic depression in the North's former heartlands of British manufacturing has deepened as competition from the Far East has risen. Demographically, the 20th Century term 'minority ethnic/ethnic minority' is no longer an accurate 21st Century descriptor for the inner-city communities served by Study Support; such populations now comprise 50% + of communities (Office for National Statistics 2003; Storkey et al 1997). The political landscape has changed since the 20th Century in the cities served by Study Support. In May 2002, Burnley saw its first British National Party (BNP) Councillors voted in (BBC Friday May 3rd 2002). Oldham witnessed an unprecedented 27% swing to the BNP. Immediate intelligence and police reports indicated that British Muslims, thought to be from the North of England, carried out the horrific and merciless attack on their fellow British citizens on the London Underground (BBC World Service July 12th 2005). Islamic Fundamentalism poses a vociferous threat to western democracy and the ideal of multiculturalism in Britain (Mohaddessin 2003; Miller and Davidson 2002). Conjoined government reports, point to a "them and us" attitude having formed between Muslim and non-Muslim youth in the inner-cities served by Study Support (Denham et al 2001; Cantle et al 2001). There have been calls from both the media and politicians for Muslim communities to embrace a clearer willingness to integrate and adopt the 'norms' of British life; in response, the Muslim Council has expressed outrage at what they perceive to be an attack on their religious freedom (Stone et al 2005). The debate is ongoing; and whilst it continues, does nothing to render more incisive for the British public, a clear separation between the Muslim faith, and Islamic Fundamentalism (Stone et al 2005; Mohaddessin 2003; Miller and Davidson 2002). As long as that separation remains unclear, then at the local level of communities in which Study Support operates, given the situation is already tense, suspicions are left to proliferate, where, as established in this research, there 'appears' for example to be apparently homogenous centres of provision in operation.

Within such an operational context, it is not only important that local and national government is able to respond to these challenges. Equally important is that they must be able to do so in a way which is able to reinvigorate policy and practice so that the organizations and the individuals within them can be taken forward more effectively (Morgan 1997; Ferlie et al 2005; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002). It is not a new observation that national frameworks of assessment grounded in localised knowledge are not only afforded greater insight about what is happening at the grassroots of their policies; they also afford local authorities the opportunity to be able to respond to the challenges in

their immediate environment more effectively (Hopkins, Ainscow and West 1994; Hargreaves and Hopkins 1991; Ferlie et al 2005). Beginning with the latter capability afforded by CIMA, grounded in those factors identified by this research and the empirical study, Section (I) demonstrates the ways in which its design enables local government to be able to respond to the challenges of change that impact on them locally, develop localised knowledge, and ultimately make fresh links in assessment which can then be used to inform national government policy strategies.

Section I: CIMA allows Local Authorities to make fresh links in assessment and respond to the challenges of change in their environment

(i) CIMA affords Local Government and PFI Partnerships the benefit of transparency to enable engagement with the issue of public trust

There is a problem of public distrust of business patronage under PFI arrangements (Dhaler-Larsen 2005:619 in Ferlie et al 2005; DiPiazza and Eccles 2002:3). At the local level of Study Support provision funded by PFI this problem of distrust is further compounded when religious, as well as business, patronage operates in community contexts where there is an "increasingly territorial mentality asserting cultural and religious identities in response to real or perceived attacks" (Denham et al 2001; Cantle et al 2001; Ritchie et al 2001; Ouseley et al 2001). The clear lines of accountability afforded by CIMA and discussed previously are one way that this assessment works to counter this public distrust. However, within such an operational context, the most effective way for local authorities to be able to counter this public distrust of PFI requires more than just accountability to national government. It requires assessments that facilitate the process of more locally-informed decision-making, in which all partners and participants involved in the community-based educational provision have access to detailed information about its workings, objectives and effectiveness (DiPiazza and Eccles 2002; Grootaert 2005:349-350 in Narayan et al 2005). This in turn facilitates a further important process in this context; that of rendering transparent both the purpose and contribution of the policy and its provision within the local community (DiPiazza and Eccles 2002;13;14;15-24; O'Neill 2002; Fukuyama 1997; Korten 2001; Hart 2002). CIMA, rooted in its culturally intelligent foundations and its purpose built and democratic design affords both these benefits to local government. First, by incorporating within the assessment process the involvement of all members of the organizational structure, CIMA cultivates openness and transparency. Second, CIMA provides local

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government with cultural intelligence about the precise cultural identities of students within centres, and a purpose built vehicle with which to ascertain whether provision is interculturally effective in practice. This detailed and localised knowledge is currently lacking, and prevents local authorities and their partners from being able to make better informed decisions together concerning their community's provision.

(ii) CIMA enables new culturally intelligent links to be made specifically between the glocality and religiosity of student identity and academic attainment

It has been established that CIMA contributes a culturally intelligent foundation, and in being a purpose built design reveals the artificiality of imposed separations between academic and intercultural processes and outcomes within this provision. These dual capabilities enable local authorities to make new links in assessment between the religiosity and glocality implicit in student cultural identities, and their academic attainment within Study Support. Why is this important in the 21st Century context of this policy and its provision? In a 20th Century world dominated by Eurocentric economics, the semantics of disadvantage permeated the discourse associated with children from minority ethnic backgrounds whose second language was English (Gillborn 1995; Klein 1993; Wallace and MacMahon 1994; Tynan 2003). In the 21st Century it has been established that demographically, classifications in assessment such as 'ethnic minority' are a misnomer within the inner-city communities served by this policy. Tectonic shifts have displaced the dominance of Eurocentric economics, with a more global distribution of power producing migration patterns which have lead to a glocal knowledge economy (Chowdhury 2002).

A glocal knowledge economy presents opportunities that were not presented by a Eurocentrically dominated economy. Within this glocalised economy, students with, for example, multilingual skills that include South Asian languages, can no longer be viewed automatically as at a disadvantage, but now have the potential to occupy a position of socio-economic advantage over peers with less glocally applicable skills (Chowdhury et al 2000; Stonehouse et al 2005). Amidst these changes the links between academic merit and cultural identity warrant revision in assessment. This is important so that young people and communities served by Study Support policy in the 21st Century, do not become pigeonholed or stereotyped in assessment via obsolete information that is derived from a 20th Century context. CIMA thus affords Study Support assessment the

foundation for new insights and links to be made, which enable provision to be more responsive to current as opposed to past challenges.

(iii) CIMA enables self-directed staff learning within provision

The word 'intelligence' means both to acquire and apply knowledge. The practical importance and contribution of CIMA's dual assessment and educative purpose built design has been demonstrated in Chapter 6. However there is a further important benefit and contribution of this aspect of CIMA's design at the more personal level of individual staff development in centre provision. Presently, there is a lack of precision and only ad-hoc training to staff that is specific to the precise context, policy, setting and intrinsic processes integral to effective community-based Study Support. In contrast, CIMA is able to provide individuals with precise and detailed processes and to be able to understand more fully their policy, context and operational setting. Staff being able to access this level of detail and understanding via the assessment process, facilitates precision in self-directed learning for the individual within the organization (Morgan 1997:115; Hargreaves and Hopkins 1996:130; Morgan 1997;104; Drucker 1999:163; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002:242;243; Tynan 2003). What this means in practice is that CIMA allows staff to pinpoint with clarity, where precisely they need to develop strengths and address their weaknesses, illuminated by the detailed processes explicated in CIMA that are integral to achieving interculturally effective provision.

(iv) CIMA affords the benefit of networked intelligence of intercultural assessment within Study Support

Networked intelligence is essential both for local governments and organizations to be able to maximise upon the data they have collated during assessment about local provision and respond to change expeditiously (Morgan 1997; Silverston 2002). CIMA's design inculcates this facility for local government in Study Support policy via two established aspects of its design. First, assessment data is electronically stored via the CIMA CD afforded to assessors at implementation; Second, CIMA's Knowledge Bank of best practice enables this information to be shared, and provision to be reinvigorated via the insights afforded by the creativity of staff within local provision. This benefit of CIMA ensures that local provision does not stagnate in the face of changes that impact upon it.

(v) CIMA illuminates the importance of ownership in assessment in a voluntarily-attended policy context

It has been established that community-based Study Support comprises an extremely flattened organizational structure, and voluntarily-attended student provision, wherein staff-student symbiosis and shared responsibility for outcomes are integral to interculturally effective provision. It is also established that there is a problem within inner-cities served by this policy leading to disenfranchisement amongst young people, and that government has therefore called for assessment designs which counter this in community-based provision (Cantle et al 2001; Denham et al 2001). Informed by best practice and the importance of factors which are intrinsic to interculturally effective provision, CIMA works efficiently to inculcate ownership in two ways. First, CIMA's culturally intelligent foundations give students ownership of their cultural identities in the act of self-naming and not using imposed classifications or definitions. Second, and of equal importance, CIMA ensures that students as well as staff are given equal tenure within the assessment process.

Why are these two features of CIMA's design important in this policy context in which there is a need for assessments to counter the problems posed by sectarianism and engage young people in the creation of effective policy? First, this is important because people prefer to have tenure in those things which impact their situations, especially where this involves assessment and the organizational structures of which they are a part (Huczynski and Buchanan 1991:541;542). Otherwise, people feel undervalued, and also unable to take charge in finding solutions for situations that directly impact on them and their well-being (Dahler-Larson 2005:633; Huczynski and Buchanan 1991: 541; 542; Narayan et al 2005; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002). Second, where they are consulted in the assessment process, they are better placed to see and value the importance of their own contribution in making an organization effective (Drucker 1999; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Tynan 2003). Third, where people feel they have both more tenure and recognize their own value in assessment, they are more inclined to feel that they are not a passenger, but a driver in the process; namely, they feel they have ownership. And where they feel they have ownership and tenure in how they are assessed, they are more likely to use the opportunity positively to build and maintain effective provision in their communities (Grootaert 2005:349-350 in Narayan 2005). The cultivation of ownership in CIMA comprises a further aspect of its design that contributes towards local government and grassroots provision working effectively together via the assessment process.

At the local level of provision, CIMA affords local policy and practice that which imported and non-purpose built models cannot: the advantage of a 360 degree understanding of the operational context and organizational structure that equips local government to be able to respond to, and engage effectively with, the challenges of change in their community. This 360 degree capability which CIMA contributes at the local government level is summarised in Fig. 10 below.
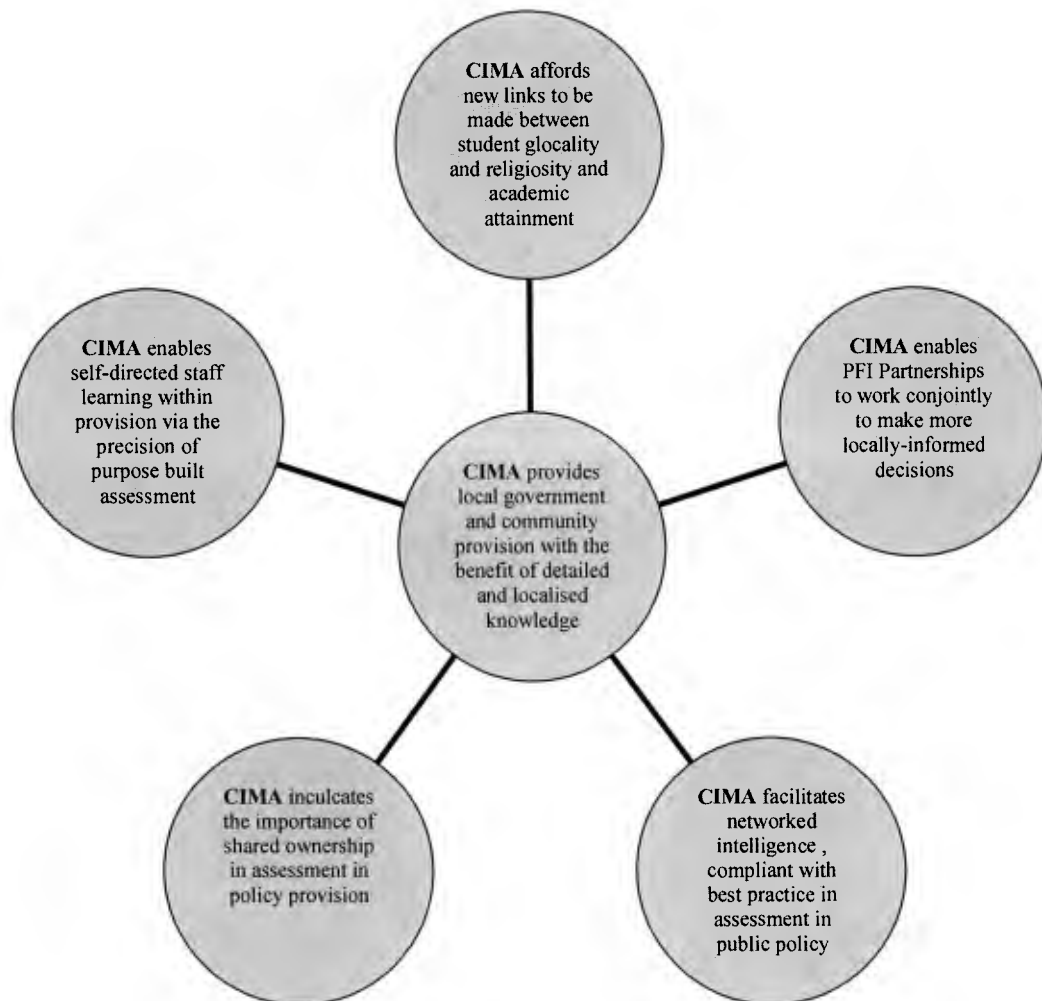
Fig.10 CIMA's contribution within assessment policy at the Local Government level

Section II: CIMA in the context of National Government assessment: religiosity in assessment versus the illumination afforded by cultural intelligence

Nothing ages an organizational system of assessment as much as those changes that its design, origins, and purpose fail to recognize and engage with (Cloke and Gold 2002; Clegg and Birch 1998; Morgan 1997; Drucker 1999; DiPiazza and Eccles 2002; Fullan 1991; Moss-Kanter 1996; Tynan 2002a). Evidenced in the historical analysis in Section (II) is an ideological constancy, centrality and dominance in state educational national frameworks of assessment levied at Study Support in the latter half of the 20th Century, and beginning of the 21st Century. Such ideological dominance and constancy, in the face of such change, comprises nothing less than a stubborn religiosity in assessment of the most unconstructive and dangerous kind. What do I mean by religiosity in this context? Religiosity occurs within a system's assessment frameworks where the ideologies they emanate from, and the methods they embody, become increasingly irrelevant and blind to the challenges of change occurring within the precise organization and policy they continue to be applied to (Huczynski 1993; Hood 1998 in Ferlie, Lynn and Pollitt 2005).

Failure to respond to those challenges of change, renders such religiosity in assessment nothing more than a lesson in the successful proselytisation of particular ways of doing things, that once were relevant, but no longer can be said to be so. Religiosity in assessment is thus as dangerous in government and scholarship as in any religious war in other contexts: diversity in approach and method are locked out; evidence for alternative methods and views are not respected; paradoxes are overlooked in favour of protectionism (Merton 1936; Hood 1998; Hood 2005:23; Ferlie, Lynn and Pollitt 2005). Challenges of change that the obsolete ideologies and assessment methods 'religiously' ignore, remain unchecked and unengaged with, to fester indefinitely, blossoming into ever more challenging and ultimately fatal problems at the local and national government levels.

Alternatively, more rational and intelligent, is the adoption by government of specialist, purpose built assessment models; that in being created and designed for the organization, its objectives and era, are able to engage more fully with clear and present challenges. Such a model can therefore monitor the precise situation in hand, avoid the proliferation of problems, and take the organization and national policy forward effectively and positively (Hood 1998 in Ferlie, Lynn and Pollitt 2005; Morgan 1997; Clegg and Birch 1998; Cloke and Goldsmith 2002; Tynan 2002a). Identified by this research are

challenges which if not engaged with by government within this policy area, leave both young people and communities at risk.

(i) With CIMA the National Government can identify with precision and validity the threats to social cohesion and interculturally-effective provision within youth communities

A prominent government report admits two facts: first that the nature of conflicts amongst young people that is creating sectarianism in the inner-cities served by Study Support is occurring along specifically 'religious and cultural' lines; but that, second, in the absence of a more precise assessment vehicle with which to deal with the situation, "shorthand" definitions are used in its report which divide youth into one of two categories: "Asian" or "White" (Denham et al 2001:8). Without a culturally intelligent approach in assessment, reliance upon these arbitrary segregations and definitions of young people in communities renders it impossible for government to ascertain with any validity and precision, where exactly amongst young people, the threats to social cohesion and interculturally effective provision reside in inner-city communities. Moreover, this arbitrary division of communities communicates to young people a negative message: regardless of whether they are involved in hostilities and sectarian clashes or not: if you appear 'Asian' or 'White', and live in the community, you are implicated, and are a part of the problem not the solution. Informed by such imprecise divisions which enforce an arbitrary split between, and definition of, young people in the community, the government's ability to engage with the roots of challenges and complexities in 21st Century policy and provision is severely handicapped. The government is thus best placed to identify threats and propose effective solutions where it is informed by a culturally intelligent assessment framework in its Study Support policy. Otherwise, paradoxically government and the assessment they use to inform strategy works to misrepresent and exclude the contribution of the young people that the empirical study has shown are vital to interculturally effective provision: namely the ethnically and religiously diverse young people who attend voluntarily each week.

(ii) CIMA enables the Government to pinpoint with more clarity who or what is being celebrated in interculturally effective policy provision

Given the seriousness of the converging factors which impact on 21st Century community-based provision, identified by this research, and summarised at the beginning

of this chapter, government cannot afford to be complacent and assume that they are the only ones vying for young peoples' loyalty and commitment to their policies and ideologies, in the inner-city contexts served by Study Support. Echoing best practice in other areas of public policy, government reports have called for the need for assessments to be created, which celebrate the efforts of those who are contributing positively to government policy objectives within their community (Denham et al 2001; Cantle et al 2001; Grootaert 2005; Narayan 2005). However, it is essential that in celebrating the efforts of people at the grassroots of provision, who or what is being celebrated is made explicit. Otherwise such a celebration has no tangible benefit or value either for government or the young people this provision serves. For example, if a new assessment only works to celebrate the efforts of 'Asians', this communicates to young people a government ignorance of, and failure to understand and appreciate, their predicament within their community, and the nature of divergence and commonality in grassroots policy provision.

With CIMA the government has a tangible opportunity now to communicate to young people that it isn't ignorant of their predicament, and accords formal recognition and value, and ultimately serves as a celebration of their contribution toward interculturally effective Study Support. Vitally, CIMA enables the government to celebrate for the first time in policy and provision, the voluntary contribution of students, who notwithstanding the glocality and religiosity implicit in their cultural identities, or the sectarianism they know exists in their inner-cities, are nevertheless complicit in building interculturally effective provision in their community. This clarity and capability afforded the government by CIMA is of especial importance for Muslim students who, albeit during the day are obliged to attend ethnically and religiously homogenous schools, have shown a consistent voluntary commitment to building and maintaining interculturally effective provision in their centre, and established friendships with peers that transcend ethnic and religious differences in their inner-city locale.

(iii) CIMA enables the Government and student glocality and relgiosity to 'meet' for the first time in policy provision

Betwixt and between their ancestry and their present existence, student cultural identities reside in a glocality and religiosity unbounded by Eurocentric experience or history. Without CIMA, government is not engaging with this feature of student cultural identity

in Study Support policy and provision. Leaving glocality and religiosity outside the tramlines of national assessment will not negate their existence, nor the importance and centrality that religious identity in particular now occupies in the inner-city communities served by Study Support. Rather, it leaves government and students at either side of the tracks in assessment, the former able to the view the latter at a distance, through a clouded prism, without the clarity and precision afforded by a culturally intelligent approach.

Meanwhile, the distance between them is left unchallenged, and each continues on their own separate path; one Eurocentrically rooted; the other glocally and religiously rooted, with unknown and unintended consequences; this is a path wherein the capability of the government to achieve social cohesion remains unclear. CIMA does not advocate that the cultural identities of individuals, whether Eurocentrially, glocally or religiously rooted should be placed before government policy toward social cohesion in the communities served by Study Support. Rather, it advocates that if national government does not engage with the challenge of complexity implicit in the cultural identities involved, it renders the opportunity to achieve policy in practice ever more elusive. More than this, it promotes a gap between government and the students at the grassroots of this provision, which significantly diminishes the ability of either to understand one another and work with each other in the achievement of national policy. Indeed, as long as the glocality and religiosity manifest in student cultural identities, are left outside the tramlines of current assessment, student communities within Study Support, and the government continue to move in parallel, but separate lines, unable to meet in policy or in practice. With the benefit of CIMA's culturally intelligent and purpose-built design a process of intellectual and practical convergence is thus enabled in this policy's assessment. With the implementation of CIMA, the intellectual and practical foundations for communication between government and those at the grassroots of policy are established. And government, via the information gleaned from the vantage point of a culturally intelligent and purpose built design, is better placed to inform its future policy strategy. Without CIMA this process can't and isn't happening in this area of policy. Government is thus denied the opportunity to make better informed decisions. Moreover, this is a position which has no constructive purpose, and leaves government blind to the challenges that impact on students and provision within this policy area.

Conclusion

To return to the proverb with which this thesis began: 'many words do not fill a basket'. If policy objectives are not assessed in practice, they are words only. Religiosity in 20th Century assessment has left both a culturally intelligent and intercultural-shaped hole in the national monitoring of community-based Study Support policy and provision. Meanwhile, 21st Century challenges identified in this research merit the need for government assessment to be able to be better informed and illuminated by a new assessment approach. Otherwise assessment not only stagnates; it remains incapable of responding effectively to the challenges of change in 21st Century provision, leaving both communities and young people at risk, and the government's objectives unmonitored in practice. Grounded in, and informed by converging data, historical and empirical, CIMA comprises a new and useful model of assessment; one which contributes immediate intellectual and practical benefits for both national and local government, and the communities this policy serves.

Being both culturally intelligent and purpose built, CIMA's design contributes the opportunity for government and those at the grassroots to begin to learn how to work together more effectively. With the implementation of CIMA, the government is provided now with a tangible assessment opportunity to fill this immediate gap in their data and intelligence. However, the initiative and responsibility at the point of implementation rests with government and its politicians, not with the contribution that arises from innovative academic scholarship (Fullan 2001). If this were not the case, other informed insights provided elsewhere in public policy, as evidenced in the historical analysis, would alone determine government strategy.

At this newly-informed crossroads a persistence with 20th Century-derived religiosity in assessment in this policy is neither wise nor constructive for government. In the 21st Century, government and the communities of young people its policy is directed at, are best served by the more illuminative path, contributed by a culturally intelligent and purpose built design. With the implementation of CIMA, government has the opportunity to demonstrate that it is as equally dedicated in its actions, rather than just its words, to interculturally-effective community-based Study Support. The final summary of the distinctive levels of contribution made by CIMA in this policy and its provision is provided in Fig. 11 overleaf and concludes this research and its thesis.

Fig. 11 CIMA: Summary of Distinct Levels of Contribution

- 1. Culturally intelligent and purpose built new model of assessment for 21st Century operational context of Study Support serving religiously and ethnically diverse young people.

- 2. Enables provision to monitor the intercultural outcomes, compliant with national policy objectives.

- 3. Enables the formal recording and recognition of students who, not withstanding the glocality and religiosity of cultural identities unbounded by Eurocentric heritage, and the sectarianism they know exists in their inner-city locale, are actively and voluntarily engaged in building and maintaining interculturally effective provision within their community.

- 4. Enables clear lines of accountability from grassroots provision patronised by religious and/or business organizations under PFI to local authorities and the government.

- 5. Enables assessor practitioners and local government to make links between academic and intercultural processes and outcomes within effective provision.

- 6. Affords local and national government with the precision of detailed localised intelligence about what is/is not happening in intercultural terms at the grassroots of this policy provision and to replace assumptions about homogeneity with the validity and clarity afforded by a culturally intelligent design.

- 7. Intelligence means to acquire and apply knowledge. CIMA in being a culturally intelligent model and grounded in best practice in organizational assessment affords the dual benefit of providing an educative and assessment application, and for policy provision to be reinvigorated by facilitating the sharing of best practice and networked intelligence using digital format compliant with extant government moves toward greater eco and time efficiency in public policy.

- 8. Informed conjointly, by the historical analysis (Section II), empirical study (Section III) and best practice in organizational assessment, CIMA in being a purpose built model inculcates a home grown, democratic model, with facilitates vertical communication from those at the grassroots to central government, vital to decreasing the risk of disenfranchisement. CIMA thus closes down the unconstructive loophole of silence that has been created by imported models not purpose built for the 21st Century operational context of this policy and its provision.

- 9. Democratic systems' design affords local and national government with a model that enables them to engage effectively with the centrality that religious and glocal identity has come to occupy in this policy provision at the grassroots of communities.

- 10. CIMA's culturally intelligent and democratic purpose built design opens up new channel of communication in assessment between those young people at the grassroots of policy, and government, where at present they are not 'meeting' in policy or in practice. At the same time, CIMA renders transparent the glocality and religiosity of student cultural identity at the grassroots, unbounded by Eurocentric heritage, and affords formal recognition for the contribution of those students, who not withstanding the sectarianism they know exists in their city, are nevertheless actively engaged in building and maintaining interculturally effective provision within their inner-city locale. CIMA enables these students to be celebrated, and local and national government therefore better able to determine where the support, as well as the threats to social cohesion reside within this community. CIMA's contribution is of especial importance in the context of provision which operates in locales with a history of sectarian clashes between Muslim and non-Muslim youth. Within such contexts CIMA affords government now the benefit of a specialist and purpose built model and hence the opportunity to make more informed decisions in relation to strategy in this policy. This is important to safeguard both young people and the communities this policy serves. Conclusion: CIMA contributes a new culturally intelligent and purpose built design with which to assess a specific context and policy area that is of national and local government importance.

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Semi-Structured Interview Schedule:

_____

1. How long have you been coming to the centre?

2. How would you describe your own cultural background?

3. Have you made any new friends coming to the centre?

4. If yes, would you say that they are from the same,
   or a different cultural background?

   If no, why do think that is?

5. Do you think that coming to the centre helps students to understand
   that people come from different cultural backgrounds?

6. If yes, can you give me an example?

   If no, why don't you think that happens?

7. Do you think that coming to the centre helps students to respect
   that people come from different cultural backgrounds?

8. If yes, can you give me an example?

   If no, why don't you think that happens?

9. Any comments you would like to add?

Welcome to CIMA

❖ **1. Who is this guidance for?**
❖ This guidance is especially designed for you as a CIMA practitioner assessor.

❖ **2. What does CIMA stand for?**
❖ CIMA stands for 'Culturally Intelligent' Monitoring and Assessment

❖ **3. What does Culturally Intelligent mean and how is it different from other forms of assessment we are already familiar with?**
❖ (i)As you know Study Support centres have the dual remit of working towards positive intercultural outcomes that contribute toward the drive toward community cohesion in our inner-city communities of youth. Many of you are doing excellent work toward this end, but at present, because you aren't assessed on this, you don't get the credit and recognition you deserve. CIMA is about changing that so that the efforts of both you and the students who attend your provision are formally recognized nationally and by government.
❖ (ii) CIMA assessment is not top down assessment you may be familiar with in schools for example; it is not 'assessment for assessment' sake; the emphasis is enabling centres to solve not find problems, using practical and immediate precision solutions afforded by a purpose built model for this provision.

❖ **4. What are CIMA's benefits for us as a community-based Study Support Centre serving ethnically/religiously diverse inner-city areas?**
❖ (i) Complicit with the national policy, as you begin to work or are working already toward interculturally effective Study Support in your community, CIMA assessment enables both the work you do as professionals and the efforts of the young people who attend your provision to be recognized, formally by government for the FIRST time. This has never happened before, so it is important for both you and the youth in your community that interculturally effective work is monitored alongside academic work which you are already familiar with.
❖ (ii) Important to remember too, is that the clarity afforded by CIMA as both a Culurally Intelligent and purpose built model for national policy and provision, is that it can impact positively how the centre is perceived within your community. Assumptions are of no use to anyone, they certainly don't help built socially cohesive communities. The clarity afforded by CIMA enables greater openness and clarity about what goes on in centres, this is important for youth and communities served by Study Support. Interculturally effective provision is attractive to students who otherwise may not get the opportunity to meet, mix and work with students from different ethnic and/or religious backgrounds within your inner-city community.

❖ **5. How does CIMA work?**
❖ CIMA is the first Culturally Intelligent and purpose built assessment model that is entirely grounded in interculturally effective provision and the factors intrinsic to the national policy of Study Support: for example it recognizes immediately that student attendance is voluntarily attended and that this has an impact on staff-student relationships in effective provision. In short, CIMA is built around you, so that you can self-assess your centre, via a democratic process, with an emphasis on 'home grown' assessment. It enables you to build up a localised bank of knowledge, specific to your centre, that you can then use to build and maintain interculturally effective provision in your community, and share best practice compliant with extant national policy in Study Support.

❖ **6. Okay, so what is a really easy way to get started?**
❖ You will quickly see that CIMA has an immediate bonus for you in being the first assessment model to to enable you to make direct links between academic and intercultural outcomes. This is because CIMA isn't one of those types of models that looks at outcomes/results without respecting and understanding processes that create those outcomes/results in practice. For the first time, CIMA renders transparent how in practice for example, when you and students are working, intercultural and academic processes don't occur separately but as conjoined activities.

❖ **7. Assessments only ever tell us problems, *we need solutions*, how can CIMA help us if we need that?**
❖ (i)CIMA is uniquely the first model: (i) purpose built to do this for community-based Study Support; (ii) grounded in interculturally effective community-based Study Support provision; (iii) as well as grounded in intrinsic process in your national policy and organizational structure. All of this in PRACTICAL terms means that it renders transparent to you the exact processes that lead to effective outcomes.
❖ (ii)Being purpose built it also enables you to make links for the first time, between academic and intercultural outcomes. CIMA is thus designed to enable you to pinpoint any areas that need attention AND offer immediate PRACTICAL solutions.
❖ Via the data you store generated from assessment digitally on the CIMA CD, not only are you are able to build up precision data about your centre as detailed in point 5; it also enables you to store examples of good practice identified during assessment to share with new staff and/or other centres. In this way CIMA is providing you and other centres nationally with the foundations for the first 'network' of Culturally Intelligent data that promulgates best practice and the sharing of ideas.

❖ **8. What skills will I need?**
❖ CIMA recognizes that you are busy and advocates a highly practical 'ready-to-use' approach. Provided overleaf is a quick reference guide to the skills you need to develop, revise and/or refresh: interviewing and observing students in your setting, following the different elements and processes that are provided for you in CIMA. If you require further help on this, beyond the professional tips, there is further reading that may be useful.

❖ **9. 'What is in it for us', when we have done all this?**
❖ Think back to what you read in point 4: CIMA is a great way to celebrate the efforts both of you and students in your centre in actively building, developing and maintaining interculturally effective provision in your community; by being now formally recognized for the work you all do toward that end; this is important both for you as professionals but also the youth we serve.

Many of you will already be familiar with these techniques. Whether this is new or familiar to you Using this guide provides you with practical guidance to acquire, and/or refresh these skills

Interviews

✓ There different interview types to produce different data. CIMA specifically uses semi-structured interviews. This is to ensure that the data produced is more student and participant centred and structured, and less open to 'leading' questions that may end up with a student telling you what they think they want you to hear, rather than telling you what they actually think. The latter is the focus in CIMA. This keeps your mind open and prepared to let the participant 'tell you how it is'.

✓ Go gently with students and colleagues; in the case of students remember talking about cultural identity is a personal area, so showing *sensitivity* and respect is important. Remember to relax when doing interviews; if you relax then they will relax. Remember to let the person you are interviewing 'tell their story', some may ramble a bit, but it is important to let them relax into it and not make them feel like their being rushed. Listening is key; sometimes you will be tempted to 'but in', resist that; and maintain good eye contact with them so they know you are interested in, and VALUE what they are saying.

✓ The rights of the participant are utmost, give them the option to remain anonymous if they wish and to choose whether they wish. There should be no pressure on this. What matters most is that the participant is comfortable. That way they can relax and enjoy the interview.

✓ If the participant has lost their track and appears to get stuck, you can feed back to them what they have just said and ask them to clarify something they said for you, this way they usually get back on track.

✓ If you are unsure what they meant by something, you can ask them again to authenticate it exactly in their own words; that way you continue to build up an extremely accurate picture.

✓ Remember not to shoot questions at them, this should not feel like an interrogation or job interview, it is more akin to asking them for their opinion, so remember to keep respecting that, and that in the context of Study Support students are *voluntarily active participants with shared responsibility with staff for the processes and outcomes of Study Support,* and so are taking part in this voluntarily. Deliver your questions, smoothly, respectfully and evenly, and you will have a relaxed but excellent outcome.

✓ *Whether you are already experienced in these skills or just starting off,* it is always a great idea to run a practice session first, and ask students and your colleagues for feedback; this reinforces the spirit of CIMA assessment in being a home grown purpose built model that is sensitive to and understands the organizational structure and policy area it is designed for. Doing this before assessment will help take away the mystery that can surround any new assessment and show students & peers that it is an extremely non-hierarchical and democratic design.

Observations

✓ As with interviews there are many different types of observations for different purposes. In the context of CIMA your objective is observations that do not feel oppressive, overbearing, or intrusive and which offer a narrative of events that you see, or that occur randomly at the time you are doing the observation. Students, as you might be if you were being observed, can get self-conscious and it can skew the data if they feel that you are watching them all the time. That is not what CIMA is about.

✓ So be open and transparent, tell them that you are doing observations, let them get used to the idea, give them a couple of weeks after you introduced them to it, let them discuss it with you, and then, when they have had time to think about it and know what it is for, again as with the interviews skills above, the mystery is taken out, and you will find most students in the centre will be okay with it.

✓ If any student does not want to be observed, then they have the option if they wish not to. On a human level people only react this way reasonably, if they feel pressured; it is intrusive of the normal work they are trying to do, and/or or that they have not first been consulted as to its precise purpose. Avoid this scenario: save time by taking time first to share with all participants what CIMA does and is and its benefits in particular to both staff and students as given on the 'welcome' sheet. Explain that CIMA observation matches with the relaxed atmosphere of Study Support; it is not intrusive; it is about capturing events and conversations as they work *naturally within the processes intrinsic to provision.* Whether experienced or just starting off; it is a good idea to give yourself and participants time to practice and reflect. That way once you start it has already become part of that natural context in which the participants are accustomed and feel comfortable.

Further Reading; specifically only for Quick Skills for Assessors: For further quick and easy guidance if you need it, see Judith Bell: Doing Your Own Research Project, written in simple easy steps it is often given on reading lists for practitioners at implementation stage, whether inside or outside of schools, different settings, and for both undergraduate and post-graduate studies.

CIMA Exemplar Materials: Differentiated Guidance for Assessors in *Less Than Effective Settings*.
(Example Corresponds to Setting Example IIC (ii) in Chapter 6)
<u>CIMA Quick Help Start Guidance and Support for Practitioner Assessors</u>

Before you do 'anything' save Time and Energy: Read through ALL these points FIRST

- 1. The first thing to remember about CIMA, as you learned in the welcome guidance, is that it *is not a tick box type assessment:* it isn't 'assessment for assessment' sake. As you already know Study Support is a voluntarily student-attended national policy and provision, *we know therefore that this isn't school.*

- 2. The CIMA assessment is purpose built and designed to take these intrinsic factors into consideration; in the spirit of Study Support national policy and intrinsic factors, it is a home grown and democratic design. In simple terms this means that *you can locate precise processes* and elements you need to work on, as well as those you are already doing well. *CIMA is not here to find problems as much as help you find and implement solutions so that you and students benefit.*

- 3. Storing the data you collect from assessment digitally, facilitates the sharing of best practice complicit with the spirit of Study Support, and means that *you can start to build up a local body of knowledge that will form strong foundations from which to help you to keep building toward interculturally effective provision:* CIMA calls these <u>Knowledge Banks</u> – after assessment there may be things that you find are already doing well and are proud of in being interculturally effective; making a record of these on the CIMA CD Rom begins your localised 'Knowledge Bank' *to help inform future work you do*; and or new staff that join you in future; it also means that assessment is not just for assessment sake but collects data that can then be used to inform local and national decisions in future policy and practice.

- 4. CIMA is not a top down model of assessment you may have encountered in school; it is a home grown model, with a *purpose built and democratic design,* tailored to the specific and distinct national policy of community-based Study Support; at the practical level this means that *everyone's voices* are heard within your organization. *CIMA values your opinions;* we understand it is important to listen to professionals and the young people operating in individual local community policy provision.

- ➢ Now you have read all the features and benefits of CIMA points 1-4 plus the CIMA welcome guidance (Appendix II) contains important messages that once shared with colleagues and students will enable them to see the benefits of CIMA to them and your centre. Take a moment to *reflect* on each of the points.
- ➢ Now in your own words, summarise the features and benefits. Then practice saying these so that they become natural to you. This is so that when you are introducing these features and benefits of CIMA to colleagues and students, it already reflects the spirit of a home grown model built for them and you to benefit from in your individual, local centre.

- ❖ Top Tip: Remember these three things: (i) when you are introducing CIMA to colleagues and students in your centre always make your personal introduction first and be brief (this is where your summary sentence and practising it earlier comes into its own; (ii) only after you have taken questions from peers should you then hand out any printed materials for them to read, after which you should be open to answering further questions. (iii) Remember if you hand out printed materials first, people will always start reading the materials rather than listening to you ☺

5. Whether, you are new to fulfilling a practitioner assessor role, or have done this before: remember to give yourself time to work through the practical quick guidance provided (Appendix III) to practice the skills involved. Make maximum use of this time to involve students and colleagues, reflective of the democratic design of CIMA; what this does in practical terms: (i) this helps you to relax into the role naturally; (ii) involving colleagues and students reinforces with colleagues that this is not a tick box type assessment; it is especially designed so that it is democratic and of immediate practical benefit to both staff & students.

6. After you have done the CIMA assessment, and it has revealed some areas that you feel you can do much better; remember that CIMA is there to provide you precision solutions: ask yourself what you need to focus on: are all newly joined staff aware of and understand that this is not school and voluntarily student-attended national policy and provision in which staff-student symbiosis is paramount because students and staff share an equal responsibility in building and maintaining interculturally effective provision (See CIMA Element 5:Process 1; it may be that during your observations you have noticed that your centre needs to use the community-based space it operates in to afford more opportunities for shared cultural experience (See CIMA Element 3: Process 3); or it may be that new or some existing staff don't understand the import of Study Support national policy being distinct from school in another intrinsic aspect; namely its objective is to provide a relaxed and non-pressured working atmosphere because students are attending voluntarily and in their own time. As a centre used to academic attainment, remember that for the first time CIMA shows you that academic and intercultural processes and outcomes are interconnected in practice.

- ❖ Top Tips: (i) Remember keep it upbeat and positive: don't tell your team what they are not doing; feed back what they *are* doing well already; (ii) make use of the links between academic and intercultural processes that CIMA affords practitioners for the first time, so that they can see that where they are doing things well already CIMA recognizes this; (iii) remember this is not a top down model, the emphasis is on valuing professionals and practitioners; so when you are sharing with your team the weaknesses that the CIMA assessment revealed, open these issues up for democratic dialogue, value everyone's contribution, make a note of ideas and suggestions so that these can be acted upon later; (iv) remember to end this shared dialogue session by showing them that there are immediate practical and precision solutions to implement afforded by CIMA in being a purpose built model grounded in processes intrinsic to Study Support national policy and effective provision. This enables you all to move forward with confidence; (v) remember to hold regular feedback sessions with both students and staff; this reinforces CIMA's commitment to professionals and students in being a model that recognizes and values the import of *both* in building and maintaining interculturally effective community-based Study Support provision ☺

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