

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Professor Peter Earley and Professor Gerald Grace, my supervisors, together with Dr Paddy Walsh for their critical friendship and encouragement throughout the research period.

I also thank my wife, Nellie for her patience and understanding. I was also fortunate in having the support of my daughter, Mary O'Hara, son-in-law Declan and grandchildren Marie, Annie and Eoin. My son David was a great help with discussions on legal matters. The whole family was supportive and encouraging.

I thank Mrs Marita Hammond, a family friend, who deciphered my handwriting and speedily word-processed the script.

Finally, I owe a great debt, as an octogenarian, to relatives now deceased. From being a homeless child in the Blitz on London in 1940, through childhood and to manhood, I had great support in study and pursuing a successful career. Thank you.

Annex

Salient features of leadership revealed in the thesis

Of the many aspects of leadership exhibited by the Head Teacher *cum* Executive Head (Head) of the federated school who has emerged as the central driving force in the case study, the following appear to be most important and capable of application generally for any Head or, indeed, any teacher. In order of importance:

- a) Moral purpose and ethical actions
- b) Adaptability and flexibility
- c) Putting vision into practice

a) Moral purpose and ethical actions

To act morally is considered by many as a virtue (Pring 2015, p.183). A virtue is defined as a disposition, deep and enduring which involves a person to pursue a course of action, despite the difficulties and challenges, which the person considers to be good and appropriate (ibid). Having integrity and being trusted should be the hallmark of all who wish to promote the common good.

In this study the Head's deep and enduring disposition over the years covered in the thesis was motivated by her Catholic/Christian faith. This is exemplified in her sworn evidence to the High Court 'to protect, care for and educate the marginalised and under-privileged members of the community in a safe and secure environment' (thesis p.124). To achieve her vision she had endured a gun pointed at her, poison pen letters threatening death, vandalism to the school buildings and a burning car rammed at the school fence (thesis pp.105-107). Taken as a whole, the research study may be said to give an insight into 'the secret garden known only to the cognoscenti,' i.e. Catholic education (Grace 2002, thesis p.16) and induce others to further explore that garden.

Ethically, the Head was open with all in what she wished to accomplish, despite the known divisions within the local communities in the borough which had led to racial tensions and street violence (Gardiner 1995, thesis p.36) and which posed a real danger to her (thesis pp.105-107). In her many meetings

with councillors, officials and local people nothing was concealed (thesis pp.77-82, 89-97,116-122). Her openness with the Civil Servants conceivably led to parts of the Education Act 2002 and the 2007 Regulations that now legally enshrine cooperative arrangements between educational institutions across the maintained sector of pre-university education (thesis pp. 195-196) and are advocated nationally.

b) Adaptability and Flexibility

In her leadership functions the Head exhibited a remarkable degree of adaptability to new situations. She and the Chief Education Officer (CEO) exercised high degrees of flexibility in meeting the tensions that arose throughout the period studied. Teamwork was essential to cope with the rapidly changing circumstances. Importantly within the school, the Head, by her leadership motivated the staff to act flexibly and adapt to work as buildings were demolished and new ones built. A significant contribution to this was the collective approach to professional development (CPD) (Earley, 2005 p.228, thesis pp.90-97). All were encouraged to work flexibly and be responsible for their CPD, but to work as a team, learning from each other in the swiftly moving processes between 2000 and 2010.

In putting forward her vision for a new boys' school to the CEO (thesis p.81) and accepting the administrative compromises offered by the DfE (thesis p.84-85), the Head adapted to the changing situations by acting flexibly in devising new management and financial procedures enabling effective and efficient teaching and learning across the proposed new boys' school and the existing girls' school (thesis p.86-88). In all spheres of life, particularly in teaching where one is responsible for the future of the young, adaptability and flexibility are signs of intelligent leadership qualities.

Riley (2013b, p.272 fig.1, thesis p.179) refers to a 'theory of action in creating a shared community, central to which is a sense of trust'. It was the sense of trust throughout the school which was key to the Head's successful ability to act with adaptability and flexibility in not only developing the new boys' school, but a neighbourhood school complex.

c) Putting the vision into practice

A vision can be described as a perception of future developments. Although care has been taken to set the empirical work within philosophical/theoretical concepts as befits an academic study, it was the actions of human beings, noting their personal development throughout the period, which was important (Pring 2004, pp.16-18, thesis p.16). The individuals may be accurately described as 'looking to the future with creativity and imagination' (Pope Francis 2014, thesis p.16).

The research reveals how quickly the Head of the girls' school met with the CEO after the agreement with the Bishop in 2000; how rapidly the CEO contacted the DfE and speedily received a reply that suggested a compromise by which the proposed new boys' school could be created, because the legislation did not permit the two schools to have one governing body and a single Head Teacher as desired. The DfE's guidance was a human solution to overcoming a legal problem. Thus, in terms of changes and reform of the system of Catholic secondary education in Tower Hamlets, Riley's 'levers of change' (Riley 2005, p.118, thesis p.43) had been activated enabling the new boys' school to be created and opened in 2001.

A trusting relationship between policy makers is important in enhancing community cohesion (Riley 2013b, thesis p.179); this is a feature in the empirical research. A further example of the crucial relationship between policy makers is demonstrated in the thesis (pp. 152 and 153) when the second visit from the DfE Civil Servants resulted in the £30million project approval enabling the vision to expand the Learning Village and to manage a significant part of the local authority's Youth and Community Service in a predominantly Muslim part of the borough (thesis pp.137-148).

Earley (2013 p.13, thesis p.161) has observed the evolving school landscape from 2002-2012, which in this study, by her membership of the governing body, the Head played an important part. Due to her vision external evaluations show the school to have been an outstanding success over the ten years studied (thesis pp.181-190; Endnote 4, p.220 and Appendix 8).

**CATHOLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND
COMMUNITY RELATIONS:**

A Case Study in East London 2000-2010

DANIEL JOSEPH REGAN

UCL Institute of Education PhD

I, Daniel Joseph Regan confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that it has been indicated in the thesis.

Word count (exclusive of annex, appendices, list of reference and bibliography): 77,579 words

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a case study of Catholic secondary school provision in the Inner London Borough of Tower Hamlets during the period 2000-2010. Its main emphasis is on the school/community relations during the period, indicating the Church's concern to promote community cohesion while maintaining high standards of education, particularly in an inner-city borough noted for its areas of extreme poverty and the diversity of its immigrant population. By working collaboratively with the statutory authorities, the governors of the existing Catholic girls' secondary school and its diocese initiated the original idea of school federation to provide for the boys when the local Catholic boys' school was perceived to have failed. Due to the success of this initiative, the concept gained approval in the Education Act 2002 and is now a significant part of national education policy.

The federation was followed by developing a learning village in an urban setting enabling the use of the school's new education, social and sporting facilities by all communities in the area when new buildings became available. A partnership with the local authority ensued whereby the Catholic school managed a large part of the authority's youth and community programme, including outreach provision and training for youth leaders, extending use of the learning village and facilitating co-operation with other community organisations.

The study considers the school's leadership in the difficult circumstances of rebuilding. It overcame external problems of death threats to staff, vandalism, a major burglary, a High Court trial initiated by a small group opposed to the school's policies of inclusion and finally, the bankruptcy of the main building contractor near to the end of the £40 million contract.

The study, underpinned with aspects of theory, may form a distinctive contribution to the advancement of community cohesion and educational provision, particularly in a multi-cultural setting.

CATHOLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS: A Case Study in East London 2000-2010

CONTENTS

Annex.....i-iii

Abstract.....3

CHAPTER

1 Introduction.....6

2 Resolving a Crisis in Catholic Secondary Schooling in Tower Hamlets.23

3 Research Paradigms and Research Methods.....52

4 Fieldwork and Analysis (1): A New Boys' Secondary School.....75

**5 Fieldwork and Analysis (2): Problems with Local Community
Relations.....101**

**6 Fieldwork and Analysis(3): The Advent of the Federated School and
Changes In Community Relations.....113**

**7 Fieldwork and Analysis (4): New Concepts of Educational
Leadership and Governance.....149**

**8 Conclusions and Recommendations: Responding to the Signs of the
Times.....191**

End Notes.....214

References.....228

Appendices.....240

- 1: Tower Hamlets: 'Worst Area for Child Poverty'
- 2: Symbolism of the Learning Village
- 3: The Village Club and LAP Youth Services 2008
- 4: The British Council International School Awards 2010
- 5: Questionnaire for Parents and Carers
- 6: The Visit of the Lithuanian Director General and the Award
- 7: The Mass of Thanksgiving
- 8: OFSTED Report: New Models of School Leadership, Influences and Outcomes, 2009

List of tables, diagrams and figures

- 2.1 First choice applications for the Catholic boys' school in Tower Hamlets 1995/96 to 2000/01.....**33**
- 2.2 Tower Hamlets Surplus School Places.....**33**
- 2.3 Pupils in Tower Hamlets Gaining 5+ A-C Grades 1992-1999.....**35**
- 3.1 Objections and Counters (after Flyvbjerg 2006).....**62**
 - Diagram: Sources of data underpinning the case study.....**72**
 - Figure: 7.4.1 The Federated School's Comparative GCSE results incorporating CAT score predictions at Year 7.....**185-86**

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets the background to the research study of Catholic secondary education in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets historically and currently noted for its cultural, religious and ethnic diversity. It is a place where generations have settled, significantly in poverty and then if successful have moved on to areas considered more attractive in which to live and raise families.

In 2000 the Bishop Chairman of the Westminster Catholic Education Commission asked the Head Teacher of the Catholic Girls' Voluntary Aided Secondary School in Tower Hamlets, East London and her Chairman of Governors to a meeting with him and his Diocesan Director of Education at the Diocesan Education Office. The Bishop explained he was soon to leave the diocese to take up a new appointment, but had one last important task he wished to complete before leaving. He explained that the Catholic Boys' Voluntary Aided Secondary School in Tower Hamlets, a comprehensive school, was to close because it was perceived by the statutory authorities and accepted by the diocese as its trustee to have failed. He followed this by asking his guests if they would 'take on the boys.'

This was agreed subject to practicability because the Head and her Chairman requested freedom to negotiate with the local authority subject to oversight by the diocese as trustee and sponsor of any proposed new Catholic Voluntary Aided School in Tower Hamlets for the boys. They wished to govern and manage a school for the boys themselves, as a single governing body and staff with their girls' school, but on a different site from the existing boys' school to better ensure its success. Catholic parents in the borough were known to insist on separate education for boys and girls at secondary level, but the site of the existing boys' school had seen a succession of failures since its original opening in the early 1950s. It was poorly situated on the periphery of the borough with a lack of access at that time to public transport. The visitors thought that a boys' school on a different site, under new governors and a different staff was needed if it was to be successful. Mixed-sex teaching would not be welcomed by the Catholic parents and would probably result in

parents withdrawing their daughters from the successful girls' school, possibly precipitating a downward spiral of achievement. Further, there were accommodation difficulties should boys be introduced to the girls' school, because the girls' school had recently come together from being a split-site school and the buildings had been designed without facilities for boys. Mixed-sex teaching in the girls' school was therefore not a practical solution to the Bishop's request.

The research reported in this thesis concentrates on the period which followed the meeting with the Bishop in 2000 and concludes in 2010 with the retirement of both the Head and her Chairman. However, it is appropriate to consider some local matters prior to the 2000 meeting for a richer understanding of events recorded in the study particularly those affecting the Catholic community and the borough of Tower Hamlets at a broader policy level. This will commence with some background of the researcher.

DECLARATION OF INTEREST AND THE BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

Denzin (2001) when discussing 'The Researcher and the Social World,' observes that 'the researcher is historically and locally situated within the very processes being studied and a gendered, historical self is brought to this process' (p3). This is particularly true in the research conducted for this study. It is therefore deemed appropriate for this researcher to declare his interest in the subject matter of the research, his background and that of the borough of Tower Hamlets deemed relevant for a deeper understanding of the problems encountered and impacting upon the study. This is also intended to enable the reader to critically appraise the integrity of the research and to locate any unintended instances of bias.

This researcher was, for 35 years, Chairman of the Governors of the Roman Catholic Girls' Voluntary Aided Secondary School, a comprehensive, in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets and its successor school, the Bishop Challoner Catholic Collegiate School (BCCS) which it became and of which the girls' school remains a constituent part. The school became the first federated school in England and the management arrangements for teaching

across both a new boys' school opened in 2001 and the existing girls' school were apparently in advance of the Education Act 2002, (Section 24) which gave legal authority to school federations, now an important part of school provision nationally.

This researcher claims significant background knowledge of the area where the research was situated. By declaring his background at an early stage the reader may gain an insight into his motivation to pursue the research and his reflections upon that which was revealed by co-operation between the statutory authorities and the Catholic Church over a ten year period (Pring, 2004, p108). Circumstances were often difficult and even dangerous to participants in the events that took place to further original concepts of educational provision that are now established nationally.

His male line worked as Dock Labourers and his female line worked as Tailoring Hands in the mainly under-capitalised Jewish and barely profitable workshops of that other poor immigrant community which arrived in the latter part of the 19th and early 20th century. Both types of work were on a casual and 'piecework basis,' depending upon the work available on a day-to-day basis and household income was, therefore, not secure.

For generations Catholic schooling in the area was provided by the Sisters of Mercy, a Catholic Religious Order of Nuns, dedicated to teaching and social works of mercy, their first cohort arriving in the area of Commercial Road in March 1859 (Maynard, 2009, pp14&15). In 1940, with his family, the researcher was buried in the blitz and made homeless. He was eventually evacuated via the Sisters, spending most of his schooling in Church of England village schools, but 'withdrawn from religious teaching,' returning to Stepney in 1946 as a form of homecoming to a devastated area. The period of association at a young age with Church of England schooling together with the kindness with which he was treated in those schools and noting that during the blitz the bombs killed those of all faiths or none appears to have given him an ecumenical outlook on existence relevant to this study. Nevertheless there was always the feeling of being an 'outsider' and the homecoming to a welcoming Catholic school, a parish community and a Catholic Boys' Club

engendered a sense of belonging, the confidence to develop aspects of community leadership and finding a place in the world (Riley, 2013, p2). The researcher continued to live in the area for most of his adult life while building a career in the public service which culminated in 1986 with his retirement as Director of Finance and Chief Executive of Tower Hamlets Council.

In 1975 the Sisters of Mercy who at that time were the trustees of the Catholic Girls' School asked him to become a governor of their school on the suggestion of one of the London County Council Councillors. After his first governors' meeting this researcher was elected Chairman of Governors. His governorship of the school was agreed with Tower Hamlets Council where he was employed, however at that time Tower Hamlets was not the Local Education Authority and conflicts of interest were unlikely to arise, but he considered it prudent for his governorship to be noted by the Leader of the Council, should any critical reference be made locally or in Council debates. He also notified the Divisional Education Officer at Division 5 of the London County Council (LCC) who was the educational administrative officer for Tower Hamlets, the LCC being the Education Authority at that time of his appointment. With the agreement of his employers, he was also a member of the local Adult Education Committee, this time at the suggestion of the second LCC Councillor for Tower Hamlets. His local knowledge of a particular former Board School building then used for adult education was to become relevant to this study some 25 years later. From these contacts and his professional position he became familiar with policies and how they were influenced by events and personalities.

During the post-war years many residents left the borough because of the reconstruction policies by the LCC, it being the major planning authority which implemented the Abercrombie Plans (1944) for large scale post-war clearances of areas of inner London, deemed 'slums'. Implementing the Abercrombie recommendations appears to have contributed to longer term social and educational problems which impacted upon this study. High-rise flats built and owned by the LCC on land compulsorily purchased by the LCC replaced the traditional terraced streets in Tower Hamlets. The high-rise flats became intensely disliked by their residents. Those who were economically

and socially able moved to the New Towns promoted within the Abercrombie plans, or to where new houses were obtainable in London suburbs offering more congenial surroundings (Young and Willmott, 1957). The resultant vacant flats would not be rented by local people and the LCC appeared to solve its problem of the empty flats by placing in them 'problem families' evicted from other areas, or by offering them to new homeless immigrants from the Caribbean travelling to central London in significant numbers following the first arrivals in 1948. Later arrivals in London to occupy the estates of high-rise flats in Tower Hamlets came from Africa and in large numbers from Bangladesh.

The cycle of poverty, immigration and violence following previous large scale immigrations of Catholics from Ireland and Jews from across Europe in the late 1800s and early 1900s (Leeson, 1934) was repeated in the second half of the 20th century albeit by those of other religions and from other continents. In the 1990s the social upheavals led to racial tensions including in a 1993 by-election, the election to Tower Hamlets Council of a member of the British National Party violently opposed to 'coloured immigrants' (Gardiner, 1995). This background is significant to aspects of the research discussed later in the thesis.

The Bangladeshi descendants of those who arrived in the late 1980s and early 1990s are currently a large minority in the borough, but like predecessor immigrant communities, those who are economically or socially able, are beginning to migrate to more congenial accommodation in other areas and the desire to move out of the borough is strong amongst the younger members of that community as indicated in later fieldwork discussions. The Bangladeshi community is of the Muslim Faith and is now being joined by Muslim families mainly from Somalia, but with very different and more rigorously imposed religious and social customs making their integration into the local community difficult. Other immigrants who are not Muslims are also arriving in significant numbers from Africa, Asia, South America and Europe (Mayhew Harper Associates, 2010). Tower Hamlets is described as a borough in transition (ibid) and this may be illustrated from the 70+ 'first languages' spoken in the school the subject of this research. Numbers of Catholics often with a

background of being persecuted or discriminated against in their native countries regularly arrive in the borough. To cater for the spiritual and temporal needs of these people the Jesuit Refugee Service is located in Wapping, part of Tower Hamlets, and within the geographically small Catholic Deanery of Tower Hamlets there are specialist chaplaincies for Vietnamese, Brazilian, Chinese, Congolese, German, Lithuanian, and Maltese people with 16 non-diocesan Priests ministering to these and smaller numbers of foreign nationals in the parishes of the deanery (Diocese of Westminster Year Book, 2014, pp 138 & 207- 217).

Many of the newer immigrants are Catholics with their own indigenous customs and the children became pupils of BCCS in considerable numbers. This research will attempt to reveal how, by innovative educational *cum* social and environmental developments, the governing body of the school and most significantly as its professional executive, the Head Teacher of the Catholic school, sought to further community relations in Tower Hamlets between the diverse inhabitants and to develop community cohesion between all faiths or those professing no religious adherence. This was undertaken while retaining the school's distinctive Catholicity, but encouraging a wider ecumenical outlook. There was therefore a balance to be achieved by the school being inclusive of the local non-Catholic and mainly non-Christian communities and by being distinctively (Roman) Catholic.

The ten years period covered by this study of Catholic schooling in Tower Hamlets was not uneventful, for the borough is not noted for its tranquillity but for its turbulence, often being the subject of media headlines. The period covered by this study and relevant to the school was therefore punctuated by legal, criminal, social and administrative problems together with physical threats to governors and staff including death threats to the Head Teacher and other members of the staff. The period of the study can therefore, without exaggeration, be referred to as one marked by a series of tensions which will be explored as a central part of the research.

THE RESEARCH QUESTION AND A SUBSIDIARY QUESTION: PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

Bernstein (1970) famously posed the provocative question, 'Can education compensate for society?' The study will consider this question in the context of Tower Hamlets, described above as 'a London Borough in transition' (Mayhew Harper Associates, 2010). Tower Hamlets is a particularly divided society, now significantly Muslim with numerous mosques replacing synagogues and some churches, but with other communities arriving under the free movement of peoples within the European community thus creating more social tensions. Despite successful commercial developments in parts of the borough, criminal activity and considerable poverty continue to exist, including Tower Hamlets recording the highest level of child poverty in the country (End Child Poverty, 2008 and Child Poverty Action Group, 2012 and 2014). The historical pattern of poverty and immigration for which the area is notorious has been repeated.

Selected as a mid-point of the period covered in this study, to help to describe the borough, The Department of Health, NHS Health Profile for Tower Hamlets, 2006 records that all but one of the electoral wards in Tower Hamlets were among the most deprived in England, and 59% of its children lived in poverty. Just over half (51%) of the population was the White ethnic group, 37% from the Asian ethnic group and 7% from the Black ethnic group, compared with 71% (white), 12% (Asian) and 11% (Black) respectively in London as a whole.

In the above 2006 Profile Report when comparing Tower Hamlets with England as a whole, Tower Hamlets had a higher proportion of poor quality local authority housing and low educational attainment (e.g. GCSE results). The air quality was worse and there was a high level of violent crime. In 13 of the 17 electoral wards life expectancy was significantly below the England average and none of the wards had a life expectancy significantly above. The 2010 Profile of the borough is substantially the same as that in 2006, the main exception being that GCSE results were at the regional average, but with the White Ethnic grouping being the worst performing. Possibly the main concern in the 2010 Profile was still the high level of child poverty recorded in previous profiles of the borough, education as recorded by GCSE results having made

very good progress, particularly since the introduction of the London Challenge (Woods et al, 2013 and Kidson and Norris, 2014).

The 2010 Profile accords with findings in this research. Despite the social deprivation and a dire Ofsted report (1998) on the borough's educational provision from the time it became responsible for education in 1990 (on the demise of the Inner London Education Authority) the borough overcame its educational deficiencies, attributed to maladministration. This resulted from political experimentation from the latter part of the 1980s to 1998 which seriously diminished its strategic planning, particularly in the provision of education (Ofsted, 1998).

During the study period 2000-2010 advances were made to remedy the past problems in the borough, particularly in educational provision and by 2010 the borough's educational policies had produced the good results indicated in the borough profile and confirmed in detail by Woods et al, (2013). Within the context of that study, the manner by which the borough overcame its problems in educational provision is considered particularly relevant to the voluntary aided school, which by virtue of its voluntary aided status relied on co-operation with its local authority for funding and advice not available elsewhere. Woods et al (2013) substantially attribute the improvement in Tower Hamlets to its Director of Education appointed in the latter part of 1997 and carried on by her successor when she became the borough's Chief Executive. This triangulates with the experiences recorded in this research undertaken prior to the publication of the study by Woods et al in 2013 for, following the meeting with the Bishop in 2000 and the closure of the boys' school to Year 7 applicants, a new Catholic comprehensive boy's school was speedily opened in 2001 in a building supplied by the local authority. Coincidentally, this researcher was familiar with the building from his role in the local Adult Education Committee of the 1970s mentioned above and one which, as Chairman of Governors he was confident in accepting as fit for purpose. By 2002 the boys' school had moved into temporary buildings on a site leased from the local authority adjacent to the girls' school. This could not have been done without the dynamic leadership of both the Director of Education and the Head Teacher of the school.

Further, it can be argued that S24 of the Education Act 2002 was passed by Parliament as a result of a visit to the Head Teacher by Department for Education (DfE) officials to satisfy themselves on new management and financial arrangements across both schools. These arrangements were required by the DfE following approaches from the local authority on the wish of the Head Teacher to manage both the new boys' and the existing girls' school with one staff working across both schools. The Act enabled the first federated school to be established by the two schools. The two schools were on a restricted site and many of the buildings were unsatisfactory. This was recognised by the DfE and later resulted in a £30 million approval for a new school complex, 10% of which would be fundable by the diocese as the sponsoring authority of a voluntary aided school.

Bearing in mind the lack of diocesan staff observed when meeting with the Bishop at the diocesan education offices in 2000, the Head and the governors of the school suggested to the diocese that consultants nominated by the school be appointed to formulate plans for the new school complex and that a steering committee be formed to include the local authority and the diocese. From the discussions with the team of consultants of international repute engaged to formulate the planning for the new project and to ensure value for money, the concept for a Learning Village in an urban setting emerged to include the use of the proposed new school complex by the wider community irrespective of any religious affiliations. Therefore a prime focus of this study will be on the nature of the school-community relations during the period. Extensive consultations were held with the Catholic Deanery (all the Parish Priests of the Catholic parishes in Tower Hamlets). Representatives of local organisations, Catholic and non-Catholic, all signed up to the idea. However, later, as building work was about to commence on the new complex, tensions arose within the immediate local Catholic community when a group suddenly claimed that the distinctive nature of a Catholic school would be lost by the inclusive intentions of the proposals.

These tensions possibly arose from the visionary concept by the Head Teacher of the federal nature of the school and an intention to open the school facilities to the local community at large. Catholic schools in England have

often been seen by Catholics as fortresses whereby the faith is passed on, uncontaminated by 'outside' influences, and particularly within Tower Hamlets, the Catholic community had long been noted for being conservative in religion. By maintaining a style of Catholicism with a strict adherence to conservative clerical guidance in religious, behavioural and even temporal matters, lay Catholics had felt secure in 'The Faith'. This had been particularly so in Tower Hamlets since the arrival in large numbers of the impoverished and overwhelmingly uneducated, but often truculent Irish Catholics from the late 1840s. By being active in local politics the Catholic community had also succeeded in gradually improving its social influence (Maynard, 2007; 2009). Socially and emotionally, the Catholic community had developed a place where it felt it belonged.

However the 1939-45 war and post-war reconstruction greatly diminished the Catholic community in Tower Hamlets and with its depleted numbers its local political or religious influence had waned and former strong political and social alliances with the Jewish and the other Christian communities no longer existed. New arrivals in significant numbers many of whom were Afro-Caribbean or Asian Muslim had replaced the settled pre-war communities and significant political and social rivalry followed with street disturbances, mostly between the post-war arrivals (Gardiner, 1995). Some Catholics may therefore have lost their feeling of security in the changing times.

Although these tensions later eased, other tensions with the local Muslim youths arose during the period of the second Gulf War (2003) and impacted upon the federated school and its inclusive policies. These tensions and their resolution will be explored later in the study.

In the light of the above background, it therefore proposed to formalise the main research question as follows:

What tensions arose between the decisions of inclusion and distinctiveness in the development of the Catholic School Federation in Tower Hamlets and were these tensions resolved?

Additionally, it is proposed to explore a subsidiary question relevant to the above:

Why and how did the Governors of the Catholic Girls' school develop an original concept of the federated school which later became part of the Education Act 2002 and is now a significant factor at national level in educational provision?

The subsidiary question impacts on the main question and gives a background to it. It is therefore proposed to consider this as background to the main research question.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY: BRIEF STATEMENT OF RELEVANT EDUCATIONAL INNOVATIONS

The study examines why and how the governors of a Catholic Voluntary Aided secondary school, in an often volatile inner-city area of London, introduced and developed original educational innovations that have been adopted nationally and are capable of adaptation according to local circumstances both nationally and internationally. Although the initial innovations were to meet the needs of the local Catholic community, it is argued they are applicable generally.

The research seeks to address issues of educational policy and professional practice, to verify the evidence produced and to indicate knowledge of the realities encountered and to make sense of the activities described. By the nature of the enquiry it has a focus on policies and institutions, but also on the people involved and their personal development (Pring, 2004, pp16-18). The people involved, principally a Head Teacher and a Chief Education Officer may be said 'to have looked to the future with creativity and imagination' (Pope Francis to Pontifical Gregorian University, 2014).

However, it is often considered that the understanding of Catholic education generally is lacking, even in academia. In England particularly, Catholic education has been likened to 'a secret garden of research, known only to the Cognoscenti' (Grace 2002, p xi) and it can be argued that the Catholic community, led by its clergy has been defensive over the particular Catholic distinctiveness of its educational provision and fearful of it being overwhelmed by secular pressures to modify its religious ethos. Although the real world was dynamic, teaching in Catholic schools and particularly in the seminaries of the time which produced diocesan clergy appeared to be static in 'a world set

apart' (Pring, 2014). This is exemplified by others non-Catholic and Catholic, for accusations were that there was a failure to adapt to 'The huge cultural and social differences in the educational climate between 1870-1944 and those of the present day' (Gardner et al, 2005, p9) and similarly, 'In the 1950s before I became a student in a Catholic secondary school, the Catholic Church seemed increasingly out of date and out of touch' (Cairns 2009, p28).

The above comments were genuinely reflecting the views of academic observers, made despite the significant body of advanced Catholic social and educational teaching in modern times stemming from the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII *Rerum Novarum* (Of New Things) (1891) and subsequent teachings now summarised in the *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* (2004). These are continuing to be developed, particularly by the present Pope and in educational terms with his authority by the Prefect of the Congregation for Catholic Education of the Holy See and are referred to below. These teachings should have alerted both clergy and laity in the Church to the necessity of recognising 'the signs of the times' and of adapting to the human needs of all people, but the Church's social/pastoral teaching was for many years subordinated to the study of more formal theology. This researcher, upon questioning an elderly Parish Priest about his seminary formation described the Church's social teaching as 'the Cinderella subject.' From the experience of this researcher, this was frequently the situation in Catholic schools where the Church's social teaching was considered appropriate only for adults when they became engaged in the world of work.

Pope John XXIII recognised the problems when he convened the Second Vatican Council in 1962 (Vatican II) and, despite resistance from some Catholics, often highly influential in the hierarchy, the Catholic Church since Vatican II, is seeking to be more dynamic in adapting its teachings to the current human needs of all without changing the essential teachings of Christ, but reinterpreting them with new insights. These insights into Christ's teachings are accelerating under Pope Francis who is seemingly adopting a greater collegial approach to Church problems by consulting more widely than some of his predecessors with a variety of organisations which study contemporary problems affecting the Church's social and educational mission

to serve the common good. However, there is, and has been since the times of the Early Church, tensions between those who are theologically conservative within the Church and those who recognise that the mission of the Church is to adapt to social conditions and meet material needs while retaining the essential Gospel teachings. A perennial problem is to maintain solidarity in the Church and balancing conservative truths with innovative interpretations of the truths arrived at from serious studies of the Gospels. This study will reflect these tensions at a parish level as they impacted upon the federated school.

For the purposes of this study the significance of Vatican II is that it better enabled some lay Catholics to explore at a local level in a diverse community how they could adapt to the needs of the time for the benefit of Catholics and non-Catholics alike in the spirit of Gospel neighbourliness (Matt.22:37-40) and to make a positive difference to the temporal and spiritual lives of all. It is hoped that the content of this study incorporating innovations in educational provision, not always accepted at the time and often in difficult circumstances, will have significance in broadening the understanding, particularly of detractors, of Catholic 'faith schools'.

The innovations to be considered are,

1. School federation
2. A Learning Village in its inner city urban context
3. The associated Local Area Partnership between the Catholic school and its Local Education Authority in the management of outreach provision for the authority's Youth and Community service.

In these innovations, traditional schooling was integrated with youth work, usually understood as two discrete functions by local authorities and, within the Catholic Church in England and Wales, separately administered and funded by the Bishops' Conference. They were made possible by carefully designing a new Catholic school complex with health and safety paramount so that it could be used by the local community at large.

It is argued the Catholic school in the ten years covered by this study had a clear vision to become integral to community relations and to facilitating community cohesion in a diverse religious, cultural and social area. It is further argued that the innovations are a significant guide to how a school, whether a faith school or not, can make a valuable contribution to the social and cultural life of the community beyond the school gates, while producing good academic results. It may be described as a form of Christian humanism recognising the intrinsic worth of all human persons (Ritchie and Spencer, 2014).

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT OF ASPECTS OF SOCIAL THEORY TO BE USED

Two of the main aspects of Catholic social theory are those of solidarity and subsidiarity. Solidarity within the Church to the Pope and the Magisterium and subsidiarity in carrying out tasks; the assumption being that a task is normally best carried out at the lowest level of capability possible and practicable. In this study the Bishop on behalf of the Catholic Diocese in communion with the Holy See, entrusted the task of 'taking on the boys' to the governors of a Catholic girls' school when a Catholic boys' school was about to close. Tacitly understanding their solidarity with the Magisterium of the Church, his judgement was that the task he set was best carried out at this subsidiary level. Although solidarity and subsidiarity are two main pillars of Catholic action there is frequently a tension between them because bureaucracy in the Church is sometimes reluctant to entrust decision making to a lower level, a problem that is common in many organisations. This Bishop, in later correspondence with the researcher, said he chose the individuals on their record of solidarity to the Church and in getting things done. This appears to be his practical philosophical understanding of what should be done and the ends to be served in achieving this (Pring, 2004, pp18-20).

Catholic social teaching is often considered the 'hidden gem' of the Church because theological matters have always taken preference over the profane (Grace, 2002, p24) and so it has been in Catholic education, formal theology sometimes taught as a form of indoctrination, tended to ignore social realities beyond the school boundary. Fortunately this no longer tends to be the case

but is still believed to be so by critics of Catholic schooling. Grace, pleading for greater empirical research to establish the evidence of how faith is taught in Catholic schools suggests that, as in the natural sciences so in the social sciences, the outcomes of empirical enquiry may rest uneasily with those in authority within the Church and be seen as disturbing to the faithful (ibid). This should not be so and empirical studies of Catholic schooling by all academics should be encouraged to elicit 'the truth', no matter how unsettling to the faithful, or to the bureaucracy of the Church and, even, no matter how 'helpful' to opponents of faith schooling.

It is therefore proposed to explore aspects of social theory to establish a firm theoretical background to the empirical work of this study, to better understand that which was discovered and to add analytical depth to the findings. The theoretical aspects chosen to achieve this object are encapsulated in the theories of Bourdieu and Bernstein, each theoretical system being essentially a method of enquiry. Of Bourdieu particularly, Grace (2002, p25, following Harker, 1990, p99) argues that one has to understand Bourdieu's work as a method of enquiry rather than a completed edifice and this argument will be followed. However, when the occasion is appropriate other theoretical works will be referred to thus helping to continue a deeper insight into the empirical nature of the research in the belief that there can be more to reality than that which lies on the surface of observation (Perrier, 2014). An analysis of the study will commence with Bourdieu's theories of Habitus, Capital and Field, leading to Practice.

The habitus of east London was, at the time of the meeting with the Bishop in 2000, strongly influenced by its Irish working class origins, often described locally as radical in politics but conservative in religion. Habitus is the result of one's deep seated predispositions and differs from habit which is more autonomous. Habitus resonates with culture rather than individual habit and is both durable and transposable by becoming active in a wide variety of situations (Bourdieu, 1990, p53).

All at the Bishop's 2000 meeting had the predisposition to advance the Catholic education of the boys and this may be explained by a further concept

borrowed from Bourdieu, that of social capital, **(END NOTE 1)** one of the forms of capital he distinguishes. The social capital of the participants existed symbolically within each individual as the beliefs, teachings and customs of the Catholic Church. This symbolic capital had accumulated over the life experiences of those at the meeting and had been inherited from their family backgrounds. There was therefore a close relationship between them as a group, though not perhaps of an immediately identifiable or conscious kind. This capital is *symbolic*, and as a relationship of knowledge it appears to be linked closely with the concept of habitus.

The third useful concept of analysis is Bourdieu's concept of Field; yet another concept of wide application. For the purposes of the meeting, the field was Catholic education for Catholic boys in Tower Hamlets. Its boundary seemed well defined, but similarly to the concepts of 'habitus' and 'capital,' 'field' would prove capable of flexibility in practical use. These concepts are in the equation, $\text{Habitus} + \text{Social Capital} + \text{Field} = \text{Practice}$ (Bourdieu 1984, p101). Bourdieu's concept of field refers to a social struggle. Catholic education in east London has a history of struggle (Maynard, 2007; 2009) and this empirical study is to be an account of a contemporary struggle which resulted in original solutions with positive outcomes.

It is to be argued that the 'Habitus' of the participants at the meeting, their 'Social Capital' plus their 'Field' experience of Catholic education equated to the 'Practice' and the practical solution of the problem presented by the Bishop within the twin Church pillars of Solidarity and Subsidiarity.

The events of the study may also be set within aspects of Bernstein's theories (Bernstein, 2000). Those theories, like Bourdieu's, were not designed for static analysis, but as practical tools for analysis and structure in the active world. Bernstein was keen on democracy and pedagogic rights. Working in the sociology of education and focussing on the sociology of education and the transmission of power within the social structure, he was concerned 'that people must feel they have a stake in the society. That they not only receive, but also can give something' (Bernstein, 2000, p.xx). The giving and receiving would appear to have happened, if not totally successfully at all times, in

various public meetings and group discussions during the period of this study following the meeting with the Bishop, culminating in 2010 when the Head and her Chairman retired.

The first meeting relating to the giving and receiving was with the Bishop. It concerned the giving of information by the Bishop on the closure of the boys' school and the reception of the request to accommodate the Catholic boys by the governors of the girls' school and the consequent giving by the representative governors (of whom the Head Teacher was one) of the promise to do their best to meet the wishes of the Bishop. There were subsequent meetings with the local authority, dissemination of information, public meetings with parents and interested parties, Deanery meetings, parish meetings, meetings with consultants and the DfE. All parties received and gave, nothing appears to have been withheld and consequently the statutory authorities and the diocese, as Trustee, gave approval to the proposals for a new style of school provision.

Importantly, the governors of the boys' schools perceived to have failed did not object to its closure. The democratic process appeared to have been satisfactory and research reveals that it concluded with signed agreements by those consulted.

Bernstein's concepts of 'classification and framing' will be used to recontextualise later pedagogic discourses between the school/diocese and the local authority/DfE. This will entail a consideration of the power shifts between the parties in Tower Hamlets as the empirical study reveals the tensions, positive and negative, during the period.

The following chapter builds on the above and traces how social and local political events over a number of years affected schooling in the borough particularly in the Catholic secondary sector. The chapter concludes by indicating how adversity began to be transformed into advantage by lateral thinking and co-operation between the statutory authorities and the Catholic Church in which two women played a significant part.

CHAPTER 2 RESOLVING A CRISIS IN CATHOLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLING IN TOWER HAMLETS

To gain a fuller understanding of the gradual crises which arose in Catholic secondary schooling in Tower Hamlets in the late 1990s and its resolution by 2010, an appreciation of environmental, economic and social changes in the area is necessary, for these are relevant to the situation facing the Council as statutory provider of schooling and the Catholic Diocese of Westminster, as trustee and sponsor of Catholic schools in the area.

The London Borough of Tower Hamlets was constituted by the London Government Act 1963 and became effective in 1965. It was formed from the Metropolitan Boroughs of Bethnal Green, Poplar and Stepney, each noted for areas of extreme deprivation with histories of poverty, crime and civil or industrial unrest. The area had been devastated by bombing during the 1939-45 war and the population declined from 338,000 in 1941 to a low of 140,000 in 1981; rising to 168,000 in 1991 and to 197,000 in 2001 (Tower Hamlets Local History Library). From the low point of the 140,000 in 1981, to the 197,000 in 2001 there was an increase of population of 17.9%, the largest percentage of all the London boroughs (www.towerhamlets.gov.uk/lgssl/901-950/916_boroughs (accessed 1 October 2013)).

The population of Tower Hamlets has continued to grow since 2001 and is now the subject of considerable uncertainty. Mayhew and Harper (2010) using their own statistical methodology (nkm) arrive at population estimates of 237,817 as a minimum (pp7 & 8) to a maximum of 240,480 in 2010. Significantly and for the purposes of this study, they note that many parents refused information for the school census on ethnicity (p38). They observe that 8.9% of the population do not appear to be registered with a General Practitioner. This figure they suggest is significantly higher than elsewhere in the United Kingdom. They conclude that 43% of the population of Tower Hamlets is 'income deprived' and within this percentage, the Bangladeshi population is over represented. They further conclude that Tower Hamlets is 'a rapidly changing environment' (p66). Although carefully researched and subject to sophisticated quantitative analysis, one gains the impression that

because of the underlying desire of many residents in Tower Hamlets to remain as invisible from officialdom as possible, the statistical results of the research must be treated with caution. These matters will be discussed in this research study for they impacted upon the Catholic educational provision in the period of the study 2000-2010.

Socially and economically, the area was beginning to recover with the post-war industrial boom and reconstruction. By the 1950s the mood of the time was caught by the following extract from the centenary celebrations of the Sisters of Mercy who had taught generations of Catholic children from 1859 when they arrived in Stepney from Ireland at the request of the then Missionary Rector, **(END NOTE 2)**

We no longer live in a depressed area. The slums, the squalor, the poverty, the overcrowding have almost completely disappeared. In this "brave new world" of ours the worker has come into his own. Our Dockers reap the benefits of social justice and equality Our people are prosperous..... Standards of education and living generally are higher for all. The introduction of a National Health Service has been an inestimable boon for the poor and has resulted in a vast improvement in the physical welfare of the nation at large. (Maynard, 2009, p199).

From the above one gains an insight into the pre-war conditions of the area and its people. Work in the docks was casual. Men were 'called off' from gathering points outside the docks gates if there was work for that day or half-day, reminiscent of the parable of the vineyard with men hoping to be hired for work (Matt 20: 1-5). The system of work had not significantly changed from that described by Mayhew (Mayhew, 1849). Although not mentioned by the Sisters' writing in the 1950s, those women of the East-End who were employed in the 20th century even immediately post-1945, tended to be office cleaners in the City travelling at an early hour by special buses. However, many women who had the skill worked in the bespoke, usually small, tailoring firms on a casual basis. The women were often those who kept the family together by careful management of housekeeping when 'Dock Work' was scarce. Local Catholic school photographs of 1939 show pasty-faced undernourished children and an LCC Inspection Report of 1937 on the Catholic Girls' and Infants' school of the Commercial Road Parish, refers to

the older girls having to look after younger siblings and working after school hours to add to household income. However, the Inspector praised the teaching and cleanliness of the children, both aspects of the Sisters' schools. This school was a predecessor of the post-war Catholic girls' school, where all the photographs of the 1950s in Maynard (2009, pp207-250) show well-nourished and clothed infants and girls.

The stable Catholic communities in the various parishes that now comprise Tower Hamlets had for generations been closely knit and families were usually well known to each other for they had been taught and visited by the Sisters of Mercy and marriages later cemented the relationships between families. There was also considerable support between the Catholic families especially when there was a family crisis. On these occasions there was usually recourse to the Sisters for moral and other support. One can therefore note the homely nature of the Sisters when it is mentioned in their writing 'Our Dockers, Our People.' The Sisters had taught the Catholics and visited homes, Catholic and non-Catholic, on errands of mercy since 1859, hence their mention of 'the nation at large' indicating a wider knowledge and appreciation of social conditions. Over the years the Sisters' 'leadership of place' in Tower Hamlets appears to have provided a rich harvest for human development (Riley, 2013). Although the phrase was not used at the time the Sisters' work may be described as a precursor of Liberation Theology (Gutierrez, 1988) with their emphasis for the poor. The Sisters were therefore an integral part of the wider community (Maynard, 2009) and were greatly respected.

Unfortunately, the idyllic state of affairs described by the Sisters in the 1950s was not to last. The new housing which replaced the old terraced houses became unpopular. Huge 'clearance areas' swept away property, good or bad, both residential and business. Tower blocks of flats dominated the landscape. Initially the flats were welcomed as indicated by the Sisters, but very quickly they became intensely disliked, particularly by families with young children and the elderly who felt trapped and isolated when the poorly maintained lifts frequently broke down. The elderly could not easily meet friends and neighbours in the streets as formerly and parents or friends could not supervise children from the open doorways of terraced houses as before.

Further, poor workmanship, bad maintenance or architectural deficiencies revealed structural problems in many flats. Consequently, residents moved out and away from the borough as quickly as houses elsewhere became available. Many of the long-standing residents moved to New Towns, accelerating the movement of mainly young and economically active families or young single people noted throughout Young and Willmott (1957); the elderly and socially inadequate tended to remain, often marooned in their high-rise flats.

The exodus was quickened by the decline of the docks from the 1960s and their eventual closure in the 1970s when containerisation necessitated larger ships that could not navigate the docks built for smaller vessels in the 19th century. At the same time that the docks industry was undergoing structural economic change, the bespoke tailoring industry in Tower Hamlets also underwent change when cheap imports, carried in the ships' containers, and mechanisation in large factories in the Midlands, replaced the small tailoring workshop skilled trade of the Jewish East End.

Dockers' families, still mostly of Irish Catholic descent and Jewish tailors, often as traditionally poor as the dock workers, exited Tower Hamlets as employment declined and both formerly stable communities left the borough in large numbers. This is reflected in the census returns for the population of the borough noted above. The LCC, and from 1965 its successor housing authority, the Greater London Council (GLC), the largest residential property owner in the borough, could not let Tower Hamlets flats to local residents because they did not want them and therefore they placed families and individuals with problems in the vacant accommodation and, as immigration from the Caribbean and Asia gathered pace, the flats were also let to the immigrants in large numbers. In 1986 on the abolition of the GLC and the transfer of its housing estate to the London Boroughs (SI 1985 No. 828) Tower Hamlets Council had 50,000 dwellings to manage and was by far the largest owner of housing in the borough, inheriting the many 'difficult' tenants in the process. However under the Housing Act 1985 tenants of council housing began to exercise their 'Right to Buy' at great discounts to the value of the property depending upon their length of tenancy. This right was exercised by

many of the council's tenants in Tower Hamlets who had rented their properties for many years and who after ensuring they did not lose their discount, sold at a profit to enable them to purchase property elsewhere and move out of the borough. These former council tenants were frequently replaced by new owners, often rapacious, who let the flats to immigrant families, usually with large numbers of children accompanied by extended families, who over-crowded flats designed for the smaller 'nuclear' British families. Often the extended family members had no right of residence in the United Kingdom and there was a tendency to return to excessive pre-war overcrowding. There is still the great reluctance by Tower Hamlets residents to comply with requests to answer questionnaires, or to be recognised officially and respond to enumeration because they live in overcrowded property and may be evicted, or are in Britain illegally (Mayhew & Harper, 2010). These problems later impacted on educational provision and aspects of the fieldwork for the case study and are discussed below.

During this population resurgence, crime and vandalism increased considerably as the 'problem families' and 'difficult individuals' found the flats conducive to criminal activity with conveniently dark stairways and long balconies giving access to entry for burglary and a variety of criminal activities including drug dealing and prostitution, mentioned further below in relation to the vicinity of the federated school. By the late 1980s the borough was becoming difficult to govern and throughout the period from 1986 to 1998 this difficulty was exacerbated, particularly in terms of educational provision by the local Council dividing the borough into seven autonomous Neighbourhoods (Morphet, 1987; Woods et al, 2013) and later in 1993 dividing the Education Department into 'business units' and 'clients'. Ofsted's judgement from its inspection of the local authority's educational provision in 1998 was scathing with widespread underperformance noted (Ofsted, 1998, paragraph 10) and overall poor value for money 'being doubly unacceptable in so deprived a context despite the borough being the most generously funded per pupil in the country' (ibid). A conclusion by Ofsted was that although the education authority had suffered perhaps less than other central services in Tower Hamlets, strategic planning had largely ceased (**END NOTE 3**). It is noteworthy that the Ofsted report was issued in conjunction with the Audit

Commission, thus adding credence to Ofsted's comments on central services and finance. The observation by Ofsted that education may have suffered less than other services in the borough from maladministration indicates a dire set of circumstances when one considers the depths to which the education service had descended and is discussed below.

Prior to the Education Act 1944 each of the 13 Catholic parishes in what is now Tower Hamlets had its schools, some more than one, with many dating from the days of the 19th century Poor Schools (Murphy, 1991). The pre-war and immediate post-war Catholic population was numerous with churches having full congregations. Catholic social activities were well attended and annual outdoor processions were watched by many hundreds, even thousands of onlookers - Catholic and non-Catholic (Maynard, 2009, pp176-189). Overwhelmingly, Catholic children attended Catholic schools, rather than local authority schools.

Before 1944 elementary schooling ended at the age of 14 - but was raised to 15 under the Education Act 1944. Grammar school education continued to the age of 16 and if the student was able enough on public examination at the age of 16, continued further to the age of 18 with the intention to proceed to university. There were no Catholic grammar schools in Tower Hamlets and the few Catholic boys that were able were sent to the Jesuit school in Stamford Hill. Many who qualified could not go because of cost (although there was help) or family pressure to earn a living. Similarly, few girls who secured a grammar school place took advantage of the offer. Travelling out of borough to Hackney or Southwark where Teaching Orders of nuns provided good girls' grammar schools was relatively expensive for parents whose incomes were small or uncertain because of the nature of their casual employment. Catholic family horizons were limited mostly because of various degrees of poverty. There was, however, a Catholic Central School in Stepney founded in 1925. Post-war this was a mixed-sex school. Central Schools prior to the 1944 Education Act were provided for those able children who wanted an education that fitted them for commercial work or entry to professions considered 'minor,' e.g. bookkeeper rather than Accountant; lawyer's clerk rather than Solicitor. Usually, a clerical job in a City office or with the local authority was the height

of expectations for Catholics in Tower Hamlets when one left school, but some girls did become teachers with financial and other help from the Sisters and returned to teach in their school.

The Education Act 1944 required a division between primary and secondary education. Butler -the author of the Act – recounts the difficulties he had with the Catholic Bishops in his negotiations leading to the Act and establishment of the voluntary aided schools system, they were anxious to protect their control of Catholic schools, but realised that the expense was becoming too burdensome (Butler, 1971 pp 90-125). The Act made significant changes to the organisation of Catholic schooling in the closely knit parishes of Tower Hamlets for in the immediate post-war period each parish could sustain its primary schools, but for secondary school level one of the larger former elementary parish schools was used to provide a secondary school and its close link with the parish where it was situated was thereby weakened because of secondary age pupils coming from neighbouring parishes. Thus the close link between school and parish at secondary level was broken and this tends to be the situation since then, particularly with the large catchment area of Catholic secondary schools.

All Catholic schools in the area of Tower Hamlets became voluntary aided under the 1944 Act and so took advantage of the Act by enabling improvements to their fabric and equipment, but the Church's effective control of its schools continued under the dual system of education embedded in the 1944 Act by appointing a majority of the governing body and retaining its control of appointments and the curriculum in its schools. All the Catholic secondary schools in Tower Hamlets were 'secondary modern' and did not provide for examinations enabling pupils to qualify for the 'major' professions or for university education. This perpetuated the limited educational and employment opportunities of Catholic school leavers in the borough for educational attainment and employment prospects are strongly linked as found by the OECD in 1966 (Riley 1998, p79). It was not until Government Circular 10/65 and the intention to abolish selection (for grammar schools) that all Catholic secondary schools in the borough became comprehensive and provided for examinations that could lead into any profession or to university.

Comprehensive education broadened the educational provision for all and Catholics in particular in Tower Hamlets, by removing the stigma of failure and non-selection for grammar school by children at the age of 10 or 11 years and thereby effectively limiting their future potential.

1951. A new Catholic Secondary School in Poplar

In the Tower Hamlets Catholic Deanery there was a series of gradual amalgamations of secondary schools resulting from the need to modernise school buildings to provide comprehensive education, or from the declining Catholic population in the area when families with children moved away. Catholic secondary school provision within the deanery began to be transformed by the building of a substantial new Catholic school in Poplar which was part of the Festival of Britain's (1951) 'Living Architecture' showpiece of modern estate design incorporating a number of churches, shops, a street market, but mostly Council (Social) Housing of flats interspersed with some existing houses.

The Poplar boys' school was unsuccessful from its formal opening in 1953. 'It was badly sited on the periphery of its catchment area with a lack of available public transport and the teaching was poor' (Bishop Stack in Evidence to the High Court, 2006). A later amalgamation with a Catholic girls' grammar school in Hackney that closed, the intention of which was to boost academic standards in the Poplar school, was unsuccessful because the girls soon left to resume their studies elsewhere (ibid). The school was closed, re-opening later on a further amalgamation with other Catholic secondary schools.

The Sisters' school had been unaffected by the amalgamations of the other schools, but because of the destruction of their pre-war school building it was existing on a variety of split sites in LCC school buildings under the provisions of the Education Act 1944. Eventually the Sisters gained a new school building under War Damage legislation. This school was on a restricted site near to the Catholic Church in Commercial Road and it housed the Upper School (girls from the age of 13 years). This school was later to be brought together with its Lower School. It will be this merged school building that was to become focal in the discussion with the Bishop in 2000 and developments thereafter.

The intention of the final attempt to make the Poplar school viable was for the 6th Form girls under the trusteeship of the Sisters and the boys in the Poplar school to interchange for 6th Form classes and lectures. However, this was unsuccessful because the girls, supported by their parents, refused to go to the Poplar school, maintaining standards of tuition were too low and discipline in the school poor. This may be perceived as part of the raised educational expectations of Catholic parents and their daughters. Similarly, most of the boys who came to the girls' school were ill disciplined and could not meet the academic standards and behaviour requirements of the Sisters and the staff. The boys consequently failed to pursue their attendance at the girls' school. By the year 2000 there were therefore two Catholic secondary schools in Tower Hamlets after the series of closures and amalgamations and both were comprehensive. The girls' school was considered successful and the boys' school with problems of discipline and poor standards was unsuccessful.

The Catholic boys' school was in a significantly poor area on the periphery of Tower Hamlets to the east. Poplar one of the constituent boroughs of Tower Hamlets, had a strong Catholic tradition with established Catholic schools pre-dating the restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy in 1850, i.e. Poor Schools (Murphy, 1991). All these schools and the large Catholic Church, together with most of Poplar were destroyed in the 1939-45 war. The opportunity was therefore taken in 1951 to build the new secondary school for the Catholic community with an adjacent Catholic church as part of a showpiece 'Living architectural example of post-war reconstruction' connected with the Festival of Britain (supra). The Poplar school was officially opened in 1953 on a site that was jointly owned by the Diocese of Westminster and the LCC which had exercised its powers of Compulsory Purchase in also clearing the remainder of the area surrounding the school for Council Housing. This will become particularly relevant later.

Unfortunately, the school was never successful. Even in those early years it was not regarded as a successful school. It did not have the confidence of parents or even the local primary schools. Under the Ofsted inspection system it would have been 'a failing school.' (Bishop Stack, 2006, to the High Court).

The Bishop explained that in an attempt to sustain numbers and maintain a balanced intake between boys and girls the Poplar school was amalgamated with the convent grammar school for girls in Hackney which was closing as the numbers of Catholic children in east London declined. The grammar school was some five miles from the Poplar school and travelling for the girls was difficult. The former Central School was also closed and the pupils were transferred to Poplar, but most of the girls elected to go to 'the Sisters' school.' The Poplar school at this time was formally closed because of the reorganisation and opened under a new name.

In the opinion of Bishop Stack in his evidence to the High Court (2006), the amalgamation was badly planned and executed. It is observed that the Bishop was an experienced educationalist and by 2006 had succeeded to the Chairmanship of the Diocesan Education Commission. He repeated in his written evidence to the High Court that discussions at the time of the reorganisation of the schools had been held with the trustees of the successful girls' school in Commercial Road some two miles to the west of Poplar. The trustees of the girls' school, the Sisters of Mercy, wished to retain their single-sex provision and negotiations did not proceed further. In the opinion of the Bishop, the reorganised Poplar school never gained the confidence of parents.

The Bishop was acutely aware of the school in Poplar because he and his family had settled in Poplar on arriving from Ireland as part of the continuing trickle of economic migrants since the time of the large Irish Catholic influx of the 1840s and 1850s. His sister was one of the girls transferred from the convent grammar school and with her contemporaries soon left the Poplar school. 'Academically, it was not strong enough to provide a fully comprehensive education and by default it became an all boys' school' (Stack, *ibid*). Thus, the school failed again. It was closed and reopened in 1992 as an all boys' school. The proposed arrangement with the girls' school on 6th Form teaching mentioned above failed and the ill-discipline of the boys and the poor teaching in that school significantly contributed to the eventual failure of the boys' school.

The qualitative evidence from the High Court Statement of Bishop Stack, given under Oath, may be triangulated by quantitative material obtained from the Local Education Authority, Tower Hamlets, under the Freedom of Information Act 2000.

THE BOYS' SCHOOL

First Choice Applications for the 5 form entry (150) for the Boys' School	
YEAR	NUMBER
1995/96	128
1996/97	150
1997/98	96
1998/99	84
1999/00	68
2000/01	58

Source: London Borough of Tower Hamlets Education Directorate

Table 2.1 First choice applications for the Catholic boys' school in Tower Hamlets 1995/96 to 2000/01

TOWER HAMLETS SURPLUS SCHOOL PLACES						
As a percentage of the whole of Year 7. All at January						
Actual 1999	Projected 2000	Projected 2001	Projected 2002	Projected 2003	Projected 2004	Projected 2005
13%	11.9%	11.7%	11.7%	12.3%	13.4%	14.3%
Projected Surplus School Places in the above years if the boys' school closed						
	6.4%	5.6%	6.8%	3.7%	7.0%	10.0%

Source: London Borough of Tower Hamlets Education Directorate

Table 2.2 Tower Hamlets Surplus School Places

Table 2.1 indicates the dramatic decline in the popularity of the Catholic boys' school from its maximum number of first place choices of 150 for the five forms of entry in 1966/7 to a mere 58 first place choices in 2000/1.

Table 2.2 reflects the decline in the school population of the borough and possibly the unpopularity of local schools with parents making schools in other boroughs their first choice. It also indicates that the closure of the Catholic boys' school would significantly ease the problem the borough had with the number of surplus school places.

A phrase in the Council documents mentioned 'the school's deficit giving concern.' A further request eliciting information from the local authority for the purposes of this research was insightful revealing that, because of the declining school roll, staff redundancies inevitably ensued when statutory grants to the school fell according to the funding formula which was based on the number of pupils on roll. These redundancies may reasonably be related to the poor academic standards noted when 6th Formers from the boys' school attended the girls' school referred to above, for a loss of teaching staff can be attributed to a lowering of educational standards in the school.

Additional requests showed that in 2005/6 when the financial accounts for the school were eventually closed, the local authority wrote off £177,804 being the school's deficit. For an accountant and its former Director of Finance for the borough, the financial circumstances are interesting, indicating a lack of budgeting and strategic control of the school by the local authority, together with the concomitant lack of value for public money spent.

Seeking to Resolve Problems

The wider failure of strategic planning and a consequent loss of political and administrative control in the borough were to feature in the devastating 1998 Ofsted led report on the borough as a whole, but particularly in its educational provision, despite the borough's education service and the borough being generously funded by the government. Although it can be argued that Ofsted

was not qualified to comment more widely on the provision of the borough's services, this argument is countered by the presence of the Audit Commission which was so qualified and was staffed by experienced accountants and administrators. The 1998 Ofsted report attributes the sorry state of affairs to the policy of Neighbourhood administration, or experimentation as it is described by Ofsted, instituted by the local authority in 1986.

In the meetings with the local authority officers following that with the Bishop it was observed that the previous problems of the borough were being addressed. At the 2000 meetings with the Director of Education, the recently appointed Director and her staff were obviously remedying the situation with professionalism and determination. The new Director could not have had an easy task because the GCSE results in the borough were abysmal (see Table 2.3).

PUPILS IN TOWER HAMLETS GAINING 5+GCSE A-C GRADES 1992-1999

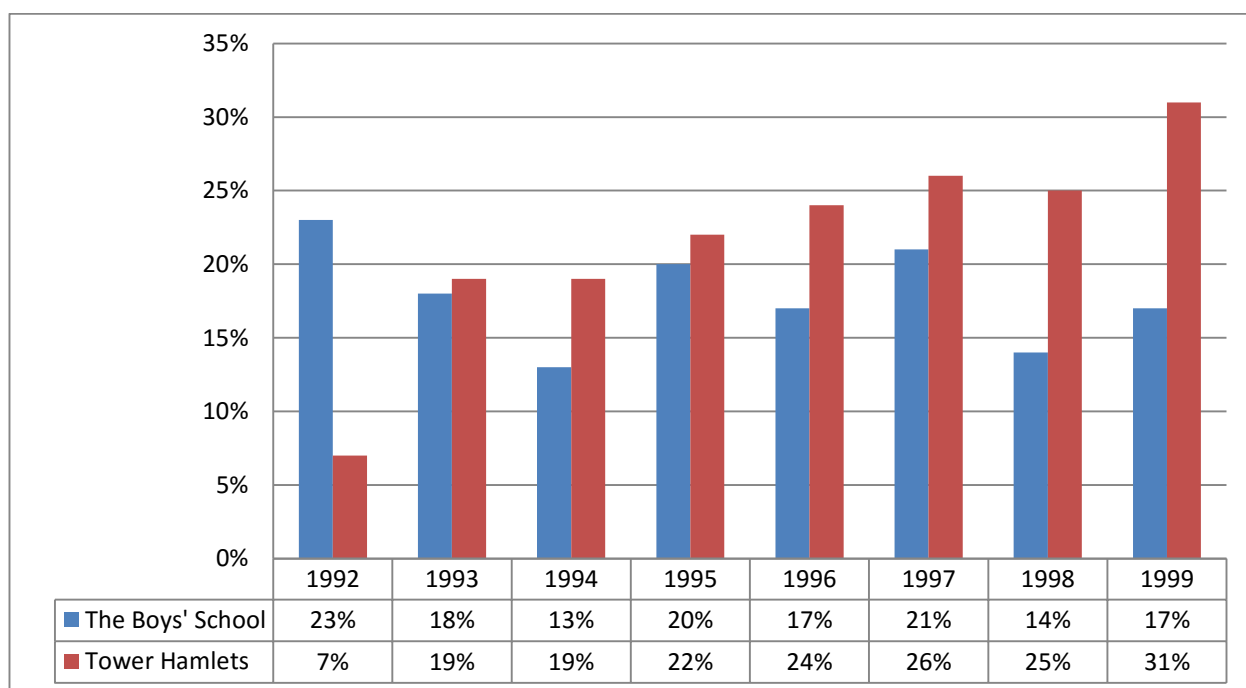


Table 2.3 Pupils in Tower Hamlets Gaining 5+ A-C Grades 1992-1999

Although the GCSE grades obtained by schools in the borough were poor those of the pupils in the boys' school were even worse than the grades obtained in borough schools generally. However, the other schools' results in the borough did improve, particularly in 1999, outstripping those of the boys'

school. It is probable from the significant rise in the borough's GCSE grades for 1999 that the still newly appointed Director of Education was already having an impact in driving up standards in the local authority's schools.

A memorandum in the local authority documents obtained records 155 pupil exclusions from the boys' school early in 2000 and 200 exclusions in the previous year. From a school roll of 516 in 2000 and 558 in 1999 the exclusion figures indicate serious behavioural problems and pupil disaffection in the school. They also triangulate with the practical experience complained of by the girls when they arrived for 6th Form tuition at the boys' school and by the staff of the girls' school when the boys attended at that school for tuition. Taken together, the budgetary deficits, staff redundancies, disciplinary problems and the poor academic achievements at GCSE level in 1999/2000 did not bode well for the boys' school's future.

The boys' school's quantitative woes and the qualitative reflections on them can usefully be set within problems external to the school, reminiscent of Bernstein's (1970) famous article on the effects of society on the education process (*supra*), for a researcher for the Times Education Supplement it referred to lawlessness in the area of the boys' school, coupled with the arrival of non-English speaking Asians as follows:

Racial tension is part of life here in Poplar. The school (the boys' school) is only about half a mile from the streets where the British National Party campaigned successfully on a council by-election two years ago, and staff apparently take to the street when trouble flares. "We drive around making sure our pupils are getting onto buses and home safely" (Deputy Head).

"Incidents are triggered off very easily – it tends to be the white and Afro-Caribbean kids against the most recent arrivals, the Asians." The school is set in the middle of a vast maze of council estates punctuated here and there by sections of Victorian terrace that now lead nowhere. Half the pupils are eligible for free school meals and 34% of the parents earn less than £4,500 a year. The reaction is always "Oh God, rather you than me." Friends who teach in Bromley say they wouldn't swap for any money (Gardiner, 1995).

From his personal knowledge of the area and continued involvement in voluntary work in the area after retirement from the Council in 1986, this researcher considers Gardiner's article is an accurate description of the social

and environmental problems of the once 'living architectural exhibition' of the early 1950s. By the 1990s the original occupants were mostly deceased or had vacated the many high-rise estates which were then inhabited as indicated above, firstly by families with problems from outside the borough, mainly white families, and then with families or individuals from the Caribbean whose youngsters found employment difficult. The whites and blacks fought each other until the arrival of the Asians when they found common ground in defending their respective territories, referred to locally as 'Manors,' from the newcomers. The situation was ripe for the British National Party to exploit, which it did at the Council by-election in 1993.

From the perspective of educational provision and the traditional desire of the Catholic Church in England and Wales to provide 'schools for the poor as effective as that which others offer' (First Catholic Bishops' Synodal letter, 1852), the new Poplar school built in 1951/3 and successively closed and reopened later can truly be described as a disaster. The extent of the problems at the boys' school were not fully known to the Head and governors of the girls' school, for at that time the boys' school refused to communicate with the girls' school. The documents obtained by this researcher were Council Committee reports of detail. Some even marked "Confidential" were, however, subject to release under the Freedom of Information Act, 2000 and not restricted under the Data Protection Acts. For example, a confidential report by the HMI Monitoring team (circa 1999) referred to the boys' school as 'being a very fragile institution, on the verge of collapse.' That probably, was the effective death sentence for the school.

In March 2000, the Head Teacher and Chairman of the Governors of the Catholic Girls' Secondary School in Tower Hamlets, now under the trusteeship of the Archdiocese of Westminster, referred to here as the diocese, (the Sisters of Mercy having handed the school to the diocese at no cost to the diocese) were asked to attend the meeting with the Bishop Chairman of the Diocesan Education Commission and the Diocesan Director of Education. The major concern was the imminent closure of the Catholic boys' school in Tower Hamlets. This had already been agreed between the statutory authorities and the trustees. Successive Ofsted inspections had resulted in the school being

put into 'Special Measures,' i.e. its budget had been withdrawn to be administered by the local education authority and it was being monitored by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools. None of these arrangements had been successful. As we have seen, the Bishop concluded by asking his visitors to "take on the boys".

For both Bishop and visitors this request had profound implications. The Bishop, like the late Cardinal Hume, reflected 'the settled authority of centuries' (Baker, 1993, pp117-118), also cited by Grace (2002, p32). In canonical terms, the lay people present shared in this authority, professing to be part of the People of God subsisting in Catholic Church (Canon 204), for each exercised in varying degrees through the sacrament of Baptism the right to exercise the threefold functions of Christ as priest, prophet and ruler to further the mission of the Church in the world in their own way and in communion with the Church (Kaslyn, 2000, pp245-247). The Bishop was exercising an ecclesial function in the request, for he had, in terms of Education, accepted as part of his role in the Church, the duty of making every possible arrangement for all the faithful to avail themselves of a Catholic education (Canon 794 §2). The visitors had also accepted an ecclesial function in that by acting in loco parentis for the Catholic pupils, they were obliged to do their best to promote the Catholic education of the children (Gravissimum Educationis (GE)-Declaration on Christian Education. 1965, Paragraphs 3, 6).

The proposed closure of the boys' school would deny Catholic parents and others responsible for the care of Catholic children of real freedom of choice of schools (GE 6, Dignitas Humanae (DH)—on the Dignity of the Human Person (1965) N5 and Canon 797). It was important for those present at the meeting to exercise their respective positions in the Church and society at large to provide, not only a good education in secular terms of subjects in the curriculum, but also to provide for the religious/spiritual, moral, social and physical education in the school according to the conscience of parents that entrusted their children to the care of the school. Moreover, they believed that their obligation as Catholic educationalists (GE, 7) was to provide an education that fitted the individual to exercise and develop talents as good

citizens for the common good of society. It was recognised by those present that a Catholic education has a dual role in common with that in other good schools, to provide instruction in subjects and to enable the individual, whether it be student or teacher, to develop as a thinking, reflective and morally active, social human being according to their intellectual and physical talents (Pring, 2004, pp37-38).

Although needing no explanation to each other at the meeting, there was an understanding that as active Catholics they had imbibed the teachings of the Catholic Church, both in educational and social terms and that they were drawing on Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital accumulated through the history of the Church. Those present at the meeting (and all Catholics) are deemed to have a true equality of dignity and act in co-operation to the building up the Church as the Body of Christ 'each according to their own condition and function' (Lumen Gentium - Light of Nations (1964, 32). In this mode there was a free and relaxed discussion at the Bishop's meeting. An accurate understanding of the meeting would be that the visitors, by virtue of their commitment to Catholic education, were predisposed to meet the Bishop's request to 'take on the boys'. Even if the framing of the request was colloquial and set in a relaxed atmosphere, it was clearly understood as very important. The meaning was significant and indicated that the request for potential co-operation by the visitors was a serious request by the Bishop in his capacity as the Head of the Local Church (Canon 427).

The practical difficulties of acceding to the request were the ones that concerned the Head and her Chairman. The Head was operating a successful Catholic girls' school which was over-subscribed and had, principally by her efforts, recently come together on a constricted site after being a split-site school for many years. Parents had confidence in the still relatively new Head Teacher who was developing the school on the Sisters of Mercy traditional and familiar policies of good academic education and the broader education of East End girls to enable them to contribute to society generally in the City jobs and professions for which most would now be employed. This was in contrast to the pre-war situation when the professions of lawyers, architects, medical doctors or teachers were normally beyond their aspirations, either through lack

of formal qualifications or lack of household income to support them through training.

There was a strong humanities team of teaching and support staff in the girls' school that organised debating, concerts, functions to help charities, visits abroad, to theatres, to art galleries and which encouraged sports. The Head was particularly keen that these arrangements should not be disrupted by introducing the ill-disciplined boys and changing the single-sex school into a co-educational one. Local Catholic parents had expressed a firm desire for single sex education, particularly for their daughters. The Head was aware of parents' wishes and that, probably, many would withdraw their daughters and send them to other good Catholic girls' schools outside the borough if the school became co-educational. These parents were most likely to be the ones of the academically able girls having aspirations to further themselves academically, economically and socially. The loss of the confidence of parents and of the girls could precipitate a downward spiral of the school in the same manner as that of the boys' school. With all of the Head's concerns her Chairman agreed, particularly from his local knowledge of the Catholic community. He therefore fully supported the Head.

In Tower Hamlets there had been a great change in the perception of women's role in society from the pre-war days. In the twenty-first century of comprehensive education local Catholic parents were keen on their daughters gaining good academic results at the school, proceeding to further or higher education, enjoying cultural experiences or travel and having an equal role in the professions and society with men. From many discussions with the parents of children at the school, it was the mothers who appeared more far-sighted than the fathers about the advantages of a good education for their daughters. The perception had disappeared of a woman's role as being restricted totally to housewifery once married.

At the Bishop's meeting the problem of human and contractual relations with the staff of the girls' school was discussed if boys were to be taught and provided for by existing staff. Teaching and non-teaching staff were considered as a single unit and worked co-operatively and informally with each

other in the girls' school and with the Head and her governors. The use of Christian names was the norm from the Head and Chairman through all staff, teaching or non-teaching, for all were part of a team and each had an equality of dignity in the role they performed. Staff members, whether teaching or non-teaching, were individually known to governors, who with the Head Teacher interviewed and appointed them, ensured their continued professional development and as the governing body of a voluntary aided school, employed them. Staff were contracted to a girls' school and any change in their conditions of employment would have to be discussed with them individually and as a group, and also very importantly, with their local trade union representatives. It was recognised that these discussions had to be carefully framed for they might be disconcerting and lower staff morale. Any change in the nature of the girls' school also required public notices and consultation. The local Catholic community was quiescent, tending to 'vote with its feet' but when roused could be very vocal, well organised and difficult, as was to emerge with a small group at a later date. Therefore, if the boys were to be accommodated for in any way it was imperative that the staff and the Catholic parents, particularly those of the girls at the school, would have to be happy and co-operative in the process.

The Head Teacher was politely forceful in stating her concerns, but she and the Chairman were keen to find a solution to the diocesan and the local problem of Catholic education for the boys which, because of the large catchment area of the Catholic secondary schools now that the Catholic population had declined, extended beyond Tower Hamlets to the neighbouring boroughs of Hackney, Newham and even further to Waltham Forest, Barking and Dagenham and the housing estates in parts of Islington where immigrants had settled.

It was, however, evident in 2000 that the girls' school site could not accommodate more pupils or 6th Form students. The new buildings erected when the school came together from being a split-site school were designed for the girls, toilet and changing room facilities only catered for the small number of males likely to be on site. The existing Poplar boys' school, although a well-equipped modern building with large playground space, had a

bad history and was too distant from the girls' school to be administered as a split-site school that would have the confidence of parents. The Head ruled this out of her thinking. She was adamant that in providing for the boys there would have to be a new boys' school on a site near the girls' school which could be governed and managed satisfactorily in tandem with the girls' school.

The discussion continued with the Bishop and his Director accepting the validity of the problems propounded. The Bishop appreciated that the visitors were not negative in their arguments, but they were reflective of probable outcomes if his request was badly handled. The visitors were therefore exploring all possibilities which would provide an effective solution to giving the boys a good Catholic schooling. They were both prepared in principle to cater for the boys' education and suggested that they, and particularly the Head Teacher, would seek to operate a new Catholic boys' school within a short distance from the girls' school; that the Head Teacher would be Head of both schools working with a unified staff across both schools under one governing body. They accepted there was no precedent for this though and it was agreed that the Head would arrange a meeting with the Director of Education for Tower Hamlets to discuss the possibilities. All preliminary discussions would be between the Head/Chairman of Governors and the Local Education Authority and the results would be reported to the Diocesan Director for acceptance and confirmation by the Diocesan Education Commission in accordance with the principles of solidarity and subsidiarity ingrained in the minds of all present as part of their Catholic habitus. It was accepted, without the need to articulate that if it came about, the new boys' school would be sponsored by the diocese.

Finally, a discussion took place on the possible name for a new school or schools. Although technically the arrangements were to be a federation of the two schools, school federation at that time did not legally exist in the public sector. 'Collegiate' was chosen as the public title for being softer sounding, more attuned to an academic arrangement and more likely to be acceptable locally and with the statutory authorities. 'Bishop Challoner' would remain in a title because this name was synonymous with the successful girls' school and

would denote that the Head Teacher was the principal teaching and management influence across both boys' and girls' schools.

An Agenda for Reform

Riley (2005, p118, Fig.7.1) offers an appropriate framework for analysis of the levers for change and reform that were available for the reform of Catholic education at secondary level in Tower Hamlets. These include the system drivers or pressures for change (the failure of the boys' school); the levers for change (the methods to steer the reform, initially in this instance the local authority); the partnerships for change (the diocese/girls' school and Tower Hamlets/DfE); the challenges (how to provide for the boys) and the achievements. At that time the main achievement was the request by the Bishop and its acceptance by the Head and her Chairman to do their best to provide for the continued Catholic schooling of the boys. There can be no question that as a successor of the Bishops at the first synod of the Catholic Bishops of England and Wales in 1851, the Bishop was following his predecessors in seeking to further Catholic education for the predominantly poor of east London and 149 years on had been able, through the success of Catholic schooling, to confidently entrust the task to lay people.

The damning Ofsted report (1998) on Tower Hamlets educational provision and its lack of strategic planning necessitated reform of the borough's overall direction. Although the Bishop's meeting concerned itself with Catholic secondary schooling in Tower Hamlets, the borough had a major problem that had been highlighted by Ofsted in that its educational provision was woeful and that its strategic planning had greatly suffered through political experimentation in the management of all its services. How, at that time, the political and administrative problems of the local authority would impact on the proposed negotiations for a new Catholic boys' school in the borough was unknown to the diocese or to the Head Teacher and her Chairman.

Recontextualising Riley (2005), 'the levers for change' to 'kick start' and steer the reform process in the borough lay with the elected local council, which in 2000 was in the early stages reversing the disastrous experimental policy of

the Neighbourhood System first instituted in 1986. The specific mechanism chosen for the reform of its educational provision was to appoint a new Director of Education in the confident expectation from her record of success in another local authority that she was the right person for the job. From participant observation of this Director, she had the capacity for confidence building and was prepared to become personally involved when the necessity arose. From her visits to the girls' school very soon after her appointment, she apparently had evaluated the Head and Governors of the girls' school as rapidly raising achievement on bringing that school together on a single site. The proposals put to her at the meetings in 2000 by the Head of the girls' school were innovative in enabling teaching and learning across two schools in a way that would be an effective and efficient use of financial and human resources. Further, the Director had at her disposal the financial resources to enable the proposals put to her to come to fruition. However ultimately she had to convince the Secretary of State through his senior civil servants of the legality and practicability of the proposals put to her by the Head Teacher and Governors.

Detailing Riley's framework, 'the partnerships for change' or the major stakeholders in the proposals were firstly the DfE, then the elected members of Tower Hamlets Council as the administering authority for education, the Diocese of Westminster which would be the sponsor of a new boys' school should the proposals find favour with the DfE and the Head and Governors of the girls' school who would have the task of implementing the proposals initiated at the Bishop's meeting. Later there would be another major stakeholder, the Muslim Bangladeshi community, when a site for the new boys' school was proposed by the Director of Education. Still later in the process of developing the new school complex, there would be numerous other major stakeholders within the local community, one of which was to renege on its original commitments. The reform therefore was a dynamic process requiring adaptability to achieve the desired end. Riley requires as part of her framework, evidence of achievement during the cycle of reform. This research will provide such evidence on the basis that the reform agenda and development up to 2010 were being continually monitored by the major stakeholders.

Riley's final point in her framework relates to the challenges faced in the process. These would prove difficult but exciting and many could not have been foreseen. It is argued, both that they could not have been overcome without the help of the major stakeholders involved, and that they could not have been understood properly without recourse to disciplined research methods.

The Bishop's information and follow-up request came as a surprise to the representatives of the girls' school. Yet, though they had not discussed the matter between themselves, a close agreement is evident between the Head and her Chairman on the potential difficulties of 'taking on the boys' and on their joint desire to maintain the improving standards and popularity of the girls' school. Even at that stage in their working relationship a good rapport had been built between them for understanding the future for the school in a rapidly changing social environment.

This spirit of agreement of thinking on the girls' school was then transmitted to their considering the prospect of successfully providing for the boys. During all that was to follow for ten years the rapport between them would be consolidated and they were both fully supported by their respective families during the difficult and often dangerous times to be revealed in this study. This family support is a great strength in the provision of Catholic schooling and should embrace the whole Catholic community (Canon 209). The Church continues to place great emphasis on the supportive nature of family life as a benefit for society. The family is seen as 'a fundamental opportunity for building such a communion (of persons) and is constituted by the educational exchange between parents and children in which each gives and receives' (Familiaris Consortio – of Family Partnership, 1981). However, in Tower Hamlets and the surrounding boroughs there were many fractured families that could not meet the ideal of the Church and this necessitated great understanding by teachers when dealing with difficult parents or children who often moved in and out of temporary accommodation provided for them by their local authority, or which they managed to find for themselves, but which in so doing they often put themselves at the mercy of unscrupulous landlords.

As a consequence of such continual domestic upheavals the children were often unsure of themselves or emotionally disturbed. From the previous era of settled Catholic poor families in the area, the social situation of many had declined and where there had been some stability in family and neighbourly relationships, there was in 2000 greater instability and a return to conditions of poverty. This was particularly true with those families which had experienced civil war in their native countries. This uncertainty and emotional disturbance, it can be argued, had very seriously affected the boys in the Poplar school and may have contributed to the large number of exclusions recorded in the local authority documentation and referred to above.

A Possible Solution Emerges

The Head and her Chairman of Governors of the girls' school could have declined the Bishop's request in 2000 to provide for the boys and reported this back to their governing body, which would most likely have supported them in concentrating on the continuing improvement of the girls' school, now on one site (this was even recognised in the local authority documents obtained for this study as a reason for its continuing improvement and popularity). Rejection of the Bishop's request could have been further justified inasmuch as the school had minimal facilities for boys and the Catholic parents strongly preferred single-sex education. However, as Catholics and in the spirit of *communio* (communion) in the Church, the Head and Chairman accepted they had a duty to assist in passing on the boys' Catholic faith to future generations. This may be considered the essence of why they decided to positively explore the Bishop's request and undertake to do their best to 'take on the boys.'

In theological and canonical terminology their position as educators was important for, 'in their own special way, as lay persons, they are consecrated to God in promoting the salvific mission of the Church' (Lumen Gentium 33 (LG) and Canon 207§2). They were therefore obliged, in working out their role as Catholics, to make a whole-hearted effort to promote the growth of the Church and its continued sanctification (LG 41 and Canon 210). Equally, however, in meeting these obligations and undertaking the task put to them there was no meek acquiescence for they had a right and a duty, in keeping

with their knowledge and competence, to make known to the Bishop their views on matters which concerned them (Canon 212 §3). As personalities, the Head and Chairman were not meek and acquiescing individuals for they had successfully carried on the tradition of the Sisters of Mercy by maintaining a good school in an inner-city area notable for a multiplicity of problems, including recent problems encountered with the local authority through the maladministration of the borough's Neighbourhood system (Woods et al 2013). The school had, during this period, even been accused of 'siphoning off the best of the girls in the borough' by a senior official of the local authority who seemingly resented the relatively good GCSE results by the girls and had seen some of the older girls undertaking Saturday work in the more prestigious shops on the periphery of the City and undertaking front-of-house reception work at the 4* Tower Hotel in the borough. The accusation that the Catholic girls' school siphoned off the 'best' girls was patently false because there was no academic or social selection of pupils for entry to the girls' school and the girls had obtained their jobs by their own developed personalities, educational attainments and practical abilities. The most the school could claim was that it had helped to develop these, as any school in the borough could have done.

For the Head and the Chairman, in the tradition of the Sisters, not only was there a spiritual consideration in their educational roles, but also a temporal one, 'for each according to their condition has an obligation to permeate and perfect the temporal order of things with the spirit of the Gospel' (Canon 225§2). Both Head and Chairman came from the same background of poor families where education enabled greater opportunities in life not only for themselves but for their children and others. Their own Catholic education had consciously shaped their values and they were now communicating those values to future generations (Walsh 1993, p104). They viewed education as enhancing spiritual, social and physical talents and, as the Head was to declare in the High Court in 2006, also as enabling the pupils to earn a living, which is a powerful incentive to succeed and enhance one's dignity, when one comes from a financially poor background. The freedom of the Head and Chairman to act in secular affairs was assured and they were sufficiently experienced to express their views constructively in what was a profound

matter- the education of its boys – for the local Church of which the Bishop was the Head (Canon 227). Above all, and considered as experts in this field of knowledge they had an obligation as Catholics to give assistance to the Bishop (Canon 228§2) in taking on the boys and they were prepared to do this from their experience, reflection on what was being asked, action to be taken, understanding of the context of their task and finally an evaluation of the task when it was eventually undertaken (Ignation Pedagogy: a practical approach 1993).

Providing school accommodation for the boys, once the reasons for so doing were in the minds of the Head and Chairman, presented greater problems than *why* they should, for they both had experience of boys' schools. The Head Teacher was adamant that for teaching purposes the boys' school was too far distant to become a split site school. Further, its history of successive failures on the same site since it opened in 1953 indicated it was in the wrong location, was poorly sited for access by public transport and the surrounding area was at times extremely unsafe. In this the Head was fully supported by her Chairman. She proposed that she and the Chairman would endeavour to accommodate the boys, but on their terms, subject to acceptance by the trustees on the advice of the Diocesan Director of Education. This suggestion was designed to ensure that whatever the outcome, the final decision on the future of Catholic schooling for the boys of Tower Hamlets was to be made by the diocese. There was therefore a clear line of decision making.

The terms explored and finally agreed with the Bishop and his Director were that there should to be two distinct Catholic voluntary aided secondary schools federated as one with a single staff and a single governing body working across both schools and the existing 6th Form which would still be formally attached to the girls' school. The 6th Form would be expanded and eventually be open to the boys who would have equal priority of entry with the girls. The intention to expand the 6th Form was to ensure the possibility of students having a good selection of subjects at 'A' level or similar BTEC standard and that students from other schools who were not necessarily Catholics would be accepted for the 6th Form, but would be asked to respect the ethos of the Catholic environment. The 6th Form would be of mixed-sex to introduce the

students to the adult world of the university and of work. It was accepted that if this was to succeed existing accommodation in the 6th Form would have to be expanded. However, this was also a vision to embrace the wider community, by admitting non-Catholics. This agreement to formally accept students from other schools was later to play an important part in enabling the school to successfully overcome problems and to develop further policies embracing the wider community, but embracing the wider community also created later problems, stirred controversy and created tensions within the local Catholic community. However, it is known that 'change rarely comes without controversy' (Holman, 2014, p 143).

If the ideas generated at the Bishop's meeting were to come to fruition, a new building for the boys would have to be found conveniently sited near the girls' school and the 6th Form facilities would have to be improved. Legal approval had to be obtained for both the new boys' school and the proposed significant changes to the girls' school with its attached 6th Form. The statutory situation would need to be clarified because it was appreciated the suggestions were novel. If approvals were forthcoming a new statutory notice or notices would need to be issued for consultation in the name of the diocese as sponsor. A discussion ensued on a name with which to describe the new proposals of the boys' and the girls' schools being managed as a single unit but admitting and educating the sexes separately. As already seen, if the proposals came to fruition it was decided the term 'Collegiate' would be used to denote to the public that there were two schools, each with its unique Department of Education (DfE) number for identification but working as one, with the 6th Form remaining part of the girls' school, but later to be open to the boys and to the wider community. To comply with the known wishes of the local Catholic parents for single-sex education it was deemed essential that if the new boys' school was approved by the LEA and the DfE, it would clearly be designated as a separate school from the existing girls' school.

The advantages of the proposed arrangements discussed at the meeting included the economies of scale in sharing costs across both schools and the greater efficiency in teaching and governance arising from a single unit of established management and government. Economies of scale were

considered particularly important at the time of the meeting in 2000 because, although funding to all schools in the borough had been withheld under the local authority Neighbourhood system when too great a proportion of the Government Grant for Education had been retained for central administration rather than distributed to schools (Ofsted, 1998), the girls' school had been particularly harshly treated by the system. However, it was accepted at the 2000 meeting that there was no legal precedent for more than one school in the maintained sector to be governed and managed as a single unit and this was a major flaw in the practical solution posed. The proposed arrangement therefore depended upon the initial agreement by Tower Hamlets and then formally by the DfE.

Viewed in retrospect, the decisions arrived at in the Bishop's meeting could be considered very high-risk (or visionary), most importantly because there was a school building available for the boys on the Poplar site that, in the proposal, was going to be abandoned by the Church. In addition, it was not known if the local authority would agree to put the federated concept, including a new site for a Catholic boys' school, favourably to the DfE, or how it would be viewed by cautious civil servants and Ministers aware of the recent history of poor educational administration by Tower Hamlets Council (Ofsted, 1998). It was known by all present at the Bishop's meeting that the Muslim community was growing in influence and that there was the possibility some councillors of that faith might not wish to see a new Catholic school. In financial terms capital funding for a new school was not in place and it would not be possible to open a new voluntary aided school without Government funding. Even if capital and revenue funding became available, staffing would present problems because the existing staff might decline to amend their contracts to teach boys in a different school. Even if all was put in place, the parents/carers of the Catholic boys in the catchment area, fearful of another debacle, might not select the new Catholic school as a first, or any choice.

An answer to the question of why the concept of school federation was first proposed by the representative governors and later developed by the governing body of the Catholic girls' secondary school in Tower Hamlets appears to be that it was conceived as a practical solution to a crisis that was

going to arise in Catholic education at secondary level for the boys in the borough upon the impending closure of the Poplar-based Catholic boys' school. The governors, as Catholics believed themselves responsible in the Church for ensuring future Catholic schooling for young Catholics and they had a responsibility together with the Diocesan Bishop to Catholic parents for providing Catholic education to the young. However, their ideas of how this was to be achieved met with later resistance. Tensions eventually grew when a group of Catholics, supported by the parish priest of the nearby Catholic church which was to be a focal point of the later development of a new school complex, strongly objected to the school's policies of inclusion. The priest and the group maintained that the distinctive nature of a Catholic school would be lost.

Unfortunately, these tensions led to a dispute that could not be resolved amicably despite the good offices of the diocese and was eventually escalated by the group of dissenters resorting to civil action in the High Court against the diocesan trustees and the governors of the federated school. The tensions were later ameliorated and hopefully permanently resolved by the charitable action of the diocese in not enforcing the financial damages awarded by the Court against the dissenters.

Prior to reporting on fieldwork conducted for the study, consideration is given in the following chapter to theoretical and methodological aspects which are to be embedded in the empirical study. These are intended to support a more analytical and deeper understanding and appreciation of events, beyond a mere recording of happenings.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH PARADIGMS AND RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter discusses research paradigms and research methods and concludes that for the purposes of the study mixed methods is most appropriate because using quantitative and qualitative data together adds to the thoroughness of the research and enables a more accurate arrival of the truth.

In Chapter 1 the main research question was stated in the following terms:

“What tensions arose between the decisions of inclusiveness and distinctiveness in the development of the Catholic School Federation in Tower Hamlets and were these resolved?”

A subsidiary question to be explored is:

“Why and how did the governors of the Catholic girls’ school develop an original concept of the Federated School which later became part of the Education Act 2002?”

Consideration was given to an appropriate research design and research method for this study. Whichever method was to be adopted, the paramount aim of the research was the intention to arrive at an objective and truthful presentation as is possible. This is the aim of all research for it to be credible. Since Kuhn (1962), being credited with conceiving the idea of the paradigm as a description of the residuary of research methodologies, a paradigm is accepted as a convenient way of looking at research phenomena. Methodology in research is now seen to reside in ‘paradigms.’ (Cohen et al, 2011, p5). Of the two main paradigms in educational research - the interpretivist and the positivist - the interpretivist is characterised by a concern for the behaviour or the actions of individuals in their current or future activities, (ibid, p17) and is applicable to the infinite vagaries of human interactions. It encourages and enables the researcher to gain some insight into the motivations of the individuals. The positivist paradigm in the social sciences acts more mechanistically and may be likened to its use in the natural sciences where an hypothesis can be formulated and tested for validity in closely controlled situations and every attempt is made to eliminate human

influence on the results. In these closely controlled situations the conditions can be repeated to test the truth of the hypothesis, or in Popper's terms, preferably tested until destruction (Popper, 1972). The strictly logical, mathematical aspect of positivism therefore lends itself to the interpretation of phenomena when they are capable of being measured and quantified (Pring, 2004, p46). It is argued here that it is interpretivism which better gives more insight in the field of human endeavour and which copes better with the dynamics of daily existence. For positivism, it is the *interpretation* of the results of experimentation which is most important and these may not be immediately evident to those who formulated the hypothesis and conducted the process by which the results were achieved. Even within the positive paradigm interpretivism is considered important. Pring argues that therefore a false dualism exists between the positivist and interpretivist positions (Pring, 2004, p44).

A major problem for the social researcher is to respond to the dynamics of situations and the reality of events over which she or he has no, or very limited, control. In reporting these events the researcher also brings a perception of them which may be limited, incomplete and influenced by past experiences and knowledge, but which has some stability (Pring, 2004, p56). The best that can be done is therefore an approximation to the truth of the happenings researched. Bernstein (1973) even suggested that a problem with the interpretative perspective and therefore with its subjective reports is that the reports may be incomplete and misleading, with the researcher interpreting and possibly causing the participants to vary their actions on incomplete or misleading evidence. However, this situation may also arise within the positivist paradigm where failure to critically appraise reports of experimentation may lead to erroneous actions based on the report findings.

MIXED METHODS RESEARCH

The controversy in the social sciences between those who advocate either the qualitative or the quantitative paradigm to the exclusion of the other and the heat apparently generated by proponents/opponents appears to be arcane. Oakley's (2000, pp22-43) description of the disputes elevates them to 'wars,' such was the ferocity of the argument at the time. Fortunately for progress in

educational research the debate is now quiescent, it being accepted that it seems the most obvious thing in the world to mix methods (Thomas, 2009, p140), for each method has advantages, the quantitative particularly in clarifying a conclusion from the enumeration of orderly phenomena in the natural and in the social spheres, rather than the making of vague assertions. Given this study's emphasis on human intentions to further education provision and community relations, the leaning is to the subjectivist philosophical position. However, some recognition is also given to the positivist viewpoint from which the quantitative (statistical) paradigm is deemed to emanate and quantitative methods are used when appropriate to illustrate particular aspects of the research. It will be a matter of 'fitness for purpose' (Cohen et al, 2011, p604).

The qualitative method is apposite for explaining the less orderly phenomena in language that ought to be understandable to a wider public audience than the specialist statisticians prevalent in positivism, whose formulae are often incomprehensible to the uninitiated. To one who has come late to the dispute, the justification for using either the quantitative or qualitative method seems appropriate in both the natural and the social sciences. Usher (1996) notes Kuhn's argument that the physical world should not be seen as philosophically independent from the social by citing the example of quantum physics where events do not have well defined causes, since they occur spontaneously, depending on the dynamics of the system. This example illustrates a possible theoretical rapprochement between advocates of either paradigm or approach to undertaking research.

As well as their respective advantages in framing and clarifying the results of research studies, the methods discussed above have their disadvantage. Within either paradigm, attempting to draw specific conclusions from a small numeric population is dangerous in that it may be unrepresentative of a larger numeric population which it purports to represent. This is particularly likely to be so when attempting to generalise from a single or small number of case studies and it is recognised this can be a valid criticism of attempts to offer definitive conclusions from this study. Even sophisticated mathematical techniques to test conclusions in large statistical populations are not

necessarily successful. An interesting example arose in the course of this study relating to the 2001 census under-enumeration of the human population of Tower Hamlets when The Office for National Statistics (ONS) published a warning on its website of the borough's under-enumeration because of a significant number of the census forms dispatched to households were not returned or properly completed. Tower Hamlets still has considerable strategic problems in service delivery and planning because of the unreliability of its population statistics. In this study numbers based on Tower Hamlets human population statistics are treated with caution and caveats abound that official statistics under-enumerate the actual resident population. Government grants to local authorities are substantially based on official population statistics for the respective administrative authorities and consequently Tower Hamlets Council was probably deprived of additional grant aid from the Government, despite Ofsted (1998, paragraph 7) maintaining it was the best funded Local Education Authority per pupil in the country under the Standard Spending Assessment (SSA) for Education. The SSA incorporates grant for levels of poverty thus indicating severe poverty levels in the borough, despite the under-enumeration.

To counteract the potential unreliability of its official population total in the 2011 Census on which its Government grants would be based, Tower Hamlets Council made strenuous efforts to persuade the local population of the importance of properly completing and returning the census forms for locally the reluctance of many residents to identify themselves to the authorities was well known. This will later become evident in the field study for this project.

The possible success of the Tower Hamlets Council's publicity campaign may be gauged from the large increase in population count between 2001 and 2011, incorporating the main period of this study.

2001	Population 196,000 (to nearest 1,000)
2011	Population 255,000 (to nearest 1,000)

This represents an increase of 29.6%. Importantly for educational provision, the statistics show that over one-third of the 2011 population appeared to be under the age of 16. The increase has great relevance for the provision of education and other services in Tower Hamlets, making strategic planning an

imperative. This is equally true in the provision of Catholic schooling, because significant numbers of immigrant Catholics escaping from persecution or discrimination may prefer anonymity to being officially recorded. From frequent reports in the media of arrests in Tower Hamlets for a variety of offences, residents in Tower Hamlets are often in England illegally and naturally wish to conceal their presence from the authorities. It is therefore possible, even probable, that the 2011 population figures may be understated, it being unlikely that many households converted to full co-operation with the authorities of which they are, from their overseas experiences, suspicious. It can be seen, therefore, that official statistics are not necessarily accurate and should be treated with caution.

The qualitative paradigm has its practical disadvantages, for usually there is a large amount of disparate material to be analysed which is not easily susceptible to analysis or to computer input methods, though there is helpful software available for the analysis of interview data. However, language imperfections may reduce the quality of the electronically produced results whether by the researcher mis-categorising responses to questions or by interviewees not comprehending the point of the question. These misunderstandings are evident daily in the Courts of Law even where strict rules of evidence are available to clarify what is spoken or written. Language is imprecise, particularly when interpreted from another language and may not even be understood (Pring, 2014, p202). In the school that is the subject of this study, up to 75 different languages were spoken as first languages in the homes of pupils and misunderstandings often arose. One important example was over a Baptismal Certificate produced to the school where the child was baptised into the Church of England because the lone parent, who did not speak English, regularly attended a Church of England Eucharist believing it to be a Catholic Mass. An Anglican Parish Church was allowed to be used by Catholics for the Mass and other services during the building of a new Catholic church when the original foundations of the Catholic Church were discovered to be irreparably damaged from war-time bombing. The Anglican priest and his 'High Church' Eucharistic Service were, to the lone mother of the child, indistinguishable from a Catholic priest celebrating Mass. When the parent indicated she wanted her child to be baptised he obliged. The child was readily

admitted to the Catholic school by the governors although not canonically Catholic.

Both quantitative and qualitative paradigms and methods therefore have advantages or limitations and are subject to human misunderstandings. Silverman succinctly stated 'no method of research, quantitative or qualitative, is intrinsically better or worse than any other' (Silverman, 2005, p6). One finds it difficult to disagree with him.

The mixed methods approach to research is sub-headlined in Cohen et al (2011, p21. 1.13) as 'a new paradigm?' referencing Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) who add 'a research paradigm whose time has come.' It appears that the 2011 7th edition of Cohen et al has heralded a new dawn for researchers to respectably gather the broadest field of data to assist educational research. The mixed method paradigm is defined 'as where the researcher combines methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study' (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p27). Thus, mixed methods are used in this research study. Yin (2009, p62) avers that mixed methods are particularly appropriate for a case study and this approbation gives added legitimacy to the use of a combination of methods appropriate to the particular circumstances of this study. Use is therefore made of primary (collected) and secondary (available data) quantitative as well as qualitative material in the confident expectation that this enhances a more thorough understanding and better enables 'thick descriptions' (Geertz cited in Denzin, 1973; 2001). In this study mixed methods is considered to offer distinct advantages and no significant disadvantages in the research, provided that caveats are issued where appropriate.

In often claiming to be a participant observer being present in his capacity as Chairman of Governors while observing processes recorded in this study, this researcher accepts that in order to arrive at the truth, or as objective an approximation of the truth as is deemed possible, he has to do all that is reasonable to demonstrate his avoidance of bias. For, with education the first rule is the intention of truth (Walsh 1993, p30). Bearing in mind his epistemological predilection for the subjective approach and his declared

religious convictions, this researcher considers truthful research and reporting are patently necessary if the research is to be considered credible. Hopefully his legal training will assist him in his recognition of bias and enable him to consider alternatives to that which on reflection appears to him to be a biased observation. All evidence collected on which judgement is made will therefore be subjected to triangulation from other sources or methods where possible and offered to others for objective critical comment.

A considerable amount of data researched is in the form of the narration of events and it is considered particularly necessary that these be verified from accredited sources, mostly from official documentation obtained under the Freedom of Information Act. Visual observations referred to will likewise be triangulated from other sources.

The use of questionnaires or surveys presented problems for this study. Strong advice from Council Officers (and personal experience) was that requesting local people to have their views recorded in any medium would be counter-productive to trust and co-operation. This researcher was warned that note-taking observed by participants or onlookers at the time of interviewing or meeting them could possibly result in 'considerable unpleasantness.' It was stressed that 'People are touchy about those things.' Although frustrating, the reticence by many locals in trusting strangers was understandable. It has been indicated above that numbers of those resident in Tower Hamlets, legally or illegally, may have been betrayed in their former countries by individuals in authority and discriminated against or persecuted and they were consequently reluctant to give information that might be used to identify them or their relatives and friends. This mentality had even percolated to the generations who have long been settled in England and the prevailing philosophy was 'put nothing in writing and say as little as possible.' Personal information or opinion if imparted outside the close family was therefore likely to be unreliable. However, the parental questionnaires returned on school Review and Open Evenings gave anonymous opinions on the school in a safe and secure atmosphere and could not be traced to an individual. It is considered the information provided in this manner gives a fair view of the school by those attending the Evenings and will be used in the research.

CHOICE OF STUDY APPROACH

When considering a research design for this empirical study, a case study approach appeared appropriate. However, because of the geographical and social nature of the area to be researched it was deemed appropriate to introduce some background knowledge and experience to enable a greater appreciation of the events recorded (Denzin, 2001) and this has been attended to in previous chapters.

Following Bassey (1999), this is an empirical enquiry which is conducted within a localised boundary of space and time. The localised boundary is that of Catholic secondary schooling in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets which, apart from the City of London, is geographically the smallest of the London Boroughs but one of the most densely populated, with areas of extreme poverty. The time period over which the study is conducted is also convenient because it commenced in 2000 with the invitation from the Bishop Chairman of the Westminster Diocesan Education Commission to meet him and his Director of Diocesan Education prior to his departure to become Archbishop of Birmingham. It conveniently ends in 2010 with the formal opening of a £40 million school complex by the Bishop, now returned to the Westminster Diocese as its Archbishop, and his Auxiliary who had overseen the developments in the ten years period as the successor Chairman of the Diocesan Education Commission. Both were accompanied by the original Diocesan Director of Education and his successor. The year 2010 also saw the retirement of the Head Teacher who had borne the burden of the exciting developments and her Chairman of Governors, he (the researcher) after 35 years continuous Chairmanship of firstly the girls' school and then of the federated school.

Yin offers a definition of case studies having a central tendency to illuminate a decision or decisions taken and implemented, why they were taken, how they were implemented and with what result (2009, pp17-18). This research is intended to illuminate decisions taken and implemented over the ten year period, but to enable greater insights into the events reported in the research during the decade between 2000 and 2010 some historical background has

been included. In the presentation of policies to the governors of the school for decision taking the Head Teacher played a major role as she did in implementing them throughout the study and she is a central figure to emerge from the research. However that which was achieved could not have happened without the considerable support of the two Local Education Authority's Directors of Education who successively held office during the decade of the study period. The final agreements to proposals were made by the diocesan trustees and the statutory authorities, the statutory authorities being the DfE and Tower Hamlets. Tower Hamlets had two major roles throughout the period, that of the Local Education Authority and that as the Planning Authority. Without the co-operation of the Planners working in concert with the other departments of the local authority, the environmental and economic innovations which were brought about by a new school complex could not have happened. Although officials made proposals it was elected councillors and Government Ministers who approved them and which were supported by the influential local Member of Parliament. There were also other decision makers, notably the local community of non-Catholics and the Catholic community, for without the combined agreement of all parties, the project to fund the initial accommodation in a local authority establishment then occupied by Muslim young women, would have been still-born. One might reasonably suggest that the active midwife in bringing all these decisions to a difficult birth was the Head Teacher of the girls' school, who became the Executive Head of the first federated school.

The definition offered by Yin (2009) is, as he suggests, an all-encompassing method of embracing design, data collection techniques and specific approaches to data analysis. The following is therefore intended to illuminate Yin's definition in that this study is considered to be unique within defined boundaries of place, time and phenomena. As a case study it is therefore particularly suitable in capturing the complexity of the relevant situations, educational, social and administrative, appertaining in Tower Hamlets during the period chosen, 2000-2010. Moreover, it gives an opportunity to represent reality (Cohen et al 2011, p129).

In this representation of reality, as truthfully and as accurately as the fieldwork and accumulated documentary data allow, the research focuses on decisions made by individuals who, on behalf of their respective organisational bodies developed and allowed to be developed, original solutions to local problems. In the circumstances of the time when seeking these solutions, considerable personal and professional risk was incurred, principally by the Head Teacher. Additionally, the case study design appears extremely suitable for enabling 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973; Denzin, 1973 and 2001) and for this researcher, legitimises retrospective participant observation in his role as Chairman of Governors intending an appreciative and fair, but critical analysis of documentary and other data.

It is argued that this enquiry may be justified on the above grounds because it is of special interest, having original conceptual features that seemingly led to the principle of school federations being incorporated in the Education Act 2002 (Section 24). From this first school federation another original concept appears to have arisen, that of the Urban Learning Village which later embraced a Local Area Partnership with Tower Hamlets Council, whereby the Catholic voluntary aided school managed a large part of the local authority's Youth and Community Service in an area significantly populated by the Muslim community. Stake (1995, p.xi) suggests 'We study a case when its self is of a very special interest; we look for the detail of the interaction.' It is hoped that this study is of very special interest and that the detail of the interaction is also of special interest.

There are objections to the case study method which must be recognised and can be countered. Flyvbjerg (2006) offers a table of objections and counters to them.

Table of Objections and Counters (after Flyvbjerg 2006)

OBJECTIONS	COUNTERS
1 General knowledge is more valuable than context specific knowledge.	1 Universals not possible in human affairs.
2 Generalisations are not possible from a single case and therefore make no additions to scientific development.	2 Formal generalisation is over-valued as a source of scientific development. The force of a single example is understated.
3 Case study is only useful in the first phase of a research process. It is only useful for general hypotheses.	3 Case study is useful for both generalising and testing hypotheses, but not limited to these activities.
4 Case study confirms hunches and pre-conceived ideas.	4 There is no greater bias in case study towards confirming preconceived notions than other forms of research.
5 It is difficult to summarise case studies into general propositions or theories.	5 The difficulty in summarising case studies is due to the properties of the realities studied, not the research method.

Table 3.1 Table of Objections and Counters (after Flyvbjerg 2006)

Pring (2004, p42), however, insists that despite the many objections to case study research, the insights a case study design can bring are of value without which distinctive features of a situation cannot be fully understood, although he also makes the point that events are understood for different purposes and the degree of understanding required depends on those purposes. Pring's 'degree of understanding' appears to have similarities to Bernstein's 'recognition rule' for it 'essentially enables appropriate realisations to be put

together' (Bernstein, 2000, p17). That is, without some understanding of a situation, insight is most unlikely.

Some two years before her 65th birthday, the Executive Head discussed with her Chairman of Governors her desire to retire at the age of 65. By then a new school complex would be fully operative and the ten years of intensive and often traumatic work recorded in this study would be completed. The academic results of the pupils during the period were already outstanding and the staffing was stable, co-operative and dedicated. The school had accumulated many distinctions, enabling the Head to have a clear conscience that she would leave an excellent school to her successor. Similarly, and nearing the age of 80, her Chairman could not be expected to continue for long, particularly because the diocese had continually extended his normal eight years period as a Foundation Governor. In the event the diocese decided for him and he too retired at the same time as the Head.

In expectation and anticipation of the advent of the changes to come under new governance and headship of the federated school, the Chairman discussed with the Head his decision to undertake research on the period from the 2000 meeting with the Bishop to the time of the Head's retirement in 2010. She approved and put the matter to the Governors who agreed the school would give access to documentation and help if asked. The Catholic nature of this school would be central to the research study and a prime focus of the study would be on the nature of the school-community relations during the period of the study.

The prospect of the research project was then put to the local authority and every help was promised. No problems were foreseen. However, to safeguard the officials of Tower Hamlets and himself, the Chairman of Governors, now metamorphosed as a researcher, resolved that all requests for information would be made under the Freedom of Information Act 2000. From his former governmental and local authority background he was aware that he might be seen to be receiving preferential treatment or being given unauthorised access to confidential information if the requests were not formal. Official and quasi-official matters in Tower Hamlets often appear in the media to the detriment of

the authority and individuals concerned with the authority and the proposed research could be irreparably damaged by adverse media publicity. He was also aware from other voluntary work that access to information should not be a given where restricted under the Data Protection Acts and this was mentioned in all requests for information to safeguard staff and himself.

Where fieldwork was planned the researcher decided he would be accompanied by a senior Tower Hamlets official known to all the managers of outreach establishments and to the majority of the youths and people using the establishments. He considered this necessary because he would possibly be meeting vulnerable young and elderly people who may be using places to be visited. The official would be a useful witness should difficulties arise and he was therefore accompanied on all field trips. In fact, it was his practice at all times when visiting around the school to be in company with an appropriate member of staff although making sure he had access to places and people without interference.

The diocese was also very co-operative when approached on the proposed research and at the informal 'retirement' discussion with the then Bishop Chairman of the Diocesan Education Commission and his Diocesan Director of Education agreed to give help. Thus, the main 'gatekeepers' were approached, the purport of the proposed research project was outlined to them and every help promised. This was done verbally. No problems were subsequently encountered with requests for information or on the arrangements for visiting, meeting and informally interviewing people in the manner advised, always noting the local reluctance to answer formal questions or co-operate in interviewing. All preliminary and subsequent research was done openly and ethically. Everything planned and undertaken has been practicable and no pressure has been put on the researcher by gatekeepers wishing to influence results. At no time have promises been made to or received by the researcher that would affect the independence and integrity of the research. In fact no promises or pressures arose. Ethics approval was obtained in accordance with Institute of Education requirements.

Reflecting on the process of negotiating approvals with the gatekeepers at such a very early conceptual stage of the research, great reliance was placed on mutual trust and the ethics of confidentiality. School files were made available covering aspects of the proposed research and photocopies were made with approval. These also covered the Minutes of the Local Area Partnership. In the planning one did not know how a new Head and governing body would view requests for information on past events, for they would almost certainly have their own priorities and therefore advanced planning was deemed prudent while knowledgeable persons were in post. Fortunately, with the co-operation received and the documents obtained, the project has proved feasible.

The germ of an idea to undertake an academic study of the development of the federated school occurred a year after the opening of the new boys' school in 2001. In 2002 the Head Teacher had reported visits from senior DfE officials (including the Permanent Secretary) soon after the boys' school had transferred from its first temporary site and into temporary buildings she had acquired on behalf of the governors. The DfE officials had viewed accommodation for both the girls' and the boys' schools which were now on adjacent sites. They carefully perused the records kept and the recorded structure of governance and management across both the schools. Fortunately the Head Teacher had ensured details of operations were carefully recorded and decisions on which the working arrangements made were clearly put into writing. The DfE officials were obviously impressed with what they saw for soon after the first series of visits another senior DfE official arrived, this time from the DfE's Voluntary Aided Schools' Capital Section based in Doncaster. The Head and the Chairman attended the meeting with him, going through the problems of accommodating the boys, the restrictive nature of the sites for both schools and the location of the temporary buildings. The result was a project approval addressed to the Head Teacher for a £30 million building complex. This was passed to the diocese as trustee responsible for the school. From the beginning of the discussions with the local authority following the Bishop's meeting in 2000, the Head Teacher had ensured there was an 'audit trail' record kept. Her filing was meticulous and was later to prove helpful in gathering information for this proposed research undertaking.

Serious gathering of information after the Governors' approval began and was categorised under headings relating to the growth of the federated school, the role of the Head Teacher in the local Catholic school environment and her development as Executive Head. The Urban Learning Village development; the Local Area Partnership and the environmental/social imprint on the area were all recorded. The documents obtained from the school for the research contain both qualitative and quantitative data, most of which was familiar to this researcher. The quantitative data were checked with the senior Assistant Director, a mathematician, for accuracy.

Fortunately, for the purpose of the research a full transcript of the High Court Case and preliminaries commencing in 2005 involving the school and diocese was obtained. The witness statements of both proponents and opponents of the various aspects of Catholic school provision in Tower Hamlets proved extremely helpful for the research and in gaining insights into aspects of the study. Similarly help was asked for, promised and given by the team of specialist consultants engaged on the development of the complex. All requests for information have been answered positively.

Libraries have also been used to gather data. The local Tower Hamlets History Librarian has been very helpful and all requests for information have been met. Some public libraries did not have information requested and suggestions were made that various specialist libraries may have the information required. These were successfully approached and with other sources are detailed in End Note 4.

The Museum of London was particularly useful during and after the excavations and the removal of human remains in the plot of land given by the diocese and crucial for the commencement of the building of the new school complex. In the Catholic tradition the governors of the school, on behalf of the diocese ensured the human remains removed by archaeologists were later reinterred in consecrated ground. Only a brief reference to this is appropriate for the research, but considerable background information was obtained on the history of the site, first purchased in 1848 by agents for the Catholic

Church because of the reluctance of landowners to sell for Catholic purposes. The Deed later transferring the land to the Diocese of Westminster includes reference to providing a Catholic school on the site.

Repeat visits to outreach establishments were made for the purposes of information gathering and these served a number of purposes including confirmation of previous observations or discussions with staff either paid or volunteers and discussions with the clients. In all fieldwork visits, the Assistant Director overseeing the Local Area Partnership accompanied and introduced me and stated the purposes of my visit, but he never otherwise influenced the research. The nature of my research interest was made known to the leaders of the various establishments and to those present at the venues when discussions took place. Every visit was most enjoyable and never stressful to anyone involved. There was never an attempt at influence, or any example of coercion in the research.

Fortunately, data requested and obtained was made when individuals who were familiar with what was requested were still in post and it obviously helped them and this researcher that there had been long and trusting working relationships. In Tower Hamlets and probably other local authorities job mobility is more rapid than in previous times and pressure on space induces destruction of records. Furthermore, 'outsourcing' to other organisations makes communication more complicated and records tend to be less available. For participant observers it is useful to document and request information speedily, ensuring ethical considerations are complied with, rather than wait until ideas are firmly formulated. However, this has dangers and should be balanced by a longer time and distance perspective to ensure later information obtainable balances immediate impressions gained. Time and distance from events in this research has enabled reflection and a more balanced analysis of the immediate impressions gained.

A significant problem for this researcher was the amount of data collected. There is a danger of not concentrating on the main themes decided on and wasting time. This is a problem of self-discipline and making good use of limited time available for the research. It was intended data collected would be

'fit for purpose' and inevitably more was collected than could be used. Decisions on analysis focused on fitness for purpose in answering the research questions. Cohen et al (2011, pp538-539) stress the significance of the initial purpose of the research in determining the types of analysis to be performed and these are summarised in their paragraph 28.2 (ibid). The choice of the case study method conveniently enables use to be made as appropriate of description, summarisation, interpretation, generation of themes, issues, exploration or testing (Cohen et al. 2011). Understanding the motives and actions as the background to the data is an important factor in gaining insight and this is helped by being a participant observer who also has background knowledge of the history leading to the events studied. However, this researcher was aware of the possibility of a loss of objectivity if too greater reliance was placed on autoethnography and therefore resolved to ensure triangulation of events and opinions recorded to achieve this greater objectivity.

Yin (2009, pp68-9) follows Becker (1998, p66) in reminding us that in the case study method in particular there should be a continuous interaction between the theoretical issues being studied and data collection and analysis. This has been to the fore in this research and theoretical issues are widely discussed. Yin also discusses 'being a good listener' (2009, p70). He explains this in broader terms than mere hearing. For a case study 'listening means receiving information through multiple modalities,' including the inspection of documentary evidence and 'reading between the lines.' Reading between the lines was particularly important during the analysis of the High Court trial referred to in this study, for the case as stated related to a claim over the ownership of the plot of land purchased in 1842. However this was, from witness statements at the trial, a legal stratagem to prevent the building of the new large school complex which embraced the policy of the urban Learning Village. A smaller building on a restricted site would limit use by the wider non-Catholic community. Additionally, success in the High Court by the dissidents would necessitate re-design for new school buildings and re-tendering, involving higher prices prevailing at the later date further restricting the eventual size of the school. An even deeper insight was the tension between

the philosophies of unchanging Catholicism and that of adjusting to the signs of the times.

Yin (2014, p76) discusses the interpretation of data rather than the mere recording of it. Throughout the research the data collected have been interpreted within the research question and the subsidiary question and hopefully the conclusions and recommendation will be deemed to flow from the interpreted research data. Care has also been taken to appreciate that being so close to the subject matter of the research one must always be conscious of bias in the collection and interpretation of the data available and collectable. This is equally so in the analysis of the data, whether qualitative or quantitative, and these dangers are dealt with more fully below.

From the above descriptive methods of data collection and analysis, the mixed method design appears to be justified. Continual redrafting elucidates the empirical case study and helps to maintain the logicity of the evidence chain. Drawing on Yin (2009, p136) the analytic techniques help to strengthen internal validity and possibly produce patterns of behaviour and actions, although these are not to be forced in analysis.

Although a high degree of control and reliability of data can usually be achieved within the quantitative paradigm, particularly if the research is narrowly focused, this is often not possible for the ethnographic *cum* participant observer. The data for the ethnographer are usually derived from numerous sources and an immediate problem facing this researcher in these circumstances was to establish which data were fit for the purpose of the research. The researcher has always to decide if the source of the data is reliable and this depends upon some knowledge of the source. Selection from the available data was also a perennial problem for this research project. Trustworthiness of the source indicates its reliability and the integrity and honesty of the researcher is a prerequisite for determining its validity for use.

Particularly because this research is being conducted within the case study design and data comes from a variety of sources 'it is not absolved from abiding by the concerns for validity and reliability' (Cohen et al 2011, p295).

Yin (2009, pp122-4) refers to the need for a chain of evidence (also cited in Cohen et al, *ibid*). Thus, in ensuring validity and reliability together with a chain of relevant evidence fit for purpose, the selection and analysis also demands honesty and trustworthiness by the researcher. Trustworthiness should embrace the concepts of validity or reliability and is a key concept in qualitative (or any) research. In this case study extreme care has been taken to ensure the reliability and validity of the sources from which data have been obtained. The local authority and the school have supplied documentary data in considerable quantities and none of it was apparently authored for this case study. In that sense it is not tainted with bias for or against the research and when interpreting it strenuous efforts have been made to avoid bias. The documentary data obtained were prepared for reporting purposes to elected councillors and for school governors. It was helpful for this researcher to know the processes and conventions of these types of report in local government for they intend to give factual information to the elected decision makers at local level with recommendations for optional decision taking. Elected members are usually alert to bias when presented with information because they would be held responsible by the public for poor decision taking. However, reports are a distillation of real events and the professional knowledge and thus the integrity of the author is paramount for confidence to be maintained between officials and elected members.

Reports of this nature in local government normally go through several processes in the hierarchy of command. For the purposes of this project the processes provide a useful check on the reliability and validity of the local authority reports relating to the closure of the boys' school. An added source of confidence in their trustworthiness is that the Chairman of Governors of the boys' school made no objection to its closure on the information supplied to him. His lack of objection leads to an inference that the arguments presented were valid and he had no reasonable argument left to dispute his school's closure.

The other significant quantity of documentary data came from the federated school. As an intimate participant observer throughout the period covered, the documents contain accurate records of the events mentioned. However, they

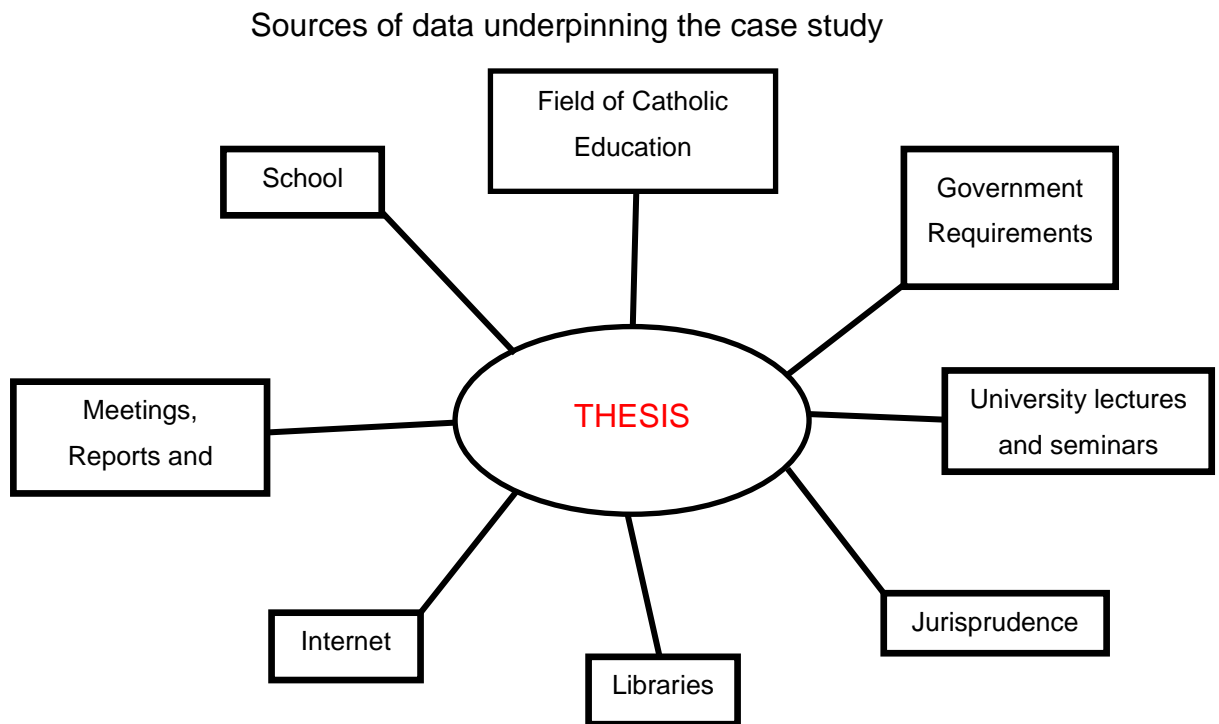
cannot possibly contain the minutiae of detail that makes a school day. In that sense they are a distillation, and a judgement has to be made on the accuracy and fairness of the documents' authors. Similarly, with the reports compiled by the local authority officials, they went through several individuals who contributed in the reporting process and their contributions would have been checked and scrutinised for the purposes of accuracy and reliability to ensure they were 'fit for purpose' in reporting to the recipients. From knowledge of the matters reported they are considered trustworthy and represent a true and fair view of events.

Further documentary data have been obtained from the transcript of the High Court case. Sworn Witness Statements from both sides are a useful triangulation and a counterweight to the belief of the diocese, the local authority and the school governors that they were correct in the inclusive policy they wished for the provision of Catholic education at secondary level in Tower Hamlets. The legal and evidential arguments presented to the Judge led him to decide in favour of the school complex and the consequential inclusive nature of the Catholic school proposed by the diocesan trustees and the school governors over the arguments of the opponents.

With the fieldwork discussions, it is reasonable to consider there is a lesser reliability in the statements by the young clients of the Urban Learning Village met with at the school and in the outreach establishments, for these were enthusiastic users of the facilities and praised the leadership they had and their enjoyment of what was provided. Local circumstances prevented approaching other young people in the streets to ask their views on the activities and amenities provided recreationally or educationally and they may have had very different views from the enthusiastic users of the facilities on offer.

Every effort has been made to meet the request of construct validity through the employment of accepted definitions and terms including data collection and composition. Internal validity is hoped to be satisfactorily established by the relaxed relationships enabling truthful rather than spurious conclusions from the data analysis. The external validity has been established by the

research design and focuses on the prospect of generalisation or lack of it from the research findings.



(END NOTE 4)

In any academic research it is appropriate to recognise that the researcher should act ethically.

It is also appropriate to recognise that ethics and the concomitant build of ethical considerations are strongly influenced by Plato in his Republic and Aristotle in his Ethics. In the Judaeo/Christian tradition, the Old and New Testaments are also influential in developing ethical principles and in Western cultures it is the ancient Greek and Biblical writings that form the basis of most ethical procedures. Essentially, these and other ethical systems seek to demonstrate right and proper actions from wrong and improper ones, recognising what is good or bad in particular situations (Plato). In these situational ethical cases it is appropriate to consider the purposes, contents, and methods adopted in reporting outcomes of the research project (Cohen et al, 2011, p76). In recognising the philosophical underpinning of a system of ethics and desiring to follow the principle of dignity of and respect for the human person as exemplified by Stutchbury and Fox (2009), the Guidelines of the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2011) have been

followed as an appropriate code to meet these principles. It is considered right to attempt to eliminate the bias in the research process although, as Verschuren (2003, p122) observes, some bias may be inevitable if the researcher is a participant observer where the personality may affect aspects of the research. In this situation, it is incumbent on the researcher to declare his/her background and particularly whether he/she is being sponsored in the research. The researcher's background has been declared above and the research is not being sponsored.

The principles outlined in the BERA Guidelines maintain that all educational research should be conducted within an ethic for: the person, knowledge, democratic values, the quality of academic research and academic freedom. This is interpreted as meaning that informed voluntary consent is vital with an absence of duress, express or implied. Importantly, in this research individuals were informed verbally that they could participate or not according to their wishes, or withdraw from the process.

In the application for access to the documentary data for the research, the request was made to public bodies under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act 2000, with a statement which was not legally necessary, indicating the purpose for which the data was required and for which it would be used. Openness enhanced trustworthiness in this respect.

The documentary information that was obtained from the school came from school files by permission and approval to photocopy relevant information for the research. Data obtained related to the policies agreed by the governors and reports from consultants on factual matters. Care was taken to ensure there was no overt bias in the selection of the material by this researcher. The ethics of an adult researcher were to the fore when holding discussions with young people and care was taken to ensure 'Leaders' were in the vicinity together with the accompanying Assistant Director, but out of earshot. The young people eventually relaxed and nothing appeared to be withheld from the researcher. When meeting with Muslim females, the Muslim ethic of distance and degree of formality was respected and a female adult was always nearby but again, out of earshot. The BERA Guidelines make only a brief reference to

cultural or religious sensitivities being necessary when a male is in the presence of females and it may be appropriate for the next revision of the Guidelines to refer to the Equality Act 2010, drawing attention to the necessity of being aware of cultural sensibilities and the dire consequences that could follow if these ethical sensibilities are not recognised during the research process.

Having indicated the background to the research and the methodology and methods employed, it is proposed to consider the fieldwork and the body of the research, but set within aspects of relevant theory and being mindful of the Data Protection Act as required by the Institute of Education.

CHAPTER 4 FIELDWORK AND ANALYSIS (1): A NEW BOYS' SECONDARY SCHOOL:

This chapter discusses the leadership of the Borough's Chief Education Officer and the Head Teacher of the Catholic girls' secondary school in successfully co-operating to provide a new Catholic secondary school for boys, i.e. innovative action by two women leaders.

It was not until the meeting with the Bishop that the Head Teacher and Chairman of Governors of the girls' school were aware a decision had been made to close the boys' school. At the meeting, as explained above, they had agreed to explore the prospect of providing Catholic education for the boys, but on their terms, subject to oversight and agreement by the diocese, at that time by the Diocesan Director of Education, pending the agreement of the new Archbishop.

However, in the documents obtained from the local authority for the purposes of this study, the Chief Education Officer (CEO) and her senior colleagues had given considerable thought to the future of Catholic secondary education for the boys in Tower Hamlets on the impending closure of their school. The local authority had a surplus of places in its secondary schools, but as was to be revealed later, wished to maintain the diversity of its educational provision, implying separate provision for Catholics (and other faiths as appropriate). The local authority had to balance its desire for diversity within the constraints of its finances to provide an economical education service giving value for money. In fact, subject to the overriding power of the government, the local authority had considerable power in educational provision, for it was acting on behalf of the Secretary of State to further education within its borough under the Education Act 1996 (section 11). Halsbury notes 'education in England is in substance statutory' (Halsbury's Statutes, 4th edition (1991, 15(1), p2) and whatever decisions were arrived at would therefore have to comply with statutory requirements

In terms of Bernstein's (2000) theory of classification and framing (**END NOTE 5**), the classification, (the transmission of vertical power) was strong in that the

ultimate power was statutory and with the Government which had to approve any decision on the future of educational provision in Tower Hamlets. How that classification was framed in the horizontal mode was for the local authority to determine but accompanied by 'advice' from the Government Department (DfE). However, local authorities, by convention, considered the advice akin to instruction because departing from it would be questioned on an inspection and had to be justified. Since the appointment of the new Director of Education, guidance to schools across the borough had become clear and strong to avoid a repeat of the disastrous Ofsted report in 1998 and, therefore, the concept of framing in the circumstances was equally strong.

The Chief Education Officer (CEO)

Following the discussion with the Bishop, the Head Teacher of the girls' school contacted the Chief Education Officer (CEO) and a meeting was speedily arranged with her at the Council's offices. The Head Teacher was accompanied by her Chairman, being essentially a participant observer because the main dialogue was between the Head and the CEO. The Chairman's role at the meeting was to verify for his governing body that which was agreed and to convey to them the tenor of the discussion. For the local authority, the CEO was accompanied by senior officers in her directorate; all present were known to each other from the previous visits to the girls' school by the CEO, either on her own or with her colleagues. In the circumstances of the meeting Christian names were accepted as appropriate. The use of Christian names enabled relaxed, but still business-like meetings between education professionals seeking a solution to the problem of the future of Catholic educational provision for the boys at secondary level and post-statutory education.

Arranging the meeting with the Chief Education Officer so soon after the meeting with the Bishop may be construed as an act of leadership and personal efficacy on behalf of both the Head Teacher and the CEO, denoting high emotional intelligence by both women. In terms of Goleman's (1998) qualities of emotional intelligence (Oldroyd 2005, p197) it was observed that both the main negotiators exhibited and brought to the meeting a self-awareness of their preferences; their ability to self-regulate in that they were

open to feedback and were highly motivated towards a clear goal of solving the problem of the future Catholic education for the boys. They were empathetic and aware of each other's needs and concerns. Further, their personal qualities, enabling them to achieve their respective professional positions as CEO and Head Teacher, included the social skills of negotiation, assertiveness, compromise and collaboration (ibid). Being a participant observer at the discussions, both women were impressive and seeking a positive solution to a difficult problem which had wider repercussions for the Catholic community in east London, the catchment area for Catholic children at secondary level being wider than Tower Hamlets.

At the time of the first meeting with the CEO and from the documentation later acquired for the purposes of this study, the earlier dates on the reports prepared for the elected Councillors revealed that a decision had not been made on the options presented for consideration arising from the impending closure of the boys' school. This accorded with the information imparted at the meeting by the CEO. All was therefore open for discussion. However, a decision had to be made in the very near future because it was then March 2000 and the Secretary of State had determined that there would be no further admissions to the boys' school at Year 7, effectively terminating the future of that school. By September 2000 Catholic parents would have to select their preferences for the transfer of their sons from primary to secondary schooling. It was therefore imperative that Catholic parents should know their options by then, on the assumption that they would wish their sons to go to a Catholic secondary school.

Brighouse (2005, pp105-108) observes that knowing the culture and having an historical sense of the community where one is working is important for arriving at an appropriate course of action. In Tower Hamlets such local knowledge of the history and culture of the Catholic community was particularly apposite and this was provided by the presence and the knowledge of the Chairman of Governors of the girls' school. Tower Hamlets had a remarkable degree of 'uncertainty avoidance' (Hofstede, 1991) in religious matters of which Catholic education was one, tending to opt for the traditional certainties of the 'faith of our fathers.' Traditional certainties tend to

be transmitted from generation to generation (Hofsted, 1991; Shaw 2005, p30). The uncertainty avoidance would become apparent later by a group of local Catholics fearful of the developments proposed by the governors of the Catholic school led by those present at the meeting with the CEO that is, the Head and Chairman of the governing body of the girls' school.

The thinking of the officers of the Education Directorate which they brought to the first and subsequent meetings is revealed in the documentation they had prepared for decision by the Councillors. Five options had been put forward in the name of the CEO. Having met her soon after her appointment to Tower Hamlets when she visited the girls' school and observed her style of human approach, one had been impressed by her professionalism. She would assuredly have carefully scrutinised drafts of papers, discussed matters with her colleagues, and made her final amendments for she was knowledgeable and clear in her thinking, but open to suggestions. The documentation confirms the five options under consideration

1. The closure of the boys' school without replacement provision
2. The Catholic girls' school to become 'a mixed RC school'
3. Reopen a new Catholic boys' school on the same site as 'Fresh Start'
4. Open a new Catholic boys' school on a new site, twinned with the Catholic girls' school
5. Maintain the status quo.

As a participant observer at this first meeting with the CEO and at subsequent meetings, options were fully discussed. This included that put forward by the Head Teacher for a new boys' school located near enough to the girls' school enabling one governing body and one Head Teacher and with a single body of staff to manage both the boys' and girls' schools and for the girls' school to retain its existing 6th Form provision. The boys in the proposed new school would have equal priority of admission to the 6th Form, but eventually the 6th Form would expand to admit students from other schools who met educational requirements for the courses on offer and who accepted the ethos of a Catholic school. This followed the remit agreed at the meeting with the Bishop which had been carefully noted by the CEO.

The CEO was clear that her Council's policy was to maintain the diversity of its educational provision, therefore Option 1, the closure of the boys' school without replacing provision would not be likely to be favoured; it was reiterated by the Head that Option 2, a mixed-sex school at secondary level, was unlikely to be acceptable to Catholic parents for they had indicated this some years previously and from local knowledge their opinions had not changed. The documentation dated earlier than the 2000 meeting showed that the CEO was fully aware of the speedy progress the Catholic girls' school was making since it had been united on its constricted site; that the school was heavily subscribed for by both Catholic and non-Catholic parents because it was a good girls' school in a rough area and was providing a safe and secure environment for the pupils, therefore the option to change its status to a mixed school was unlikely to be favoured by parents. A change of status to a mixed-sex voluntary aided school would also be opposed by the diocese which would be sympathetic to the wishes of parents. The third option, 'Fresh Start' was one about which the documents state there was little experience at that time and was therefore not favoured by the officers of the Education Directorate, particularly with the history of failed reorganisations on the boys' school site. The cautious approach of the CEO in the knowledge of the history of the Poplar site revealed the care she had taken and depth of the advice she presented to the councillors. This was another indication of the professionalism prevailing in the Education Directorate in 2000, just two years after the devastating 1998 Ofsted report on Tower Hamlets educational provision and the authority's lack of strategic planning.

Option 4, 'twinning,' came closest to the Head Teacher's proposal but 'twinning' implied a very loose arrangement between two schools. Twinning with a local authority school would not be acceptable to the diocese because the remit to the Head and Chairman of the girls' school, although couched in the colloquial terms of 'taking on the boys,' it was clear that responsibility for Catholic education for the boys at secondary level was with the Head and Chairman of the Catholic girls' school. 'Taking on the boys' was now their accepted responsibility and implied a Catholic curriculum.

There were other difficulties with option 4. After the closure of the boys' school and the dispersal of the staff remaining, the recruitment of staff for a new school would be difficult, because the 1998 Ofsted inspection report was likely to be still in the minds of the teaching profession. Parts of Tower Hamlets were considered very dangerous and this would probably deter applicants for teaching posts (Gardiner, 1995). Time was of the essence in 2000 because of the impending parental preferences for secondary places in 2001 and it did not appear possible to provide a new Catholic secondary boys' school in the borough, whether 'twinned' with the girls' school or not. From the GCSE results at the time, no other school in the borough could cater for Catholic boys, even temporarily, or be deemed suitable for 'twinning' even if a suitable arrangement could be arrived at for their religious teaching, for the boys' general education would not be under the control of the governors of the girls' school.

Option 5, maintaining the status quo, did not appear possible in view of the dire situation to which the boys' school had degenerated and a decision had already been made to cease entry at Year 7. Theoretically this decision could be rescinded, but the danger was that as the governors and staff in 2000 had effectively lost control of the school the status quo would perpetuate. Even if the governing body was to be replaced with new governors and different staff appointed, the likelihood was that Catholic parents would have no confidence in the school after the unhappy closures and re-openings on the Poplar site.

At the meeting held in her office, the CEO was clear that the local education authority wanted to provide a good education in all borough schools and to see an increase in GCSE and A level pass rates. She was fully aware that her statement accorded with the local authority's duties under Sections 13A and 14A of the Education Act 1966. She also stated that the Councillors and Officers appreciated the Catholic girls' school was filling at intake and its accelerating improvement since coming together on one site was likely to make it even more over-subscribed. This posed problems for the girls' school governors with admissions and also for the local authority which wished to minimise the out-of-borough flow of Catholic children at secondary level. If

possible the ideal would be to increase admissions to the girl's school to retain Catholic girls' schooling in the borough, but there was no room for expansion.

The difficulties of the boys' school had significantly contributed to the borough-wide problems of low standards in the borough's schools which the CEO was beginning to solve since her appointment and she was keen to consider and actively respond to suggestions that would suitably provide for the Catholic boys both to retain them in the borough, but more importantly to ensure that they were provided with good teaching and that learning was equally good. She was therefore receptive to the successful Head Teacher of the girls' school providing for the Catholic boys.

Observing the style of the CEO and her knowledge of both the boys' and the girls' schools, it was evident that she was confident in her grasp of the situation of a desire for Catholic educational provision in addition to solving the borough-wide problems highlighted in the Ofsted report of 1998. Similarly, within her directorate she had quickly recruited a knowledgeable and talented staff which contributed to the discussions according to their specialist knowledge and professional talents (Brighouse, 2005, p195). This was to become particularly evident later with the finding of a site for the new boys' school.

Discussing Tower Hamlets with the CEO was extremely stimulating for, although she had recently been recruited from a borough with a stable administration promoting good services and a substantial middle-class population used to a tradition of high educational standards in its local authority schools, she had quickly responded the needs of Tower Hamlets after the years of maladministration reported by Ofsted (Woods et al, 2014).

The Head Teacher's Case to the CEO

The Head Teacher of the girls' school conveyed to the meeting that a new Catholic voluntary aided boys' school in Tower Hamlets would be welcomed by the diocese on the closure of the Poplar-based school. The Head emphasised that her meeting with the Bishop had concluded with an arrangement that a new boys' school could be under the single governing

body of the existing girls' school with her as the Head Teacher and the existing staff of the girls' school working across two distinct schools. This was not intended to be a Grouped School within Section 89 of the 1966 Act and it was appreciated the main practical problem that had to be resolved, if there was to be a new boys' school away from the existing Poplar site, was finding another suitable site.

In terms of her leadership function, the Head Teacher was seeking to obtain the necessary resources and support for a new type of educational provision, the eighth of Yukl's most effective functions of leadership Yukl (2010) (**END NOTE 6**). It was appreciated that the suggestion put forward by the Head did, however, need to be put to the DfE because it appeared *ultra vires* of the local education authority and consequently could be challenged by a member of the public at District Audit. Both the Head and her Chairman were aware that there was no precedent for one governing body, one Head Teacher and a single staff having legal responsibilities for two distinct schools within the public sector. The CEO listened carefully to the ideas put to her and agreed in principle that because her local councillors wanted to maintain the diversity of education provision in the borough she would consult with the DfE about a new Catholic boys' school within the single governance and staffing arrangements proposed by the Head on behalf of the diocese. The CEO promised to press the DfE to expedite decisions and in the event did so. She, in her exercise of leadership, may be said to be exercising the sixth of Yukl's most effective functions of leadership 'by organising and coordinating activities.' At the end of the meeting both parties had reached a consensus that it was desirable to continue educational provision for Catholic boys in Tower Hamlets by providing a new Catholic voluntary aided secondary school under the governorship, headship and staffing of the existing Catholic girls' school. However, the ultimate solution would depend on the advice from the DfE.

Failures

Reflecting on the situation in 2000 facing the local authority, the diocesan trustees, the local Catholic community and the governors of boys' school appear to have allowed an unsatisfactory situation to deteriorate over a

number of years. For the local authority's inertia one cannot now be surprised because of the problems since 1986 caused by its Neighbourhood system (Ofsted, 1998). Further, relations between the boys' and the girls' schools had broken down. The arrangements for inter-change at 6th Form level had never worked satisfactorily since the refusal of the girls to accept the low standards they encountered and the ill-discipline pervading the boys' school. The boys had apparently mistakenly expected a similar lack of discipline in the girls' school and, overwhelmingly, they could not cope with the discipline and higher standards expected by the staff of the girls' school. They either left of their own accord or were asked not to attend in the future if their behaviour was bad.

A puzzle which remains unsolved was the apparent inertia of the foundation governors on the governing body of the boys' school who should have been more active in dealing with their Catholic school's problems. A resolution of the problem of Catholic education for the boys in Tower Hamlets needed to be achieved urgently prior to 2000 and the crisis may have been avoided by firmer and speedier actions jointly by the statutory authority and the diocese on receipt of an adverse Ofsted inspection report which put the school into 'special measures.' Somewhere within the respective functions of the educational arrangement between the borough and the diocese it can be argued there had been a failure of Yukl's sixth most effective function of leadership, that of coordination, in this instance within the organisations of the local statutory provider, Tower Hamlets and that of trustee, the Diocese of Westminster.

Successful and Speedy Action

The negotiations between the CEO and the Head had resulted in a meeting of minds. None of the five options in the draft of the documents suggested for consideration by the elected members of the local authority appeared to meet the known requirements of the Catholic community in preserving single-sex education for the boys in a Catholic school environment. The fourth option 'Twinning' came nearest to this, but the practicalities of this were not acceptable to the Head and Chairman of the girls' school on behalf the diocese. A new building was the desire of the Head and her Chairman and this posed additional difficulties. The suggestion of the Head in using the staff of

the girls' school to work across both a new boys' school and using specialist facilities in the girls' school as necessary, under the single existing governing body planning the strategy for the future appealed to the transformational leadership of the CEO (Leathwood et al, 1999, p21; Coleman, 2005, p14), but finding suitable accommodation for a new school was still a problem to be solved.

Lewin (1936) postulated that behaviour is a function of the environment and reduced this to the formula $B=f(P, E)$ where B is the behaviour, P is the person and E is the environment. This formula appears suitable for consideration when reflecting on the situation which the CEO and Head Teacher intended to resolve. The behaviours of both CEO and Head were positive, each seeking to achieve a satisfactory outcome in an environment of great urgency and local importance. As a participant observer at the meetings one could discern the creation of an alignment of objectives and mutual trust between CEO and Head (Yukl, 2010). This trust was an aspect of the symbolic capital built up by previous visits to the school by the CEO and, again from participant observation, the openness of discussions the CEO had with the Head and the staff of the girls' school when she had visited the school.

At the meetings between the Head and the CEO with her senior staff present it was known by all that decisions had to be made quickly for information had to be prepared to send to parents on the primary/secondary transfers for 2001. It was then March 2000. The CEO on behalf of her local authority had acted promptly on her promise to approach the DfE and similarly the DfE responded quickly to the approach.

The DfE's swift response was that to comply with legal requirements on the lines proposed, the new boys' school would have to be a separate legal entity and would require a unique DfE recognition number. This would entail a separate governing body from the girls' school and this new governing body would be responsible, as a voluntary aided school, for its educational policy within national statutory requirements. The new governing body would also be responsible for managing a separate budget and for staffing.

The sponsor of the new school, the Diocese of Westminster, as trustee would therefore need to appoint foundation governors for the new school in the normal manner as would the local authority for its representative governors. New staff and parent governors would have to be elected for the boys' school. Interestingly, from a Catholic educational perspective the advice maintained the legal Catholicity of the proposed new school.

For administrative purposes, the DfE advised that the existing staff of the girls' school should continue to be in the employment of the governors of the girls' school, but could be deployed and allowed to teach across both the girls' and the boys' schools, with the 6th Form remaining as part of the girls' school. However, the implications were that the governors would have to consult with staff and the Trade Unions, because contracts of employment for existing staff were for employment in the named Catholic girls' school. The whole would necessitate appropriate internal financial and administrative arrangements that would, in time, be subject to inspection.

This information was conveyed to the diocese and thus, subject to adhering to the legal requirements and the advice, the idea of a single staff teaching and administering across more than one school was accepted, but at that juncture two distinct governing bodies were necessary and other satisfactory legal, financial and contractual requirements had to be resolved. As far as can be ascertained the approved DfE arrangements were the first of their kind for educational provision within the public sector.

In terms of a Bernsteinian analysis one can discern a weakening of the former strong vertical classification whereby the general principle of one Head Teacher and one staff for each school was modified by bringing them together to form an alternative base for consensus of interest (Bernstein 2000, p11). Later statutory developments would further weaken the classification.

The internal arrangements necessitated by the DfE advice may also be analysed within aspects of Bernstein's concept of framing which refers to the controls of communication at local level and the means of acquiring the legitimate message, here again one may discern a weakening of the former

rigid position of one staff per school in permitting the one staff of the girls' school to teach and work across two schools (ibid).

The Head, on behalf of the governing body successfully negotiated the proposed arrangement with all the staff (teaching and non-teaching) in a series of meetings. Only three declined to teach the boys on the plans proposed. The three were greatly respected and dedicated teachers who were soon due to retire and, while sympathetic to the suggestion of teaching boys, they did not wish to change their established routines of preparing lessons for and teaching the girls. Their position was understood and accepted. Trade unionism is strong in Tower Hamlets and most of the staff belonged to trade unions appropriate for their duties and the trade union representatives were fully briefed on the proposals. No objections were made. In later informal discussions with the staff for the purposes of this research, it was ascertained they were happy at the Head's approach for there had been open discussion with no coercion and they trusted the Head. This form of negotiation with the staff may be viewed as the efficacy model of Soft Human Resource Management whereby the individual is a valued, trusted and collaborative colleague (Legge, 1995 pp66-67 cited in Oldroyd, 2005).

Parallel with her negotiations with the staff, the Head Teacher was making the necessary financial and administrative arrangements required by the DfE. She was a very competent administrator delegating as necessary to the staff, giving them responsibility for presentations and observations at governors' committee meetings and enabling them to work with governors and parents, but never abdicating her responsibilities as the Head Teacher. She operated an advanced form of devolved leadership, but was visible and prominent in decision making 'for in times of change it is not uncommon for leaders to become invisible, just keeping their head down and getting on with the job' (Vontz, 2013, pp 44-45). The Head was a very visible personality around the school and despite her work-load was extremely accessible. From participant observation and discussions with her she believed that all involved with the school should have a sense of 'ownership' of all the changes and not consider themselves mere powerless bystanders.

Supportive Governors

From the governors' viewpoints they had the significant advantage over many local authority schools in that they knew the staff because they appointed them, as distinct from the more remote centralised style of appointment by many local authorities. The governors of the girls' school took a great interest in their work for the school and many had been pupils of the Sisters of Mercy and loved the school. They were often visible around the school, always letting the Head know of their visits, and they had a grasp of the longer-term implications of policy decisions they had made at governors' meetings. The danger of becoming an over-enthusiastic governor never arose and at no time did the Chairman have to admonish a fellow governor for becoming immersed in the day-to-day management of the school. This may be attributable to the fact that most governors were long serving mature experienced individuals and had confidence in the leadership of the Head. They confined their presence to a strategic role in accordance with DfE guidance. However the Chairman inevitably worked more closely with the Head Teacher in the difficult period of change and accepted his role was pivotal in being her critical friend.

As one who had spent most of his career in public sector law and finance or general management and had been a member of a large number of Ofsted inspections as the Lay Member of a team of inspectors, the Chairman of Governors was aware that the legal and financial aspects of managing a school were not usually ones in which a Head Teacher was skilful. Fortunately for him, the Head of the girls' school had successfully run her own commercial business in the ten years she had been out of teaching while bringing up her three children and she was legally and financially astute. The Chairman and Vice Chairman of governors were qualified and experienced accountants and, with the Head, an administrative and accounting regime to comply with DfE requirements of internal control and transparency of operation across the proposed boys' school and the existing girls' school was speedily devised. Coincidentally at that time a vacancy arose for a new Bursar and a fully qualified and experienced accountant applied and was appointed. The proposed systems which she was to operate and later develop as the schools expanded apparently posed no material problems for her and both Chairman and Vice-Chairman as fellow qualified accountants were completely satisfied

with her work. She was to become a valuable member of the Leadership Team, respected by and helpful to the staff. She had a positive, 'can do,' rather than the negative 'not possible,' attitude to finance, a defect often attributed to accountants. Her responsibilities developed and she was re-designated as Business Manager and on raising her family, job-shared with another fully qualified and similarly helpful popular accountant. This may be conceptualised as transformational leadership in that she and her job-share partner built up the capacity of their section to serve the whole school as it was later to develop and become more complex (Coleman, 2005, p14).

Aspects of Leadership

No one theory of leadership appears to satisfactorily meet the activities being performed by the Head during the ten years covered by this study. However, possibly she embodied distributive leadership most in organising the new school, but maintaining the standards of teaching and learning in the girls' school. Gronn (2003, p35) refers to 'stretched leadership' over a school. In this instance use was made of the differing skills available at senior level within the girls' school in the pooling of expertise for the short-listing of the additional new staff required for the boys' school. It is perhaps a helpful reminder that it is the governors of a voluntary aided school who appoint and employ staff whereas in local authority schools it is the local authority that appoints and employs, although the Head Teacher of the local authority school is usually present at interviews. Great care was taken in appointing new staff and trainee teachers who might fulfil the expectations of the collegiate school were often identified by mentoring teachers through the school's arrangements with a Catholic teachers' training college.

Alongside management, devising new systems and overseeing prospective time-tabling undertaken by senior staff, the Head Teacher took a personal role with the local authority and the diocese and all worked quickly in drafting and issuing the required statutory notice detailing the arrangements for the new school of three forms of entry to commence in September 2001. Copies were publicised in the local press and sent to every Catholic parish in the Deanery of Tower Hamlets. Objections and comments to the proposals for the new school were invited, but none were forthcoming.

Although the principle of a new boys' school managed by the Head Teacher and staffed by the girls' school, was accepted by the DfE, the strategy may be considered risky. It was original and there was no legal authority at that time for the federal style of arrangement proposed. Further, even if the statutory authorities agreed, its success was greatly dependent on the abilities, drive and enthusiasm of the Head of the girls' school in managing two schools. Tower Hamlets is not the easiest of areas in which to successfully provide good standards of education for 'leadership in the inner city is very different from suburban and rural schools' (Brighouse, 2005, p107). Failure of the new school would be tragic for the boys, seriously impair the parents' and the local authority's confidence in the governors and Head Teacher. Failure would also probably adversely affect the growing success of the girls' school.

An easier and safer option for the Head Teacher would have been to decline the Bishop's request to 'take on the boys' for she could have withdrawn to relative security within the compound of her increasingly successful girls' school where she had a good staff and pupils, sometimes difficult girls, but less so than the wilder boys of the East-End. However, in 2000 she chose a more strenuous future for herself as a transformative educational leader, although she was in her last decade as Head Teacher prior to statutory retirement age. In Biblical terms one may perceive her attitude as being similar to the entrepreneurial servants in the Parable of the Talents (Matt. 25: 14-30) whereby she developed her talents by taking calculated risks and was rewarded with success, unlike the servant who buried his talents. The parable of the talents can similarly be applied to the Chief Education Officer. Neither took foolhardy risks, but sought advice on their proposed actions, reflected upon the advice, then made a decision based upon consensus and acted upon the decision. From participant observation they adopted a collegial model of leadership (Coleman, 2010, pp 53-56). However, the problems associated with collegiality did not appear to arise. Coleman observes these to be disagreements on the development of appropriate structures; the time taken to come to decisions; conflict with external demands for efficiency and apparently supportive collegial values leading to uncritical acceptance of practice.

The ease with which the staff developed appropriate structures, speedily came to decisions, dealt with external demands and worked with positive criticality with each other can be significantly attributed to the style of continuing professional development in the school. Taken from the Governors' policy document, the opening sentence refers to the school being committed to fostering a positive climate of learning for all pupils/students, staff and governors. All staff were enabled to take responsibility for their CPD and to provide a range of coherent and progressive opportunities to meet needs and to develop their performance. The identification of training needs was perceived as a dual process between team leaders and individuals responsibly working together. Team leaders were required to be fully supportive of others and to work within the School Development Plan. The school committed itself to offer constructive feedback to staff.

Professional development was expected of all staff and governors and new appointees received a planned introduction to the school. Governors were additionally expected to attend the local authority and diocesan courses. In accordance with the Head's system of distributive leadership, while - as the policy states - she 'will have overall responsibility for monitoring the implementation of the CPD policy', an Assistant Director was responsible for CPD and evaluated it and reported with a presentation at least annually to the governors.

The CPD programme was integrated with the Assistant Director's responsibilities for monitoring pupils' progress through the Cognitive Ability Tests (CATs) tests and teachers' reports on an individual pupil's performance according to the tests results. It was accepted that the CAT system was not a perfect predictor of ability, but a considerable help in identifying a pupil's strengths or weaknesses over time. The effectiveness and impact of the system was evaluated on a number of criteria specifically related to pupil and school attainment, improved teaching and learning and increased pupil enthusiasm. Earley (2005, p228) observes that continuing professional development has to be seen as a *collective* (his emphasis) responsibility of all staff and the organisation. In the federated school, from a perusal of the policy

and from participant observation the school organisation guaranteed, and required every governor and staff member to actively engage and cooperate in the system of CPD. The CPD policy adopted by the governors appears to predate the School Teacher Performance Management Regulations 2006.

At the time of the initial discussions between the CEO and the Head, and afterwards, appropriate structures could be developed speedily because of the collective CPD in the school, decision times were quick, and conflict with external demands for efficiency was avoided because of the recognised efficiency and effectiveness of the significant principals, the CEO, the Head and her Assistant Director responsible for staff and organisation. The supportive collegial values enjoyed were not uncritically accepted because the CEO, Head and the Assistant Director each had enthusiastic professional colleagues who were critical friends. Lastly the actions initially proposed to be undertaken and later to be developed were subject to DfE agreement, which was not uncritical because it required modifications to the proposals put to them - which were speedily implemented, as was verified during the later visits to the Head by senior officials from the Department.

Opening the New Boys' School

The principle of the new boys' school for Catholic children having been established and no objections received, the scene was set for the opening of the new school in September 2001 with three forms of entry at Year 7 (90 boys). There was considerable discussion between the Head and her Chairman on the optimum number of yearly intake for the boys and it was decided that three forms of entry at Year 7 was appropriate to provide a range of courses leading to the GCSE subjects taught in the girls' school. The teachers in the girls' school were successful in delivering the subjects and therefore lesson preparations for the boys would only need minimal adjustments to be made. It was probably the style of presentation for the boys that teachers who had only taught girls would need to develop. The intention was to expand the yearly intake to four forms of entry when the school was more firmly established and when accommodation became available. The eventual expansion to four forms of entry would then provide a better balance with that of the girls' school's five forms of entry.

Accommodation for the new school posed a problem in the Shadwell part of Tower Hamlets where the girls' school was sited, because of lack of available vacant space and the increasing property values. The Council's documents record the loss to a developer of a preferred site and other sites. The success of the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) in attracting financial, legal and commercial organisations with international reputations and highly paid staff being required to reside nearby for early and late working was driving up demand for property available for redevelopment in that part of Tower Hamlets. Consequently available land prices were so high that only large and well capitalised developers could afford to bid for space. The loss of potential sites for the new school was particularly galling to the Head and Chairman of Governors, because with very helpful senior officers of the Education Directorate, they had spent considerable time walking the neighbourhood and identifying possible sites and buildings for the proposed boys' school, knowing that further expansion on the site of the existing girls' school was not at that time a possibility. The prospects for a new boys' school looked grim.

The problem, at least in the short-term was solved by the local authority, but not easily. The offer to the Head Teacher by the CEO was of a floor to be allocated for the boys in a former large Board School building built in 1899 under the Education Act 1870, now known as the Shadwell Centre. This building had recently been refurbished with funds from the LDDC as part of its deemed social benefit for local community use. Although owned by the local authority and managed by the Education Directorate, the Shadwell Centre was used by Bangladeshi young women for Further Education purposes. The Bangladeshi community, now strongly represented on the local authority by elected councillors had lobbied hard and successfully for this facility for their young women who desired a 'second chance' to study for A level subjects. The Elders of the Bangladeshi community were perturbed at the prospective use of part of the building by males because their religious culture was that the sexes outside the family should not mix before marriage. Admittedly, the boys at Year 7 would be 11 years of age and the Bangladeshi females in their late teens or early 20s, but the boys would have male teachers, and there could be

possible daily contact between the males and their young women. One could argue that this was a 'disconfirmed expectancy' on behalf of the local Bangladeshi Muslim community and that the community perceived it as a greater threat to their custom of strict segregation for religious purpose than it really was (Shaw, 2005, p31). However, as Shaw notes, building on Brislin (1993) when discussing the theory of cross-cultural phenomena, 'disconfirmed expectancies are certain in intercultural encounters.'

The local authority officers and the Head Teacher assuaged the concerns of the Bangladeshi community by arranging different entrances and exits for use by the males and the use of different staircases within the building. Break and lunch times would be different and the boys' accommodation in the building would be self-contained with its own washing and toilet facilities. Importantly for the Muslims, the meals cooked and/or eaten within the building would be so arranged as not to contaminate Halal food. The local authority and the Head Teacher promised the arrangements would not be permanent and, on trust, the arrangements were accepted by representatives of the Bangladeshi community. Subsequent events were to reveal that the trust placed in the CEO and the Head by the Bangladeshi Elders was not misplaced and this eventually led to the growth of symbolic social capital between the Muslim community, the CEO and the Catholic school.

The accommodation problem was thus solved in time for the issue of the Statutory Notices. Immediately the agreement was reached with the Bangladeshi community, the local authority proceeded to install furniture and equipment for use from a fund within the control of the CEO, allocated for emergency purposes. Prior to the opening of the new school the facilities were inspected by the Chairman of the Governors, led around by the Head Teacher who had supervised arrangements. All was in order and the Chairman noted that the equipment provided by the CEO was of a high standard and that although the building was over 100 years old it was in superb condition and suitable for purpose. Commonly in a school building of that age in Tower Hamlets the playground was a hard surface, and a few cuts and bruises could be expected when the boys used the playground. The Head gave an assurance that there were qualified 'first aiders' on the staff. Being an old

Board School there were still the separate entrances for 'Girls & Infants' and 'Boys' each leading to separate playgrounds. This assisted in the separation of the Muslim young women from the boys in accordance with the agreement with the Bangladeshi Elders.

In retrospect the venture to initiate a new form of educational provision in Shadwell for the Catholic boys' secondary school in so short a time period appears unusual. The success of the venture was problematic given the experience of Catholic boys' provision on the Poplar site which had the advantages of a modern building with ample space and playgrounds. Catholic parents were selecting good schools for their boys in other parts of London and they had lost confidence with what was on offer in Tower Hamlets. Further, the veneer of safety for the boys travelling to Shadwell from other parts of Tower Hamlets or neighbouring boroughs was thin, given the experiences surrounding the Poplar school. Travelling by bus and train to schools outside the borough was, in 2001, safer than walking to school through Tower Hamlets estates. Brighouse notes (2005, p107), 'most urban schools are not surrounded by a moat of green' and this was so with the Shadwell Centre where estates of high-rise flats in the vicinity predominated and where the building faced The Highway, formerly Ratcliffe Highway with its long notorious reputation for villainy (Dickens, 1879, pp219-220), but now also a dangerously busy road leading to the City of London via the Limehouse-Link from prestigious developments further east in Docklands, with their 'gated communities existing side by side in the inner city' (Brighouse, 2005).

The Chairman of Governors was apprehensive about parents' responses when they were asked to make choices for their sons' transfer to secondary school in September 2001, for options outside Tower Hamlets seemed more attractive than choosing the new three form entry school on one floor of a late 19th /early 20th Century building on the notorious Highway. He had a further concern that Muslim females who used the building would probably be accompanied to and from the building by protective fathers or older brothers and trouble could easily flare from misunderstandings while adults were waiting outside the gates.

The Shadwell Centre building is typical of those built by the School Board for London and later used by the London County Council from 1902 on the abolition of the School Board system. Frequent visits prior to its opening indicated that it was fit for purpose. The concerns of the Chairman of Governors were unfounded when 120 applications for entry were received. There were 30 withdrawals enabling the school to open with a full cohort of 90 boys. Of these, 10% were non-Catholic and many of the boys had sisters in the girls' school, indicating the parents' confidence in the Head and staff of that school.

The Head Teacher focused on raising attainment and expectations for the boys. She had previously made this a strong priority in communications with parents upon the merger of the junior and senior sections of the girls' school and with the girls in the school who had responded well. She adopted a similar strategy with the boys, letting them know that they were all achievers in their own ways. For an analysis of the development of the new boys' school one could discern both 'moral leadership and aspects of managerial leadership in the actions of the Head Teacher' (Coleman, 2005, pp17&19). The moral leadership aspect was based on the importance of values and discipline within a Catholic environment while the managerial leadership was designed for the achievement of goals.

The boys came from the same social background as had the boys in the Catholic boys' school at Poplar and in this there was no difference from the background of the girls in the Catholic girls' school. The pupils having brothers, sisters or relatives in each school was an advantage, both for pupils and staff, for the school cultures being the same all knew the expectations. If discipline in the new boys' school had been lax it would assuredly have quickly embraced the problems of the Poplar based school, but the boys immediately responded to the adapted traditions of the girls' school where good discipline and respect for the authority of adults was endemic, probably because the adults treated the girls with similar respect as persons rather than as mere pupils.

It was observed by the Chairman when visiting at the boys' school that the boys' mothers were greatly in evidence, congregating at the school gate at the beginning and end of the school day, seemingly more so than at the gate of their girls' school. The teachers when asked about this for the research project believed the mothers were more solicitous for the boys than for the girls because of the large number of absent fathers in the households. Pressing the staff further on this, their belief was that it arose from the prevalence of single parent families in certain cultures, particularly where families had been parted because of conflicts in their countries of origin. In these circumstances, as Brighouse (2005, p107) observes, 'many of the youngsters brought the baggage of their disrupted and challenged lives into the classroom.' The Head Teacher was aware of this and had considerable experience of boys from similar social backgrounds in her previous post as a Deputy Head in South East London where there was a similar culture of disadvantage. She had carefully, with her senior staff, drawn up clear rules of behaviour for the boys including emphasis on health, safety and security in the school. When visiting the boys' school, those rules were observed to be prominently displayed in every classroom in the new school. Further, newly appointed teachers when first teaching the boys were fully briefed that the rules in both schools were the same. It was made clear that the high standards of behaviour and learning in the girls' school were expected in the boys' school. On frequent visits with the Head Teacher to the boys' school it was observed that the boys were well-behaved and tidy in their appearance and that the traditional system of desks in lined rows had been adopted. The scene on the appearance of the Head Teacher was reminiscent of the case quoted by Brighouse (2005, p106) where all fell silent at the approach of the Head. The Researcher was informed by the Head Teacher that the idea of the disciplinary system was to build camaraderie and self-discipline as the boys progressed through the school. She explained that where a breach of discipline took place, a boy was directed to the senior teacher of the boys' school and was given a 'talking to.' The 'talking to' was usually about the boy letting down his class mates.

The first year passed without encountering great problems of discipline or organisation. At the most, the girls' and the boys' schools were within ten minutes' walk of each other and the timetabling of lessons worked well for

teachers and pupils. On the Chairman's frequent visits to the boys' school, mainly to let the staff and parents know that the school was receiving the same care and attention from the governors as was the girls' school from its governing body, it was noticeable that the boys were outgrowing the classrooms. Presumably, the architects of the late 19th century had designed the classrooms for the less well-nourished children of that era and the classrooms were now becoming too cramped for the healthy 11 year olds of the 21st century. Another problem that soon became urgent was the need for additional space to house the second cohort of boys to arrive in the intake of 2002.

Extending the Boys' School

The problem was discussed by the Head with the CEO and through persistence, negotiating skills and the respect in which both were held, the other directorates of the local authority recommended the elected members to lease part of the prized (but badly maintained) open space at the rear of the girls' school to the diocese for extending the boys' school. The Head Teacher through her network of contacts had already identified a substantial quantity of surplus prefabricated military buildings intended for, but fortunately never needed, as field hospitals in the First Gulf War (1990-1991). She visited where they were stored to see if they were suitable to be adapted for the boys' school and after discussions with the local authority on technical and professional planning matters they were acquired, once again through the negotiating skills of the Head. Sub-structure works and services were speedily completed and these enabled the buildings to be assembled and furnished on site through local authority funding. They were available for the second cohort of boys in 2002. The sturdy buildings were also sufficiently extensive to house the first and all subsequent cohorts of boys thus enabling the Shadwell Centre to be vacated. The Centre then returned to its full use by the Bangladeshi community, thereby meeting the promise made that the Centre's use by the Catholics would only be for a short period of time.

The return of the Centre to the Bangladeshi community was greatly appreciated by the Ward Councillors and the Leadership of the Council, for they were under watchful pressure for the return of the Centre to its use in

providing educational facilities exclusively for the Muslim young women. Although not envisaged at the time the goodwill, or in Bourdieu's terminology the social capital symbolically acquired, was to become extremely useful at a later date when relations with youths in the surrounding area deteriorated.

It was noted in Chapter 3, that in case studies there should be a continuous interaction between theory, data collection and analysis. The relevance of Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing of power and educational relationships have highlighted how the various agents involved in the new proposals for Catholic secondary schooling in Tower Hamlets, were prepared to make radical changes to the existing patterns of classification and framing of educational relationships. The former rigid classification of one Head Teacher for each school and one staff for each school in the public sector was 'weakened' by the DfE agreeing that the Head and staff of the girls' school could operate across both the boys' and girls' schools. However, although the classification was weakened it was not severed because all members of staff were still employed by the governors of the girls' school. The legislation at the time did not permit one governing body to be responsible for two or more schools and therefore the strong classification on this had to be formally maintained and could only be changed by Parliament.

The 'framing' or horizontal relationship between the local authority and the Catholic voluntary aided school also underwent 'weakening' in that the local authority may be considered to be flexible in its interpretation of 'capital expenditure' on the new prefabricated buildings for the boys' school and the sub-structure works required for the provision of public utility services. As far as can be ascertained the diocese as sponsor of the boys' voluntary aided school was not called upon to make the 10% capital contribution needed for a voluntary aided school and this was funded from a special local authority source. With the weakening of strong classification and framing there is scope for new pedagogic models to be generated (Bernstein, 2000, pp57&58) and so it was to be with the advent of the Education Act 2002.

The theoretical work of Yukl (2010) on leadership functions has been drawn upon to interpret and illustrate the exceptional qualities of the visionary Head

Teacher of the Catholic voluntary aided girls' school. Yukl shows there is strong evidence that flexible and adaptive leadership behaviour tends to be successful in situations of change, as the leader sees opportunities rather than threats. This was so with the Head Teacher. She firstly conceived the concept of collegiate educational provision in the Catholic maintained sector to provide a new school for boys from a school perceived to have failed. This was at the Bishop's meeting in 2000 and as referred to above, she then persuaded the statutory bodies to adopt her plan, but in so doing modified it to meet statutory requirements as advised by the DfE. In partnership with the local education authority represented by an equally remarkably transformational Chief Education Officer, part of a local authority building was found for a new Catholic school for the boys, albeit with a promise that this was for a short time because the building was intended for full use by the local Bangladeshi community. The boys' school was opened within a year, funded by the local authority and was serviced by the staff and the Head of the girls' school in accordance with the advice from the DfE. Within the year of opening the new boys' school the Head and the CEO had persuaded the local authority to lease scarce local authority owned open space adjacent to the girls' school to extend the Catholic boys' school. Within another year, new buildings were ready for occupation on the leased land and the original building for the first intake of boys was handed back for use by the Bangladeshi community as promised. The collegiate concept together with the active co-operation of the CEO made this possible. Teaching and learning was greatly furthered by the collegiate system, enabling staff to plan and work across both the established girls' school and the new boys' school. The above may be considered remarkable achievements.

Her success would lead to the collegiate concept being extended to opening the new buildings and part of the girls' school for use by the wider community. By transformational leadership possibly a new style of school provision was created, enabling new insights into Bourdieu's concept of social capital, which may be described as the growth of community interaction. Additionally, there was an emphasis on the importance of understanding local community culture and its historical and contemporary social and religious relations (Brighouse, 2005). The thick descriptions of the negotiations and events involved in this

radical innovation in Catholic schooling in east London can thereby be located within the theoretical frameworks of both Bourdieu and Bernstein aligned with the practical experiences of Brighouse. Bourdieu concerned himself more with the static nature of power. Bernstein's theories were concerned with the transmission of power. Brighouse (a former Chief Education Officer) by understanding both concepts facilitated the change from his local authority's static education policy to one responsive to the needs of a changing society. Similarly, the CEO of Tower Hamlets and the Head Teacher understood the needs of their society and these will be considered in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5 FIELDWORK AND ANALYSIS (2): PROBLEMS WITH LOCAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS

This chapter indicates some of the practical problems encountered when developing the new boys' school and in particular how the historical and turbulent social background of Tower Hamlets impacted on events relating to the development of the school, for history in Tower Hamlets is present in the minds of many in the borough. It also indicates how dialogue and goodwill can overcome difficulties.

Bernstein observed 'The power relations outside the school penetrate the organisation, distribution and evaluation of knowledge through the social context' (Bernstein, 1970, p347). This is particularly apposite to Tower Hamlets for, despite the schools in the borough attempting to provide education within the setting of a democratic society, its immigration history means that international and local events frequently impact in personal and emotional ways on its diverse communities with their overseas connections. These impacts have been felt and continue to be felt in the school. Notable have been:

- The Irish Potato famine 1845 and large numbers of starving and impoverished individuals settling across what is now Tower Hamlets. Descendants being active in the Home Rule disturbances of the 1920s (Maynard 2007;2009)
- The Ritual Riots of St George's-in-the East (Shadwell) in 1860 against Papist (Roman) practices following the restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy in 1850
- The Jews, escaping from the pogroms of the 1880s in the Russian Empire of Eastern Europe and The Sidney Street Siege of 1911, also referred to as 'the Battle of Stepney' when Russian Jewish anarchists were trapped in a house after murders in Houndsditch (Leeson (1934)
- The 'Battle of Cable Street', 1936. In fact there never was a battle because a march by Oswald Mosley and his fascists was, on the requirement of the police, prevented from provocatively marching through a Jewish area of the borough by local Jews and Irish Dockers (Kops & Levitas, in Barling, 2011)

- In 1948 the post-war British government invited applications from the Caribbean Island colonies to come to Britain to resolve a manpower shortage. Numbers of arrivals were allocated flats in Tower Hamlets, though most settled south of the Thames. Those in Tower Hamlets settled into the community well, but unfortunately were subject to harassment mostly by newer 'white' arrivals allocated vacant flats by the LCC. Local 'turf wars' resulted, furthered later by the arrivals from Bangladesh (Gardiner, 1995).
- The Indo-Pakistan war of 1971, significantly having religious overtones between Hindus and Muslims, led to a separation of East from West Pakistan, with the establishment in 1975 of independent Bangladesh. From the mid-1970s large numbers of poor Bangladeshi immigrants began to arrive in Tower Hamlets, either fleeing persecution or as economic migrants. They now form the largest Bangladeshi community in England (Change Institute 2009) and control the local Tower Hamlets Council.

Of more immediate relevance to this research two particular events soured community relations affecting individual local communities. The first was the IRA bomb explosion at South Quay, Canary Wharf on 9 February 1996 during which a Muslim man was killed and the second were the explosions at Aldgate Station and elsewhere in London on 7 July 2005, attributed to Muslim extremists protesting against 'Western,' and by presumed association, the 'Christian' invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan. These events had a traumatic effect on some pupils of school, particularly those who lived near the explosions.

The first Iraq conflict to repel the occupation by Iraqi forces from Kuwait was quickly over. It lasted approximately 100 days and was formally ended by an official United Nations cease fire on 24 January 1991. This conflict caused no recorded problems in Tower Hamlets. However, President Saddam Hussein's regime was not deposed and his continued bellicosity and threats to use weapons of mass destruction against his own people and neighbouring countries were perceived as destabilising the oil producing countries of the Middle East. On doubtful United Nations authority a coalition, led by the United

States of America greatly assisted by the United Kingdom, invaded in 2003 and quickly overcame the Iraqi regime, but continued to occupy Iraq.

This occupation of Iraq and the United States attack on Afghanistan in 2001 were seen as a 'Western Christian' attack on Islamic culture by some local Tower Hamlets Muslim youths which further began to sour local relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in the borough though it was probably the London terror bombings of 7 July 2005 which had the greatest adverse impact on local community relations. Even prior to that date a number of local Muslim youths were active in committing vandalism and more serious crimes, using their alleged persecution of Muslims as a reason for their activities; for example, this researcher observed from the 13th floor of a relative's flat in Tower Hamlets nightly fires, as stolen cars were set ablaze on waste ground. However, there was no evidence of radical Imams fermenting trouble and the vast majority of the Muslim population was considered law-abiding wanting to live peacefully in Tower Hamlets, if viewed with some caution by many and even with animosity by some of the non-Muslim local people. There appeared to be little dialogue between the communities. Individual schools tended to be composed almost wholly of Asian 'Muslim' pupils while, other schools had predominantly indigenous, non-Muslim, 'white' pupils. After 2001 it was the federated school that was the most cosmopolitan in the cultural composition of pupils/sixth form students and staff, with over 70 different 'domestic' languages spoken by pupils and staff. It was this school that was seemingly most at risk from vandalism attributed to Muslim youths, because it was a Catholic school and associated in the minds of the vandals with Western anti-Muslim religious and cultural values.

Planning for a New School Complex

The opening of a boys' school in 2001 at the Shadwell Centre and its subsequent transfer to the temporary prefabricated buildings on the Council's open space adjacent to the girls' school in 2002 necessitated a reconfiguration of the site and planning permission had been received for this. For safety and security purposes a high and substantial chain link fence surrounded the enlarged site. To the east of the site a public pathway had been constructed which ran alongside the chain link boundary fence and was overlooked by the

Head Teacher's office. This pathway gave access to a large and notoriously 'difficult' estate to the south of the school where amongst other criminal activities, significant drug dealing took place.

From the time of the Education Act 2002, formalising the federated school and the DfE award of a £30 million project approval for a new school complex, regular evening meetings were held between the Head and the Chairman of Governors in her office to plan for the new complex, including arranging visits to other newly built schools. These meetings were aimed at ensuring a smooth building contract to incorporate the Head's vision of a Learning Village in the plans. Her idea was to embrace and dialogue with the surrounding and mainly Muslim community, but also to encourage the use of the buildings by other residents in the borough. The intention of the Head and Chairman was also to avoid the problems of unhelpful development which made teaching and internal communication difficult, as recounted by Burgess (1983) in his study of the Bishop McGregor Catholic School in Coventry. The Head and Chairman discussed details of the curriculum to be common across both the girls' and the boys' schools, for which the governing body was responsible in a voluntary aided school. Essentially this curriculum had a Catholic religious basis intended to incorporate spiritual, intellectual and physical development of learners and the teachers. Physical development by way of sport for girls, boys and adults was considered by both to be an important aspect of Catholic holistic education 'for the Church is interested in sport because man (and woman) is at her heart, the whole man (and woman) and she recognises that sports activity affects formation, relations and spirituality of a person.' (Pope Francis to the Italian Tennis Federation, 8 May 2015) www.zenit.org (accessed 22 May 2015).

Both Head and Chairman were determined that they would be in overall control of the plans and instructions for the development of the new project, but they obviously lacked the professional knowledge to ensure their ideas could be made to work. What they had in mind was a substantial complex that would stand the test of time, but be so designed that it would be an oasis of culture with internal greenery to compensate for the stark high-rise towers in which the vast majority of the pupils lived. Hence they decided to recommend

to the diocese, the sponsor of the project, the appointment of a firm of international repute to gather together a team of professional specialists which would be appointed to ensure the building work was carried out to specifications recommended. Both Head and Chairman wanted to leave a school complex that would be recognised as an educational and cultural beacon in the East End, identifiably Catholic but available to the wider community.

It can be argued that they were acting beyond their responsibilities in becoming involved in the longer term planning for the new buildings and that their successors might pursue narrower policies of school education, restricting the use of the building to pupils, but for the present they had the support of the diocese in their plans. Fortunately the Head and Chairman had similar ideas for the future use of the school buildings to incorporate cultural and sporting activities on which they were keen and this made their discussions more productive.

The meetings took place after school hours because the Head had her usual daily tasks to undertake. These included overseeing the management of the two schools and the 6th Form. She had gathered a good leadership team around her, with their individual ideas and needs. Observing, with agreement, a Leadership Meeting, the Chairman of Governors found it a stimulating experience because it was lively with a great deal of good humour. The meetings were certainly not dull, for departmental reports were often debated with enthusiasm. However, there was a positive atmosphere with the object of providing for the pupils educationally, physically, socially and spiritually.

Threats and Damage

In the vicinity of the school by late 2003 and 2004 tensions were high amongst local gangs of Muslim youths and, on one particular occasion, during a regular evening meeting in the Head's office between her and her Chairman, a group of 'Bangladeshi' youths was seen jostling and gesticulating along the public pathway leading to the notorious estate to the rear of the school. As they approached the windows of the Head's office one of the youths drew a gun from under his coat and pointed it at the window. Both Head and Chairman

dived for the floor, much to the delight of the youths who departed in gales of laughter. The police were called, but the youths had disappeared into the neighbouring estate. It is not known if the gun was real or a replica because no shots were fired. Danger to persons and property in the area of the school at this time was not uncommon.

The pointed gun was not the only serious incident involving the safety of the Head in her often many lonely evenings of administrative work in the school, for there were a number of nightly attacks on the school. These included bricks thrown at windows and petrol bombs lobbed over the high wire fence. Fortunately, the height of the fence prevented the required trajectory of the petrol bombs reaching the buildings. By far the most serious attempt to damage the school buildings was made when a stolen car was rammed at the sturdy fence and set alight. The fence held and no damage to the buildings was caused. The Chairman was kept informed of the incidents and made a point of seeing the results of an evening's activities by early morning visits to the school.

Speedy and successful clearing of the after-effects of these attacks prevented the pupils from appreciating their seriousness and schooling continued normally with an on-site police officer present, as was the situation in all Tower Hamlets secondary schools. A vehicular police patrol during evenings and nights tended to be regular but the attacks were intermittent and, knowing the street-wise nature of local youths, it was a reasonable assumption that attacks were timed when a police patrol had passed the school.

At this time the Head Teacher received anonymous death and injury threats by post. These also included warnings to other members of the staff, particularly a senior Jewish teacher. The missives were seen by this researcher in his capacity as Chairman and passed to the police. As far as is known the originator or originators of these threats has not been discovered, but they ceased once it became known the letters had been passed to the police.

From that time, the Head was instructed in writing by the Chairman to travel by licensed taxi to and from the local rail station, to use taxi travel at all times

when on school business in Tower Hamlets and all staff were either to use their own car or a licensed taxi for school business in Tower Hamlets. This was the only time the Chairman recalled issuing an 'instruction' to his Head Teacher. The Chairman signed all receipts for the Head's expenses to ensure there was no criticism of her use of a taxi and she signed all staff expenses claims. The written instruction and the procedures were to ensure financial probity and to properly place responsibility for the expenditure with the Governors should the procedure be questioned by auditors. The auditors never questioned the procedure, they only ensured receipts were properly authorised.

A meeting was convened at the school to discuss the incidents mentioned above and attended by the Leader of the Council and Ward Councillors, the Chief Education Officer and the Borough Police Commander. For the school the Head and Chairman of Governors attended. The incidents were taken very seriously by the local authority and the Police Commander. Action to prevent recurrence was promised and from that time the attacks were minor. At the end of the meeting the Chairman of Governors was asked from his local knowledge a direct question as to whether he believed the attacks were religiously or criminally motivated. He concluded that they were criminally motivated because there were similar incidents of vandalism in other parts of the borough which he had observed, not necessarily connected with religious buildings. The relief of the visitors was palpable, for in Tower Hamlets crime was easier to deal with than religious fundamentalism.

A Visit from the Imams

Despite the anti-social behaviour of some of the youthful members of the Muslim Bangladeshi community, the Head Teacher had maintained good relations and dialogue with the older members of that community, stemming from her promise to vacate the Shadwell Centre as quickly as possible and return it fully for use by the Bangladeshi Muslim young women. Presumably because she was so respected, the Head was asked to meet a group of local Imams in her office and, on hearing of the proposed meeting, the Chairman of Governors asked the Head if he could attend and the Head readily agreed; hence the meeting became part of participant observation for this research.

The Imams were cordially welcomed with the usual offer of soft drinks, tea and biscuits and introductions were made. The Imams numbered eight and came from Mosques across the borough. There were no handshakes for the female Head. This was customary between a Muslim Religious and a female, but the Imams exhibited great respect and courtesy.

The Imams explained that they had established an Independent religious Muslim school termed a Madrassa for a small number of boys in their community. This school also taught secular subjects and closely followed the national curriculum. The boys at the Madrassa had been very successful in their GCSE examinations, but their school numbers were too small to provide the breadth of 'A' level subjects the boys wished to pursue. The Imams asked the Head if she would accept the boys in her 6th Form. This presented no problem for either the Head or the Chairman of Governors, subject to acceptance of the usual requirements of academic attainment and respect for the Catholic ethos of the school. The Head and Chairman agreed they would jointly recommend the wishes of the Imams to the whole governing body, it being explained that it was the governing body of the school which was responsible for admissions, but no difficulties were envisaged. The Imams were delighted and relaxed. The Chairman of Governors did, however, mention to the Imams that the school's 6th Form included female teachers and students and left this with the Imams to consider. No other formal or further arrangements were necessary and it was observed that a number of Muslim young men joined the 6th Form the following year.

During a relaxed period after the formal business, the attacks on the school by Muslim Bangladeshi youths were mentioned and this was met with horror by the Imams. They immediately said that they would speak about the bad behaviour of the youths at Friday Prayers. From that time there were no further incidents and a complete change in the attitude of the local youths was evident. This attitude boded well for the future when the concept of the Learning Village was more fully developed.

The meetings by the Head Teacher with the Elders of the Muslim community and later with the Imams, it is suggested, were examples of the cultural

transmission of values, knowledge and beliefs (Woods, 2005, p85). In Bernstein's (2000) principle of the pedagogic discourse, the meeting with the Imams may also be analysed in terms of the singularity of the 'instructional discourse' (transmission of skills) and the 'regulative discourse' (transmission of values). As Bernstein suggests when the discourse moves from one position to another, in this instance from the request to admit Muslims to a Catholic school, to a discourse on the vandalism, 'a transformation takes place and there is a space in which ideology can play' (Bernstein, 2000, p32). The ideology in this instance may be described as the deepening of understanding of different cultures and the promotion of peace.

Analysing the meeting with the Imams in terms of Bourdieu's concepts of Habitus, Capital and Field, one may discern that the habitus of the Imams was for the education of their Muslim young men within an Islamic school environment because they had established their Madrassa for this purpose. Further, in the Muslim culture it may be considered unusual for an Imam to make a request of a Christian woman in her office at a Catholic school to educate their young men. However, as Bourdieu postulated, habitus is merely a system of durable but transposable dispositions and has a degree of flexibility as social conditions change (Bourdieu 1977) and the Imam's request to the Head can be construed as a transposable disposition by the Imams. Relating the concept of habitus to the influence of the Imams in speaking out against the attacks on the Catholic school at Friday Prayers and observing the results, the habitus of the local Sunni Islamic community in Tower Hamlets was seemingly one of a deep structural disposition and respect for the Imams as its leaders.

In terms of Bourdieu's concept of Capital, it would appear that the Head had, since the meetings in 2000 relating to the use of the Shadwell Centre and the fulfilment of the promise to vacate it in a short time, built up substantial social capital within the local Muslim community. This had come to the notice of the Imams, possibly from discussions in the mosques, and gave the Imams confidence to approach her in probably the confident expectation that they would be welcomed and would receive a good hearing to their request that the

Muslim young men, educated in the Islamic environment of a Madrassa, be admitted to a Catholic school.

Bourdieu's concept of Field refers to a social struggle, and from the information conveyed to the Head, the Imams were having a social struggle to ensure their young men received a secular education within an environment that was congenial to their culture. It is probable that both the Head and her Chairman were familiar with their own social struggles to succeed in education within environments often hostile to Catholicism in their younger days and therefore as a matter of social justice 'education helps to redress social and economic inequalities' (Woods, 2005, p85). The Head and Chairman therefore agreed to the practice of welcoming a minority from another faith culture in the school. They were undoubtedly also aware of their own current struggle to successfully establish the Learning Village which was at that time beginning to arouse some vociferous opposition within the local Catholic community.

Bourdieu's summary of his three concepts in the equation $Habitus + Social\ Capital + Field = Practice$ (Bourdieu, 1984, p101) and applied to the outcome of the meeting resulted in the 'practice' of young Muslim men in the Catholic school's 6th Form, their presence helping to cement relations between the Catholic school and the numerous families in the surrounding Islamic community.

The promotion of peace by intercultural dialogue was the subject of Grocholewski's (2013) presentation of his dicastery's (a department of the Holy See) publication which he said he had discussed with Pope Francis and from this one may conclude it met with the approval of the Pope. It can therefore be reasonable to argue that the inclusive policy of the Catholic federated school in embracing intercultural dialogue with the leaders of the local Muslim community was in the vanguard of the Congregation for Catholic Education's declared principles of some 6-7 years later.

Trust Through Dialogue

The intervention of the Imams and the events that followed, it is argued, exemplify the continuing accretion of Bourdieu's symbolic capital whereby the

school was benefiting from the trust and integrity of the Head. By keeping promises with the wider community and in dealing fairly with worried or angry parents of the sometimes very difficult pupils in the school she had, since her appointment, carried on the traditions of her predecessors who had all been greatly trusted and respected Sisters of Mercy. Both the Religious and Lay saw their roles in education as part of promoting social justice within the often difficult social circumstances of the families of the area.

The Chairman had some initial concerns that as a lay Catholic the Head might have difficulties in gaining the same respect from all as that accorded to the Sisters, but his concerns proved to be unfounded. From the time of her appointment she had begun a process of symbolic bonding with the surrounding non-Catholic and mainly non-Christian community, by 'building a sense of shared identity and security' (Casson, 2012, p123, drawing on Catts & Ozga, 2005). The Chairman's concern was never one of confidence in the Head, for she was competent, intelligent and hard-working, but that she may have been in danger of losing her work-life balance with the potential implications for her well-being.

From the fieldwork of this chapter an insight may be gained into the impact foreign affairs had on the disposition and social structure of the community in Tower Hamlets in relation to the Catholic school. The Gulf Wars, the IRA and London Islamist terror bombings all impacted upon the school and its local relationships with the community for, to repeat: 'The Power relationships created outside the school penetrate the organisation, distribution and evaluation of knowledge through the social context' (Bernstein, 1970, p347). However, the potentially negative impact of affairs over which the school had no control was ameliorated by the development of good personal and social relations between individuals who respected each other as honest and trustworthy human beings.

In Bourdieu's terms, the habitus of entrenched Muslim and Catholic predispositions appear to have undergone the 'transposable disposition' he postulated; the accretion of the symbolic bridging and bonding capital (Casson, 2012, pp111-112) between the Catholic and mainly Muslim

communities within the field of struggle for recognition and the resolved differences equated to the practice of increased co-operation and mutual respect. Bourdieu's equation, $\text{habitus} + \text{social capital} + \text{field} = \text{practice}$ was a useful underpinning of the findings in the above aspect of the fieldwork.

The following chapter considers the advent of the original concept of school federation, which it can be argued was conceived at the meeting with the Bishop in 2000 and came to birth in the Education Act 2002 following the visits by the civil servants in 2001. It was developed by the federated school when initiating another original concept, that of the Urban Learning Village, and then extending its role in partnership with the local authority to embrace outreach provision through the local authority's Youth and Community Service. These policies were not instituted without opposition.

CHAPTER 6 FIELDWORK AND ANALYSIS (3): THE ADVENT OF THE FEDERATED SCHOOL AND CHANGES IN COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The long evening planning meetings in the Head's office referred to in Chapter 5 eventually produced a strategic plan for the use of the £30 million project approval. Mostly, this incorporated the vision of the Head. In terms of her function as an educational leader the vision can be described as both transformational and transactional (Coleman, 2005, pp16-17); the vision was to transform the traditional role of a Catholic school in east London from merely a teaching and learning institution for its predominantly Catholic pupils into an institution for intercultural and community use and for education in its widest sense. Catholic Christian beliefs were not diminished in teaching, but possibly enhanced through Christ's command to love your neighbour (Mark, 12:29-33). To emphasise the distinctly Catholic/Christian nature of the new complex, the artefacts in the new buildings would remind visitors that this was a Catholic foundation based on Gospel values. Essentially the vision expressed formally was one of love for neighbour and promoting the common good in the peaceful understanding of different cultural and religious opinions (Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church 2004, n 4).

In terms of transformational leadership (Burns, 1978), it was observed the Head was a role model in demonstrating high standards of conduct and was not interested in personal gain. An example of her lack of great interest in financial reward can be gained from the annual recommendations by the School Improvement Partner (SIP) for additional salary increments to be paid to the Head for her exceptional extra responsibilities and long hours of work. These recommendations were made after the day-long meetings with the Chairman of Governors. The SIP had already discussed the school with the Head and had scrutinised documents, importantly the up-dated School Development Plan. She had toured the school and had met staff and pupils. She verified her observations with the Chairman and interviewed him on policy matters at the end of her visits. **(END NOTE 7)** The Chairman and Head always debriefed themselves after the SIP's visits and at these meetings the Chairman mentioned the recommendation for an additional increment for the Head. He ignored her protests and her reticence to take the expedited salary

which would possibly extend her salary scale when she was at its maximum. The SIP's eventual reports were put formally to the governing body, including the recommendation for the Head's salary. All was agreed, for, as the governing body of a voluntary aided school they had the authority to agree salaries for staff. Salaries in the school followed National and London agreed scales of pay and the governing body, through its Finance Committee was careful to ensure no criticisms arose on levels of pay, or if any questions arose they had good documentation to answer the questions. The payment of salaries was contracted out to a specialist organisation which also provided legal advice and answers to queries. No adverse comments on salary payments arose.

The Importance of Team Spirit

The Head's inspirational motivation and vision for the future encouraged team spirit in a high quality professional team of differing talents. At the Leadership Team meetings this researcher attended it was observed that the team members were at ease when contributing ideas and it was further observed that the Head provided a positive and supportive environment which considered the requirements of each member of the team in their professional and personal capacities. In terms of the transactional leadership there was both a formal contractual relationship with her as Head Teacher and an informal one as a colleague who looked after the wider interests of the school in its impact upon their professional careers within the dual system of education (Coleman, 2005, p24 following Leithwood et al, 1999). Her situation was the opposite of the one observed by Burgess (1983) in his account of the divided senior management team at loggerheads with the Catholic ideals propounded by the Head Teacher in the Bishop McGregor Catholic Comprehensive School. She had the support of her teaching and non-teaching staff whereas the unfortunate Head in Bishop McGregor apparently did not.

The facilities envisaged for the Learning Village may be said to have evolved from the Head Teacher's provision for the school club which had been enthusiastically welcomed by governors because it enabled a diverse range of extra-curricular activities and, additionally for working parents, to collect their children from a safe and secure environment after school hours rather than

have the children possibly roaming the often dangerous streets of Tower Hamlets. An early, and important, function of the school club was the provision of breakfasts at notional prices for the pupils because it had been reported that numbers of them were arriving at school not having had a breakfast. Further, as part of later fieldwork for this research, the Head of Sixth mentioned that a number of his students were homeless and sleeping in friends' flats. This was not untypical of the domestic situations of some teenagers in Tower Hamlets and the breakfasts, lunches and after-school facilities, including the availability of light refreshments, would minimise the time these young adults needed in using friends' accommodation. The lesser time in restricted accommodation use would tend to reduce the possibility of frictions arising.

The concept of the school club had already been extended to providing adult education classes designed to appeal to local immigrant communities, prominent amongst which was the growing Lithuanian community. In addition to the teaching of English, the Lithuanians were able to maintain their own cultural customs as a group, attracting the notice of the Lithuanian Embassy, which later organised in the school an exhibition of Lithuanian history and culture. The facilities provided by the school club were commented upon favourably at an Ofsted inspection, noting the successful local involvement of activities in the school. This obviously gave encouragement to continue and develop the policy.

In terms of organisational development, it can be argued that a continual evaluation process adopted for the development of the school club, as needs were perceived, and the associated extra-curricular activities were an aid to developmental planning for the Learning Village and were in accord with Coleman's perception of a practical use of the evaluative concept (Coleman, 2005, p153). The process was one of learning from experience, the concept developing as the wider needs of the community were appreciated. Those using the facilities were encouraged to express their own ideas and needs and this 'captured the spirit of the engaged-critical paradigm of teaching which relate(s) much more to the learner' (Coleman, 2005, p159).

The Learning Village was the generic term intended to also encompass and integrate the Catholic primary school adjacent to the federated/collegiate school with the boys' and girls' secondary school and the 6th Form. The primary school would retain its governing body and its Head Teacher and staff would remain employees of the primary school governors, this being another voluntary aided school. The primary school Head and her governors could attend the governing body of the federated school as of right to ensure openness of communication. This was to develop later in what was classed as a 'soft federation,' but is now more accurately termed 'collaboration or a partnership' (National College, 2009; 2010). The change in terminology was possibly designed to avoid confusion with the strictly legal position of the federated school.

The evening meetings between the Head and her Chairman to plan for the new complex mentioned above included the complex having as its focal point the 'listed' Victorian Catholic Church to maintain the historical and religious significance of the whole site. The site was later enhanced by the diocese purchasing from the local authority the whole of the freehold of the former leased open space and incorporating a plot of land given by the diocese for the new school buildings, formerly used as a Catholic burial ground. It was the disputed ownership of this plot of land which was to lead to the High Court trial indicated above. Planning consent for the new school complex was obtained in 2005, after wide consultations with the general community for a Catholic four-form entry boys' school (total 600 pupils); a five form entry girls' school (total 750 pupils) and a co-educational 6th Form (16-18) of 350 students. Importantly, planning consent requested from and given by the local authority was for community access, to be under the auspices of the governors of the school. This was to be for a multi-use games area, drama and assembly halls, a sports hall with associated changing facilities and a youth centre. To ensure the safe and secure nature of the school for the pupils/students, the community use was by a separate entrance from that of the school. The outline of all these matters was discussed at the evening meetings of the Head and Chairman mentioned above, but put into the formal planning application by the specialist professional team recommended by the Head to the diocese and subsequently appointed by the diocese. Both Head and Chairman

ensured that all professional appointments and contractual arrangements were made by the diocese to ensure the oversight agreed at the Bishop's meeting in 2000. As part of the evening discussions for the Learning Village the local environment was considered. It was decided to approach the local authority with suggestions to enhance this environment by works to the surrounding Council-owned estates and improvements to an important road on the western boundary of the school. These improvements were all undertaken by the local authority as the building work for the new school complex continued. There was trust on both sides, although at times the Head had to press for work to be done to improve the road adjacent to the school because she considered it hazardous.

In addition to the discussions on the physical aspects of the proposed new school complex, the Head and Chairman were conscious of their commitment as Catholics to community cohesion, equality and diversity. These aspects of Catholic education later appeared as a paragraph in 'Our Catholic Schools' (2010, p8), a document produced by the Westminster Diocese. The Head and Chairman's mutual commitment to the wider community meant that there was a unity of purpose in intending to open the facilities of the school to those of other faiths or no faith. From this principle it became a matter of practical provision to ensure the proper use of facilities and to consider mundane matters of insurance and wear and tear on the buildings and whether to keep the buildings open for community use on Saturday and Sunday. Specialist advice on these matters was sought at the appropriate time. When advice was needed the local authority usually had resources available, as did the team masterminding the planning of the buildings.

Although the Head and Chairman had responsibilities to ensure the needs of the pupils in their school were met and that the Catholic curriculum for which the governors were responsible contributed to the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of all the pupils, a key implication of learning and teaching in any Catholic school (Our Catholic Schools, 2010, p21), they and the governing body also had a commitment to the wider needs of Catholic education in the diocese (ibid, p11). As part of this wider commitment the Head accepted the role of Chairperson of the Westminster Catholic Teachers'

Association. The higher profile this gave her, combined with her commitment as the Head of a large Catholic school to the wider community in Tower Hamlets, with the obvious support of the diocese, may have enhanced the prospect of other Catholic schools in the diocese collaborating with their local authorities. Without a strong team spirit by all involved it is doubtful if progress would have been made as effectively as it was.

The Vision Challenged and Defended

However, an unpleasant surprise to the Head and governors of the federated school was that the size of the proposed school complex and concept of its use by the wider community, especially by the Muslim community, was strongly opposed by a relatively small but vociferous group of local Catholic parishioners supported by the Parish Priest of the nearby Catholic church that was to be the focal point of the new complex. This came about late in 2004. Their objections were that the school would not be truly Catholic, because it would be too large for the current Catholic school population and consequently it would have to admit an inordinately large number of non-Catholic children, so diluting the Catholicity of the school; the community facilities to be used by the wider community would also detract from the Catholic nature of the school. The group's opposition was so pronounced and carefully organised that even after visits and reassurances from the then Cardinal Archbishop they successfully applied for a Judicial Review which was granted because the judge decided they had an arguable case. They then instituted High Court proceedings against the diocesan trustees and the governors of the school. The High Court trial was on a technicality over the ownership of the plot of land given by the diocese for the proposed new school buildings. **(END NOTE 8)** The position of this plot of land was so important for the commencement of building work that the inability to use it for the new school buildings would have necessitated a significant revision and scaling down of the plans for the buildings.

At the High Court trial the Parish Priest expressed his fears that, as so many of the current staff were non-Catholic it was difficult for the governors to maintain a true Catholic ethos with a real missionary vision. He was concerned, that even among the Catholic intake of pupils there were so many

‘nominal Catholics’ who had little understanding of the Faith and this was reflected in their behaviour at Holy Mass and even in the streets surrounding the school. This, he said, had a negative effect on their peers. Similarly, in giving evidence at the trial the Chairman of the Poplar-sited now former Catholic boys’ school was critical, stating that the governors of the federated school and Learning Village ‘clearly were not interested in a truly Catholic school for the community and were intent on a much larger school where the percentage of Catholics attending would be reduced.’ He stated, ‘it is going to be a school for all faiths.’ He was concerned about the school’s true Catholic ethos and whether it had any real will or determination to pursue a true Catholic missionary function. A reading of other witness statements of the opponents of the school’s policies adds nothing material to the above arguments, except to castigate the Chairman of Governors for what they perceived as his lack of ‘true’ Catholic leadership of the school’s governing body.

A consideration of the Head Teacher’s witness statement in the High Court enables an insight into her vision and why she was prepared to face the challenges and personal dangers she had encountered and was continuing to encounter. She stated that most of her pupils and 6th Formers came from deprived backgrounds and she cited the DfE criterion of deprivation adopted by Ofsted, where in a table 1-7 denoting social deprivation with ‘7’ being the most deprived, her boys’ school was classified as ‘6’ and her girls’ school as ‘7,’ with high mobility in both schools.

In terms of leadership style one could classify this aspect as ‘Moral Leadership,’ placing the care and development of the young people in her charge at the centre of her motivation (Coleman, 2005, p17). Her statement expressed the belief that, the federated school was itself at the cutting-edge of innovative approaches (and it would lead to the federated concept becoming a major part of new statutory provision), the project under review by the Court went further than the statutory provision for school federation and was the result of many consultations and considerable planning. She believed the Learning Village would provide customised accommodation for local people who needed help or wanted to be included in extra-curricular activities. She

regarded the Learning Village as the Church's mission to protect, care for and educate the marginalised and under-privileged members of 'our' community in a safe and secure environment. The phraseology is reminiscent of that of the Sisters in the 1950s who identified themselves with 'Our Dockers', indicating she, as the Head Teacher, had assimilated the traditions of the Sisters by closely identifying with the wider local community.

The Head Teacher in her statement was adamant that the school complex would not be another high-rise construction, because so many of the pupils lived in 'tower blocks' and she wanted them to experience living in a more spacious environment. Her concept was of an environment welcoming to pupils and adults and providing value for public and charity money spent.

By her witness statement she clearly appreciated the encompassing stark environment of Tower Hamlets – no doubt brought home to her by the social realities she faced and the emotional reality of her long hours of work with its personal dangers. However, she appeared to be fortified by her spiritual beliefs in protecting, caring for and educating the marginalised all within an envisaged safe and secure school environment. These it may be said were her 'realities of leadership' (Riley, 2013 pp75-76).

The Head Teacher's theme was similar to the view of the Bishop Chairman of the Diocesan Education Commission who had succeeded to the post. In his written and oral evidence he saw the development of the Learning Village as a project in which the federated/collegiate school would contribute to a sustained comprehensive centre of educational excellence for pupils who lived in a part of London which unfortunately still experienced a high level of social deprivation. He evidenced the already good academic record of the girls to be soon, he anticipated (correctly) to be improved on by the boys. He saw the Learning Village as a message of dignity and value. The amenities proposed, he said, would enhance the identity and self-image of the wider population.

The above views were elaborated on by the Director (a non-Catholic) of the international firm commissioned to draw up the masterplan for the extended school campus. Drawing on his 'instructions from the School and the Diocese,'

the Director observed in his witness statement other intended benefits of the Learning Village. Primarily, he stated, 'the project was to provide and facilitate the benefit of social and racial integration for residents of the area.' He noted the existing buildings were already used by members of faiths other than Catholic. He stated that objections to 'faith schools' being divisive did not apply to this school. He had observed that in the 6th Form particularly, Muslims, Christians and those of other faiths or none worked and relaxed happily together. He also noted (which was a matter of contention by those opposed to the policy of the school) that there were numerous non-Catholics at all staff levels working harmoniously together within a Catholic ethos, including those at second tier immediately below the Head. Those at second tier mentioned by the Director included a Jewess and a Muslim man who worked happily together. Both he had found to be wholly committed to the school and very talented managers.

The Director drew the Court's attention to the significant capital investment that the construction of the school would generate and that there would be a considerable annual revenue stream to fund the activities (this was then March 2006 and by 2010 the annual revenue stream exceeded £12 million). From his wider discussions with the local authority the Director stated that the project was seen as a catalyst for regenerating the surrounding area (which it later became, for surrounding flats were modernised, externally repainted and local roads improved). He made it clear to the Court that in the planning stage care was taken to include all public bodies as well as the local community in the thinking and all showed support.

The Director's witness statement notes that the diocese, as a gesture of goodwill, made a significant contribution to regenerate the nearby notorious housing estate by entering a Section 106 Planning Agreement. This is an agreement under the Town and Country Planning Act 1990 (as amended) whereby a commercial developer makes a contribution to the local authority in respect of its 'planning gain.' For the diocese, not being a commercial developer and being a registered charity, this was a pure gesture of goodwill. Overall, the Director concluded, the Learning Village concept and its

development was planned to be attractive with high quality materials and facilities.

Unlike in Storr (2011, p109), who found in his study that the overwhelming majority of his foundation governor respondents did not report that the Catholic or religious character of the school particularly interested them, the foundation governors of the federated school who were overwhelmingly people with long residential attachments to the area, took seriously their appointments as Catholics. They were keen to ensure the religious nature of the school and saw their participation in the life of the school as part of the Church's continuing presence in the changing religious and cultural nature of the borough. There was no expressed thought in the minds of the governors and of the diocese that this was other than a Catholic school, or that it would fail to remain so when the new complex was completed. The governors had been fully briefed on the meeting in 2000 with the Bishop and although the detail of the later discussions with the local authority was left with the Head Teacher, supported by her Chairman of Governors, the governors acknowledged that the supervising and monitoring role of the policies of the school was with the diocesan trustees who were in agreement with the building and the conceptual proposals of embracing the wider community. The Catholic nature of the school would therefore be secure while it remained a diocesan school.

However, all was not to the liking of the group of equally committed Catholics who saw the school's policy in embracing the wider community in the life of the school as a threat to traditional Catholicity and, as recorded above, they strongly challenged the policies. Possibly and perhaps perversely, the very good Catholic educational process since the 1850 restoration of the English Catholic Hierarchy had been successful in giving this element of the local Catholic community the confidence and knowledge to challenge decisions made by the Church hierarchy on their behalf. In this one can justify their challenge, for the 1983 Code of Canon Law gives all Christ's faithful the obligation and right to make known their needs, especially their spiritual needs to the Pastors (Bishops and Priests) of the Church (Canon 212§ 2 and 3) and the Code of Canon Law provides for this in Book VI Part II. But one can also argue that, following St Paul's advice, differences should be settled within the Church community rather than in the secular courts (1Cor 6, 4-7).

However, secular courts in a democratic and pluralistic secular society may be seen to be more impartial than other ways of resolving disputes in a community. English Law has defects, such as the cost of litigation, but judges decide on the evidence presented to them in accordance with strict rules of evidence and the courts are, except in exceptional circumstances, open to the public and the media for scrutiny. There are also the rights of appeal to higher courts. Similar rules apply in the code of Canon Law of the Church, but the system is more opaque to many Catholics and is based on Roman Law principles (Jolowicz, 1972).

The previous major differences over school policies, as recounted by Grace (2002, pp183-204) were where Catholic parents, Heads and governors of individual Catholic schools were in dispute with their Diocesan Bishop when they sought competitive funding under Grant Maintained status within the Education Reform Act, 1988. The rules for such funding under the Act were considered by Bishops to encourage harsh competition in education to the detriment of other schools in the public sector. However, the dispute over this federated school's policy of inclusivity was different from this because it was seen by some local Catholics, even supported by a non-Catholic solicitor who orchestrated the legal opposition, as being inimical to the nurturing of the Catholic faith and the distinctive nature of a Catholic school. Their argument appears similar to that of Arthur (1995) in that the sense of 'the sacred' in a Catholic school was being diluted by actively encouraging an atmosphere of relativism in religious beliefs. The opponents of the policies of the federated school apparently saw Catholic schools as the Keep of Fortress Church and perceived the federated school's inclusive policy as a surrender of the Keep. Essentially their concern was similar to that articulated in Arthur 'Apart from a crucifix on the wall in what way does the place differ from a maintained school?' (Arthur, 1995 p180).

The contrary view was put by the Bishop Chairman of the Diocesan Education Commission and the Head Teacher in their evidence to the High Court. The Bishop saw multiculturalism as the big challenge facing the inner cities and this was at the forefront of life in Tower Hamlets. His view was that as

Christian Churches, it was incumbent to engage in inter-faith dialogue, 'no matter how difficult that might be.' It was a matter for Christian Churches (in the plural) to engage in this dialogue, not just the Roman Catholic Church. In this, he appeared to have in mind an even broader ecumenical approach embracing the whole Christian community. His evidence (on oath) was that the exciting proposals (as he described them) for multi-purpose use of the buildings would make 'an outstanding contribution to social cohesiveness.' He saw the Learning Village to be part of the endeavour of the Catholic Church to 'keep faith in the communities' in that part of London and it was to be at the heart of the mission of the Church; and the Church would continue to invest energy, manpower, spiritual and physical resources into parts of London where they are most needed.

Pivotal in balancing distinctiveness and inclusivity in the new arrangements was the Head Teacher. She, in her witness statement in 2006, again under oath, saw the proposed complex as developing the vision of the Learning Village in the Church's mission 'to protect, care for and educate the marginalised and under-privileged members of the community in a safe and secure environment.' She stated that the buildings were designed as 'providing customised accommodation for all local people who need help or wanted to be involved in extra-curricular activities.' To that end she affirmed the governors had registered an interest in managing the local authority's youth and community programmes in a larger part of Tower Hamlets than the school's immediate neighbourhood. She was very forthright in stating that the already established after-school clubs and classes for the local community had provided strong links with that community and that these links would grow in the new arrangements. In terms of leadership theory, she appeared to be exercising values-driven leadership by placing moral values at the heart of her leadership (Coleman, 2005 p17).

From the above one can perceive two differing views of the mission of the Catholic Church in its educational provision; the views are difficult to reconcile. The one wishing to maintain a narrower Catholic concept of keeping The Faith within the traditional and narrower boundaries of Catholicism in England since the hierarchical restoration in 1850, the other espousing intercultural dialogue

not merely at formal gatherings, but as part of 'a very valid contribution to the evangelisation of culture,' (Pope Francis in his exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium* - The Joy of the Gospel, 2013, 134).

Possibly, in terms of Bourdieu the habitus of 'fortress church' was ingrained in the devout Catholics who took their diocese and its school to the High Court and they were not yet ready to be flexible enough to accept the realities of life within a community that had swiftly changed from being predominantly Christian and significantly Irish Catholic to becoming a largely Asian Muslim community. The contrary view to that of the comfort of being within the Keep of Fortress Church involved greater uncertainties and even personal hazards in promoting dialogue when seeking 'to cultivate attitudes of authentic and productive co-operation with other cultures in ways adapted to the circumstances of place and time' (Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, 2004 N534).

In being open to the guarantee of the truth of Christ it is clear that every human is called to communion because all are made in the image of God.

Humans are not isolated individuals, but people who are essentially relational involving a dual dimension, vertical to God and horizontal in communion with all persons (8). The school is seen as a school for the person, for persons and the dynamics are of interpersonal relations (13).

(Educating Together in Catholic Schools, 2007)

These statements indicate the Holy See's view that the Catholic School is part of the wider mission of the Church embracing society and not tending to exclusivity in its Christian message of seeking the common good.

Ofsted's Opinion of Catholicity in the School

Probably a more detached view of the Catholicity of the federated school in each of its parts can be deduced from the Ofsted inspection of 2004, the first one conducted on the federated school, and quoted from by the Head Teacher in her sworn witness statement to the High Court. The inspectors observed:

‘The school rightly identifies itself as the Catholic Church’s mission in practise.’

In the main findings for both boys’ and girls’ schools the inspectors also found:

- Outstanding Catholic leadership from the Head and Chair which is reflected across the staff
- Committed active and supportive governors and a Chair with exceptional local knowledge
- Very good senior leadership of Catholic life and of religious education which is ensuring rapid development
- Strong sense of unity and purpose across the staff of the school
- Strong and dependable Chaplain and a good range of school support agencies
- Excellent provision for spiritual and moral development
- Good religious initiatives and independence encouraged in older pupils
- Good provision for retreats for pupils.

Noteworthy, is the use of ‘practise’ by the inspectors, indicating the actuality of that which was happening in the federated school.

Although the Ofsted inspection was not of the religious education being provided, this being a Catholic school for which religion is inspected by the diocesan authorities, the inspection team appear to have been sufficiently impressed with the overt Catholicity of the school to comment upon it during their thorough inspection process. This inspection was in 2004 when the planning for the new complex by the Head and Chairman was nearing its conclusions and the governors’ policies were scrutinised by the inspection team, as is normal in an Ofsted inspection. The Ofsted report would have been available to the opponents of the school’s Catholicity and it is surprising they chose to pursue their case in the circumstances of the inspectors’ views on the school’s Catholicity.

Extending Community Involvement

The unfortunate dispute with the dissidents appeared to have undertones of the insecurity of a segment of the local parish because the neighbourhood was now significantly populated by the Muslim community, parish numbers had declined and the former community cohesion with the large Jewish community

built up over many years of joint privations had evaporated when that community left in large numbers (**END NOTE 9**). The diocese and the school governors saw the situation differently from the school's opponents and may be said to have adopted a different philosophical stance, seeing an opportunity to further the need to rebuild community cohesion and enthusiastically adopting a view of Catholicism propounded by Pope Paul VI in *Nostra Aetate* (1965) (In our Time), the Second Vatican Council's Declaration on the Relation of the Church to non-Christians. The Declaration recognises the community of all peoples in their one origin, for God made the whole human race to live over the face of the earth (1). The Declaration exhorts the Church through dialogue and communication with followers of other religions 'Carried out with prudence love and witness to the Christian faith and life' to recognise, preserve and promote the good things, spiritual and moral as well as the socio-cultural values found amongst all (2). In particular, the Declaration regards with esteem the Muslims 'for they adore the one God subsisting in Himself, merciful and all-powerful, creator of heaven and earth' (3).

Thus there was the Church's Declaration to be adhered to in carrying out with prudence the love and witness of the Christian faith and life while recognising the good in the beliefs of others, including the socio-cultural values found amongst them. These sentiments expressed in the Declaration appear particularly apt in the socio-cultural nature of the surroundings of the Catholic secondary school in Tower Hamlets.

On the successful conclusion of the High Court case in favour of the diocese and the school, the governors of the school in agreement with the diocesan trustees as sponsors of the school, further planned and extended their concept of community involvement. This was, as indicated by the Head Teacher to the High Court in successfully agreeing with the local authority to manage its youth and community programmes in some most socially and economically deprived areas of the borough.

In terms of Bourdieu's concept of habitus as a deep structured cultural disposition, resistant to change and always present in terms of past experiences (Grace, 1992, p37-38; Swartz, 1997, p213), one can

appreciate the apprehension of the opponents of the proposed enlarged federated school with the recent experiences of local disorder caused by Muslim youths and their fear of the strangeness of the surrounding Bangladeshi Muslim culture which was appearing to be engulfing them. However the concept of habitus is adaptable to new social conditions and the Catholic Church was adapting its education and social policies to the realities of the situation as cultures new to the diocese permeated it. Bourdieu's concepts of Capital and Field can also be applied to the situation, for the symbolic capital of the Head Teacher was strong with the majority of the Catholic community and with the diocese. This lent support to her vision for the future of the federated school, while her field of struggle against personal threats was recognised as a great moral strength. The habitus of change, plus the symbolic capital of Head/diocese and the field of struggle to provide for the whole community, it is argued once again, equated to Bourdieu's concept of practice and practise in what was proposed for the new school complex i.e. $\text{Habitus} + \text{Capital} + \text{Field} = \text{Practice}$.

In 2001 Tower Hamlets Council launched its Strategic Development Plan which included dividing the borough into eight Local Area Partnerships, essentially designed to bring local communities in the borough closer together to co-operate in assisting the local authority to respond more efficiently and effectively to local needs. This was a different concept from the discredited Neighbourhoods policy of former local Tower Hamlets Councils which divided rather than brought the neighbourhoods together. To understand the Council's concern one needs to appreciate that the name 'Tower Hamlets' was given to the London Borough in 1965 when it was formed from amalgamating Bethnal Green, Poplar and Stepney Metropolitan Borough Councils, each with areas still using the names of the former Vestries dating from The Statute of Elizabeth 1601 and succeeding Poor Law functions. Despite the local government administrative changes over the years, local communities continued to think and act socially in terms of smaller and now historical administrative units of administration. Possibly, this was perpetuated by the name given to the new borough in 1965, for Tower Hamlets symbolises the ancient hamlets that surrounded the Tower of London outside the walls of the

City of London, which were to the east of the Tower, the Tower itself being within modern Tower Hamlets. Even in the 21st century the borough is often recognised and described by older local residents as a series of villages, local to themselves, with other parts unexplored by them; this despite the borough being geographically the smallest outside the City Corporation (City of London). Commercial Road, built as a major road linking the City of London and the 19th century East and West India Docks, divides the borough north to south. The islands of Wapping and the Milwall (the Isle of Dogs) to the south of Commercial Road tended to isolate communities living in those areas. These areas have acquired the title of 'Docklands' and now house expensive apartments, mostly gated adjacent to sometimes violent estates, a situation recognised in inner city areas by Brighthouse (2005, p107). Although public transport communication has improved access to these areas they are increasingly becoming socially exclusive because of the 'gated apartments,' perpetuating 'localism' within the borough. Frequent questioning of the Head by her Chairman for the purposes of this research revealed that she had no pupils/students with addresses in the 'gated apartments' and there was little in common between the communities in these apartments and the wider community.

The Local Area Partnerships (LAPs) were an initiative by the local authority to address the perceived village-like insularity of communities in parts of Tower Hamlets. The policy of the Council enabled organisations across the borough to bid to manage certain of the local authority's services, amongst which was the Youth and Community Service. The governing body of the Catholic Federated School resolved to bid for this service in LAP 4 as part of its community policy. LAP 4 covered the electoral wards of Wapping, St Katherine's and Shadwell. St Katherine's and Shadwell included the famous, or infamous road, The Highway, (formerly Ratcliff/e Highway) 'the headquarters of unbridled vice and drunken violence - of all that is dirty, drunken, disorderly and debased' (Philips, 1855), but in 1986 still capable of notoriety with its 'News International riots' and the parallel Cable Street (Barling, 2011). Cable Street is still the haunt of prostitutes and at least one distressed girl in the school was 'rescued' by the Head after it was discovered she was being introduced to the profession by a family member. These wards

of Wapping, St Katherine's and Shadwell are the wards nearest the school and house some of the most socially deprived families in the borough, but also the wealthy. There are numerous 'gated communities' (Brighouse, 2005, p107).

Before bidding to manage the youth and community services, the governors of the school were careful to verify they had the legal authority to undertake this type of extension to the traditional educational activity of a school concentrating on teaching and learning for registered pupils within its defined boundaries. The authority is to be found in the Education Act 2002, Sections 27 and 28, but with the proviso that such community activities do not interfere with a school's educational function.

The Head Teacher reported that the school, both girls' and boys' together with the 6th Form (all girls at that time), was doing well and she was a firm proponent of the bidding process. Her style of devolved management also encouraged staff to support the process and so enhanced their culture of CPD, enabling them to work collaboratively (Earley, 2005, p245) in the rapidly developing situation. However, it was appreciated that the formal and public bidding required by the local authority to manage an aspect of a LAP would provide additional arguments for opponents of the school. They would maintain this would further lessen the distinctive Catholicism of the school. Members of the staff were therefore fully briefed on the advantages and problems of additional work a successful bidding would entail. External pressures that successful bidding would probably bring implied that all staff and governors, individually and collectively, would need to develop skills and attitudes through their practical CPD to meet new challenges. This type of CPD, it was anticipated, would contribute significantly further to both individual and organisational development (Earley, 2005, p245) in the similar manner to what was happening within the school federation and the Learning Village, even if the end results of managing the additional services could not always be predicted.

A full copy of the completed documents of the bid for the LAP 4 Youth and Community Service Management was scrutinised for this research and it

shows clearly that the governors' decision was not a mere whim made emotionally, but a carefully considered strategic decision backed by legal and management research. The governors were firmly of the opinion that, as part of the Church's education and social mission, they should extend the benefits of their, as yet not fully developed, facilities to the wider community without restriction on religious grounds. The potential outreach buildings to be managed were all visited by the Head with the Chairman to assess their condition and occupancy. The tender documents advised prospective bidders to do this because some 'Mandatory Buildings' for 'delivery points' were to be leased to a successful bidder who would then incur legal liabilities for their upkeep. Recommendations for significant improvements were made by the Head as a requirement of the school leasing, prior to entering into a leasing agreement should the bid be successful.

The preliminaries to the bid for LAP 4 were held in 2005 and at that time the building contract for the new school complex was in abeyance because of the legal processes connected with the High Court case, but it was mentioned by the Head in her evidence (*supra*). In retrospect it appears extremely burdensome for the governors and the Head to put additional pressure on themselves and the staff by bidding for the LAP 4 contract when they had a building contract to cope with that would require the gradual demolition of existing school buildings, their additional concerns for health and safety of all, and the continuing teaching and learning functions of the school. Additionally, the bid to extend the inclusivity of the school could be, and seemingly was seen, as provocative by those opposed to the policy of the governors of the Catholic school.

A later bidding document for LAP 4, numbered 1-3 and headed 'Staffing Issues', enables an insight into the broader aspects of the governors' policies at that time (2005). These relate to planning and relationships with other local organisations and they triangulate with the evidence in the High Court trial:

The main location will be the new-build community facilities, developing the Village Club. This will include four all-weather pitches, a community building with indoor sports and entertainment facilities and space for workshops and surgeries.

The documentation records the use made by the school of existing 'delivery points' for its educational purposes, indicating the school was already cooperating with others in the community and preliminary discussions with the 'gatekeepers' of these places had already taken place. These 'delivery points' are worth listing. The **King Edward Memorial Park**, known locally as Shadwell Park, is a former extremely well maintained LCC open space now vested in the local authority, but under pressure from local developers of an adjacent gated residential development, known as Free Trade Wharf (the original use of the site) to be incorporated within their development. The **Ensign Youth Club** was and is an independent Youth and Community Club having its own elected Management Committee in a building which needed improvements to outdated facilities. **Wapping Youth Centre** was housed in a building listed as of architectural and historic interest as an example of an early fire station. The first visit revealed it to be in a woeful condition and the Head recommended it for considerable renovation and improvement.

Mulberry girls' school is an outstandingly good local authority school, the pupils being almost all Bangladeshi Muslim girls superbly taught by mostly non-Muslim teachers. Numbers of these girls were to be interviewed later as part of the fieldwork for this research. Mulberry had been recently built as part of the local authority's Private Finance Initiative (PFI) and its design and architecture were not to everyone's taste, the local authority having to subordinate its own preferences to that of the PFI funders. Mulberry had the distinct advantage however, that it was the best funded school per pupil in the borough and greatly to the annoyance of other schools, including the federated school, had accumulated significant financial surpluses.

Finally - and a delightful feature to this researcher being familiar with the tensions in former years between the local authority and the Docklands developers - was the document's inclusion of '**The Shadwell Basin**' as a delivery point. This was a newly developed facility by the London Docklands Development Corporation (wound up in 1998). It had formerly been a relatively shallow dock for the smaller cargo vessels, but was now providing outdoor activity projects, including water sports, climbing, mountain biking and yachting facilities, all as a legacy of the LDDC (www.shadwell.basin.co.uk). This may

be seen as a bridge building exercise between the 'Docklands' area of affluence and the remainder of the borough. 'Bridge building' and 'bridging capital' were qualities that the Head developed to further the social and physical aspects of the pupils and staff of the federated school and she was at ease with senior executives in the Docklands commercial and professional organisations in obtaining voluntary services for the school. This is considered further below.

Statement numbered "2" in document 1-3 in the bidding documentation for LAP 4 refers to the continuing discussions between the school/diocese, LEA , the borough's other directorates and local community groups on the eventual composition of a Steering Group for the use of the new school complex. By including these bodies in the Steering Group it was planned to reinforce the wider involvement of the school in the community. The composition of this Steering Group is outlined in the documentation to include a School Governor (eventually the Chair of Governors), a London Borough of Tower Hamlets Representative, a primary school Head, the Executive Head (now so designated since federation), a person designated as The Contracts Manager, an Assistant Director of the Federated School (the tier below the Executive Head) and a representative of the London Muslim Centre.

There can be little doubt from the seriousness of the bid that the Catholic school intended to serve a wider community than merely its Catholic community. However, there is no mention of a local Catholic Priest or parishioner on the Steering Group and this may have added to the ire of the Catholic opponents of the school's policies for inclusion. Alternatively it could have indicated that the school felt so confident in its Catholic mission to serve the wider community within diocesan policies that it did not need local clerical representation.

The documentation provides an insight into the importance the school placed on communication with the wider local community and its partner schools when it describes a number of LEA schools in the 'hub' of the LAP system. This carefully planned venture clearly appears to have been undertaken with the agreement and co-operation of other schools in the area for they refrained

from bidding themselves and did not oppose the bid of the federated school. This may be seen as further evidence of the inclusive thinking of the governors and the Head Teacher of the school. It may therefore be instanced as an advanced example of 'Networked learning communities' (Earley, 2005, p247). There was already in 2005 a well-established newspaper published by the federated school, 'The Village Voice'. It was widely distributed in the borough, to Catholic parishes in east London and to pupils' parents and the parents of potential pupils in Catholic primary schools. It is apparent from reading copies of The Village Voice that the school was not hiding its policy of inclusivity from the Catholic or the wider community, but was fully informing the readers of its policies.

The formal documentation referred to above stated that it would be for community groups to evaluate the programme and projects through exit questionnaires as part of ongoing quality assurance. An Assistant Director was designated by the Head to be a liaison officer with community leaders and he was to prepare the drafting of an annual report measuring the progress against pre-determined milestones and targets for the development of the extended school, the Village Club and the Community Cohesion Programme as a whole. Designating an Assistant Director for this task can be considered as an example of the distributive leadership of the Head (Carnell and Lodge, 2005, pp 218-219).

Although the general tenor of all the documentation seen relates to the underprivileged in Tower Hamlets and links with community organisations associated with the underprivileged, the federated school also was beginning to benefit from the newer and wealthier commercial organisations in Docklands. Coming herself from a background similar to the underprivileged in Tower Hamlets, the Executive Head had formed 'bridging contacts' (Casson, 2012, p111) with some of the major international firms in Docklands, an outstanding example being with the Chairman of Barclays Bank. This had resulted in young highly paid and well-educated executives, numbering a hundred over a period of a year and from a variety of the prominent firms in Docklands, acting in the school as mentors for both boys and girls and as practical career advisors in the 6th Form. The Chairman of Barclays Bank was

to become a frequent visitor to the school giving support to the young executives and by his encouraging presence enabling the staff to gain confidence in their work. The Bank's Head Office was in Docklands, adjacent to the Canary Wharf buildings and was, with the improved transport network that the Docklands developments had generated, within easy reach of the school as were the other institutions from which the young executives were drawn. Correspondence for the purposes of this research with one of the personal secretaries to the Barclays Chairman, records his enthusiastic personal interest in the school and the welcome he always received.

Whilst, in the instance of the mentoring project money was not the objective, the Executive Head was adept in obtaining grants from a number of charitable organisations, some associated with the developments in the Docklands. These grants proved to be useful as additional funding for school projects and visits that were considered to be outside the normal educational curriculum, for example grants to enable needy pupils to go on school visits beyond those covered in the curriculum, or grants to budding athletes for specialist training and coaching. Brighouse (2005, p103) records how the city of Birmingham was working productively with the private sector, albeit on a greater scale for the benefit of the city's poorer communities. We may agree that it is to the benefit of both the wealthy and the poor to work together for the common good and also to 'market' the fact. Firms which publicise their community support can incentivise others to do the same.

In summarising its bid for LAP 4, the school refers to its formal and informal assessment of Special Needs and its commitment to ensuring that all who worked or used the school facilities were free from discrimination and prejudice, areas in which it worked closely with the borough. Also, CPD was especially promoted at all staff levels. In her witness statement to the High Court, the Head made a special point of this because, she said, the school was at 'the cutting edge of educational development.' She was particularly aware that numbers of the Youth Workers who were to be transferred to the school on the anticipated success of the bid were at that time professionally unqualified and she regarded it as essential that all staff in the school,

irrespective of their job, underwent CPD and relied on a shared vision and associated team learning, with her as the lead learner (Earley, 2005, p227).

The bid was successful and the school employed through TUPE Regulations 2006 (Transfer of Undertakings Protection of Employment) those of the Tower Hamlets staff who were already employed in the area of LAP 4 Youth Service and Community Service.

The staff transfers were successful and when LAP 4 was running to the satisfaction of Tower Hamlets Council and the school governors, the school then successfully bid in 2009 to manage the Youth and Community Service for LAP 3 on a similar basis to its bid for LAP 4. LAP 3 covered the electoral wards of Whitechapel, St Dunstan's and Stepney Green. These wards were to the north of the Commercial Road with a community divide resulting from the heavy traffic on that road, but the wards had equivalent levels of social deprivation and poor housing to those found in the LAP 4 bid. The school's thinking was to enable residents on the north side of the Commercial Road divide to benefit from the developing facilities of the Learning Village and the School Club. This also assisted the borough's intention that the LAP system would be a unifying force in the borough enabling cross-borough unity.

It is argued here that the altruism of the school - actively supported by its diocese, which had to approve of the bids for LAPs 4 and 3 - was underpinned by the philosophy of the Second Vatican Council's Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World (*Gaudium et Spes*, Joy and Hope, 1965), 'The Church stands forth as a sign of that brotherhood which allows honest dialogue and gives it vigour' (paragraph 92). *Gaudium et Spes* even caters for those who dissented from the policies of the school in that it recognised

the bonds which unite the faithful are mightier than anything dividing them. Hence let there be unity in what is necessary; freedom in what is unsettled and charity in any case (paragraph 92).

Healing Wounds

In practical terms the diocese exercised charity for its defeated opponents in the High Court when all the costs of the case awarded by the judge to the

diocese against the opponents were waived by the Cardinal Archbishop. The costs were significant and would have exceeded £250,000. After an appropriate period of time, a Mass was held in the parish church adjacent to the school at which Diocesan Medals were awarded to a number of parishioners for long and devoted service to the parish; notably, amongst the recipients were some who had opposed the inclusive policies of the diocese and school. At various intervals after the early retirement of the Parish Priest, the then Archbishop appointed a succession of Priest Administrators to the parish to heal the wounds of the High Court case. Meetings and discussions with these priests during the research period tended strongly to confirm that they were impressive community healers and, perusing the 2014 Westminster Diocesan Yearbook, they currently hold senior positions (Vicar General and Episcopal Vicars) in the diocese under the present Cardinal Archbishop denoting recognition of their personal qualities by different Cardinal Archbishops.

Visiting

The bids for managing the borough's Youth and Community Service in LAPs 4 and 3 being successful, the Head, often accompanied by her Chairman of Governors, visited every outreach establishment in the two LAPs to familiarise herself with the existing facilities for the management of which the school's governors would be responsible. Later, in 2010 and 2011, the researcher made extended fieldwork visits to these sites as part of the research project, in company with the Director transferred from the local authority to coordinate the leadership and management of the LAPs on behalf of both the school and the borough. Made two to three years after the successful bids, these visits enabled an assessment of the progress of the work in the LAPs and the resulting improvements to community cohesion over that period.

The establishments and the facilities provided in LAP 4 varied considerably in quality and, except for one establishment (not leased), the local authority had quickly responded to earlier requests for major improvements. Dealing with the buildings first, the worst facility still was situated on the notorious estate to the rear of the school complex. It was merely a shipping/lorry container with holes cut in its sides to provide for a window and the door, both heavily protected

from damage or theft. All that was seen inside was a pool table and a small kitchen facility with some chairs. It was unchanged from the first visit. This was the establishment sited near the railway arch immediately to the rear of the school and was formerly frequented by drug dealers. Unsurprisingly the adapted container was still not well used, probably because it was a short walk to the excellent facilities of the new school complex. However, the police had stopped the drug dealing and through their well-practised operational methods in Tower Hamlets had dealt with the dealers and the users. No further problems in the vicinity of the school were reported.

The youth facility in Wapping, the early LCC Fire station listed as of being of architectural and historic interest had been in need of great improvement on the Head's initial visit. Although damaged, it had survived the blitz and was now surrounded by poorly maintained post-1945 flats. Wapping and its docks, like the Isle of Dogs, was largely destroyed in the blitz and rebuilt after the war. Parts were now becoming 'gentrified,' but not those parts near to the youth facility. At the first visit the ground floor of the old fire station had been occupied by a pre-school nursery, staffed by devoted and competent young local women, but working with appalling toilet and laundering arrangements for the very young children in their care. The second floor was designated for youth activities, but was poorly equipped. The upper floor was used as a meeting place by elderly Bangladeshi local residents, but there was no lift and the stairs were steep. The Head very firmly and successfully requested investment in the building together with its contents before she would be responsible for it.

Subsequent visits in 2010 revealed a transformation, for the local authority had spent £1 million cleaning the brickwork, providing a secure external lift and it had completely renovated the interior to the top floor. Ground floor pre-school nursery facilities were completely changed with excellent bathing and toilet facilities for the babies or toddlers and a modern laundry facility for soiled clothes. The upper floor was provided with a battery of modern computers for computer training, a new snooker and table tennis tables were seen and there were excellent kitchen facilities. Notice boards were observed to advertise a wide range of activities including visits to out-of-borough places of interest.

The top floor was now accessed by a lift for the elderly. In 2010-2011 the establishment provided the Young Mayor of Tower Hamlets, chosen to 'shadow' the Mayor of Tower Hamlets for a year. Leadership courses and courses in community involvement were displayed on the notice boards. The range of youth work on offer was impressive with the variety of leadership courses advertised and numerous out-of-borough sporting and cultural activities. The pressure on the local authority for these improvements and the professionalism of the Youth Workers spoken to may accurately be attributed to the Executive Head.

A new building was being provided in another part of LAP 4 for the Bangladeshi Youth Movement. This was part of a Section 106 Planning Agreement with a developer of mixed private and social housing in an area that was slowly being 'gentrified', in common with other parts of the western fringe of the borough where City style office developments were spreading across the boundary into Tower Hamlets. Land values had increased rapidly as a consequence of the Docklands developments and expensive commercial buildings were still being built and had attracted wealthy development firms keen to provide expensive housing facilities in an area seen as having profitable potential. Parts of the borough were thus being transformed, but the process was displacing some of the poorer families and small shops. This was a microcosm of that which Brighouse (2005, p107) describes of an inner city where gated communities were existing side-by-side with troubled estates. The Director for LAPs 3 and 4 explained that he was alert to Section 106 benefits and he pressed Tower Hamlets Planners for improved youth facilities when commercial development was contemplated. Once again, the facilities being provided, this time for the Bangladeshi Youth Movement, were impressive.

The Ensign Club, a club with historic connections with the merchant navy was also visited. It now provided for the residents of the nearby difficult estates, the merchant vessels and their crews having long since gone. Although parts of the area were now becoming 'gentrified' the post-war estates of the 1950s and 1960s still housed low income families with social or health problems and the many unemployed young people from the estates were greatly in need of good

facilities for educational and healthy recreation for which the LAP system was partly created (Appendix 3). At the time of the visit, a Saturday morning, 30 Bangladeshi young girls of Year 1-2 ages were observed learning and writing English while being supervised by a Bangladeshi teacher. It was explained that in the children's homes the Sylheti dialect of Bengali was spoken and that their parents were keen for the children to learn English, particularly for their education in school.

LAP 3. The first establishment visited was the **Whitechapel Centre** to the rear of an old Board School building, now a Muslim girls' school. The youth facility consisted of two prefabricated buildings, no more than large huts. The establishment was popular but had to limit membership because of its cramped size; the Leaders reported a long waiting list for membership. There was a warm welcome and the volunteer members were active in redecorating and keeping the two buildings clean. The Leaders were looking forward to new premises for which promises had been made, but nothing had at that time matured. The current premises were obviously insufficient in which to expand activities and increase membership. The youths met with were very open and responded positively to questions on activities and, similar to members of other establishments, were all from Bangladeshi families. When asked about their employment almost all said they helped their parents in the small 'open-all-hours' convenience shops that were common in the area. This youth facility was their main means of recreation. Although not, perhaps, an area which 'a stranger' would happily frequent, the welcome was warm and friendly and the conversation relaxed. On the second visit the youths were asked about the 2011 London-wide riots in the locality. They mentioned only one incident of a gang from Hackney 'settling an old score.' None of their parents' businesses were attacked because they sagely said with smiles, 'everyone knows everyone.'

Possibly the most impressive visit was to what in his early career this researcher had known as a Council home for old people, but was now known as **Redcoat Youth Centre**, in Stepney Way. This building had been completely refurbished by the club members. The equipment, the visitor was assured, had been obtained at negligible cost by agreement from a local

authority school that had to be demolished for redevelopment; expensive items for film making, local broadcasting and media presentations were in evidence; the furniture was comfortable (even magnificent); the walls had pictures of the youths visiting Egypt, sailing and visits to the countryside. The visitor was again assured these were initiatives organised by the members, but supervised by the Director and Leaders. The local population had been won over to the use of the building for a youth centre by the youthful members of the centre cleaning the surrounding grounds, removing graffiti from the neighbourhood and keeping all clean “by warning off possible artists” (another instance of ‘language of description,’ Bernstein 2000 p132, whereby the meaning had to be interpreted – in this instance anyone defacing the neighbourhood would be summarily dealt with by members of the centre). The young people spoken to were polite, well dressed and enthusiastic. Many were seen identifying themselves in photographs of a recent visit to Egypt or on canoeing holidays.

The final club centre of LAP 3 visited was in a building of local social interest next to the beautiful Saxon church of St Dunstan’s and all Saints, the original parish church of Stepney. The club, **Haileybury**, was situated where Clement Attlee, the first to be Labour Mayor of Stepney and later to be the Prime Minister whose Government instituted the Welfare State, which included the National Health Service, referred to by the Sisters of Mercy (above), had started his social work prior to the 1914-18 war (Harris, 1982). The club is named after his school. The original building had been destroyed in the World War II blitz and rebuilt, but was now semi-closed for refurbishment (subsequently, it had to be demolished). It was popular because there were no other youth facilities in the neighbourhood where high rise flats predominated. Once again, posters showed a range of sporting recreational visits, but little of formal educational interest. This building was, like the other youth facilities visited, in an area of high density ‘social’ housing where there were large numbers of unemployed young people.

The fieldwork included a visit to the local authority’s organised **Community Open Day**, held in the relatively extensive grounds of Mulberry girls’ school. The documentation records a very close working relationship between the

Catholic federated school and the outstanding local authority girls' school with its almost totally Bangladeshi intake. Prominent in advertising the community facilities available were stalls operated by girls previously met with and interviewed, as will be discussed below. The Open Day was extremely successful with hundreds of visitors of all ages from across the borough. Particularly noted was the considerable range of stalls representing the various cultures of the inhabitants of the borough and also the shades of human colouring of the visitors, all mixing pleasantly and amicably and joining in the many competitions that were being held. It can be argued that the concept of the Learning Village and the LAPs resulting from the nearby Catholic school's involvement, and the availability of that school's facilities, advertised to all by the local authority, were contributing significantly to the community cohesion observed and to the relaxed confidence of the diversity of participants spoken to during this Open Day.

'Interviewing'

Although, as noted in Chapter 3, it had been advised that formal interviewing and questionnaires would not be acceptable to individuals, in-depth meetings were arranged by the team co-ordinating LAPs 4 and 3. The first meeting was with a group of 20 Bangladeshi young men (the ages ranged from 16-23). It was held socially around a table in a large meeting room in the new part of the federated school. Soft drinks were provided by the co-ordinating team and an Asian take-a-way meal was provided at the end of the meeting, which appeared to be a normal evening procedure. The young men were told the purpose of the meeting and they were happy to talk of their background and experiences. The 'boys' so called, were late teen-age and it took some initial effort to get them to speak. Although born and schooled in Tower Hamlets, their accents were un-English, moreover they tended to speak Bengali/Sylehti amongst themselves, seemingly being more confident than when speaking in English. Only one admitted to having a GCSE; all admitted to being individually issued with an Anti-Social Behaviour Order (ASBO) which they bitterly resented 'because we were sitting on our own wall and someone shopped us.' Their great mistake leading to the issue of ASBOs was apparently arguing with the police officers who had arrived following a complaint by a neighbour. Although they may have had right on their side, it

was ill-advised of them to argue with police officers, particularly in Tower Hamlets. The youths also complained about the loss of *their* open ground, which had been taken for the development of the new school complex. They had used this ground mostly for 'moped and cycle racing', greatly to the annoyance of dog owners who exercised their unchecked dogs on the open ground. Neither use of the ground was likely to have been attractive to small children, walkers, or even to look at.

Only one of the 'boys' had a job; another was thinking of starting a business; one wanted to 'cage box.' Frankly, their job prospects looked bleak because they appeared to have little to offer an employer. They admitted to being financially supported by their fathers.

The following is a note of a de-briefing discussion with the Director of LAPs 3 and 4 which helps to bring to life the interview with the youths.

Date: 20 July 2010

Q By the researcher. The youths were considered by you to be difficult. Was this true?

A. Yes, quite difficult.

Q. They said they were unlikely to visit other parts of the borough. Is this 'cultural' from their Bangladeshi Village background?

A. No. It has developed from the time of gangs operating in areas of the borough. Now it is endemic, unlike the time when you were living in the borough.

Q. Their religion, what branch of the Muslim faith do they adhere to?

A. They are not in the least religious. Broadly 'culturally' they accept they are Muslim. Perhaps they will find their faith in later life. Their families would be Sunni Muslim (the Director was of Asian, Muslim origin).

Q. What do you provide for them?

A. You saw their level of employability. We provide basic courses where they can get a recognised certificate of competence which they can present to an employer. Currently we are providing a course in CCTV installation with a qualification that will enable them to get into the industry.

Q. One of the boys was going to try a business.

A. Yes, but the bailiffs turned up the next day and took the equipment.

Q. Another was thinking of cage boxing.

A. (somewhat shocked) He was very fat at one time, but took to our gym work and is now, as you saw, very fit.

(Comment by researcher to the Director, "I know boxing well from my youth. He is too young for Cage Boxing, particularly as it is poorly regulated").

Q. What about my interview with the girls?

A. Yes, let's arrange that for Friday. You will find them more talkative than the boys.

Reflecting on the discussion with 'the boys', as individuals their situation of limited employment opportunities through lack of educational qualifications was not dissimilar to those of many of my contemporaries of the late 1940s and 1950s. However, there was more unskilled work available in the area at that time. The Stepney Year Books of the 1940s and 1950s, perused at Tower Hamlets Local History Library, record many small industrial businesses across the borough; these no longer exist and have not been replaced by others, but by small Asian owner-occupied grocery shops. The docks that had provided unskilled and semi-skilled labouring had closed and with them numerous small industrial or commercial businesses that depended upon the docks for business, which also provided semi-skilled and unskilled employment and a family income to employees. The many small tailoring firms owned and managed by Jews had also closed and the entrepreneurial Jewish population which had provided employment for many non-Jews had left the area for better opportunities elsewhere. Further, in the late 1940s and 1950s National Service had provided opportunities for young men with no skills and low self-esteem from socially deprived backgrounds to gain qualifications in the armed services useful for transferring the skills learned to civilian life, also enabling them to develop personal pride and dignity, attributes to seeking employment on demobilisation. This was particularly so with numbers of this researcher's friends in the Tower Hamlets of his youth.

The observation that the youths, who lived in the surrounding estates, were 'not in the least religious,' was interesting in that it appeared to justify the earlier view of the Chairman of Governors that the former attacks on the

Catholic school were more likely to have been criminally motivated than to have been an outpouring of misplaced religious fervour. The reference to gangs on estates arose from the discussion with 'the boys' on the facilities they could enjoy in other parts of the borough. Their response was revealing of the social situation of young males in Tower Hamlets and, seemingly from the media, in neighbouring boroughs. They believed they could not travel across the borough safely. "They (youths in other localities) would think we were after their sisters." The 'sisters' were not biological sisters, but associates of gang members. Although gangs have long existed in Tower Hamlets, in the past they tended to be tight professional criminal associates, like 'The Krays,' who did not usually interfere with the local population. The current situation is more dangerous for males than when this researcher lived in the area and visited friends in all parts of the borough.

However, at the very least the outreach facilities managed by the school provided a haven of safety and recreation for youths who would otherwise roam the streets and no doubt engage in anti-social activities. At best there was evidence of useful work, travel and educational experience and leadership development being provided for the young.

The reference by the Director to the arrival of bailiffs was not unusual in the borough, for one of this researcher's Jewish friends of his youth had arrived home on a Friday evening from medical studies expecting his Sabbath Meal, only to find his father had received a visit from the bailiffs because the father's business had collapsed, most of the furniture had gone and with the bankruptcy of the father, the young man's prospects of continuing his studies to become a doctor had also gone. A case of 'plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose'?

The Specification for the Area Based Youth Service in the Tower Hamlets bidding documents for the LAPs vividly describes the problems of youth work across the borough and partly parallels the interviews with 'the boys.'

The population of the Borough comes from a variety of national, racial, ethnic, religious and socio-economic backgrounds. Many do not have English as their first language, or in some cases cannot

speak, understand, read or write it. Many suffer from social and financial deprivation to varying degrees. Others may have problems arising from substance misuse, mental or physical disability or be classified as Young Offenders. Many will suffer from various aspects of discrimination that can accompany these factors. Some will suffer discrimination on account of their gender or sexuality. (Tower Hamlets Service Specification for the Provision of Area Based Youth Service. Contract No. E2786.)

The meeting with 'the girls' was arranged, as promised. This researcher was careful to have a female Leader present, but out of hearing distance and the room door kept open. The first meeting arranged was abortive because only one young woman arrived. A second meeting was more successful with 20 young women aged 16-22. All except one were of Bangladeshi origin and were attending, or had attended, the excellent school which had hosted the Open Day mentioned above. The meeting was in a spacious new Art Room of a wing of the federated school. The young women were casually dressed in western clothes, slacks and high necked tops with long sleeves; there were no Bengali/Bangladeshi style garments worn. They apologised for missing the earlier meeting and, amid much giggling, said that as one of their number was getting married they had gone on a 'shopping spree.' Their English was perfect and their accents acceptable for any social occasion. They were totally relaxed and obviously familiar with the Catholic school buildings where the meeting was held.

Seizing the opportunity because they had mentioned the coming wedding of one of their friends, they were asked about their view of marriage. They all said they were under no family pressure to marry and that they would choose their husband. They accepted that if families met it was likely they would meet a prospective husband from that family. Asked about their future, they had aspirations for professional jobs. All said they had good GCSEs and the older ones had 'good A level grades.' Asked why they came to the federated school, they mentioned the good art room which included fabric printing facilities; other specialist rooms enabled cooking and 'making smoothies.' Unlike 'the boys' they felt no fear of travelling across the borough to visit friends. When asked about their future, all said they wanted to move away from Tower Hamlets (this was also said by the boys).

The young women were so confident and relaxed that they began questioning this researcher and were intrigued that he was local, and that he was long married to a Parsi who had converted to Catholicism in India and been received into the Catholic Church by the Jesuit priests who worked with Mother Theresa in Calcutta. They were extremely knowledgeable about Mother Teresa's work. The questioning was open, relaxed, friendly and perceptive of the problems encountered in interracial marriage, particularly with the researcher's marriage in the 1960s. Reversing the question to the researcher on inter-racial marriage, when asked, they said without hesitation that they would 'inter-marry,' indicating that community relations in the borough had seemingly improved from the difficult times of the vandalism against the school. This was said spontaneously and assessed as spontaneously truthful. Although from the same Bangladeshi Muslim family backgrounds, there was a clear intellectual, educational and social divide between these young females and the males previously interviewed. The females had aspirations and self-assurance. Unlike the males it was the females who appeared to have adapted to future opportunities provided by their schooling and the rapidly improving community facilities becoming available to them.

Reflection

The impression gained from the outreach fieldwork was not dissimilar from that of this researcher's youth in Tower Hamlets. The women had the desire more than the men to better themselves educationally and socially. When the opportunities arose they would exercise pressure to migrate to more congenial areas where prospects were considered better for them and more particularly for their children. Young and Willmott (1957), in their seminal study of family and kinship located in Bethnal Green (part of Tower Hamlets), observed a similar outward migration in the 1950s and their research indicates it was the younger women who took the initiative in seeking a more congenial environment for their children. This too appeared to be the case 50 years later, with the children of the later arrivals in Tower Hamlets from Asia now moving out of the borough, again 'plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.'

The LAP developments may be said to help transform the lives of numbers of young people in the borough as witnessed during the fieldwork. However the policy, like all policies, depended for its success upon leadership and the following chapter considers aspects of the leadership of the Executive Head of the federated school in her various roles which may be considered innovative. In this she was supported by her governing body, significantly Catholic because of the system of foundation governors appointed by the sponsoring diocese.

CHAPTER 7 FIELDWORK AND ANALYSIS (4) NEW CONCEPTS OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

This being claimed to be the first federated school under the provisions of the Education Act 2002; the chapter will describe the situation prior to the Act, from the opening of the new Boys' School in 2001 to the adoption of school federation under section 24 of the 2002 Act. It will also discuss how the school developed, before and after federation, in the ten years from the meeting with the Bishop in 2000 until the retirement of the Head and the Chair of the governing body soon after the formal opening of a new school complex in 2010.

Part 1 will consider the impact of the new concept of federation on the leadership roles of the Governors and of the Head Teacher (variously referred to throughout this study as Head or Executive Head). Part 2 will consider relationships with the local authority, this being a Catholic voluntary aided school and its governing body being responsible for the employment of its staff and formulating the school curriculum. Part 3 will conclude with a study of external evaluations and reflections on the federated school's academic achievements and leadership while maintaining its distinctive Catholic identity when pursuing an active policy of religious and social inclusivity. The school policies were usually introduced to the governors by the Head after discussion with the Chairman and once approved by the governing body were implemented by the Head through her system of distributive leadership. Part 3 will therefore also indicate how her leadership was viewed by external organisations on her retirement in 2010.

Part 1

Federation and Leadership of Governors and the Head

Preparing the way for the 2002 Education Act and Formal Federation

The law relating to education is in substance statutory and by the Education Act 1996 s10 the Secretary of State has a general duty to promote the education of the people of England and Wales (Halsbury's Statutes, 2010, p2).

The research has, therefore, regularly connected what was transpiring with relevant statutory authority. Here, however, the focus is on the two-way nature of the connection. The study argues how the actions of the governors, particularly those of the Head Teacher who had exercised her option to become a governor, appear to have influenced the drafting of legislation after visits of DfE officials to the girls' school and the then new boys' school, and how, in turn the school governors implemented the legislation as soon as it was enacted.

As we have seen, in reply to the local authority's request for legal advice on the possibility of one governing body for both the existing Catholic voluntary aided girls' school and the proposed new Catholic voluntary aided boys' school, Tower Hamlets Council was advised by the DfE that, as the law then stood, a separate governing body was required for each school. Thus the arrangement of one governing body for the new school and the existing Catholic girls' school as discussed at the Bishop's meeting was abandoned and a governing body was formed for the new boys' school. From the time of the opening of the boys' school in 2001 until the adoption of Section 24 of the Education Act 2002 there were, of legal necessity, two governing bodies - one for the boys' school and the existing governing body for the girls' school which also embraced that school's 6th Form.

Therefore, in this chapter the research will, and has throughout other chapters, referred to statutory authority for that which transpired. The study argues how the actions of the governors, particularly those of the Head Teacher of the school who had exercised her option to become a governor, appear to have influenced the drafting of legislation after visits to the girls' school and the then

new boys' school from DfE officials, and why the school governors implemented the legislation as soon as it was enacted.

In reality, membership of the two governing bodies only differed in their elected parent governor representatives, one for each school. The separate elections for staff representatives resulted in the same people being elected to each governing body. The appointment of the same foundation, local authority and elected staff governors across both schools made for continuity of direction and ethos. Both parent governors were practising Catholics and in agreement with the ethos and direction of the schools. The above considerably eased the problems of agenda and reporting to the respective Boards, as also did of the similarity of direction of the Catholic schools in promoting the Catholic style of Christocentric holistic education which promoted the dignity and wholeness of the person. This was core philosophy of the schools. It underpinned all their policies and was reinforced by their practice.

For the girls' school at that time, from a study of the Board minutes, the emphasis was on continuing to raise standards of aspiration, achievement and the upgrading of the facilities. For the boys' school, the reports concerned the use of the Shadwell Centre, the progress in raising the boys' levels of aspiration and achievement, and the growing appreciation that, with the second cohort of intake, the existing space allocated in the Shadwell Centre would become inadequate. The administrative arrangements advised by the DfE enabled the staff to operate across both schools, while records of finance, income and expenditure, were to be kept transparently clear for each school. To achieve the latter strict financial regulations were put in place, principally by the Head advised by the Chair and vice-chair of governors, both of whom were qualified accountants, and confirmed by each governing body. Similarly documentation on administrative matters referring to the individual schools was meticulously kept separate. The Head and Chair of Governors were keen that 'audit trails' were clear for ease of reference should decisions need to be verified at a later date. From their experience, when the girls' school had been united on one site this had been helpful, and the good practices of recording reasons for judgements and decisions by the governors were continued in the

new arrangements. This practice was to become very important at a later date when the school governors and the sponsoring trustee were embroiled in the High Court action and witness statements were being exchanged in accordance with legal procedures between the parties to justify decisions made at times previous to the trial. It was also useful for the Ofsted and Diocesan inspectors throughout the period of this research. The whole was rationally planned to be justifiable and justified at any time.

Important for the operation of the day-to-day management of the school was the openness of the system to the staff and the trade union representatives, for they may be considered the crew that made the schools run smoothly for the benefit of teaching and learning. The system also enabled staff at any level to suggest ways of improvement in working across both schools. This, as the Head had initially indicated to them, enhanced their professional experience and competence. The Head had maintained good staff relations at all levels of staffing in the schools, which was greatly appreciated by the governing bodies, given their duties included ensuring the accountability of the Head for her administration and management. The working relationship between the Head and her Chairman was mutually challenging, but known to be very good in actually getting things done. Head and Chairman each trusted the other and were trusted by the other governors. This made for smoother working of the schools at all levels. The Head, being a governor of each school, was thereby able to relate governors' policies accurately and liaise with her Chairman and other governors on an equal footing.

The Head's membership of both governing bodies proved immensely helpful when she was visited by very senior officials from the DfE who wished to be reassured on the functioning of the governance and administrative arrangements they had suggested. This was seemingly a matter upon which they had originally been asked by the local authority for advice and in doing so they appeared to have had no precedent on which to base the advice given. The Head was intimately familiar with the discussions and decisions at Board meetings for, with the Chairman and other governors, she had devised the administrative procedures to comply with the advice from the DfE and these

had been approved by both Boards of Governors. Fortunately the meticulous documentation kept proved very helpful when scrutinised by the DfE officials.

The Head reported to her Chairman that the DfE officials had asked to look at and had thoroughly examined the administrative procedures, together with the policies directing the schools as recorded in the Minutes of Governors' meetings; they had questioned her in depth about practical aspects of the arrangements in managing two schools and they had apparently been satisfied. Their visits were followed by another from a senior DfE official responsible for recommending capital grant approvals to voluntary aided schools for new buildings. This meeting was arranged with the Head who, by her rapport with the DfE visitors had become the point of contact for the Civil Servants, and was attended by this researcher in his role as Chairman of Governors. It is therefore referred to from participant observation and from clear memory - no formal notes were made.

The questioning by the new visitor embraced the financial aspects of the schools and observations on the inadequacy of accommodation; it obviously followed on from the previous visits of his DfE colleagues because he referred to matters the Head had raised with his Departmental colleagues on their visits. Particular appealing to this visitor, apparently, were the strength of financially qualified governors and the financial acumen of the Head who was involved in formulating the financial controls to promote accountability and value for money. The result of this visit was a letter addressed personally to the Head giving project approval of £30 million for a new building complex. Although addressed to the Head, presumably because of the favourable impression she had made with the Civil Servants, the project approval was really a matter for the trustees and was forwarded to the diocese for action. The Government's project approval on which its capital grant would be based was later enhanced by a decision of the diocese and the local authority, as joint owners, to sell the site of the Poplar boys' school, and for the diocese to use its share of the proceeds to increase capital funding for the new school complex.

In the meantime, the local authority had appreciated the impending limitations of space in the Shadwell Centre and had agreed with the Head to lease part of the authority's open space adjacent to the girls' school for the new cohort of boys. This was an important decision for the local authority because it overturned its long established policy of restricting development on the limited public open space in the borough. The space leased was sufficient to enable the growth of the boys' school over the years of statutory education.

The local authority also later agreed to sell to the diocese the whole freehold of the former open space on which the boys' school then stood. The diocese then became the owner of the unencumbered site in perpetuity enabling the prospect of a larger schools' complex following the £30 million project approval.

Shortly after the DfE visits to the boys' and girls' schools an Education Bill was published which rapidly passed its Parliamentary Stages and became the Education Act 2002. Of particular interest and a possible acknowledgement of the work of the two governing bodies examined by the DfE Civil Servants, are Section 24 which enables the federation of school governing bodies and section 21 of the Act. Both sections appear to mirror conversations with the Head, and many of the governors' standing orders and the contents of other documents scrutinised on the visits to the Head.

The wording of section 21, it can be argued, has particular relevance in its wording to this study.

Section 21(1) states: 'The direction of a maintained school shall be under the direction of the school's governing body.'

Section 21(2) states: 'The governing body shall conduct the school with a view to promoting high standards of educational achievement at the school.'

Conversations with the Head confirm that on their visits, the Civil Servants had attended closely to documentation that would have clearly indicated the governing bodies were directing the schools. All policies in operation were approved by the governors and recorded in the minutes of Board Meetings. These minutes would also have clearly shown the visitors how decisions taken in directing both schools had been taken and approved at Governors'

meetings – including decisions towards solving accommodation for the new boys' school, decisions in implementing the staffing and the financial and administrative arrangements as advised by the DfE; above all, decisions relating to the curriculum, and the determination of the governors of the new boys' school that the boys' education was to be of the same high standard as that in the rapidly improving girls' school. After their scrutiny of these documents and their conversations with the Head the civil servants could have had little doubt that both schools were *firmly* under the direction of their respective governing bodies.

Interestingly, the use of 'shall' in both subsections of Section 21 is always construed in law as an imperative leaving no doubt about Parliament's intentions. For the governors of the two schools this presented no problems for they were, it can be argued, *in advance of the legislation*, committed to directing the schools with a view to promoting high standards of education. In later years the strength of governance after federation would be observed by Ofsted.

Governance is very effective because governors work closely with the school and know precisely its strengths and weaknesses. As a result the governing body has an excellent strategic overview and provides effective challenge and guidance to school leaders.
(Ofsted Report, 2008, p9)

Upon the enactment of Section 24 enabling school federation, both governing bodies resolved to federate after consultation with the local authority and parents. This was accepted by the Trustees and the local authority without demure. The two governing bodies were dissolved and a new governing body created with substantially the same membership as the two original governing bodies. A perusal of the later 2007 Regulations on federation (SI 2007 No. 960) shows that they cover the procedures that had been followed by the local authority and the governors in consulting interested parties on their federation proposal. This once more suggests that, in the words of the Head in the High Court, *the school was at the cutting edge of educational provision*.

However, if the 2002 legislation was indeed in part the result of the 2001 visits to the Head as argued above, the speed with which DfE officials moved to include clause 24 in the draft legislation, which then became section 24, is also notable.

Wider collaborations

Formal federation of the secondary schools was later followed by enabling a looser form of arrangement, now termed 'collaboration', with the nearby Catholic primary school. The 2007 Regulations are flexible in allowing the detailed arrangements of collaboration to be agreed by the governing bodies of the schools concerned and this may be considered advantageous in coping with changing requirements over time, as was to be the situation between the federated school and its nearby Catholic primary school.

With progress in the planning of the new buildings for the federated school, and in advance of the 2007 Regulations, it had become evident that closer working arrangements with the nearby Catholic Primary School would be mutually advantageous. As has been indicated earlier, the Head Teacher and Chairman of the primary school attended meetings with governors of the federated school. This closer relationship between the governing bodies was mutually beneficial. In agreement with the diocese as trustee of both schools, the primary school gained a new nursery extension in exchange for relinquishing to the federated school its hard surface play area. This ensured the primary school conveyed to its parents the good work of the federated school, which helped to restore the confidence of the parents in the Catholic provision of secondary education in the borough after the problems in the Poplar-based Catholic school. The primary school in its turn benefited from the nursery extension enabling a ready flow of children into Year One of statutory education, which was a comfort to those Catholic parents who would be concerned to ensure their very young children would be in a similar religious atmosphere to that in the home. The arrangements were of co-operation not federation and they were seemingly later officially sanctioned by SI 2007 No 960 in a similar manner to our informal federation arrangements prior to the Regulations. Here yet again one may record the governors of the federated school acting at the 'cutting edge of educational provision.'

On reflection, it is surprising that it took successive Governments so long after the establishment of the modern structure of education in the Education Act 1944 to promote legislation permitting the educational, financial and

administrative advantages of school federation and co-operative arrangements, under the direction of school governing bodies, for it now seems so obviously beneficial.

The 2002 Act was followed in 2007 by the Regulations which formalised closer co-operation between governing bodies of schools short of federation. A further set of Regulations (SI 2007/1321) sanctioned, through joint committees, collaborative arrangements in the maintained sector between schools and further education bodies. It is now possible that within the maintained sector, either federation or collaborative arrangements as appropriate are possible, even encouraged, throughout the field of pre-university educational provision. This now also applies to the academy system.

It can be argued that from the meeting with the Bishop in 2000 and the desire for a single governing body for the then proposed new Catholic boys' secondary school and the existing Catholic girls' secondary school in Tower Hamlets, an original concept of educational leadership and governance was being created that would lead to school federation, either formal or co-operative. This was then formalised and developed in later primary and secondary legislation, thus enabling schools in the maintained sector to federate or enter collaborative arrangements with each other and with bodies of further education according to local need and circumstances.

From its beginning in the primary legislation of the Education Act 2002 and later developments in the secondary legislation of 2007, federation, partnership and consequent collaborative working between schools and other education bodies is considered by the DfE to be a success. In its evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee on Education (HC 269, October 2013) the DfE unequivocally stated that partnership and collaborative working between schools enables schools to work together to identify successful models and to tackle issues based on their shared expertise. The DfE also stated that evidence indicates collaborative working leads to an increase in performance for all schools working in partnership and enhances benefits for staff advancement, CPD and, crucially, self-improving systems developing

leadership. This appeared so in the federated school during the period of this study for staff and governors, in addition to attending a variety of courses organised by the local authority or the diocese, they worked closely in their respective spheres, or together in committees, adapting to the many challenges faced as their two schools grew and developed amidst the building works and community developments in the ten years covered by this study.

The purport of the DfE evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee is supported by the empirical research of Chapman et al in their 2011 study (p27), building on their previous studies in 2008 and 2009. They added that strong leadership was a key to success.

Leading and Managing the Building Project

The documents studied indicate that the size of the initial £30 million project approval by the DfE was too great for the small technical staff at the diocese to manage and, as emerged in discussions with the officers of the diocese, it considerably exceeded the annual Government capital expenditure allocated for all the schools of the Diocese. The school's governing body, becoming aware of this, suggested to the new Bishop Chairman of the Westminster Diocesan Education Commission that an internationally renowned firm of planning surveyors and consultants known to the governors be appointed to oversee the project and develop a masterplan. This was accepted, but both governors and diocese were keen to ensure all contractual arrangements for new building work were with the diocese as the sponsor of the school and owner of site. This may be considered a practical example of the Catholic concepts of solidarity and subsidiary in decision making. It also relieved the governors of liability should there be contractual disputes resulting in undesired financial consequences. From their combined professional knowledge and experience the governors insisted that when the contract for the building work was let it was 'bonded' (a form of insurance for proper completion of the contract). This was prescient, for the bonding clause in the contract had to be enforced when, near to the end of the works, the main contractor went into liquidation and a new contractor completed the work on recommendation by the school to the diocese after taking advice from the Premises Manager and the Project Director both of whom had monitored the

work of the main contractor now in liquidation. Any additional costs incurred by the new contractor were therefore recoverable by the diocese. It is unlikely that a teacher at any level would have had the type of business experience of many of the governors in negotiating building contracts and this is a possible justification for appointing school governors with business experience outside the teaching profession, particularly in the voluntary aided system where schools may not have the co-operative support of the local authority that existed between the school and its local authority in this study.

The bankruptcy of the main contractor presented a significant delay in completing building work and necessitated further revision of school timetables. However, it is appropriate to note that during the years covered by this case study, teaching and learning continued despite the disruptions caused by the major building works on the constricted site. The main contractor's bankruptcy and the firm's liquidation necessitated a revision of the date for the formal opening of the complex by the Archbishop, but this was amicably arranged between the Head and Archbishop's House.

Prior to the letting of the building contract a Strategy Group was formed by the planning surveyors who had been recommended to form the masterplan. After its early meetings at the Area Bishop's residence in Poplar under his Chairmanship, the Group conveniently met at the school, the members including the Head and Chairman of Governors. The Head made it her duty to attend all the strategy meetings, persuading her Chairman to hold himself in reserve 'to add gravitas' should there be a serious difference of view between her and the Group. There are no serious differences of view recorded between the Head and the members of the Group, but her Chairman did attend on occasions and was well known to all members of the Group from informal discussions on his frequent visits to the school. This later proved useful for this research when seeking information or confirmation on relevant matters, because the individuals were still known to each other.

The formal and informal meetings between the Head, Chairman of Governors and members of the Strategy Group led to a growth which may be termed 'planning capital,' (after Bourdieu) that is, enhanced shared confidence

regarding each party's contributions to the planning and development process. In this manner the vision of the new complex being open for use by the wider community was mostly furthered by the Head, with the Group being aware the Head had the full agreement of her Chairman and the Governing Board. The name ' Learning Village' evolved from the discussions with the Head who conveyed to the Group her and the Board's long-term vision for the complex to be designed to ensure it had an educational basis and gave a welcoming homely atmosphere to the wider community. This was endorsed by all members of the Group and became a major aspect in planning the scheme.

The new complex was also designed to rejuvenate the surrounding environment by co-operation with the local authority. The eventual size of the new campus would additionally provide for greatly needed new employment for teaching and support staff. When the complex was completed and fully operational, some 350 staff were directly employed and further employment was generated for those supplying goods and services to the school. In theoretical terms the process may be regarded as 'inspirational', 'transformative' and 'transactional' in its promotion of new ways of enhancing the local economy and its environment that appeared to balance the demands of decision making (Tannenbaum and Schmidt, 1973) with the centrality of people to the task undertaken (Blake and Moulton, 1978 cited in Coleman, 2005, pp11-12).

Governance and School Leadership

Following the early formal adoption of Section 24 federation, there were no comparably major changes in the direction of the federated school. It was Catholic and it was aiming for high standards of educational achievement within the Catholic concept of holistic education. As individuals, the governors had already been working in unison since the opening of the boys' school in 2001 and had developed a common way of dealing with problems. However, their roles were observed to subtly change in some respects, now that the federated school was formally a single entity. The new Board and its members considered matters more broadly, recognising that their decisions now affected the joint functioning of both boys' and girls' schools, including the 6th Form on the one site. Moreover, the Board began to more fully appreciate the

social, environmental and economic benefits that the development could bring to this area of London by sharing the facilities with the surrounding communities. This may be construed as an aspect of Bourdieu's (1983) concept of social capital whereby its accretion through greater understanding eroded a defensive community habitus and so reduced a field of conflict. However, 'habitus' is often slow to change as witnessed by the field of conflict in the High Court trial mentioned above.

Earley (2013, p13) observes from a series of studies of school leadership spanning the period 2002-2012 that the evolving landscape, in particular that the role of school governance, has become increasingly significant and represents an important element in school leadership (Earley, 2013, p8, my emphasis). He therefore perceives governance as part of school leadership which appears in this empirical study to be an accurate perception. The experience recorded in this empirical study supports his perception.

Grace (2014) advances the concept of distributive leadership, including governance, by referring to 'a leadership matrix' which includes a broader concept of leadership of a faith school than the one envisioned in current Government Regulations and Guidance. It would embrace the sponsoring religious authority and the associated faith community, the school governors with the statutory responsibilities of the State and, for the foundation governors, the added responsibility of preserving and enhancing the spiritual nature of the school. The matrix also includes the Executive/Professional Head (who is expected to be a practising member of the faith group sponsoring the school) and the professional teachers at various levels in the school, a desired majority of whom will be members of the faith. This matrix appears to be a considerable advance on previous thinking and a fuller appreciation the leadership concept of a faith school. It can be considered particularly relevant to the manner by which the wish of the Bishop (now Cardinal) in 2000 for the continued Catholic schooling of the boys in Tower Hamlets came to fruition.

One may perhaps suggest, as an addition to the matrix, those engaged in administrative roles in a school particularly the Business and Premises

Managers. In the federated school, both were valued members of the leadership team and this is now common practice (Earley 2013). Importantly they are often the first contact parents or suppliers of goods and services have with any school and the persons by whom members of the public gauge the school's leadership competence.

However, despite these developments and Earley's studies over the years (2002-2012) recognition of the leadership aspect of governance appear absent at Government level. The 2014 Guidance on School Governance (Roles, Procedures and Allowances) (England) Regulations 2013 still differentiates the role of the governing body from that of the school leadership in its headline: '*The advice is for governing bodies and school leaders*' (p3). Also in a summary of the Key Points of the 2013 Regulations in Guidance for Governors, the first point stresses the difference:

The Board of Governors should operate at a strategic level, leaving the Head Teacher and senior school leaders (my emphasis) responsible and accountable for operational day-to-day running of the school. (p4)

The distinction between governance and leadership as expressed here appears anachronistic in the modern concept of distributive leadership in schools where all share, albeit in different roles, an element of leadership in working for the good of the school, as was the situation in the case and the period covered by this case study.

The Foreword to the *School Governors' Handbook* (January 2014) representing Government policy is critical of school governors - while accepting the significance of the role of school governing bodies and believing it to have been undervalued - appears to accuse governing bodies of concentrating on minutiae for it wants a tight emphasis on the three core functions of governance, as it perceives them to be of:

- a) Ensuring clarity of vision, ethos and strategic direction
- b) Holding the Head Teacher to account for the educational performance of the school and its pupils; and
- c) Overseeing the financial performance of the school and making sure its money is well spent.

From a further perusal of Governing Board and Committee documents of the federated school, these three core functions were to the fore during the period covered by this study and were already apparent to the civil servants of the DfE when they visited the Head in 2001 to satisfy themselves on the leadership and management of the two schools. Again the school may therefore be considered to have been in advance of government thinking.

Despite the Government emphasis on the three core functions, there continues to be ambiguity and uncertainty regarding the role of school governors. The 2013 Regulations offer 109 pages of guidance and make numerous references to sets of legal Rules, many emanating from previous years. School governors being non-executive part-timers cannot be expected to know those Regulations in any detail, but they could be called to account for contravening them. Even a professional Clerk to Governors, if not a lawyer, would find it very difficult to interpret them.

In the decade covered by this case study the intensity of the work of the governors in formulating the vision and policies for the girls' and boys' schools before and after federation left them with little time to concentrate on minutiae. What could be termed minutiae were recognised as such by the Head and members of her senior leadership team and dealt with at various levels throughout the school in the system of distributive leadership operated by the Head and the team. From the detailed perusals of the school files for the purpose of this empirical study they appear to have been appropriately recorded, reported as necessary and filed.

An interesting feature of the school systems to one who spent his career in the bureaucratic world of central and local government was their clarity; they were designed to record but not over-load teachers and others with administrative work. When near to their retirement, and being aware of possible later research interest in the development of the school, the Head and Chairman arranged for the files on the development of the school from 2000 to be officially archived by a specialist firm off-site to ensure their safety and availability for researchers.

Theorising Issues in Catholic School Governance

For the foundation governors of a Catholic school, the first of the three required core functions (vision, ethos and direction) should present few problems. The vision, ethos and strategic direction for their school should be governed by their faith in Christ to engage others in a Gospel of charity (love). In educational terms they should aim for high standards of achievement within the holistic Catholic concept of providing good citizens to promote the common good, as enunciated by the Head in the High Court trial mentioned above.

However, it appears that all is not as it should be with Catholic foundation governorship. Storr (2011) found that the Catholic foundation governors he surveyed were not particularly interested in the religious nature of their schools. This is obviously counter to the expectation that they are governed by their Christian faith in formulating the vision, ethos and direction of their school. Storr's finding should be disturbing to the Catholic Education Service, for foundation governors are required to give a clear witness to the teachings of the Church as outlined by the Catholic Education Service Memorandum on the Appointment of teachers to Catholic Schools and Governors of Catholic Schools, 2012 (my emphasis).

Balarin et al (2008, p4) found that school governing bodies generally were overloaded, responsible for too much, their structures were over-complicated and much of governors' work was also both unnecessary and demanding. To an extent a tight emphasis on the DfE's three core functions could alleviate governors' burdens, but the detailed compulsory requirements in the Regulations and Guidance referred to above will create tensions for governors between concentrating on the core functions and meeting the requirements of the Regulations. The Balarin et al study findings may therefore still be a relevant problem in school governance.

Unfortunately, Balarin et al give no recognition to the additional responsibilities of foundation governors of Catholic (or other faith schools); these are not even mentioned in the study. For Catholics this is a disappointment and is possibly another example of 'Issues to do with Catholic education and schooling being

regarded as marginal to mainstream educational research and discourse' (Grace, 2002, p.xi).

The additional responsibilities can be seen as truly considerable:

As lay educators in the Church to be a source of spiritual inspiration, coming from an apostolic intention inspired by faith for the integral formation of the human person in communication of culture in an exercise of pedagogy which will give emphasis to direct and personal contact with students (Lay Catholics in Schools, Witness to Faith 1982, p14)

Grace (2002, p20) observes these high expectations may be counter-productive in the actual recruitment and succession patterns of foundation governors and this often proves so, for in Catholic Parish Newsletters one often reads requests for people to put themselves forward for foundation governorship of schools. From Storr (2011) one can have doubts if the governors he surveyed were aware of the awesome responsibilities they undertook.

Grace (2002, p237) and Lydon (2011, p236) also both express concern at the current withdrawal of Religious Orders, because of their members' age and declining numbers, from many of the schools of which they had continued to be trustees and governors after they had ceased to be teachers and Heads. Both authors worry that this may weaken the traditional charism the Orders brought to their schools when their lay successors, who were probably educated by them, pass leadership to succeeding generations who may be more vulnerable to the secular pressures of the 'market curriculum.' O'Donoghue (2007), a Diocesan Bishop, expressed his grave concern at the secularisation of Catholic schools in his diocese and the waning of the strong religious teaching associated with that provided by Religious Orders; this is added weight to the concerns of Grace and Lydon.

The concerns of these authors are, perhaps, echoes of those expressed earlier by Hornsby-Smith (1987) when he observed the younger Catholics were beginning to question the former rigid dogmatic certainties imposed by the clergy and that the structural changes coming about as a result of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) were likely to have serious

consequences for the Church in the future, although he did not specify these consequences. Arthur (1995, 2013) was also concerned that a sense of the sacred is being lost by the new methods in which the faith was being imparted in Catholic schools.

However, Arthur's accusation that those who teach in and attend Catholic schools have no particular commitment to the official version of Catholic education (2013, p88) does not appear to be the result of empirical enquiry. Casson (2013, p31) following studies by Hervieu-Léger (1998) and Berger (2007) together with her own empirical study of the lived-in faith in four Catholic schools found - possibly similar to the holistic pedagogy in Jesuit schools (Ignation Pedagogy, 1993 n 72), - a Catholic faith no less authentic than the former rigid construction of the past. This was not just a paler reflection of Catholic identity, but 'different in kind.' This difference from the rigid dogmatism of the past was also found by Ammerman (1997, pp196-216).

Casson, however, does express concern for the Catholic Church 'when the precarious role of the Catholic secondary school is the only source of memory of the Catholic faith tradition' (Casson, 2013, p151) and this was exactly the situation with many pupils in the federated school. Casson observes that there is value in listening to the voices of the young people within the faith system (Casson, 2013, p151). Within the federated school this was done through the School Council 'The school council is effective in giving students a voice in the school' (Ofsted Report, 2008, p4). Casson and Grace (2002, p119) make similar points about listening to the young in schools. They can be particularly attuned to the signs of the times and are at ages when often they can come under greater pressures from their peers through the medium of the internet and 'smart phones.' Dialogue with the young can be also be advantageous to educators in appreciating the problems of the young in their development as they struggle with their adolescent uncertainties towards a greater maturity of judgement. In the federated school this was perceived as a particular problem for those who had come from war ravaged countries and/or from cultures where the young have no voice in their present state of life or in determining their future. To help them, specially trained counsellors were employed to whom children could speak in confidence about domestic and personal

problems or worries. These confidences, known to the children, could only be broken if there was child abuse involved.

Charting the changes in the Catholic Church from the dogmatic rigidity to the greater reliance on freedom of conscience espoused in *Gaudium et Spes* (n3) can lead up to the view of Pope Francis (10 April 2014) that 'narrow thinking destroys the freedom of conscience and is not open to dialogue, to the possibility that there is something else, where the heart and mind are closed there is no place for God,' However, one can also look to Bernstein and others for some theoretical reflections.

Using Bernstein's concepts of **classification and framing and pedagogic discourse** (Bernstein, 2000 pp5-39), it can be said that the former 'strong classification' of faith instruction in Catholic schools, teaching by rote, 'kept things apart.' The faith was imparted with rigidity and the individual precepts in the catechism were not to be departed from, or even questioned, often under threat of sin. This 'strong classification and framing' imparted by hierarchical authority, was perhaps, appropriate when the institutional Church in England perceived itself to be under social siege and retreated into a policy of 'fortress Church', overly defending itself and its largely uneducated faithful against attack and discrimination. However, by greater reliance in freedom of conscience, as espoused by the Second Vatican council in *Gaudium et Spes* (n3), a more 'weakly classified system' emerged, and which enabled a new consensus of opposition to arise within the Church, for the process of discourse, Bernstein's 'pedagogic discourse', opened all the participants to the mystery of God. Bernstein postulated that in the opposition that might arise with weaker classification and framing, those who understood the mysterious process of the discourse (in this instance of the Second Vatican Council) would be aware that it is not the former 'order' but a discourse of less coherence that raises the possibility of even 'thinking the unthinkable' (2000 p11). Particularly in Grace and Casson, dialoguing on Catholic education many years after the Second Vatican Council, one may glimpse that the pessimistic opinions of other commentators are slowly being replaced by more optimistic and empirically based studies of young Catholic's Catholicism as they struggle to comprehend the Divine Mystery of Christ.

Bourdieu's concept of '**social capital**' can be added to the mix of theorising school governance and fused with Bernstein's notion that in weaker classification 'things are brought together', ideas are shared, and the unthinkable can be thought (Bernstein 2000, p11). Indeed, James et al (2010, p82) adapt 'social capital' to the notion of 'governance capital', as the network of individuals with their capabilities and motivations who collaborate in the governance of any particular school. They helpfully extend their concept to such sub-groups as parents and members of the local community, which resonates with Geertz's 'webs of culture' (Geertz, 1973) and with Grace's (2014) recognition that parents are part of the 'matrix' of school governance.

Parents are part of the 'webs of culture' and Catholic parents particularly are adjured to hold schools in esteem and to co-operate closely with teachers to whom they entrust the education of their children and this co-operation is to be reciprocated by the teachers (GE n 5, canon 796 and *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* 1997, nn 8-10). The Catholic school is described as the privileged environment in which Christian education is carried out (Euart 2000, p955) and as a 'close partnership between parents and the school enabling all to create a community to ensure life in all its fullness for the young' (Nichols, *in Our Catholic Schools*, 2010, p12). This partnership should be identified by a willingness on the part of teachers to listen to parents (The Catholic School, 1977 nn 60-61).

From personal observation, the elected parent governors of the federated school were articulate in putting forward parents' views. Parents' Evenings were also lively affairs with those parents attending keen on the progress of their child or children and having sometimes animated discussions with teachers. One may therefore conclude with confidence that parents were a valued part of Grace's matrix of school government in the federated school.

Grace observes that, in the changing climate of greater freedom of conscience, the increasing emphasis on the power of school governors and parents has encouraged a shift away from the symbolic power of the Catholic Bishops (2002 p37). The closely knit association of a Catholic school with its

governors and parents can indeed provoke conflict with the Diocesan Bishop, especially if he perceives a too rigid governors' application of admissions criteria that militates against the many Catholic families, often the poorer Catholic families, who fail to show a strong and regular commitment to parish activities. In 2011 the admissions practices of both the Coloma Convent School and the Cardinal Vaughan Memorial School went to the Schools' Adjudicator at the behest of the respective Diocesan Bishops. The rights and wrongs of these conflicts are outside the scope of this research and whatever their immediate outcomes, they seem to be examples of a weaker 'classification and framing' in the Catholic Church encouraging previously 'unthinkable' challenges to hierarchical authority. Governors of Catholic schools and parishioners are now prepared to challenge their Bishop in the secular courts and vice versa. This is a changing landscape of Catholic school governance that has yet to be mapped fully by empirical research, but it is possible to postulate that the accusation of a form of symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p176) whereby the dominated (the laity) accepted the domination of their superiors (the Bishops), is no longer appropriate in English Catholicism.

The theories discussed above need to be transmitted to, and to interact with real life situations through empirical enquiry to test their limitations (Pring, 2004, pp136-138). If they are to be more than static and arid theoretical concepts they need to be put to work in a variety of social situations. Both Bernstein and Bourdieu accepted that their theoretical constructions were for practical implementation and this only adds to their relevance to this discussion. For implementation involves dialogue, or in Bernstein's terminology 'pedagogic discourse' which re-contextualises situations and leads to better understanding (Bernstein, 2000, pp26-28).

Lack of dialogue may lead to social conflict, as in the Poplar situation described by Gardiner (1995) and in the High Court challenge to the school's plans as described in chapter 6 above (judgement given in 2006). In the former case, there was no evident inter-community dialogue and in the latter case the 'pedagogic discourse' was apparently too weak to ignite the fundamental Gospel value of 'love thy neighbour'. More positive cases can be

analysed using – and expanding – a distinction between forms of social capital. Casson, following Putnam (1995, 2000) differentiates **‘bridging capital’** from **‘bonding capital’**, the former being the weaker of the two (2012, pp110-118), and Riley observes that bridging capital’s strong links with the idea of ‘challenge’ suggests a general tendency to develop into bonding capital (2013b p272). So, as described in chapter 4 above, the ‘bridging capital’ being built into the agreements with the Bangladeshi Elders regarding the temporary use of the Shadwell Centre for the boys’ school evolved into a stronger ‘bonding capital’ with the Imams (chapter 5) and then with the external Bangladeshi community and other local communities, as recognition of mutual needs and advantages gathered momentum. The increasing recognition by the school governors, led by the Head Teacher, of the practical values of inter-cultural dialogue contributed greatly to this bonding growth in social capital and to the development and maintenance of community cohesion amongst the diversity of cultures in Tower Hamlets and the federated school’s wider east London catchment area.

One may, however, introduce a stage prior to Casson and Riley’s ‘bridging’ and ‘bonding’, which one can term **‘breaching capital’**, that is, a determination to breach the physical or psychological walls of alienation, ignorance and suspicion. These ‘walls’, it can be argued, were initially breached by the joint efforts of the local authority, the Head as representative governor of the Catholic girls’ school, and the Elders of the Bangladeshi community. The Elders’ agreement to provide the requested accommodation for the Catholic boys, together with the school’s later fulfilment of the promise to return it, constituted a fundamental breach in the hostility that had existed between the immigrant Bangladeshi community and other communities in the borough. This was soon confirmed by the Imams’ intervention to stop the local violence by youths from their community, particularly against the Catholic school. It can be further argued that the Imams’ ‘challenge’ to the Head to admit their boys to the school’s 6th Form, together with her agreement to this, further breached the walls of alienation, ignorance and suspicion, hopefully irretrievably, and led to her activating the concepts of the Learning Village and Local Area partnership. Central to the whole process was, as mentioned earlier, trust (Riley, 2013b).

In this empirical study of the development of the school, it is frequently the situational leadership of the Head Teacher/Executive Head that comes to the fore. In interpreting more specifically her prime leadership role, the concept of '**mission integrity**', defined as 'fidelity in practice, and not just public rhetoric, to the distinctive and authentic principles of a faith-based education' (Grace, 2002b, pp 427-449) comes first to mind. She was responsible for executing the policies of the school governors, the Diocesan Trustee and the Government in the Catholic school secondary sector in Tower Hamlets between 2000 and 2010 and had to triumph over threats of the pointed gun, letters threatening death, vandalism to her school, and a High Court action against her policies of inclusion to benefit the poor and marginalised non-Catholic communities of Tower Hamlets and its peripheral boroughs. Scott and McNeish (2012, p18) refer to the advantages faith-based activities have in nourishing teachers and leaders personally, as well as professionally. It seems not too presumptuous to suggest this Executive Head's faith-based activities helped her to keep her well-nourished and nourishing, for her influence was crucial in creating the climate of the school (Riley, 1998 p112).

In overcoming personal attacks upon her and the school she appears to exemplify the concept of the **Servant-Leader**, an ancient concept of leadership, but in its modern construction attributed to Greenleaf (1977, 2003) and promoted in all spheres of organisational leadership by the Greenleaf Center which is based in the USA, but has branches world-wide. In his essays Greenleaf considered the hyphen important because it linked service with leadership and it puts the concept of service in advance of the leadership function. Essentially in situational leadership it is the collaboration between persons for the service of each other, of the organisation and of the wider the community which is deemed important. Servant-leadership within Catholic Religious Orders has been extensively studied in Thailand, particularly by Punnachet (2006), but the concept, and the compliment can be extended to many lay Head Teachers of Catholic and non-Catholic schools across the world. The Executive Head in this study, no doubt like her predecessor Sisters of Mercy who provided the headships of Catholic schools in east London and elsewhere for over a century, is an excellent example.

PART 2

RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE LOCAL AUTHORITY

From the initial meetings in 2000, relationships between the Tower Hamlets Director of Education, her staff and the Head as the professionals in the provision of Catholic education in Tower Hamlets were very good. This co-operative, but very professional, relationship extended to the school's governing body, many of whom were known personally to the Directorate of Education as governors supporting the local authority's drive to raise standards in its schools. The documentation obtained from the local authority under the Freedom of Information Act attests to this assertion, for it observes the continuing improvement in the girls' school on its coming together on the one site and, by implication, the girls' school's positive contribution to the borough's (then poor) GCSE results.

Without the determination of the local authority to maintain the diversity of its educational provision in the borough and the active interpretation of this by its Director of Education in agreeing to a new Catholic boys' school under the headship and governorship of the existing Catholic girls' school, that which followed in the decade covered by this case study would not have been possible.

The initial agreement for a new Catholic boys' secondary school on a different site from that of the failed school was followed by senior members of the Education Directorate actively looking for a suitable site in the borough and, as was recalled in chapter 4, they often walked the streets with the Head and Chairman of the girls' school for this purpose. When possible suitable sites did not meet essential requirements, or the one suitable site in private ownership was sold to a private developer in the rapidly accelerating property price market in the borough things looked grim for the opening of the new school, for decision day was approaching for transfer to secondary education. However, lateral thinking by the Director and the Head resulted in the meeting with Bangladeshi Elders at which the Elders agreed to relinquish part of the local authority owned Shadwell Centre occupied by their young women studying to further their education. The vacated part was to become the new Catholic voluntary aided boys' school. For the local authority, the Catholic

community and the Muslim Bangladeshi community this was the momentous decision, because it presaged a breach of the symbolic walls of separation, ignorance and suspicion which had led to street violence between the Bangladeshi and other communities in the borough as described by Gardiner (1995).

For this researcher, a participant observer of the secular local education authority acting as principal negotiator to ensure the establishment of the new voluntary aided Catholic boys' school, the process was a justification of the dual system of education in England and Wales cemented in the Education Act 1944 (Butler, 1971, pp108-125). The co-operation of local and national government with the Catholic Church in the provision of Catholic schooling in Tower Hamlets was continued from the initial meetings in 2000 throughout the period covered by this study and culminated with the formal opening of the new school complex in 2010 attended by the borough's Mayor, the local Member of Parliament, other local dignitaries and members of the diocese, the local authority officers and local people.

The trajectory of the development can be recalled briefly to emphasise the role of the local authority. The period of the boys' education in the Shadwell Centre was followed by their occupation of temporary buildings in part of the designated open space leased from the local authority. Later, while tentative plans for the new school complex after the project grant were being discussed, the school occupied the remainder of this open space. The local authority even offered the school to become part of its Private Finance Initiative (PFI), but this was declined because of the governors' professional knowledge and experiences that PFI contracts would fetter governors' after-school use of the school and limit diocesan control. Further the future financial burdens under a PFI were uncertain.

From the many joint planning meetings thoughtfully initiated by the Head, the wider community uses of the school buildings emerged. These uses were also greatly dependent upon the school's relationship with the local authority, for the principles and details of planning proposals had to be approved by Tower Hamlets, exercising its statutory duties as both Planning and Education

Authority. The Head was very keen to extend the School Club which principally catered for those pupils who were especially vulnerable when travelling home. Arrangements were made for those using the club to be collected later in the evening by authorised adults or parents. This idea appealed to the local authority and the school became one of the borough's 'hubs' for similar after-school arrangements across the borough.

The Head had already developed an after-school provision for a growing group of newly immigrant Lithuanian adults and children, all of whom were Catholic, but there was a perceived need to extend the improving school facilities to the wider community, irrespective of religious affiliation as part of the Church's inclusive mission of Christian charity (love of neighbour). The opening of the school facilities to the wider community was welcomed by the local authority, particularly the Ward Councillors. However, it was known that this outward looking approach was opposed by some local Catholics, but there is no evidence that the policy was opposed by parents with children in the boys' or girls' schools.

It is important to appreciate that there were no external pressures on either the diocese as sponsor of the school, or the school governors, to extend the new facilities provided in the school buildings to the wider community. The decision was made after serious discussions at governors' meetings and approved by the diocese. In addition to the known opposition of the policy by some Catholics, mentioned above, there were practical problems of likely damage to the new 'state-of-the-art' equipment provided, deliberate vandalism, or unwelcome disturbances to the neighbours. However, no problems arose; security was good and the community respected that which was offered.

The approach was greatly vindicated by the Education and Inspections Act 2006 which retrospectively inserted into Section 21 of the Education Act 2002 a duty on the governing bodies of maintained schools to promote *community cohesion*. This was articulated in strong terms by the DfE in its Diversity and Citizenship Curriculum Review (2007).

We passionately believe that it is the duty of all schools to address issues of 'how we live together' and 'dealing with difference' however controversial and difficult this might seem.
(p5)

This statement may be triangulated with the remarkably similar phraseology of Bishop Stack's statement (2006) in his role as Chairman of the Westminster Diocesan Education Commission when he gave evidence in the High Court case in favour of the federated school's inclusive policy.

Multiculturalism is the big challenge facing our inner cities and is at the forefront of life in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. As Christian Churches, it is incumbent on us that we engage in inter-faith dialogue, no matter how difficult this might be. Such engagement does not take place merely in churches or mosques. It must have a social, educational and religious framework in which to flourish. (Stack 2006, Witness Statement, para. 19)

From this one may suggest it is yet another example of the school being at 'the cutting edge of educational provision,' as the Head maintained in her evidence to the High Court. One may also suggest, from experience of arrangements between local authorities and Government Departments, that the novel policy of inclusivity propounded by the school governors and the Catholic diocese was being carefully monitored and apparently approved of within the DfE. Personal experience of working within a Government Department suggests that serious differences of opinion between the local authority and the school governors/diocese would have been aired within the Department and the retrospective extension of section 21 in the Education Act 2002 might not have occurred.

Having both the authority of the trustees and of statute, the Board of Governors of the school, through its strong Catholic Curriculum Committee including a Parish Priest and the Director of Diocesan Education who was present at the 2000 meeting with the Bishop, developed a school curriculum that was both distinctly Catholic but outward looking to other faiths and none similar to Jesuit pedagogy; 'for the acid test of love of (neighbour) is what one does, not what one says' (Ignation Pedagogy: A practical Approach 1993 n 59). This precept accorded with the policy of the local authority in fostering greater harmony between the diverse social and religious groupings in the borough by action, in addition to political rhetoric. In terms of education in its broadest sense, one can triangulate this with the declared policy of the local

authority to maintain educational diversity in schooling in its 2000 dated local authority documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act.

The close co-operation between the local authority, the school governors and the diocese as sponsor of the federated school in promoting dialogue with the wider community appears to have been in advance of a published written exhortation from Congregation for Catholic Education in the Holy See. Policies of inclusion and thereby fostering community cohesion were apparently being considered and extensively consulted upon by that dicastery (department) for this was mentioned by Cardinal Grocholewski, Prefect of the Congregation for Catholic Education, when in 2013 he called an important press gathering in the Vatican to launch a new publication specifically authorised by Pope Francis titled, 'Educating to Further Cultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools: Living in Harmony for a Civilisation of Love' (2013).

The following summarises the position of the Holy See:

Education contains a central challenge for the future to allow various cultural expressions to co-exist and to promote dialogue so as to foster a peaceful society.....Schools have a great responsibility in this field, called as they are to develop intercultural dialogue in their pedagogical vision. This is a difficult goal, not easy to achieve and yet it is necessary education This is the context in which Catholic schools are called to give their contribution drawing on their pedagogical and cultural traditions We are pleased to offer this document as a means of dialogue and reflection to all who are concerned for the education of the whole person, for the building up of a peaceful society marked by solidarity.

In the formal language of documents of the Holy See, this document with its 75 references appears to echo the policy of the governors of the federated school and Tower Hamlets Council in their roles of academic and cultural developers to promote community cohesion in the mainly poor and disadvantaged area of inner-city London. The document is similar in tone to that of the British Government's 'Curriculum Review' (2007) in its efforts to promote good education and racial harmony, particularly with the Government's addition to Section 21 of the 2002 Act.

The outstanding example of the exceptionally good relations between the Catholic federated school and its local authority was the Local Area

Partnership, discussed in chapter 6, by which the school successfully bid for two area contracts to manage a large part of the local authority's Youth and Community Service. To oversee the contracts a Governors' Committee was created by the school. This was chaired by the Chairman of Governors to signify its importance in the life of the school and the wider community. The committee was also attended by senior members of the local authority's Education Directorate to signify the authority's continuing legal responsibilities for the Service and support for the school. Capital expenditure suggested by the school to the local authority (mentioned in chapter 6) to improve many of the local authority outreach facilities was later provided after the Head had visited all the outreach establishments to be managed prior to her Chairman signing the contracts.

In terms of recontextualising a Bernsteinian analysis of the device he termed the 'pedagogic discourse' to the Local Area Partnership, the practice was one of continuous evaluation from the time of acquiring the LAP contracts, evaluating the needs and resources and ensuring the instructions were carried out. This was part of the formal contractual arrangements. In this the 'regulative discourse' was dominant, as Bernstein argued, (2000, pp 33-37) because it 'created the rules for the social order' (ibid. p34) of administering the system, in this instance from the contract, through to the Community Committee, to the establishment hubs, and then to other smaller establishments. Bernstein's 'instructional discourse' was 'brought into play' by conforming to the manner in which the LAPs were regulated by the contract and the decisions of the Community Committee. The context within which this was accomplished was a process at the third level of Bernstein's analysis as depicted:

'Acquisition (of the contract) ↔ Evaluating (the situation) ↔ Transmitting (the instructions)' (Bernstein, 2000, p 6).

It is anticipated that the above analysis will indicate the relevance of the leadership function of both the local authority and the Executive Head when entrusting the LAP contracts to the school's governing body and give a practical example of the application of some of Bernstein's theory.

However, it does not sufficiently explain the underlying principles which motivated the leadership of a Catholic school to develop, with the local authority, original concepts and subsequent policy implementation of educational provision to the wider community in one of the most diverse and poorest inner city areas of London. The Head of the girls' school in particular, as the executive instigator of the developments which followed from the 2000 meeting with the Bishop, seemingly perceived her role in 'missionary terms' with a vision to provide the widest possible educational, social and cultural opportunities to combat problems of social deprivation and poverty in Tower Hamlets and the wider catchment area of east London. Important for her was making as many of the international, cultural and sporting opportunities London has to offer as available as possible to the pupils and 6th Form students. This was later translated into the girls' school officially becoming a specialist Humanities College and the boys' school becoming a specialist Sports College, with the federated school as a whole becoming an International School (see Appendix 4). All facilities were used equally by girls and boys and later the facilities were extended to external users.

During the long planning evenings, great attention was paid to the need for the best possible music and drama facilities, a sports hall and dining facilities for the pupils/students. However there was a limitation, for external space available did not allow for green playing fields or even full sized hard surface sports pitches. For outdoor games or track and field events pupils were bussed across the borough to local authority facilities. However the architect, at the 'request' of the Head, designed internal areas of greenery which were maintained by the school gardener who, with the Head's supervision over the years, ensured there were flowers and shrubs to contrast with the stark surroundings of Tower Hamlets. All met with the approval of the local authority.

By 2010 one can argue that there had grown, despite difficulties recorded above, a significant degree of mutual understanding and co-operation between the diverse communities in Tower Hamlets, cemented by the local authority and the federated school through the Local Area Partnership and the Learning Village. The collaboration sought to promote a learning culture which, in its

widest sense could not have existed without mutual collaborative enquiry into needs and the sharing of good practice between those involved (Earley, 2005, p245).

Riley (2013b) considers that the relationship between schools and the communities is crucial for policy makers, practitioners and communities alike in advancing community cohesion for the common good. With the school, the subject of this study, the relationship that was built during the period 2000-2010 was historically located, bound in culture and context (Riley 2013b p 267). For these purposes the school is unique in the manner by which the Head Teacher's clear vision, despite personal dangers, even threats on her life, attacks on her school buildings and facing a two week High Court trial, advanced community cohesion in Tower Hamlets. Riley refers to a theory of action in creating a shared community, central to which is a sense of trust (Riley 2013b, p272 fig.1). This sense of trust is perhaps the key to the Head's success in not only developing the new boys' school, but a neighbourhood school complex and managing the borough's LAP programme through her social networks with the local authority and significantly with the Muslim Bangladeshi community in very deprived and challenging parts of Tower Hamlets.

Riley (2013b, p267) refers to the growing policy emphasis on community cohesion. It may therefore be considered surprising that in the context of schooling the emphasis on schools promoting community cohesion was apparently lessened in 2010 by the Coalition Government in removing the obligation on Ofsted to report upon it during the school inspection process.

To explain the Head's vision and apparent style of servant-leadership in her dealings with the local authority and the community it is suggested that one should look to the often under-appreciated role of Catholic Social Teaching which has an integral role in working with the secular authorities to promote Catholic education and the common good. Here it can be argued that as part of her missionary leadership role in the community the Head was aware of a further service she could provide in promoting the dignity of the mostly poor in the area by outreach and by opening the facilities of the new school buildings

to them. This was reciprocated by the local authority in making the vision a practical possibility. The whole would accord with the sentiments of Pope St John Paul II in that it is the duty to rediscover and make others rediscover the inviolable dignity of every human person which the Church and the lay faithful are called upon to render to the whole human family (Christfedelis Laici, 1989, n 37). It is a matter of 'giving equal respect and concern for all people' (Harries, 2014, a retired Bishop of Oxford). Thus a Pope and a Church of England Bishop express the same beliefs.

It is noteworthy it is the whole human race that is involved and this has resonance in the DfE explanation in its Guidance on section 38 of the 2006 Act (community cohesion, inserted into Section 23A of the Education Act 2002) which came into operation in 2007. In the Guidance for Schools, the term community cohesion was deemed to cover a number of aspects, the school itself, the wider community within which the school is located, the community in Britain and the global community. There was seemingly little that separated the sentiments of Pope St John Paul II, Bishop Harries, the authors of the Guidance, Tower Hamlets Council and the governors of the federated school in recognising that the concept of community cohesion in its widest sense is a collaborative and learning process embracing the whole human family.

PART 3

EXTERNAL EVALUATIONS

The third part of this chapter considers the perceptions of parents on the school. Parental data was gathered by questionnaires left for them to complete at parents' evenings. The GCSE results of the school are considered and evaluated according to contextually value added (CVA) as a measure of pupils' progress from Key Stage 2 (at 11 years of age) to Key Stage 4 (at the age of 16 years), that is for the period of pupils' statutory secondary education. Finally, this chapter considers how the federated Catholic school and its Head were evaluated by organisations nationally recognised as important in education. For Catholics this includes the Church.

i) PARENTS

Throughout the period of the research the school made strenuous efforts to encourage parental interest and for parents to attend review evenings and events. This was possibly more difficult for this school than for a school with a smaller catchment area. For this Catholic school, we are reminded, the catchment area included the neighbouring boroughs of Hackney, Newham and Islington and even boroughs further distant where it was equally hazardous to walk in the evenings or wait for public transport, few families having their own transport. The cost of fares was also a disincentive for families on benefits or low incomes and this group was significant in the school.

However, Catholic parents have a duty to ensure the Catholic education of their children (Canon 226 §2) and the Church exhorts parents to cooperate with teachers to whom they entrust their children to be educated. Catholic schools are under a reciprocal obligation to encourage parents, 'Parents are to be heard willingly and for whom associations or meetings are to be established' (Canon 796 §2, also *The Catholic School* 1977 nn 60 & 61 and *the Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* 1997 n 20). The federated school took its responsibilities to parents seriously by holding review evenings for each school year group and by invitations to school events. For the purposes of soliciting the views of parents at parents' review evenings,

questionnaires were left for parents to complete anonymously as they wished, knowing the reluctance of people to commit views to writing if directly asked.

The statistical information gathered for this research project from the completed questionnaires, adapted from the Ofsted pro forma (Appendix 5) because it was likely to be familiar to the parents, was discussed with the Assistant Director (Curriculum). Between 60% and 64% of parents attended parents' evenings in the years 2006/7 to 2008/9, but questionnaires completed by attendees were statistically disappointing - from a low of 28% in 2007/8 for parents of girls to a high of 68% in 2008/9 for parents of boys (those who attended the parents' evenings). The low number of questionnaire responses is another indication of the reluctance of people in Tower Hamlets and the neighbouring boroughs from which pupils were drawn to commit opinions to record.

The questionnaires returned recorded very high levels of satisfaction with the school by parents on each of the standard Ofsted questions, with pupils' enjoyment of the school in all years over 90% and satisfaction in all years of pupils' progress ranging from 85% to 93%. Satisfaction percentages in 2008/9, the last year for which figures were available were higher than in the previous three years.

ii) GCSE RESULTS

The GCSE results of a school are an independent indication of the success or otherwise of teaching and learning in the school. For the federated school, a comprehensive, educating its boys and girls overwhelmingly from the very poor economic, housing and difficult social backgrounds of Tower Hamlets, Hackney and Newham, the academic results may be considered exceptionally good. For the boys these may be contrasted with the GCSE results of the boys in the Poplar based school perceived to have failed, for in 1998 that school returned a success rate at 5 A-C grades of 14% and in 1999 17%. The first cohort of boys in the federated school sat their GCSE examinations in 2006 and the results were 84% A*-C with 28% A*-C including English and Mathematics. Nearly all of the boys (99%) gained GCSE qualifications. On questioning the Head about only 99%, her reply was, "He was in police

custody and they would not release him to sit the examinations.” This was indicative of the backgrounds of many students served by the school and in a later year one boy was killed in a shooting near his home in Newham. The boys’ results were better than those for the girls who obtained 74% A*-C grades but the girls equalled the boys in English and Mathematics with 28% A*-C grades. Again, on questioning the Head about the boys’ more favourable results, these were attributed to the better funding formula for a new school and therefore class numbers in the boys’ school were smaller. It should be remembered that the boys’ and girls’ schools were discrete for funding purposes.

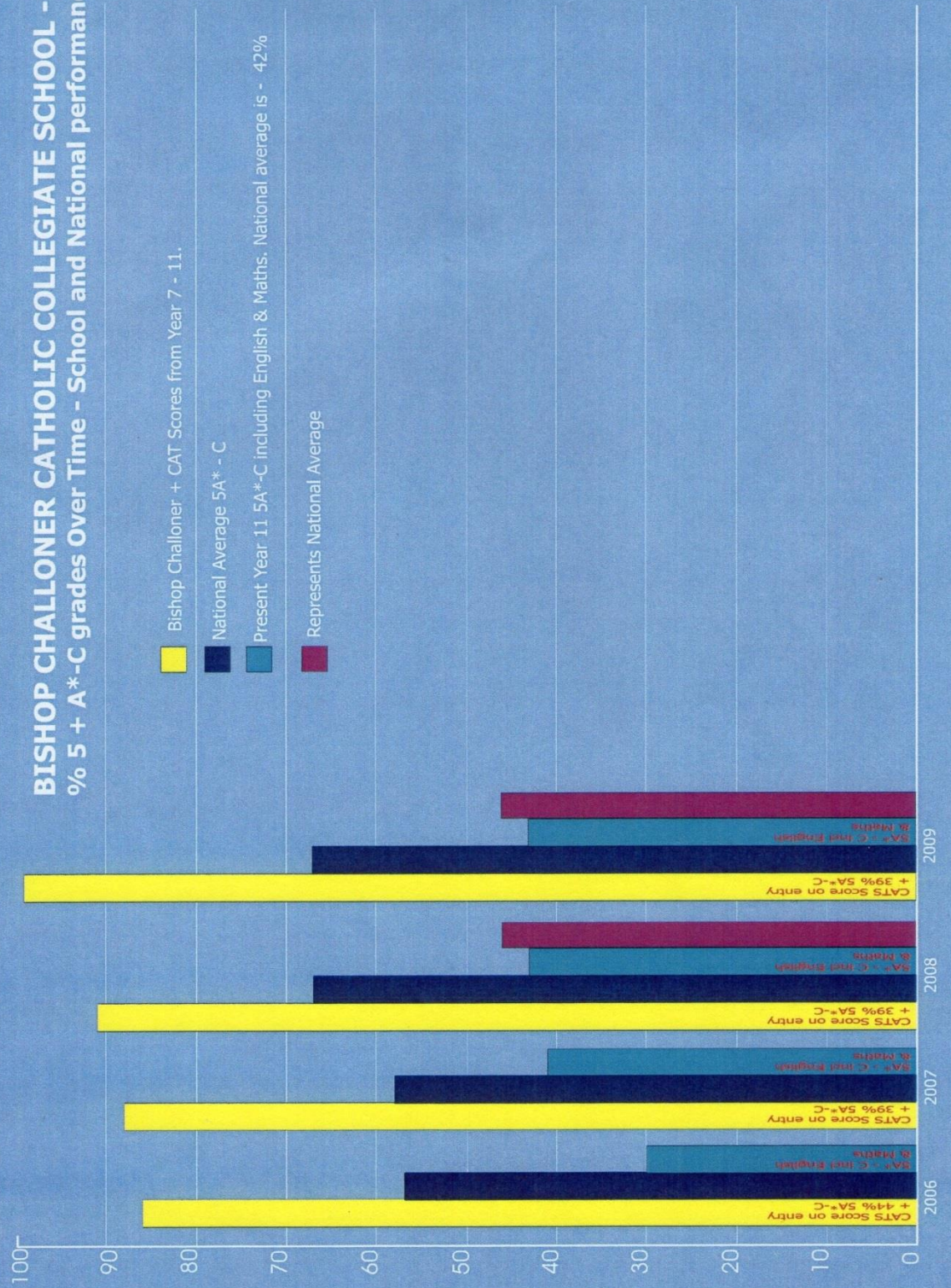
Importantly, Contextually Value Added (CVA) scores as a measure of progress from Key Stage 2 (at 11 years of age) to Key Stage 4 (at 16 years of age), recorded the boys at 1055.8 and the girls at 1036.5. These were amongst the highest, and apparently, for the boys the highest measures of academic progress in the country. The girls in the Sixth Form also obtained a good student score at 535.8 at A/AS levels. The boys had not yet progressed to the sixth form. The 2007 GCSE results improved to 95% A* - C for the boys, with 39% A* - C including English and Mathematics. The CVA scores were 1044.7 boys and 1028.7 for girls. Once again the CVA figures were amongst the highest in the country: 100% of the boys gained a qualification and 99% of the girls. One girl did not sit the examinations for personal reasons, but was registered to do so.

The Chairman of Governors sought explanations for the lower results for English and Mathematics. The explanations forthcoming are of interest in inner city areas where schools have a large majority of students whose first language is not English. In the federated school the Chairman was informed of 75 different languages spoken in the homes as first languages. This fact fed through to the problem of teaching English which was the second language for a large number of pupils and their lack of proficiency in English often made it difficult for them to understand technical terms in Mathematics. This appeared to the Chairman to be a reasonable response to his questioning because Ofsted reports for the school consistently stated that only 25% of the pupils

and 6th Form students were White British and that the remainder did not have English as a first language.

The evaluation graphs (see Figure 7.4.1) sourced from the school demonstrate the percentage of five plus A* - C GCSE grades over time, the first cohort of boys completing the examinations in 2006. The salient points appear to be the considerable measure of improvement in the levels of GCSE achievement at Year 11 over that as predicted by CAT scores at Year 7. This may be attributed to teaching and learning in the federated school and a possible justification for the comprehensive system of education, because it would appear that few of the pupils would have succeeded in the 11+ examinations prior to the advent of the comprehensive schooling and would have only qualified for secondary modern schooling without the prospect of studying at GCSE level. From 2008, it is noticeable that the girls were edging ahead of national figures in English and Mathematics. However, the boys were still marginally below the national figures for English and Mathematics in 2008 and 2009.

BISHOP CHALLONER CATHOLIC COLLEGIATE SCHOOL - BOYS **% 5 + A*-C grades Over Time - School and National performance**



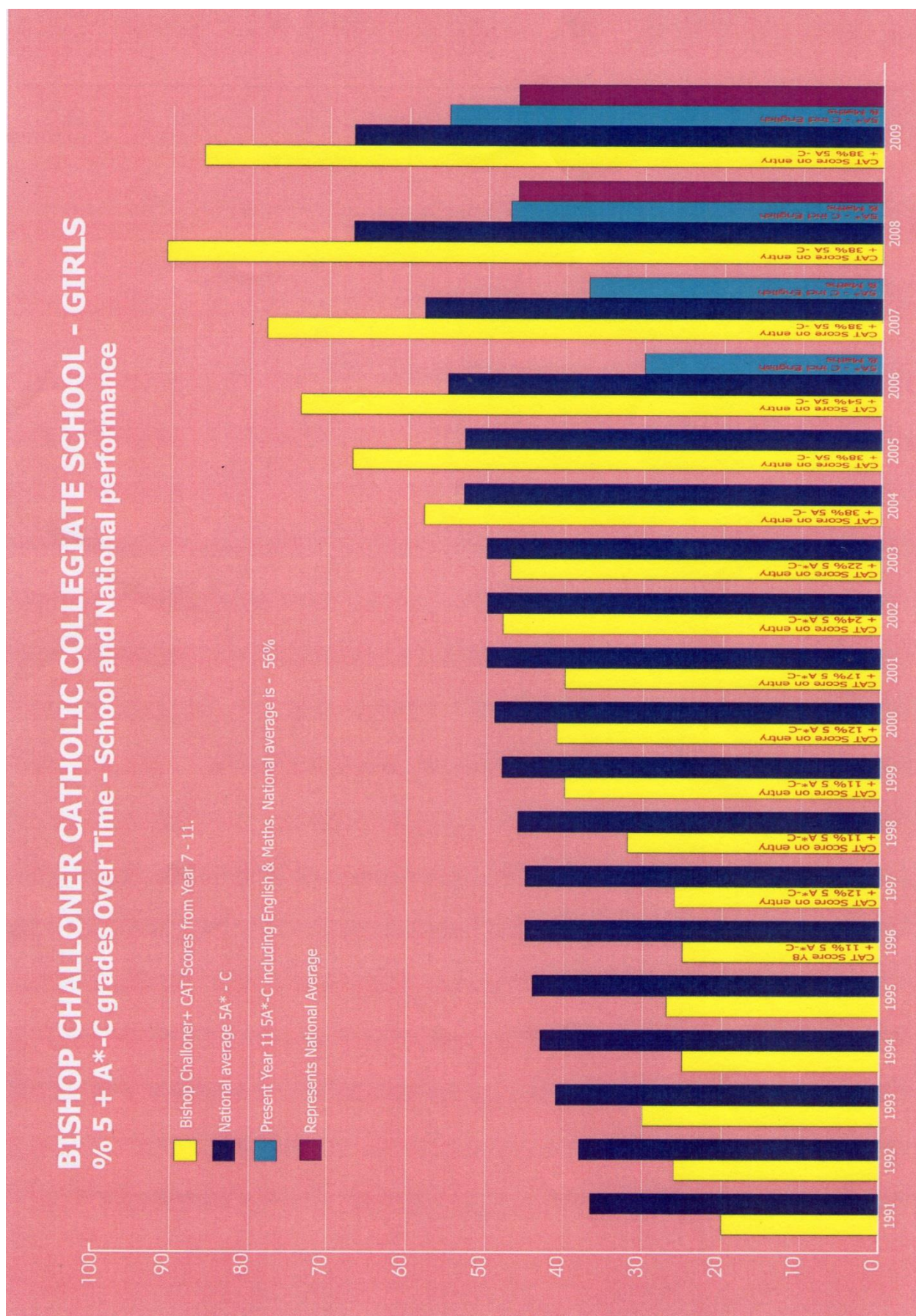


Figure. 7.4.1 The Federated School's Comparative GCSE results incorporating CAT score predictions at Year 7.

A quantitative analysis of examination results appears to show the federated school to have performed well during the period from 2000 to 2009; 2009 being the last results under the original Head's leadership. This despite the considerable disruption during the whole period and re-timetabling of lessons as the building programme was lengthened due to the uncertainties of the High Court trial and later further lengthened by the bankruptcy of the main building contractor.

Scrutiny of the more qualitative based Diocesan Inspection reports complements the above and indicates that only one in five of the students were White British and a high proportion were from minority ethnic backgrounds, the largest being Black British-African, somewhat surprising, given the majority of the surrounding population is of Asian origin. The proportion of students eligible for free school meals was well above average. The diocesan reports were extremely complimentary of the religious education throughout the school and its effect on the behaviour of the children. The reports record the pupils undertaking considerable charity work as part of their religious studies. This was triangulated in the Annual Reports of a Hackney sited hospice and a Spitalfields based charity for rough sleepers. The Spitalfields charity started in 1860 and has been managed and serviced by the Sisters of Mercy since its beginning and it is a tribute to the Lay Head of the federated school that this continuity with the Sisters was still maintained. The Hackney Hospice also has a long association with the school. The hospice was started in 1900 by the Sisters of Charity and numbers of the Sisters of Mercy have served in the hospice over the years. In the spirit of charity (love) both organisations cater for any individual who needs help. For the pupils of the federated school it is an opportunity to engage with the most vulnerable in society.

iii) OTHER EXTERNAL EVALUATIONS

The governors and staff of the federated school thought it necessary to demonstrate to the external world that their school in a deprived inner city area sought and achieved high standards, and they therefore subjected the school and themselves to wide external scrutiny and evaluation. Through this process

the girls' school achieved specialist status as a Humanities College in 2005 and this was followed by the boys' school achieving specialist status as a Sports College in 2007. In addition, because of its work for the Lithuanian community, the Lithuanian Government granted the school, the Head and two Assistant Directors involved with the Lithuanians attending the school prestigious Lithuanian national awards (see Appendix 6).

In 2008 the school was recognised as a High Performing Specialist School and an additional specialism of Applied Learning was achieved in 2009. Other awards achieved after external evaluation included that of Artsmark, Sportsmark, Quality Mark in Study & Support and Extended School Services and - as recognition of the school's special concern for the health and wellbeing of its pupils - an award as a Healthy Eating School.

On 7 June 2010 a framed certificate was received from the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust (iNET): 'A Celebration of Most Improved Specialist Schools and Academies,' acknowledging the School's improving GCSE results 2002-2009. In 2010 the last award the federated school achieved under the Executive Head was its status as an International School (Appendix 4). Although 'Specialist' appears in many of the awards there was never selection by ability and it was never the policy of the governors to select by special ability or the social standing of parents.

The variety of awards as a result of external evaluations is impressive, particularly when the High Court trial and building works were major distractions to teaching and learning during the times of the evaluations. It is unlikely that the successes could have been achieved without the servant-leader style of leadership throughout the school generated by the selflessness of the Head and a united set of values based on social justice. Her example was followed by the staff who elicited co-operation from the mostly extremely disadvantaged pupils in the school, not substantially different from those described above by the local authority in its specification for the Local Area Partnership bidders. The Head can be correctly described as a dogged 'system driver' in pursuing those holding 'the levers for change and reform'

(Riley, 2005, p118) for the benefit of the school. Begley (2003, p11) suggests that the art of leadership is underpinned by the values that leaders employ and in this context it is helpful to refer to this Head's witness statement to the High Court revealing the Catholic ethical values underpinning her leadership. Quoting from the 2004 Ofsted reports on both schools within the federation, she was described as:

not exhibiting larger-than-life behaviour, but had quietly and very determinedly fought for the best for the students and had doggedly pursued high level officials in the Diocese and the DfE to obtain accommodation and funding to make the schools a success.

Even in the short time of three years since starting the boys' school in the Shadwell Centre, then persuading Tower Hamlets to lease its open space, finding and having erected the temporary buildings for the boys and transferring them to the new site, Ofsted recognised the success of the boys' school and that the efforts that had gone into that school had not diminished the success of the girls' school. The Ofsted report says the Head was inspirational as a leader and set a clear vision for the future of the school as a highly innovative and outward looking institution and she passionately believed all children could achieve and that education could make a significant difference to the lives of young people.

The Diocesan school inspection of the same year summarised the federated school as a very good Catholic school driven by vision and commitment in order to address current challenges and to serve the needs of the Catholic and local community in Tower Hamlets. The governors, the leadership team and the staff showed unity of purpose in their aspirations for the pupils and in concern for their achievement and personal development. The report concluded the school rightly identified itself as the Catholic Church's mission in practise.

In February 2009 the school was visited as part of the 'Ofsted Inspection Programme – New models of school leadership: influences and outcomes.' For the Head this was the last Ofsted inspection and it concluded:

The overall effectiveness of the model of leadership, a federation of Bishop Challoner Catholic Collegiate Girls' School, which includes a mixed Sixth Form, with a secondary Catholic boys' school, is outstanding.

Within the body of the report the inspection concluded that the new model of leadership on the quality of teaching and learning was outstanding, it was outstanding on the quality of the curriculum, on leadership and management throughout the school and on inclusion. On every aspect of the inspection the school was rated as outstanding (Appendix 8).

The above triangulates well with the empirical evidence revealed in this case study.

It can be ascertained from the 2004 Ofsted report that the Head was personally modest and did not seek aggrandisement, but accolades came her way in 2010 the year of her retirement by the award of an OBE and a rare Papal honour as a Dame of St Gregory (DSG). The DSG was presented at a Thanksgiving Mass in the neighbouring Catholic Parish Church on the opening and Blessing of the new school complex. The Mass was presided over by the same Bishop, now Archbishop of Westminster, who had ten years before asked the Head if she would 'take on the boys,' the celebrant of the Mass being the Bishop Chairman of the Diocesan Education Commission (Appendix 7). The Head had previously received the prestigious award from the Lithuanian Government (see Appendix 6). In her final year, the Head also received the award as Head Teacher of the Year for London and, for her school and for the unstinting work she had done over the years, the TES award of Community School Involvement of the Year. The awards of the OBE and the DSG and the other awards were in recognition of the Head's success in both promoting the inclusive nature of the federated school by embracing the wider community while maintaining the school's distinctive Catholic identity. The two major awards may be said to recognise, 2000 years after Christ's advice, that she 'rendered to Caesar that which was Caesar's and to God that which was God's' (Mt 22:21). One may also recognise that with the large number of 'home' languages spoken by pupils in the school, she did 'teach all nations' in the manner of Christ's instruction to the Apostles (Mt 28:19-20).

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

RESPONDING TO THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES

The above quotation is taken from Mt 16:4 and was used by Pope John Paul II when he convoked the Second Vatican Council on 21st December 1965. It is a reminder for the Church in particular to be vigilant and to keep a sense of responsibility for the world around it. The full text can be found in the Apostolic Constitution *Humanae Salus* (Of Human Salvation), 1962.

The phrase is considered apt for the concluding chapter of this empirical study, underpinned by its theoretical concepts, because the area of the current Tower Hamlets has been greatly at the forefront of diocesan education policy since the early days of the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850. Conscious of the great need to educate the mostly poor and often starving Irish Catholics in the faith and to enable them to better themselves economically and socially, the Missionary Rector of the area invited the Sisters of Mercy to come from Ireland and they arrived in 1859 to set up Catholic schools and to generally minister to the whole population (Maynard 2009, p199, quoted in chapter 1). They are still ministering in the borough.

For the purposes of this study, by the 1990s economic and social conditions in Tower Hamlets had deteriorated from the relative stable prosperity of the 1950s. Gardiner (1995) reported on the local, racially motivated, problems surrounding the Poplar-based Catholic boys' school as immigrant communities fought each other in the streets. Ofsted reported in 1998 on the borough's woeful education service and the fact that strategic planning across the borough had largely ceased because of political and administrative experimentation. GCSE results were poor and there was a surplus of places in the borough's schools, presumably because parents sought education for their children outside the borough. The Catholic boys' secondary school in Poplar was not immune from the borough's problems and was deemed a failure and designated for closure in 2000. Responding to the failure of the school the Bishop, as recorded, invited the representative governors of the Catholic girls' school to provide for the Catholic boys. The invitation, or challenge, was

accepted, but on terms that necessary negotiations with the borough's Chief Education Officer were to be conducted by the girls' school representative governors for a federated school that would educate boys and girls separately. A federated school, with a new boys' school using the girls' school staff and managed by its governors was deemed necessary because of the urgency of providing for the boys with of the impending parental decisions of Catholic parents to select secondary (Catholic) schooling for their primary-school children. That, seemingly, answers part of the subsidiary question as to **why** the girls' school governors decided upon the original concept of the federated school, but a new school building seemed impossible to acquire, furnish and staff in the time available, and the use of the Poplar building and staff with the history of failure was not desired by the representative governors of the girls' school. The greatest problem, however, was that there was no of legal authority for a federated school within the maintained sector of education.

How the governors of the girls' school developed the federated school concept was initially through good offices of the borough's Director of Education (CEO) and the DfE. The Director contacted the DfE and the officials found a compromise by which the desired 'federated' situation could be operated in advance of legislative authority. Recognising 'the signs of the times' in which the social and political strength of the local Muslim community had negotiated the use of the Shadwell Centre, the only possible building locally suitable for the boys' school, the CEO and Head Teacher of the girls' school persuaded the Elders of the Muslim community to relinquish part of the Centre for the use of the boys. The promise was that this was a temporary arrangement. The promise was fulfilled on the transfer of the boys to the site leased from the local authority and the school developed on this site. The promise was later to benefit the school by the intervention of the Imams whose good offices apparently led to peaceful co-existence with the local Muslim youths.

With the project grant of £30 million, new thinking was possible by actively recognising 'the signs of the times.' It has been shown that Tower Hamlets was a divided society with racial strife (Gardiner 1995), severe poverty, poor housing and health, exacerbated by high levels of immigration (Child Poverty

Action Group 2008,2012, 2014 and Mathew, Harper Associates, 2010). It was a borough in transition with a burgeoning hyper-diversity of communities at the margins (ibid). The signs of the time required action and this was provided by developing the excellent facilities of the now formally federated school for use by the wider community. As has been shown this was through the further original concepts of the Urban Learning Village and the Local Area Partnerships with the local authority. A more insightful aspect of why and how the federated school developed as it did may be gleaned from Bishop Stack's evidence to the High Court in 2006 and the Holy See's publication in 2013. Both saw multi-culturalism as the big challenge to education, with inter-cultural dialogue as a means of promoting peaceful human progress and living in harmony. The school, in advance of these statements, planned for and instituted this dialogue to the benefit of the many socially and economically deprived inhabitants of Tower Hamlets. The needs of the time were thereby recognised and met to the best of the school's ability.

The main research question relates to the tensions that arose between the decisions of inclusiveness and distinctiveness in the development of the Catholic school federation in Tower Hamlets and their resolution. The really surprising tensions were with the small group of Catholic local parishioners who apparently saw the outward looking policies of the federated school governors as a threat to the distinctive nature of their conception of a Catholic school. There appeared to be undertones of insecurity when they perceived the growth of the local and mainly Muslim community and were overly defensive of their traditional form of inward –looking Catholicism. As described, they instituted High Court proceedings against the diocese and the school governors. They lost their case with costs and damages awarded against them. The Court therefore legally resolved the differences, but not the emotional ones. These were seemingly resolved when the diocese waived its rights to the considerable sums awarded against the parishioner group, held a reconciliatory Mass in the parish church and awarded diocesan medals to long-serving parishioners, amongst whom were those who had taken the diocese and the school governors to the High Court. On the retirement of the Parish Priest on the grounds of ill-health (he was an opponent of the school's

policies) the Archbishop appointed a succession of Priest Administrators to the parish who were great conciliators. It appeared that all these measures successfully resolved the former tensions.

SUMMARY OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

This case study has shown that Catholic education and schooling should not be regarded as marginal to mainstream education, in particular in England. Catholic education and schooling is firmly and successfully established within the maintained sector and has been beneficial to successive governments' educational policies since the Education Act 1944 which cemented the dual system of education that had grown since the 19th Century.

I would ask those who feel deeply to dismiss from their minds the wholly unwarrantable views that the Government desires to tear away Church schools from unwilling managers or to force them inhumanely out of business (Butler, 1971, p119, quoting from his speech in the House of Commons on the Third Reading of the Bill, prior to passing of the Education Act 1944).

Fortunately, succeeding governments have followed this policy despite attempts by some secularists since the 1944 Act to abolish faith schools in the maintained sector (Toynbee, 2007; Grayling, 2008, 2010; Sheerman, 2005 and Hand, 2002, 2003, 2006, 2008 & 2012). Catholic educational provision as part of the dual system of education has been shown in this case study to be creative and both academically and socially beneficial. It was to be found in the high levels of achievement in both the boys' and girls' establishments and the 6th Form within the federated school, together with the many independent evaluations resulting in prestigious awards to the school.

Possibly the most original and important aspect to emerge from this study is the 'Federated School' concept itself which appears from the research conducted, to derive its origins at the meeting in 2000 between the Head Teacher, her Chairman of Governors of the Catholic Secondary Girls' school in Tower Hamlets and the Westminster Catholic Bishop with his Diocesan Director of Education.

The concept of federating the existing girls' school with the proposed new boys' school was put to the Director of Education for Tower Hamlets and was

received positively as a means of solving the problem of the impending closure of the Catholic Boys' school. We have seen that at the time it did not meet the legal criterion of one governing body for the two schools. However, an administrative compromise was suggested by the DfE whereby, subject to systems of financial accountability and transparency of organisation, the staff of the Catholic Girls' school including the Head could work across both schools. From this, one can argue that rather than dismissing the idea, the DfE recognised the possible more general advantages of school federation while being flexible in assisting Tower Hamlets to solve the severe problems highlighted by the 1998 Ofsted inspection report on the borough's educational provision. **(End Note 3)**. The later visits from DfE officials who had examined the procedures in operation across the schools and discussed them in depth with the Head apparently convinced the highest echelons at the DfE of the educational value of school federation. In effect, the implementation of this original concept was probably a pilot study for developing the concept nationally.

The statutory outcome of these visits appears to be Section 24 of the Education Act 2002 enabling the federation of school governing bodies. School federation *is* now a major feature of Government policy at national level enabling both formal federations with a single governing body for more than one school, or a looser form of federation, more of co-operation between schools. This was an option later taken by the nearby Catholic Primary School to work with the formally federated secondary school in order to provide mutually beneficial policies. Regulations made in 2007 under the 2002 Act extended the concept of federation across the whole pre-university sector of education, the principle obviously deemed beneficial for pre-university educational establishments that wished to exercise an appropriate form of federation. The Regulations of 2007 specifying records to be kept by federating schools and other education establishments in the maintained sector bear a striking similarity to those shown by the Head of the Girls' school to her DfE visitors in 2001 and it can therefore be argued that the Head's records influenced the drafting of the 2007 Regulations.

A significant finding is that the research indicates the probable influence of the Catholic secondary schools in Tower Hamlets on the national policy of school federation, creating a new paradigm in educational provision. The concept of school federation has been extended greatly within the rapidly developing Academy system which actively advocates multi-academy trusts, even 'chains' administering large numbers of schools, for example the Wakefield Academy Trust (WCAT) has 14 schools, secondary and primary (Yellop, 2014). Whereas prior to the Education Act 2002 each school was separately governed and managed, now the emphasis is on extensive unions of schools.

The school governors in their vision for the new Catholic school complex in Tower Hamlets were conscious of the formal and less formal educational and social needs not only of the Catholic community, but of the wider non-Catholic and significantly non-Christian Muslim community. In the planning meetings between the Head and Chair of Governors, sometimes subject to the external threats and vandalism reported above, the policy of using the buildings for general local benefit through the concept of the Learning Village emerged this was to provide needed educational and recreational facilities for the wider community which were lacking in the vicinity of the school. From the experiences of the mid 1960s recorded by Gardiner (1965), it was evident that 'communities brought up entirely separately sow the seeds for distrust and discrimination' (Pring, 2013, p177); therefore the concept of the Learning Village was conceived as an attempt to overcome that distrust and discrimination. It subsequently appeared to be successful.

The proposed development was also designed to enhance the local environment and its size and the activities envisaged would contribute to employment in Tower Hamlets. This would be the Catholic Church's contribution to forming greatly needed community cohesion in the borough. There was, because this was essentially a Catholic Church venture, a deeper and more philosophical meaning to the vision, not openly expressed between the Head and her Chairman, but imbued from their Catholic background, that of the innate God made dignity of all humans and their own duty to advance the mission of the Church for the common good (GE 1965 section 8; The

Catholic School 1977 section 36; The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School 1988 sections 46 and 46, and O’Keeffe and Zipfel, 2007). The practical thinking relating to community needs and to promote community cohesion was stimulated by the opportunities to develop a new school complex and similar to the concept of the federated school appeared to be in advance of Government policy, for it was not until the Education and Inspections Act 2006 that the duty was imposed on governing bodies of all schools in the maintained sector to promote community cohesion. The 2006 Act retrospectively inserted the new Section 21(5) in the Education Act 2002, but it was not until 2007 that the duty became effective. The DfE Guidance to Schools (2007) on promoting community cohesion appears to add little to that which the federated school was already doing and it could be argued the Catholic school federation in Tower Hamlets was again in the vanguard of another new educational initiative.

In the exchange of information that is normal between a developer and its local planning authority, the potential opportunity that the building of this new school complex would provide to regenerate the surrounding area emerged. This was certainly put to Council officials by the Head and reported to her Chair of Governors. Blocks of nearby Council owned flats were later refurbished and the street next to the school was greatly improved and accumulated rubbish cleared. At the time the Head was adamant this street should be cleared and traffic calming ramps installed, particularly because an entrance to the new school buildings from this street was proposed. She was equally active by the provision of good street lighting in ensuring that there was no repetition of the drug dealers returning to the railway arches near the notorious housing estate to the rear of the school. The diocese, in addition to its statutory 10% capital contribution and substantial extra funding from the sale of the former Poplar site for the new school complex, made a significant financial contribution by way of a ‘Section 106’ agreement under the Town and Country Planning Act 1990. There was no obligation on the diocese as a registered charity to agree to such a benefit, but a diocesan contribution was made for improvements on the notorious estate into which the youths, who some years before brandished a gun at the Head and her Chairman, had

disappeared. Thus in agreeing to the new school complex, the opportunity was taken by the local authority, on the initiatives put forward by the diocese and the school, to greatly improve the surrounding environment.

The new school complex resulted in some 200 additional jobs for teaching and support staff. These were greatly needed in Tower Hamlets with its high level of unemployment. It was also a helpful contribution to community cohesion because the various jobs were open to Catholics and non-Catholics alike. By agreement between the local authority and the diocese, as part of the regeneration of the area, the nearby Catholic Primary School was extended with the provision of a purpose built pre-school nursery. This helped working mothers to be relieved of the worry and probable expense of employing a child-minder. It also ensured a steady stream of entrants to the primary school and then, hopefully to the nearby federated Catholic Secondary School.

With work on the new school buildings near completion, the federated school successfully bid to manage the significant part of the local authority's Youth and Community Service programme in partnership with Tower Hamlets. This was an extension of the Learning Village concept and involved outreach provision in establishments across the borough with the school becoming legally responsible for some of the buildings. All this appears to have enhanced community cohesion for, during the fieldwork for this case study and in answer to questioning, there was no record of inter-communal strife in Tower Hamlets during the London-wide riots of the summer of 2011. Youths, adults and those bringing young children to after-school activities from across the borough were observed at their activities to be relaxed, presumably feeling safe and secure in the school complex. Social mixing from different religious and racial traditions appeared to be no problem. The fieldwork interviews with the Bangladeshi youths and young women were conducted in a very relaxed atmosphere and they were all familiar with the school. Although numbers of the youths spoken with may have been Young Offenders, as indicated in the Borough's Specifications for the LAP bidding, only courtesy and openness was shown to this researcher. On frequent visits to the Learning Village to observe activities at the school complex there was no sign of discord, despite some of

the youths coming from the notorious estate to the rear of the school. This degree of harmonious living may confidently be attributed to the pioneering work of the Head Teacher.

Widespread school federation and, according to the recorded evidence of the DfE to the House of Commons and the academic research noted above significantly benefits educational results. The concept of the Learning Village has not been incorporated into legislation, but from a trawl of English school websites including Cramlington Learning Village, Bedford Academy and Cowes Enterprise College and, from personal knowledge of recently instituted academies in Croydon and Lewisham, the concept has been adopted with variations adapted to local needs. Possibly the most exciting adoption of the concept was at the 2013 World Social Capital Forum in Scotland which was organised as a 'Learning Village.' The evidence to date, therefore, indicates that the concept appears to be capable of adoption and adaptation according to requirements, both in England and internationally.

The initiative and implementation of the above concepts in these main findings can be attributed to the Head Teacher *cum* Executive Head of the federated school for she was regularly observed to be selflessly active in all the processes relating to the development of the federated school. The concepts appeared to be essentially driven by her initiatives, despite at times being under serious threats to her life from the 'poison pen' letters received at the school.

In terms of recontextualising Bernstein's Level 3 of his pedagogic device (Bernstein, 2000, p36) one can discern throughout the acquisition of knowledge of the problems, a process of evaluation with the transmission of power and knowledge along the continuum of the period of the study. As Bernstein appreciated, the key to understanding and success was the pedagogic device. In its practical application this was discourse or dialogue, formal or informal, with those who had an interest, near or remote, in the project.

Recognising 'levers for change and reform' (Riley, 2005, p118), the school's dialogue commenced with the Bishop, was followed by dialogue with the local authority, with the Bangladeshi Elders, civil servants, and also importantly in the local religious and cultural context, with the Imams. However, recognising that effective power to achieve the vision of inclusivity lay with the local authority and the diocese, there was continual dialogue with these bodies. Being aware that power is distributed in its various aspects (Foucault, 1983, 2002; Denzin, 2001 p49) there were numerous discussions, personal and documentary with the professionals, teaching and non-teaching involved in the developments. These discussions built up social capital (following Bourdieu), but probably only because they were based on trust, for the Head who conducted these negotiations, was open to others about the school's policies, but flexible in modifying her views to meet their helpful suggestions. Her interpersonal and communications skills were considerable, both key attributes of highly effective leaders (Earley and Weindling, 2004, p54).

The ethics of the Head were based on openness and truth which made her trustworthy and it may be considered the success she achieved lay substantially in her openness when persuading others of the vision of the school being inclusive as part of the Church's mission in the East End. This vision she unequivocally stated in her evidence to the High Court was fully supported by Bishop Stack on behalf of the diocese. The Head's openness to all that was already happening and was intended to happen may also be considered her Achilles' heel for it offended the dissident Catholic minority in the local parish and led to the High Court trial.

Justification of the Head's leadership of inclusivity in the school's mission of peace and love of neighbour can be exemplified from the outstanding Ofsted Report on the school received in 'New Models of Leadership' (2009), the last Ofsted report on the school prior to her retirement. Further justification of the school's policy of inclusivity may be taken from the Holy See's publication 'Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools: Living in Harmony for a Civilisation of Love' (2013), for the contents of this publication, according to the Cardinal Prefect presenting it, were consulted upon long and widely and in

all probability the consultation period covered part of the period of this case study and included the Archdiocese of Westminster, the sponsor of the federated school and its policies.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE: POLICY AND PRACTICE

Grace's concern that Catholic education is often assumed to be relevant only to Catholics and may therefore be regarded as marginal to mainstream education and discourse (Grace, 2002, p.xi) appears, unfortunately, to be true over a decade after his research. The literature by academic non-Catholic researchers on Catholic education is sparse and where it exists it tends to descend to polemical criticism rather than being based on hard evidence or empirical research. Even Hand who has interesting philosophical objections to 'confessional' religious education which he describes as 'irrational indoctrination' and believes that faith schools should not be publically funded, does not record empirical research in his publications. This lack of empirical study weakens his arguments, but it is important that the debate on Catholic education continues (Pring in the foreword to Hand, 2006). However, the debate will benefit from empirical enquiry to produce evidence of good or poor results on a variety of matters in Catholic education, even though 'the outcomes of such enquiry are unpredictable and may have disturbing consequences for the faithful' (Grace, 2002, p24). The intention is to improve knowledge of Catholic education and test philosophical assertions where possible by empirical evidence whether favourable or not. Non-Catholic researchers therefore need to be actively encouraged by the institutional Church to undertake empirical studies of Catholic schooling in the hope that they can provide new insights based on evidence rather than opinion or prejudice. Contributions by non-Catholic and Catholic researchers should be published in peer reviewed journals which are not seen as specifically Catholic, this suggestion to overtly demonstrate independence of thought and findings.

There needs to be a concerted policy drive by different organs of the Catholic Church to involve non-Catholics in research into the policy and practices of the Catholic education, for the non-Catholic may contribute to that which is obvious to Catholics, but not articulated to the non-Catholic world. Thus may be revealed aspects of 'the secrets of the garden known only to the cognoscenti' (Grace, 2000, p.xi) for the wider benefit. The organs of the Church range from the baptised (Canon 744) and through a large variety of

Catholic organisations in the Eastern and Western Churches in communion with the Holy See, to the Supreme Pontiff and the College of Bishops (Lumen Gentium 23 and 25, Canon 756). All should therefore actively welcome empirical scrutiny by the non-Catholic academic as an exercise in ecumenism.

Convincing the Congregation for Catholic Education as the dicastery of the Holy See with direct access to the Pope on educational matters is considered the prime recommendation. It is possibly through Catholic academics and Bishops' Conferences that this is most likely to be achieved. Bishops' Conferences are the Conferences of Catholic Bishops governing the Church at national level, each Bishops' Conference having an agency specifically charged with promoting Catholic education. These agencies report to plenary sessions of the Conferences and are therefore influential. The benefits to the Church of stimulating the interest of non-Catholic educational experts in the principles and workings of Catholic education are already evident in 'Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools: Living in Harmony for a Civilisation of Love' (2013), but further effort is needed.

Another route to recommend for involving the non-Catholic researcher in Catholic education is through Catholic Religious Congregations which specialise in education. There are meetings of Superiors of Religious Congregations and the suggestion of research by non-Catholics should be put, preferably individually in the first instance to individual Superiors. Religious Congregations are very influential in Catholic education because their members teach across the world and experience conditions of educational provision that are not necessarily relevant in individual countries. It is they who often have the greater experience of Catholic education in a world-wide context (Punnachet, 2006).

Catholic educationalists at all levels are recommended to suggest interesting opportunities in the field of Catholic education to non-Catholic researchers, they may suggest empirical studies to their students. In England the National College for Teaching and Leadership, through its university contacts and its existing Catholic researchers could open up the debate on possible interest to

non-Catholic researchers of aspects of Catholic education, even perhaps locate funding for them to pursue research projects.

Given that developments in education generally have been the subject of almost annual primary and secondary legislation together with legal and informal guidance from the DfE, there appears to be fertile soil for researchers to investigate how the Catholic sector in England has and is continuing to respond in the developing educational field.

The declared policy of the Catholic Church in England and Wales is to seek to work with the Government of the day and thereby to influence it in providing the best possible education for all. This, during and after the study period, has enabled excellent conversion policies to academy status satisfying both Bishops and Government (McMahon, 2012). In 2012 there were 148 conversion academies with some schools converted to academies for special reasons. Obviously the Catholic hierarchy is cognisant of the signs of the times in educational provision and had acted to protect its role within the maintained sector. Earley (2013) also observes the growth in the academy and the free school system and the rapid conversion of schools to academies together with the accompanying weakening of the role of local authorities. For those Catholic schools that do not have good relations with their local authority, conversion to academy status may alleviate their problems. However, the academy system does tend to centralise the control of schools by the Government of the day and weakens democratic control by locally elected councillors and this is a potential problem should there be a government that is overly authoritarian in controlling the curriculum for its own political purposes. Studies of the above conversions would illuminate advantages and disadvantages to both Catholic and non-Catholic schooling.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

This penultimate section will attempt the perennial problem for the case study researcher of setting the significance of that which has been researched within theoretical contexts enabling a deeper intellectual understanding of human social pressures influencing the events recorded (Bernstein, 2000, p.xiv).

This research is perceived within the educational philosophy of the Catholic Church which is Christocentric, in the sense of the worship of God and the love of neighbour. Within this concept Catholic education is open to all and is aimed at the common good. In terms of Catholic education the common good belongs to everyone by virtue of their common humanity and human interdependence (Choosing the Common Good, 2010, p7). It essentially seeks to provide not just instruction in subjects, but education for the whole of life to enhance the dignity of the individual (The Common Good in Education, 1997, p7). It is accepted that the holistic concept is at variance with a purely subject approach to schooling and that this may provoke tensions within Catholic schooling to meet 'league table criteria.' However, the academic and other accolades received by the Catholic federated school, claiming to be the first of its kind, suggest the holistic approach, even in schools where the pupils often come from very deprived social and educational backgrounds, can be extremely effective in producing good academic and social results.

That which was accomplished in the ten years covered by this case study may provide the foundations for further critical analysis of schooling in deprived areas and reveal the contribution that education provided in those schools can contribute to positive social action (Denzin, 2001, p5). Although this case study involved the growth of a Catholic school over a decade, the achievements can be a stimulus to governing bodies and Head Teachers in other maintained schools to expand their educational horizons beyond the school gates and engage with the wider community. The notion of schools being 'outward-facing', of which the federated school appeared to pioneer within a particularly deprived inner city area, is now accepted as good practice generally (Bubb, 2011, DFE-RR139).

On his return in 2010 to formally open a successful school complex embodying the boys' school that he desired, the Bishop now Archbishop of Westminster, together with his Auxiliary Bishop who had seen the school through the difficult times of the High Court trial, observed the original proposals for a federated school with the existing girls' school had been extended to include the Urban Learning Village and the Local Area Partnership. All had seemingly been achieved with the co-operation of the secular authorities, the wider community of non-Catholics and the significantly local influential non-Christian community which the school, with its policies of inclusivity, developed through the Learning Village and the Local Area Partnership. This, as the Head explained to the High Court, was part of the Church's mission in the East End. From the co-existence witnessed in the fieldwork it considerably enhanced community cohesion and this appeared to lead to a more peaceful society than that experienced by Gardiner (1995) and by the Head and her Chair of Governors at the time of the second Gulf War (2003). Surprisingly, and possibly detrimentally in view of the accepted multiculturalism of English society, community cohesion was omitted from the Ofsted agenda in 2010 by the Coalition Government.

In the ten years that had passed since the 2000 meeting with the Bishop, the process of the development of the federated school had not been easy for the Executive Head, fully supported by the governing body. In terms of Bourdieu's equation ($\text{Habitus} + \text{Capital} + \text{Field} = \text{Practice}$) the habitus of some of the remaining Catholics in Tower Hamlets was, as Bourdieu would probably have understood, a deeply rooted cultural disposition, in this instance, to continue traditional ways of certainty in their faith, now challenged by new interpretations of that faith and reinforced by feeling threatened from the external non-Christian influences of more recently arrived Bangladeshi immigrants. They were struggling to come to terms with the signs of the times. Similarly, the newer Bangladeshi community was in a field of struggle by attempting to establish itself in an alien environment while holding on to the habitus of settled generations in Bangladesh. Bangladeshi Symbolic Social Capital was growing but the Symbolic Social Capital of the Catholic community

was a shadow of its former strength in Tower Hamlets, leading to the changes in social practices.

It was within the above theoretical analysis that the local authority and the Head of the Catholic girls' school negotiated in 2000 with the Bangladeshi Elders for the use of part of the Shadwell Centre. This in Bernstein's terms was the pedagogic discourse in reality, for any attempt by the local authority to arbitrarily close part of the centre to the Bangladeshi community would have provoked community discord. The promise that the use by the Catholics would be short-term was kept, so enhancing trust. The trust had lasting effects and was enhanced by the later successful visit to the federated school by the local Imams. The good will exhibited to the Imams and their response led to a changed attitude by the youths in the Bangladeshi community from violence and vandalism to one of friendliness and co-operation with the Catholic federated school. During later fieldwork for this case study, which involved visits across Tower Hamlets and discussions with both young male and female members of the Bangladeshi community, only friendliness on an equal basis of dignity was experienced.

From Bernstein (2000) one may theorise from a different perspective. Bernstein was more concerned with the deeper social dynamics by which educational *cum* social changes occur and consequently affect external social structures. In this the 'pedagogic discourse' was important for Bernstein regarded the field of education as 'the knowledge base of society' (Bernstein, 2000, p.xix) Although for the purposes of analysis he distinguishes his concepts of classification (the hierarchical transmission of power) and framing (the horizontal transmission), Bernstein apparently later accepted that they are embedded in each other (Bernstein, 2000 p5). In this he seems to have reacted positively to Pring's earlier criticism of his earlier dichotomous analysis (Pring, 1975).

In Bernstein's 2000 statement he formally appreciates that power establishes relations between and control regulates relations within, but the two concepts inter-act (p5). Where power is weak, either by deliberate action or breakdown,

changes can occur. Order or lack of it is created by communication which is, for Bernstein, the 'pedagogic discourse.' This discourse, whether between the vertical or the horizontal (classification and framing) is of two varieties, the regulative which is paramount and the instructional. The regulative, likened to Statute, Rules and Orders, the instructional likened to the transmission and interpretation of skills. The two discourses can be inter-active, formal or informal, one modifying and changing the other. In less formal language one may describe the process as 'command and control' with strong command and control regulating situational control. A break-down or weakening of communication (discourse) lessons command and control. This may either result in positive local initiatives or chaos. Positive local initiatives are likely to arise where there has been continuous training in the leadership and knowledge functions or CPD, as was the situation in the federated school.

Set within Bernstein's theoretical background, the Bishop in 2000, as Chairman of the Diocesan Education Commission had 'symbolic power and control' over the Catholic schools in Tower Hamlets, but this was limited because actual power was with the organs of State, the DfE and Tower Hamlets Council. This may be termed the Regulative Discourse (Bernstein, 2000, p3) or the Rule of Law in a democratic society, 'Education being mainly statutory' (Halsbury's Statutes *supra*).

To achieve the desired result of continuing the speedy provision of educational provision, the Bishop ceded part of diocesan control to the Head and Chairman of the girls' school, but on behalf of the diocese retained overall monitoring. Bernstein would term this as weakening the boundaries of discourse (Bernstein, 2000, p10 Fig.1), enabling interaction within his rules of discursive order (*ibid* p13), this being inter-active and not dominant in terms of the discourse about to take place with Tower Hamlets.

The actual longer term communication between the Head and Chairman of the Girls' school with the Tower Hamlets Director of Education may be likened to Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic discourse which 'relocates and refocuses and relates to other discourses' (Bernstein, 2000 p33). The relationship to other discourses in the context of this case study may be instanced from the

situation of the heavily criticised Tower Hamlets educational provision (Ofsted Report, 1998) which the study ascertained the newly appointed Director of Education was beginning to improve.

Fortunately, the discourse (communication) between the parties at the discussions met the criterion of 'the language of recognition,' another of Bernstein's ideas. This he suggested, enabled flexibility by transforming a very difficult situation into a more promising one. However, yet another of Bernstein's rules needed to come into play, that of the official recontextualising field (ORF) (Bernstein, 2000, p13), changing the rigid rule of a single governing body, Head and staffing for each school into the federal concept. Recontextualising was provided by the regulative authority. This may be conceived as a weakening of strong classification, so enabling creativity by the local authority and the school (Bernstein, 2000, p13). The instructional discourse was also modified in the process by the relaxation of the rule of one staff per school, enabling new internal rules to be created across both the new boys' school and the existing girls' school, giving rise to the new paradigm of school federation.

At Bernstein's level 3 of the Pedagogic Discourse one may discern throughout this study a successive weakening of the boundaries of separation through the pedagogic discourse (improved communication) depicted as follows:

Acquisition ↔ Evaluation ↔ Transmission (Bernstein, 2000, p36), the Key being continuous evaluation (ibid).

In practical terms the evaluation of the proposal for a new school under the headship and the governorship of the girls' school led to the transmission of knowledge to the DfE and the acquisition by the school of its desired federation encompassing both Girls' and Boys' schools. By an inter-active process of inclusion of the wider community the federated school, while maintaining its distinctive religious character when inspected by the Diocese (Section 48 of the Education Act 2005, Canon 806 of the Code of Canon Law), was considered 'Outstanding' in promoting community cohesion.

Thus the significance of this case study is considered to include the revelation of how the idea of school federation was apparently conceived and expanded through the Learning Village and the Local Area Partnership. The ultimate significance of all recounted in this study would appear to have led to the advancement of peaceful community cohesion in Tower Hamlets from the street violence noted by Gardiner in the mid-1990s. However without an appreciation of theoretical concepts, the research may have lacked a deeper structural analysis of the forces at work beneath the surface level of educational change and social development in Tower Hamlets. See also End Note (5).

From the events revealed in this study, it may be considered that the many adversities experienced by organisations and individuals were turned into opportunities to promote the common good. This was inevitably done by individuals, prominent amongst them in this study being the Executive Head of the federated school and the Tower Hamlets Director of Education.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

It is appropriate to appreciate that theoretical objections to the principle of case study may be said to limit the applicability of this study to more general applications. Flyvbjerg (2011, p302) acknowledges that 'the paradox of case study is widely used, but case study as a methodology is held in low esteem, or simply ignored in academia'. However, he does not quote individuals who hold this view. Geering (2004, p341) sees it surviving in 'a curious methodological limbo'. By this, one presumes Geering means that the debate is still open, limbo being a doubtful theological concept where the soul awaits its fate in eternity.

Moreover, an objection that can be levied is that this is a single empirical case study conducted by a lone researcher and by a Catholic on a Catholic school's contribution to the general educational provisions of school federation and to community cohesion, so it could be tainted with bias. A further objection can be that the research took place in a particularly multi-cultural, multi-religious part of Inner London essentially within the period 2000-2010 where residents are reluctant to provide information on themselves and others and the conclusions drawn in the research are not sufficiently clear to permit criticism (Pring, 2004, p134). The borough is subject to the long history of immigration and emigration and this continues; it has been described as a borough in transition, thus the events and processes studied evolved over time and cannot be replicated (Denzin, 2001, p49). In this manner the research is limited in time, location and by the personalities involved and cannot be replicated.

Another criticism that can be levied is that the time and resources available for the collection of data were also limited as was an individual researcher's capability to interpret the research data. Additionally it is possible that the research may be criticised because it is historically and culturally mediated by this researcher's social and religious background (Kuhn, 1978) 'for each individual brings a personal history to the events' (Denzin, 2001, p49). Further, in terms of Grace (2002) the research may be assumed to be relevant only to

Catholics 'and therefore be regarded as marginal to the mainstream educational research and discourse' (Grace, 2002, p.xi). However, by using theoretical concepts derived from Bourdieu, Bernstein, Pring, and Riley an attempt has been made to show the wider significance of this study for mainstream educational research.

It is appropriate to appreciate that individuals quoted in this research were dealing with real life dynamic situations, often subject to personal dangers and they may have reacted differently in other situations had they had the time and/or the opportunity to do so. Further, they only had available to them limited information on which to make rational decisions, for the events were unfolding at a rapid pace particularly with having to provide for the transfers from primary to secondary education in successive years. Decisions taken speedily had, in many instances, long-term consequences on the lives of hundreds, possibly thousands of young people and had to be appropriate for their education and life chances. Longer time for analysis and evaluation may have resulted in different actions. Other individuals with different viewpoints, possibly similar to those in the dissident group opposed the policies of the school could have reacted differently, particularly in less stressful situations. These can be viewed as further limitations of the research on enabling comparisons with this study.

Although from participant observations, rationality and reflection was paramount by those professionals involved in the DfE, the local authority, the diocese and the school, external irrationally impacted on the school development during the period by the vandalism, threats to the Head and by opponents of the school in the High Court trial, as revealed in their witness statements. These emotional rather than rational outbursts were period, place and person specific but generated divisions within the local Catholic and non-Catholic communities. These actions also tend to limit comparisons with that which may occur in the development of a Catholic school, or any school in different surroundings when it adopts avant-garde policies.

It is claimed in the research that the visits of the civil servants to the school in 2001 and their discussions with the Head influenced the drafting of Section 24 of the Education Act 2002. This has not been able to be triangulated from DfE files because the researcher was informed no files exist. How these visits did influence the drafting of Section 24 cannot therefore be verified, except that the Regulations which followed in 2007 appear remarkably similar to the systems which were explained to the civil servants by the Head in 2001 and which they examined or observed in operation.

It can be argued that the values underpinning the research purporting to be those of the Catholic Church are a distortion of the real underlying educational policy of the Church which is one to proselytise and distort the minds of the young. Bearing in mind the above, this research may therefore be considered by some of limited significance in adopting, for their purposes, aspects of its revelations (Bassey, 1999, p28). Hopefully, others may think it was research worth undertaking.

END NOTES

Bourdieu and the Concept of Cultural Capital (1)

'Bourdieu's social reproduction thesis (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) has focussed research on the relation between education, family and social class' (Tzanakis, 2011 p76). Cultural capital in Bourdieu plays an important role in the reproduction of social class inequality and social exclusion (ibid). However Tzanakis argues from a review of empirical studies, including those of Mare (1981, 1991), Breen and Jonsson (2000), Aschaffenburg and Mass (1997) and Sullivan (2001) that while parental cultural capital can be important in reproducing social class and the transmission of social inequalities in later life, including better paid employment prospects 'Students' odds of success in educational transmissions have not been found to depend either consistently or significantly on parents' cultural capital' (Tzanakis 2011 p79). Sullivan (2001) however, did find that social class still retained a direct effect of GCSE grades, but she argues that the parent/pupil link related to language skills and breadth of knowledge in the home was only one of the mechanisms by which inequality is maintained in educational stratification (Tzanakis 2011, p80). The GCSE results within the federated school and similar schools in socially deprived areas with high levels of non-English speaking parents appear to corroborate Sullivan's views.

Catholic Missionary Rectors (2)

Following the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy to England on 29 September 1850 by letters apostolic *Universalis ecclesiae* Bishops were appointed to specific dioceses in England and Wales. However not all of the provisions of the document were capable of being complied with and this was particularly the case with parishes. Under Canon Law of the time parishes were benefices and a benefice required an endowment sufficient to support its rector before a parish could be created. Such benefices did not at that time exist in England and therefore Catholic parishes could not be created until after the new Code of Canon Law of 1917 came into force in 1918 and enabled a change in the situation (Barber, Witness Evidence to the High Court 2006).

The Catholic bishops of the first Provincial Synod of Westminster, 1851 recognised the problem of not being able to establish a formal parish structure, but by a plan of 'stable management' created the notion of a 'mission.' Only twelve of these 'Mission Churches' were originally created in the vast area of the then Westminster Diocese (Maynard 2007 p 76),

The incumbent of the new style of Mission which could only be established by a bishop within his diocese on the advice of his Chapter was styled 'Missionary Rector.' Unlike other priests in the Mission the Missionary Rector was deemed a permanent appointment and could only be removed by the bishop after the bishop had consulted at least three members of a Commission of Inquiry set up specifically to examine such cases. However, the Synod made it clear that even in these new forms of Mission, the bishop was still free to change the boundaries of the Mission without the consent of the Missionary Rector. This was deemed necessary because of the rapidly expanding Catholic population. Maynard (2007) records this being done in what is now Tower Hamlets as the Catholic population rapidly expanded in the area in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These arrangements were all ratified in Rome by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith which had responsibilities.

Even though the Catholic hierarchy had been restored to England and Wales in 1850 it was not until 1908 when the Pope reorganised the Roman Curia that England and Wales ceased to become 'a Mission Country' and the specific jurisdiction of Congregation of the Faith was transferred to the normal jurisdiction of the various Roman dicasteries with subject responsibilities (Barber, Witness Evidence to the High Court 2006).

Management and administration in Tower Hamlets 1986-1998 (3)

Woods, Husband and Brown (2013) observe that the 1998 Ofsted report on the education service provision in Tower Hamlets was 'stark and damning' (p8). Ofsted noted that although Tower Hamlets was the best educationally funded authority per pupil in the country it was failing to have used its resources effectively. 'This was doubly unacceptable in so deprived an area' Ofsted (1998 pp8-9). Ofsted reported the near cessation of strategic planning across the borough and the abysmal GCSE results noted in chapter two of the

thesis appear to attest to this conclusion, together with the large number of surplus school places. Ofsted attributes its conclusions to what it describes as the ill-conceived structural change in the working of the authority from the late 1980s.

Morphet (1987) observes that the Council, following the 1986 local elections divided the borough into seven Neighbourhoods, each was given autonomy in its policy making and administrative decisions, dispensing with the traditional local authority departmental system of administration across the authority. The Council Leadership resolved that there would be no one Director responsible for a borough service, but that 'generic officers' in a Neighbourhood would deal with the public and be responsible for any service in their Neighbourhood through a 'Onestop Shop.' No provision was apparently provided for cross-borough organisation.

As a participant observer of the policy decision making, the Council Leadership was advised verbally and in writing by the Chief Officers, that there would be no central co-ordination of administration and that management of services would be by non-specialist officers. That there would be no single Chief Executive with responsibility to advise on, facilitate policies and have overall responsibility for the Council's management and administration; that monthly meetings of Departmental Directors with the Chief Executive to formulate and discuss strategic matters would cease and this collaborative and co-ordinating function would disappear. Under the new system an autonomous Chief Executive would be solely responsible to a Neighbourhood Council Committee for all its Neighbourhood services and therefore there would be a loss of cross-borough strategy for the provision of services. However, the Council ignored advice and instituted its policy of decentralisation of all administration and services. Chief Officers received generous redundancy packages and retired. This was followed by the retirement of many other senior officers with pensionable public service years enhanced when they reached a voluntary retiring age of 55.

Under the Education Reform Act 1988 the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) was abolished and responsibility for education was transferred to the Inner London Boroughs of which Tower Hamlets was one. School buildings were vested in their respective boroughs. ILEA staff were given the opportunity to apply for posts where they wished and many chose to avoid Tower Hamlets, possibly because of the Neighbourhood system. However, Tower Hamlets was fortunate in appointing an excellent Education Officer who had statutory duties for the management of the transferred education service across the borough, but she was seriously handicapped by the Neighbourhood system and, because of the manner in which the system operated, she lacked the availability to have a strategic plan across the borough. This was confirmed by Ofsted when it found that strategic planning in the borough was not functioning. The Neighbourhood system had become expensive to administer and Ofsted reported it had drained money from the education service.

The Education Officer left the authority in 1997 and the incoming Tower Hamlets Council of May 1998 reverted to the traditional system of management and administration and appointed a new Director of Education, a prominent personality in this study and who was later to become the Council's Chief Executive Officer.

Ofsted determined to report its 1998 findings directly to the full Council, but from a perusal of the 1998 Tower Hamlets local election results, of the 50 councillors elected there were only nine remaining who were responsible for instituting the Neighbourhood system, but Ofsted seemingly felt so strongly about its findings that it apparently believed a meeting with the full Council would be beneficial. By 2012 through the leadership of the Director of Education appointed in the latter part of 1998, and through her successor when she became the Chief Executive Officer, all schools in Tower Hamlets were reported by Ofsted to be 'Good' or 'Outstanding.'

Sources of data underpinning the case study (4)

Field of Catholic Education

- Conciliar and post- conciliar documents of the Second Vatican Council
- Publications of the Congregation for Catholic Education
- Compendium of Catholic Social Teaching
- Code of Canon Law of the Catholic Church
- Publications of Catholic Education Service (CES)
- Publications of the Westminster Diocesan Education Commission
- Relevant academic scholarship and theoretical concepts

Government Requirements

- Education Statutes and Secondary Legislation (Rules, Orders and Regulations), Guidance

Jurisprudence

- Complete transcript of High Court Trial with extensive documentary evidence on Catholic Education since 1850. The transcript includes a comprehensive history of Catholic school provision in Tower Hamlets. The Judge's Summary includes the School's 'Vision' as presented by the witness statements of the Bishop, the Head Teacher, the Chairman of Governors and the Director with oversight for the school's development masterplan.

Libraries

- Bromley Reference and Lending Library
- Bishop Challoner School Library
- The British Library
- Inner Temple Library
- Kings' College Library
- London School of Economics Archive Library
- London University Research Library (ULRLS)
- Royal Society of Arts Library
- The National Catholic Library

- The National Police College Library
- Tower Hamlets Local History Library

Internet

- Vatican Library Archives
- Vatican Information Service (VIS)
- Zenit Information Service
- Websites Relevant to the Project e.g. Newspaper Articles

Meetings, Reports and Fieldwork

- Meetings with Cardinal, Bishops and Clergy on School Policies. 5 meetings.
- Meetings with Local Councillors, Officers and Community Leaders. 10 meetings
- Meetings with Planning Consultants and Contractors. Numerous, no number kept
- Meetings with Teaching and Non-Teaching Staff. Frequent , almost weekly no list kept
- Visits to 6 newly built schools in London to plan for new building project
- Surveying Accommodation in Outreach Establishments 6 separate rounds of visits
- Attending Parents' Evenings and obtaining feedback. Four occasions
- Semi-structured Discussions with Young People and Adults. Two groups - 40 young people. 100 on visits to outreach establishments
- De-briefing meetings with youth and community leaders
- Tower Hamlets Officer Reports to Councillors
- NHS/Tower Hamlets Reports on Local Health, Welfare, Population and Environment
- Published Reports on GCSE and A Level results
- Ofsted Report on the Borough's Education Service
- Ofsted and Diocesan Reports of the Federated School

Other sources

- Newsletters of the Canon Law Society of Great Britain and Ireland
- Publications of the International Network of Catholic Education
- Seminars of the London Centre for Leadership in Learning
- National College for Teaching and Leadership

School Awards

- School achieving Humanities and Sports College status
- School becoming an 'International' School
- School becoming a High Performing school
- School achieving 'Sportsmark'
- School achieving 'Quality Mark' in Study Support and Extended School Services
- School becoming 'A Healthy Eating School'
- School becoming a 'Most Improved School' – The Schools and Academy Trust
- The School achieving the award as Community School of the Year 2009
- The Head Teacher awarded Head Teacher of the Year for London 2009
- The Head Teacher receiving National, Papal and Foreign Awards

Pring's Criticism of Bernstein's Classification of Knowledge (5)

In his criticism of Bernstein's classification of knowledge (Pring 1977, p70,) Pring observes that Bernstein had not justified his theoretical concepts from empirical or social reality. At that time Pring states that Bernstein had simply provided a series of definitions leading to undefined and ambiguous terminology and that there was an absence of adequate theoretical structure of Bernstein's dichotomous categories. This was seemingly recognised by Bernstein (Bernstein 2000 p xv).

The 2000 revised edition of *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity, Theory, Research, Critique* appears seriously to address Pring's criticisms in that Bernstein accepts he attempted to examine the internal logic of the construction of the pedagogic practice (Bernstein 2000, p16). For example,

Bernstein at pages 90-92 of 2000 appears to follow very closely Pring's point four of the requirement for a more unified and comprehensive structure through which otherwise separate, disconnected general assertions, observations might be brought together and that thereby fruitful or productive suggestions may be generated in suggesting further hypotheses (Pring, 1977 p72).

Additionally Bernstein appears to have been influenced by Pring's observation on the advisability of more simple and precise language in the formulation of theoretical frameworks, for the theoretical concepts in 2000 edition of Bernstein are stated in clearer language than that of Bernstein's 1971 – 1975 publications. By the 2000 edition, revised, Bernstein had also seemingly addressed the need for empirical research, for at pages 110-113 he refers to a number of empirical studies generated by his theories. This thesis has attempted to show therefore; how Bernstein's theoretical concepts can reveal the deeper social dynamics and structures which operate below the surface in a social change case study. This study is a contribution both to Urban Education Studies and to what can be called 'empirical applications of Bernstein's theorising.'

Leadership in Organisations (6)

Yukl (2009 pp507-509) offers ten functions of most effective leadership. Jointly and severally the CEO and Head Teacher appear to embody all of these leadership functions. Without them the establishment of a new Catholic boys' school, of school federation, The Urban Learning Village and the Local Area Partnership would probably not have been accomplished

1. Both helped to interpret the meaning of events in the rapidly changing social conditions in Tower Hamlets.
2. Both created between them an alignment of objectives. The CEO had to improve the standards of educational provision after the disastrous political experimentation with the Neighbourhood system. The Head undertook to provide for the successful Catholic education of the boys upon the failure of the boys' school. From the evidence of the study both carefully aligned their objectives and strategy.

3. Both built task commitment and optimism. The evidence suggests each set about committing themselves to their respective tasks with enthusiasm never giving the impression of failing.
4. Building mutual trust and co-operation. From the perspective of participant observation over the ten years, mutual trust and co-operation between the CEO and Head was firm.
5. Strengthening collective identity. This was undertaken by the initiatives of school federation, the Learning Village concept and the Local Area Partnership between School and Authority.
6. Organising and coordinating activities. Coordination during the rebuilding of the school was principally organised through a steering committee. School time-tables were reviewed when buildings were to be demolished and classes moved into the new buildings. No major problems were reported. Activities of the Learning Village and LAPs were organised through a specialist committee attended by local authority, community and school representatives working together.
7. Encouraging and facilitating collective learning. In terms of the process of development of the fabric of the school, all staff were kept fully informed. In terms of education there was a great emphasis on CPD. There was no distinction between teaching and non-teaching staff; all were encouraged to discuss matters between each other. Meetings were held regularly to exchange ideas, but there was always a direct line of communication to the Head if necessary.
8. Obtaining the necessary resources and support. The CEO accessed resources and provided them, firstly in obtaining the use of the Shadwell Centre, then providing resources for the temporary buildings on land for the new boys' school expansion. The Head added to the school's budget by obtaining grants from local organisations and obtaining grants that came with specialist college status.
9. Developing and empowering people. Distributive leadership throughout the school was encouraged. Teaching and non-teaching staff made presentations at governors meetings. Staff were empowered to manage their budgets and in accordance with agreed procedures to make decisions.

10. Promoting social justice and morality. From her evidence to the High Court and the quotation from the Ofsted report of 2004 it is evident that the Head Teacher was keen on promoting social justice and morality. From the borough's LAP documents indicating the particular problems of many of the youth in the LAPs she demonstrated her commitment to undertake a difficult task of improving their lives.

School Improvement Partners (SIPs) (7)

School Improvement Partners formed part of the Government's 'New relationship with Schools' introduced in 2004 and enacted in the Education and Inspections Act 2006

Section 5(1). A local education authority must appoint in relation to each school

which they maintain a person (to be known as a school improvement partner) to

provide advice to the governing body and the Head Teacher of the school with a

view to improving standards at the school.

Section 5(2) requires proper accreditation of a school improvement partner. Section 5 came into operation in 2007 under the Education (School Improvement Partner) (England) Regulations 2007 (SI 2007/25).

SIPs, under The New Relationship With Schools, were intended to deal with the perceived problem of multiple lines of communication between schools and local and central government and to give schools tailored support and challenge to move the school's agenda forward. They were appointed as a conduit and to be 'the 'single conversation' with schools. SIPs duties included the identification of needs of the school; moderating the school's self-evaluation; signing off the School Improvement Grant and access to external support or other support deemed to be required.

The House of Commons Schools and Families Committee, First Report of Session 2009-2010, volume 1 (Hansard HC 369-i-to-iv) reported favourably on the system. However, the succeeding Government repealed Section 5 of the 2006 Act by section 33(1) of the Education Act 2011 and the appointment of SIPs is now at the discretion of the individual local authority. From personal

experience the statutory SIP was a valuable critical friend to the Head and the governing body of the federated school.

The High Court Trial 2006 and Excavations (8)

The High Court trial was a considerable time of tension, practical and emotional disturbance for the development of the school. From the time of the date of the proposed accepted tender for the building contract and the judgement in the High Court almost six months elapsed. Members of the Parish Company were aware that tendering for building contracts required formal contractual acceptance within six months, then the tender pricing lapsed and with it the tender. They, therefore, apparently sought to delay proceedings at the trial by repetitive questioning of the witnesses. New tenders for the work would then have to be sought and even if the diocese, as the formal contracting party was successful at the trial, the rising costs of building at the time would have necessitated a smaller scheme than planned, and the abandonment of major facilities for the Learning Village. The school governors were also aware of this from their business experience. Tactics were discussed with solicitors and counsel for the diocese. The Judge was approached on the tactics, decided he did not need to hear a particular witness, and this enabled judgement to be obtained within the six month period. The original contract document was signed within the necessary time and work to begin according to the specifications.

Although not appearing in the All England Law Reports, the case of the St Mary and St Michael Parish Advisory Company Ltd and the Catholic Diocese of Westminster 2006 can be of interest for other Catholic dioceses which had land acquired for the Church prior to the restoration of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy for England and Wales in 1850. Trustees were used at that time by the Church because of the unwillingness of landowners to sell to the embryonic Catholic Church (Barber to the High Court). The group of parishioners known to oppose the ecumenical policy of the federated school maintained that money for the purchase had been raised locally by their predecessor parishioners and because it had never been legally transferred to the diocese after 1850, the land belonged to the parish. The weakness of their

case was exposed in his witness statement and oral evidence by Barber, the Diocesan Director of Education, a Barrister and Canon Lawyer. He correctly stated that Catholic Parishes in England and Wales and their defined boundaries did not exist until 1918. Catholic Missions did exist after 1850 with an appointed Mission Rector, but the Diocesan Bishop was free to change boundaries to meet the needs of the expanding Catholic population. This happened on a number of occasions in the area of what is now the Catholic Parish of Commercial Road (Maynard 2009).

After two weeks of legal argument the judge found in favour of the diocese, there being a diocese, but no parish at the time of the land purchase. In his 44 page judgement he stated (paragraph 2) that the underlying issue in the proceedings was whether the disputed land could be used for building the *Learning Village being promoted by the Diocese of Westminster, the London Borough of Tower Hamlets and the Department for Education* (My emphasis). In stating this he apparently recognised that the Learning Village, as perceived throughout the trial, had government support and was therefore of probable wider importance than locally.

The deed of land transfer of 1842 presented to the Court stated the land was intended for a Catholic burial ground, a School with provision for a Master's House and a church. The burial ground was used from 1843 to 1854 (Miles and Powers 2006); the church was built and is now the Parish Church of Commercial Road, but the school was never built on the site. A Catholic junior school was however built in the 1930s, but further along the road to the site and apparently houses fronted the burial ground, probably to fund the school. A German V2 Rocket in 1945 fell on the junior school and devastated the area, part of the church remained which was repaired post-war. The burial ground was hard surfaced over and forgotten as such but used as a playground by a Catholic primary school built nearby, post-war. It was this land which was to be for the use of the new school complex. The original use of the land was only re-discovered from the Deed when it was examined for land use purposes (Barber's Witness Statement).

Before building work for the new school complex could commence the human remains had to be removed from the burial ground. This was undertaken by the Museum of London on a certificate from the Home Office and 747 remains were recovered (Miles and Powers, 2006). The excavations provided an opportunity for senior pupils and 6th Formers to visit with the Head and other teachers to learn from the archaeologists' examination of the bones the ages of the deceased, their poor diet and to gain knowledge of living conditions particularly of the Catholic community of east London in the 19th century. The social work in the community undertaken by the Sisters of Mercy in that and subsequent periods of time embraced all the then communities of the area, not just the Catholics (Linklater A, 1871).

Separate remains recovered numbered 747 of which 454 were sub-adult. It was explained by the archaeologists that child deaths usually arose once a baby had been weaned, began to drink contaminated water and ate the poor food available. Most of the adult male remains identified had evidence of fractured limbs indicating the dangerous nature of their work, probably in constructing the docks in the 1800s. A detailed academic post-excavation and up-dated project design was published by the Museum of London Archaeology Service (Miles and Powers, 2006). In accordance with Catholic custom the remains were eventually re-buried and rest in the Catholic cemetery in Leytonstone. The re-interment ceremony was attended by the Head Teacher who ensured an appropriate memorial stone was erected over the remains.

Tower Hamlets and East London's Changing Communities (9)

On 17 July 2003 the East London Advertiser reported on the visit of the Chief Rabbi to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the opening of the Synagogue of Jacob in Commercial Road. The synagogue is almost opposite to the federated school and the adjacent Catholic primary school. Chief Rabbi Dr Sacks recalled his childhood days growing up in Stepney at a time of a thriving Jewish population of 250,000 in East London (seemingly referring to Hackney in addition to Tower Hamlets) which in 2003 had dwindled to 3,000. Of the 150 synagogues in the area in the 20th century he said only four were still in use.

Although Dr Sachs referred to his Jewish community it is noteworthy that the Catholic community had considerably decreased, but no parishes have been merged and all 13 Catholic churches in the Tower Hamlets Deanery remained in use. However, three parishes were served by priests from other parishes (Diocese of Westminster Year Book 2014). For the school, the subject of this research, the effect of the reducing numbers of Catholics in east London had been to extend the catchment area of the school with the consequent problems of close liaison with parents and carers of the often 'troubled' children. Towards the end of the study period there was a noticeable increase in the Catholic population, mostly from the more recent countries entering the European Community, but this was never quantified. However, it was established from school records that many of the school's pupils were also first generation migrants from the Caribbean, Africa and Brazil. Many of the African families tended to be refugees from war and persecution, but Brazilians and those from the Baltic States and eastern European countries were economic migrants arriving under the Economic Community's (EC) rule of free movement of people which includes any child or grandchild of a person born in the EC countries. They were probably part of the 'hyper-diversity' of the Tower Hamlets population (Mathew, Harper Associates, 2010).

References

- Abercrombie, P. (1944). *Greater London Plan*. London: HMSO 1945
- Ammerman, N. T. (1997). 'Golden Rule Christianity: Lived Religion in the American Mainstream'. In D. Hall (Ed.), *Lived Religion in America*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press
- Andrew, H. (1965). *The Organisation of Secondary Education*. London: Department of Education and Science HMSO. Available at: <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/des/circular10-65.html>
- Angier, T. (Ed.) (2012). *Ethics: The Key Thinkers*. London: Bloomsbury Books.
- Arthur, J. (1995). *The Ebbing Tide: Policies and Principles of Catholic Education*. Leominster: Gracewing
- Arthur, J. (2013). 'The De-Catholicising of the Catholic School Curriculum in England.' *International Studies in Catholic Education*. 5(1), 83-98
- Aspen, K. (2002). *Fortress Church. The English Roman Catholic Bishops and Politics 1903-1963*. Leominster: Gracewing
- Baker, K. (1993). *The Turbulent Years*. London: Faber
- Balrain, M., Brammar, S., James C. R. and McCormack, M. (2008). *The School Governance Study*. London: Business in the Community
- Barber P (2006) *St Mary and St Michael Parish Advisory Company Limited and The Roman Catholic Diocese of Westminster and Her Majesty's Attorney General* London. High Court claim No: HC05C04095
- Barling, K. (2011). 'Cable Street: 'Solidarity stopped Mosley's fascists''. *BBC News*. Interview with Kops & Levitas Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-15171772>
- Bassey, M. (1999). *Case Study in Educational Settings*. Buckingham: Open University Press
- Becker, H. (1998). *Tricks of the Trade. How to think of Your Research While You're Doing It*. Chicago: Chicago University Press
- Begley, P. T. (2003). 'In Pursuit of Authentic School Leadership Practices'. In P. T Begley & O. Johansson (Eds.), *The Ethical Dimensions of School Leadership*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers
- Berger, P. L. (2007). Foreword. In N. T Ammerman (Ed.), *Everyday Religion: Observing Modern Religious Lives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Bernstein, B. (1970). 'Can Education Compensate for Society?' *New Society*. 15(387), 344-347
- Bernstein, B. (1970). 'Social Class Differences in Communication and Control'. In W. Brandis & D. Henderson (Eds.), *Social Class: Language and Communication*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Bernstein, B. (1973). *Class and Pedagogies: Visible and Invisible*. Paris: OECD CERI Paris
- Bernstein, B. (2000) *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity*. Revised edition. Oxford: Rowman Littlefield Publishers Inc.

- Bishops' Conference of England and Wales. (2010). *Choosing the Common Good*. Stoke on Trent: Alive Publishing
- Blake, R. R. and Houlton, J. S. (1978). *The Managerial Grid*. Houston: Gulf Publishing
- Board Schools Education Act 1870.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Trans. Nice, R. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Bourdieu, P. (1983). 'Forms of Capital'. In J. C Richards (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Trans. Nice, R. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *Logic of Practice*. Trans Nice, R. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The Field of Cultural Production*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (1992). *Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Brighouse, T. (2005). 'Remote' Leadership and Cultural Change'. In M. Coleman & P. Earley (Eds.), *Leadership and Management in Education: Cultures, Change and Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Brislin, R. (1993). *Understanding Culture's Influences on Behavior*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Publishers
- British Educational Research Association. (2011). *Ethical Guidelines*. London: BERA
- Brown, R. E., Fitzmyer, J. A. and Murphy, R. (Eds.) (1993). *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*. London: Chapman
- Bubb, S (2011). Department for Education DFE-RR139. *Outward-facing Schools – The Sinnott Fellowship*
- Burgess, R. (1983). *Experiencing Comprehensive Education: A Study of Bishop McGregor School*. London: Methuen
- Burns, J. M. (1978). *Leadership*. New York and London: Harper and Row
- Butler, R. A. (1971). *The Art of the Possible: The Memoirs of Lord Butler*. London: Hamilton
- Cairns, J. (2009). *Faith Schools and Society: Civilising the Debate*. London: Continuum
- Carnell, E. and Lodge, C. (2005). 'Leading for Effective Learning'. In M. Coleman & P. Earley (Eds.), *Leadership and Management in Education: Cultures, Change and Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Casson, A. (2012). *Fragmented Catholicity and Social Cohesion: Faith Schools in a Plural Society*. Oxford: Peter Lang
- Catholic Bishops. (1852). *First Synodal Letter*. Ushaw Library Collection. UC/M5/414-GB-0298-MCM/Volume 5

- Catholic Diocese of Westminster. (2014). *Diocese of Westminster Yearbook*. London: Catholic Diocese of Westminster
- Catholic Education Service. (1997). *The Common Good in Education: A Commentary on the Implications of the Church's Social Teaching for the Work of the Catholic Schools and Colleges*. London: Catholic Education Service
- Catts, R. and Ozga, J. (2005). *What is Social Capital and How Might it be Used in Scotland's Schools*. Edinburgh: Centre for Educational Psychology
- Change Institute (2009). *The Bangladeshi Community in England*. www.communities.gov.uk
- Chapman, C., Muijs, D. and McAllister, J. (2011). *A Study of the Impact of School Federation on Student Outcomes*. Nottingham: National College for School Leadership and Management
- Child Poverty Action Group. (2008, 2012, 2014). London
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. (2011). *Research Methods in Education*. Seventh edition. London & New York: Routledge
- Coleman, M. (2005). 'Evaluation in Education'. In M. Coleman & P. Earley (Eds.), *Leadership and Management in Education: Cultures, Change and Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Coleman, M. (2005). 'Theories and Practice of Leadership: An Introduction'. In M. Coleman & P. Earley (Eds.), *Leadership and Management in Education: Cultures, Change and Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Coleman, M. (2010). *Educational Leadership and Management: Developing Insights and Skills*. London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Congregation for Catholic Education. (1988). *The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School: Guidelines for Reflection and Renewal*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana
- Congregation for Catholic Education. (1997). *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana
- Congregation for Catholic Education. (2007). *Educating Together in Catholic Schools: A Shared Mission Between Consecrated Persons and the Lay Faithful*. *Journal of Catholic School Studies*. 80(2), 37-53
- Congregation for Catholic Education. (2013). *Educating to Further Cultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools: Living In Harmony for a Civilisation of Love*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. Available at: http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccatheduc/documents/rc_con_ccatheduc_doc_20131028_dialogo-interculturale_en.html
- Coriden, J. A. (1995). 'Freedom of Expression in the Church in the Light of the Canon 212 (CIC)'. In *Proceedings of the Fifty-Seventh Annual Convention*. Ottawa: Canon Law Society of America
- Denzin, N. (1973). *Interpretive Interactionism*. Second edition. London: Sage
- Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (2011). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Fourth edition. Los Angeles and London: Sage

- Department for Business, Innovation and Skills. (2010). *Report on the Consultation for the 6th Workplace Employment Survey*. London: DfBIS
- Department for Children, Schools and Families. (2007). *Guidance on the Duty to Promote Community Cohesion*. London: DCSF
- Department for Education and Skills. (2007). *Diversity and Citizenship Curriculum Review*. Nottingham: DEFS Publication
- Department of Health. (2006). *Tower Hamlets - Health Profile 2006*. London: Association of Public Health Observatories
- Dickens, C. (1879). *Guide to London*. London: Howard Books
- Earley, P. (2005). 'Continuing Professional Development: The Learning Community'. In M. Coleman & P. Earley (Eds.), *Leadership and Management in Education: Cultures, Change and Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Earley, P. (2013). *Exploring the School Leadership Landscape: Changing Demands, Changing Realities*. London: Bloomsbury Academic
- Earley, P. and Weindling, D. (2004). *Understanding School Leadership*. London: Paul Chapman
- East London Advertiser 17 July 2003 Brooke E. and Rifkin J. *Hundreds turn out to help celebrate synagogue's 100th Birthday*.
- Eco, U. (1979). *A Theory of Semiotics*. London: Indiana University Press
- Education Act 1944. London: HMSO
- Education Act 1966. London: HMSO
- Education Act 2002. London: HMSO
- Education and Inspections Act 2008. London: HMSO
- Education Reform Act 1988. London: HMSO
- Education Act 2011. London: HMSO
- End Child Poverty. (2008). *Child Poverty in London: The Facts*. London: End Child Poverty Available at:
<http://www.endchildpoverty.org.uk/london/child-poverty-in-london-the-facts-4/>
- Equality Act 2010. London: HMSO
- Euart, S. H. (2000). 'Catholic Education'. In J. P. Beal, J. P. Coriden & T. J. Green (Eds.), *New Commentary of Canon Law*. New York: Paulist Press
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). 'Five Misunderstandings About Case Study Research'. *Qualitative Inquiry*. 12(2), 219-245
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2011). 'Case Study'. In N, Denzin & Y, Duncan. (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Fourth edition. Los Angeles and London: Sage
- Forshaw, J. H. and Abercrombie, P. (1943). *City of London Plan: Prepared for the London County Council*. London: Macmillan
- Foucault, M. (1983). 'The Subject of Power'. In H, Dreyfus & P. Rabinow (Eds.), *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Second edition. Chicago: Chicago University Press

- Foucault, M. (2002). *Power: The Essential Works of Michel Foucault*. London: Penguin
- Freedom of Information Act 2000. London: HMSO
- Gardiner, J. (1995). 'What Price Stability in the East End?'. *Times Educational Supplement*. September 29th.
- Gardner, R., Cairns, J. and Lawton, D. (Eds.) (2005). *Faith Schools – Consensus or Conflict?* Abingdon and New York: Routledge Falmer
- Gaudium et Spes (Joy and Hope). (1965). Catholic Truth Society.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books
- Gillard, D. (2007). *Axes to Grind: The First Five Years of Blair's Academies*. Available at: www.educationengland.co.uk/articles/25academies.html Accessed 20.12.2014
- Goleman, D. (1998). *Working With Emotional Intelligence*. London: Bloomsbury
- Grace, G. (1995). *School Leadership. Beyond Education Management: An Essay in Policy Scholarship*. London/Washington: Routledge Falmer
- Grace, G. (1996). 'Leadership in Catholic Schools'. T. McLaughlin, J. O'Keefe & B. O'Keefe (Eds.), In *The Contemporary Catholic School*. London/Washington: Routledge Falmer
- Grace, G. (2002a). *Catholic Schools: Mission, Markets and Morality*. London: Routledge Falmer
- Grace, G. (2002b). 'Mission Integrity: Contemporary Challenges for Catholic School Leaders'. In K. Leithwood & P. Hallinger. (Eds.), *Second International Handbook of Educational Leadership and Administration*. Dordrecht and Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers
- Grace, G. (2013). 'Thinkpiece' for the National College for Teaching and Leadership: Module for Faith School Leadership: Nottingham
- Grayling, A. C. (2010). *Briefing for House of Commons Opposition Debate 17th November*. Available at: <http://www.humanism.org.uk>
- Grayling, A. C. (Undated). 'The Secular and the Sacred'. www.acgrayling.com. London
- Greater London Council. (1981).
- Greenleaf, R. K. (1977). *Servant-Leadership: A Journey into the Nature of Legitimate Power and Greatness*. New York: Paulist Press
- Greenleaf, R. K. (2003). *The Servant Leader Within: A Transformative Path*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press
- Grenfell, M. (Ed.) (2008). *Pierre Bourdieu*. Stocksfield: Acumen
- Grocholewski, Z. (2013). *Educate to Intercultural Dialogue in the Catholic School: To Live Together for a Civilisation of Love*. Vatican City. Available at: <http://www.zenit.org/en/articles/cardinal-grocholewski-s-presentation-of-new-document-on-education-and-intercultural-dialogue>
- Gronn, P. (2003). *The New Work of Educating Leaders*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing

- Guidance. School Governance (Roles, Procedures and Allowances) (England) Regulations 2013. London: DfE. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/270783/school_governance_regulations_2013_departmental_advice.pdf
- Gutierrez, G. (1988). *A Theology of Liberation*. London: Student Christian Movement
- *Halsbury's Statutes of England and Wales* (1991). Vol 11. London: Butterworth
- Hand, M. (2002). 'Religious Upbringing Reconsidered'. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*. 36(4). 545-554
- Hand, M. (2003). 'A Philosophical Objection to Faith Schools'. *Theory and Research in Education*. 1(1) 89-99
- Hand, M. (2006). *Is Religious Education Possible? A Philosophical Investigation*. London and New York: Continuum Studies in Education
- Hand, M. (2008). 'Is Religious Education Possible? A Reply to Phillip Barnes'. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*. 27. 71-75
- Hand, M. (2012). 'A New Dawn for Faith Based Education? Opportunities for Religious Organisations in the UK's New School System'. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*. 44(6). 546-559
- Harker, R. (1990). 'Bourdieu: Education and Reproduction'. In R, Harker, C, Maher and C, Williams (Eds.), *An Introduction to the Work of Pierre Bourdieu*. London: Macmillan
- Harries, R. (2014). House of Lords Debate, 27th December 2014, Col. 1005 Available at: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201415/ldhansrd/text/141127-0001.htm>
- Harris, K. (1982). *Attlee*. London: Widenfeld and Nicholson
- Hervieu-Leger, D. (1998). 'The Transmission and Formation of Socio-Religious Identities in Modernity: An Analytical Essay on the Trajectories of Identification'. *International Sociology*. 13(2). 213-228
- Hofsted, G. (1991). *Cultures and Organisations*. London: Harper Collins
- Holland, J. and Henriot, P. (1983). *Social Analysis: Linking Faith and Justice*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books in collaboration with the Center of Concern
- Holman, M. S. J. (2014). 'Father Pedro and Jesuit Education: A Personal Reflection'. *International Studies in Catholic Education*. 6(2). 140-147+
- Home Office Guide MN1 2014. London HMSO
- Hornsby-Smith, M. (1987). *Roman Catholics in England: Studies in Social Structure Since the Second World War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- James, R, et al. (2010). *The Hidden Givers: A Study of School Governing Bodies in England*. Reading: CfBT Trust

- Johnson, R and Onwuegbuzie, A, J. (2004). 'Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time Has Come'. *Educational Researcher*. 33(7) 14-26
- Jolowicz, A. and Nicholas, B. (1972). *Introduction to the Study of Roman Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Kaslin, R. J. (2000). 'The Christian Faithful'. In J. P Beal, J, A. Coriden & T. J. Green. (Eds.), *New Commentary of Canon Law*. New York: Paulist Press
- Kolitch, E. and Dean, A. V. (1999). 'Student Ratings of Institutions in the USA: Hidden Assumptions and Misconceptions About Good Teaching'. *Studies in Higher Education*. 24(1). 27-42
- Kuhn, T. (1962). *The Structure of Scientific Revolution*. Second edition. Chicago: Chicago University Press
- Lansbury, E. (1934). *George Lansbury: My Father* London: Samson Low.
- Lay Catholics in Schools, Witness to Faith. (1982). *The Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education*. Rome: Liberia Editrice Vaticana
- Leeson, B. (1934). *Lost London*. London: Stanley Paul
- Legge, K. (1995). *Human Resource Management: Rhetorics and Realities*. Basingstoke: MacMillan
- Leithwood, K., Jantzi, D. and Steinbeck, R. (1999). *Changing Leadership for Changing Times*. Buckingham: Open University Press
- Lewin, K. (1936). *Principles of Topological Psychology*. Trans. Heider, F and Heider, G. New York: McGraw Hill
- Linklater, A. (1871) *A Visit to Wapping 'Island.'* In *The Builder* 7 and 21 January 1871. www.mernick.org.uk (accessed 14 April 2014)
- Local Government and Planning Act 1980. London: London Docklands Development Corporation
- London Government Act 1963. London: HMSO
- Lumen Gentium. (1964). *The Dogmatic Constitution of the Church*. London: Catholic Truth Society
- Lydon, J. (2011). *The Contemporary Catholic Teacher*. Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing
- Maton, K. (2008). 'Habitus'. In M. Greenfell. (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu*. Stocksfield: Acumen
- Mayhew, H. (1849). 'Letter III London Labour and the Poor'. *The Morning Chronicle*. 26th October. Available at: <http://victorianlondon.org> [Accessed 4/12/2014]
- Mayhew, K., and Harper, G. (2010). *Counting the Population in Tower Hamlets: A Borough in Transition*. London: Mathew Harper Associates Ltd
- Maynard, J. (2007). *A History of St Mary and St Michael's Parish, Commercial Road, East London*. London: The Parish of St Mary and St Michael in association with Terry Marsh Publishing
- Maynard, J. (2009). *150 Years of Mercy: A History of the Sisters of Mercy, Commercial Road, East London*. London: The Sisters of Mercy

- McMahon, M. (2012). *The Fundamental Premise of Catholic Schools: A Catholic Attitude to Education*. Presentation to The Catholic Voice Academy. Available at: <http://www.catholicvoices.org.uk/sites/default/files/Bishop%20McMahon%20lecture%20to%20Catholic%20Voices.pdf>
- Mesa, J. (2013). 'The International Apostolate of Jesuit Education: Recent Developments and Contemporary Challenges'. *International Studies in Catholic Education*. 5(2). 176-189
- Miles, A., Powers, N. (2006). Bishop Challoner Catholic Collegiate School, Lukin Street, London E1. London Borough of Tower Hamlets. A post-excavation and updated project design. London Museum of London Archaeology Service
- Morphet, J. (1989). 'Tower Hamlets Goes All the Way'. *Policy and Politics*. 15(2). 119-126
- Morris, H. (1924). *The Village College: Being a Memorandum on the Provision of Education and Social Facilities for the Countryside, with Specific Reference to Cambridgeshire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Murphy, M. (1991). *Catholic Poor Schools in Tower Hamlets*. London: Roehampton Institute of Higher Education
- National College for Leadership of Schools and Children's Services. (2010). *A Guide to Partnerships and Federations*. Nottingham: National College
- National College for Teaching and Leadership. (2010). *Guide to Partnerships and Collaborations*. Nottingham: National College
- National College for Teaching and Leadership. (2014). *Leading Governors: The Role of the Chair of Governors in Schools and Academies*. National College for Teaching and Leadership.
- Nostra Aetate. (1965). Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana
www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/iiivatican-council/documents
- O'Keeffe, B. and Zipfel, R. (2007). *Education for Citizenship in Catholic Schools: The Von Hugel Institute*. Cambridge: Mathew James Publishing
- Oakley, A. (2000). *Experiments in Knowing: Gender and Method in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED). (1998). *Inspection of Tower Hamlets Local Education Authority*. London: Ofsted
- Oldroyd, D. (2005a). 'Human Resources for Learning'. In M. Coleman & P. Earley (Eds.), *Leadership and Management in Education: Cultures, Change and Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Oldroyd, D. (2005b). *Marketing Environment*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann
- Diocese of Westminster Education Service. (2010). *Our Catholic Schools – Their Identity and Purpose*. London: Diocese of Westminster
- Perrier, R. (2014). In *Jesuits and Friends*. Winter, 89
- Phillips, W. (1855). *The Wild Tribes of London*. London

- Plato, (2012 edition) trans. C Rowe *Republic*. London Penguin Books
- Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace. (2005). *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana
- Pope Francis. (2013). *Evangelii Gaudium of the Proclamation of the Gospel in Today's World*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana
- Pope Francis. (2014). *Address to the Pontifical Gregorian University on Commitment and Learning*. Rome: Vatican Press
- Pope Francis. (2014). *On Human Trafficking*. Rome: Vatican Press
- Pope John Paul II. (1981). *Familiaris Consortio – Of Family Partnership*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana
- Pope John Paul II. (1987). *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana
- Pope John Paul II. (1988). *Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation: Christifideles Laici*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana
- Pope John XXIII. (1959). *Pope John's Announcement of an Ecumenical Council*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana
- Pope Leo XIII. (1891). *Rerum Novarum – On Capital and Labour*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana
- Pope Paul VI. (1965). *Gravissimum Educationis (Seriousness of Education)*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana
- Pope Pius IX. (1850). *Universalis Ecclesiae*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana
- Popper, K. (1945). *The Open Society and its Enemies (Vol1)*. London: G Routledge & Sons
- Popper, K. (1972). *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*. London: Hutchinson
- Popper, K. (1998). *The World of Parmenides: Essays in Pre-Socratic Enlightenment*. London: Routledge
- Pring, R. (1975). 'Bernstein's Classification and Framing of Knowledge'. *Scottish Education Studies*. 7. 67-74
- Pring, R. (2004). *Philosophy of Educational Research*. Second edition. London and New York: Continuum Studies in Education
- Pring, R. (2006). 'Foreword'. In M, Hand. *Is Religious Education Possible? A Philosophical Investigation*. London and New York: Continuum Studies in Education
- Pring R (2013) *Life and Death of Secondary Education for All*. London Routledge
- Pring, R. (2014). 'A World Set Apart: Seminary Life Before Vatican II: A Study in Cultural Anthropology.' *International Studies in Catholic Education*. 6(2). 201-208
- Punnett, K. (2006). *Catholic Servant Leadership in Sisters of Saint Paul of Chartres Schools in Thailand*. PhD thesis. University of London: Institute of Education
- Putnam, R. (1995). *Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital and Revival of American Communities*. New York: Simon and Schuster

- Richie, A. and Spencer, N. (2014). *Why Christians Should Believe in Humanism and Humanists in Christianity*. London: Theos
- Riley K (1998) *Whose School is it Anyway?* London. Falmer Press
- Riley, K. and Khamis, A. (2005). 'Reform, Improvement and Change'. In M. Coleman & P. Earley (Eds.), *Leadership and Management in Education: Cultures, Change and Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Riley K (2013) *Leadership of Place: Stories from schools in the US, UK and South Africa*. London & New York: Bloomsbury Academic
- Riley K (2013b). Walking the Leadership Tightrope: Building Community Cohesion and Social Capital in Schools in Highly Disadvantaged Areas. *British Educational Research Journal (BERJ)*. Volume 39, No. 2, April 2013. 266-286
- Riley, M. and Danner-McDonald, K. (2013). 'Seeing the World Anew: Educating for a Just and Sustainable Future: New Perspectives for a Catholic Curriculum'. *International Studies in Catholic Education*. 5(1). 23-35
- Scott, S. and McNeish, D. (2012). *Leadership in Faith Schools: Issues and Challenges*. Nottingham: National College for School Leadership
- Second Vatican Council. (1961). *Humanae Salutis*. Rome: Pope John XXIII
Available in English at
<http://www.diocesecc.org/pictures/Vatican%20Documents/humanae-salutis.pdf>
- Second Vatican Council. (1965). *Dignitatis Humanae*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana.
- Second Vatican Council. (1965). *Gravissimum Educationis*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana
- Shaw, M. (2005). 'The Cultural Context of Educational Leadership'. In M. Coleman & P. Earley (Eds.), *Leadership and Management in Education: Cultures, Change and Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Sheerman, B. (2005). Quoted in G. Hinscliff 'City Schools Could Be Front for Evangelists'. *The Observer*. 7th August.
- Silverman, D. (2005). *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*. London: Sage
- St. Mary and St Michael Parish Advisory Company Ltd et al. (2006). Case No. HC 05 C04095 (TLC 102/05). Westminster
- Storr, C. (2011). *Serving Two Masters: Catholic School Governors at Work*. Leominster: Gracewing
- Stutchbury, K. and Fox, A. (2009). 'Ethics in Educational Research: Introducing a Methodological Tool for Effective Analysis'. *Cambridge Journal of Education*. 39(4). 489-504
- Sullivan, a (2001) Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment. *Sociology* 35,4. 893-912
- Swartz, D. (1997). *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago: Chicago University Press

- Tannenbaum, R. and Schmidt, W, H. (1973). 'How to Choose a Leadership Pattern'. *Harvard Business Review*. May to June. 162-180
- *The Canon Law Trust*. (1989). *Code of Canon Law of the Church*. London: The Canon Law Trust
- The Catholic School. (1977). *The Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana
- The Collaboration Arrangements (Maintained Schools and Further Education Bodies) (England). 2007. (2007/1321). London: HMSO
- The Data Protection Act 2000. London: HMSO
- The Education (School Teacher Performance Management) (England) Regulations. 2006. (2006). London: HMSO
- The Festival of Britain. (1951). London
- The International Commission on the Apostolate of Jesuit Education (ICAJE). (1993). 'Ignation Pedagogy: A Practical Approach'. Extract in *International Studies in Catholic Education*. 5(1), 2-9
- The School Governance (Federations) (England) Regulations 2009. (SI 2009/960). London: HMSO
- The Workplace Employment Relations Study. (2010). *Report on the Consultation for the 6th Workplace Employment Relations Survey*. London: Dept for Business, Innovation and Skills.
- Thomas, G. (2009). *How To Do Your Research Project*. London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Tower Hamlets Research Briefing. (2011). *Indices of Deprivation*. London: Tower Hamlets Research Briefing
- Town and Country Planning Act 1990. London: HMSO
- Toynbee, P. (2001). 'If Balls Wants Better Schooling He Must Scrap Faith Selection'. *The Guardian*. 6th November
- Transfer of Undertakings (Protection of Employment) Regulations 2006. (2006/246). London: HMSO
- Tzanakis M. (2011) *Educate Volume 11, No.1* 76-90
- Usher, P. (1996). 'Feminist Approaches to Research'. In N. Scott & R. Usher (Eds.), *Understanding Educational Research*. London: Routledge
- Verschuren, P. (2003). 'Case Study as a Research Methodology: Some Ambiguities and Opportunities. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology: Theory and Practice*. 6(2) 121-140
- Vontz, M. (2013). 'How to be an Expert At Managing Change'. *Public Finance*. Nov, 44-45
- Walsh, P. (1993) *Education and Meaning*. London & New York: Cassell Educational Ltd.
- Westminster Roman Catholic Diocese Trustee. (2014). *Westminster Diocesan Year Book*. Westminster Diocese Catholic Diocese Trustee
- Woods, D., Husbands, C. and Brown, C. (2013). *Transforming Education for All*. London: Tower Hamlets Local Authority

- Woods, P. (2005). 'Learning and the External Environment'. In M. Coleman & P. Earley (Eds.), *Leadership and Management in Education: Cultures, Change and Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Yellop, A. (2014). 'Setting Up a Multi-Academy Trust'. *The Educator*. 38, 24-25
- Yin, R. (2014). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Fifth edition. Los Angeles, London and New York: Sage
- Young, M. and Willmott, P. (1957) *Family and Kinship in East London*. London: Routledge Kegan Paul
- Yukl, G. (2009) *Leadership in Organisations*. 7th edition- Global. Upper Saddle River: Pearson
- Yukl, G., Mahsud, R. and Kaiser, R. B. (2010). 'Why Flexible and Adaptive Leadership is Essential'. *Consulting Psychology Journal*. 62(2). 81-93

BBC NEWS

UK

10 January 2012 Last updated at 12:12

Tower Hamlets 'worst area for child poverty' claims map

A 'child poverty map' claims London borough Tower Hamlets is the worst area in the UK for child poverty.

More than half (52%) of children living there are in poverty, compared to the national average of one in five, claims the Campaign to End Child Poverty.

London boroughs Islington, Hackney, Westminster and Camden all feature in the top 10 list of areas worst affected.

The government says it is "tackling the root causes of poverty."

Children were classed as in poverty if their family's income fell below 60% of the average income of £25,000.

Bethnal Green and Bow was named as the worst parliamentary constituency for child poverty - while Prime Minister David Cameron's Witney constituency and Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg's Sheffield Hallam constituency made the top 20 lowest child poverty levels list.

Greater burden

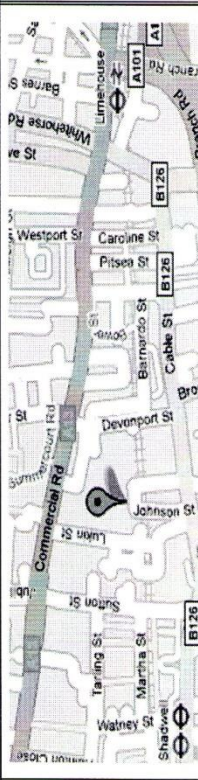
A total of 89 constituencies already meet the government's headline target for 2020 by having child poverty rates of 10% or lower, the report said.



Symbolism of The Learning Village

- The Tower : this Catholic school serves the community in Tower Hamlets
- The window represents vision
- The Wide-Open Arms welcomes all with a special welcome for the poor and marginalised to the Learning Village
- The water symbolises brushing aside the past and bringing new life

Appendix.3 The Village Club and LAP Youth Services 2008

Bishop Challoner offer for young people – Village Club & LAP 4 Youth Services December 2008					
Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
<p>Table Tennis (coach) Time: 3.15 – 6pm Age: 9-19 Venue: Sports Hall</p> <p>Street Dance * Time: 4.30-5.25pm Age: 6-10 Venue: Dance Studio</p> <p>Street Dance* Time : 5.30-6.45pm Age: 11-16 Venue: Dance Studio</p> <p>Girls Trampoline Time: 5 – 6.30pm Age: 11 – 16 Venue: Sports Hall From Jan 19th</p>	<p>Village Club Boxing Training for Boys* Time: 3.15 – 4.45pm Age: 11 – 13 Time: 5.00 – 6.30pm Age: 13-19 Venue: Dance studio</p> <p>Actonworks Performing Arts for Young People Time: 3.15 – 4.45pm Age: 12-19 Venue: Dram Rooms From Jan tbc</p>	<p>Tower Hamlets Schools Gymnastic & Dance Display Team * Time: 4.30-6.30pm Age: 5 – 16 Venue: Sports Hall</p> <p>Rocco's Raiders Junior Basketball Coaching sessions Time: 6.30 – 7.30pm Age: 11 – 19 Venue: Sports Hall To start Jan 2009 tbc</p>	<p>Table Tennis (with coach) Time: 3.15-6pm Age: 9-19 Venue: Theatre or Dining Hall</p> <p>THS Gymnastic & Dance Display Team* Time: 4.30-6.45pm Age: 5 – 16 Venue: Sports Hall</p> <p>THS Gymnastic & Dance Display Team * Time: 4.30-6.45pm Age: 5 – 16 Venue: Sports Hall Time: 5.30-8.00 Venue: Dance Studio</p> <p>Village Club Girls Boxercise, & Aerobics Time: 5.00 – 6.30pm Age: 13-19 Venue: Dance Studio & Theatre From Jan 2009 tbc</p> <p>Hadri Taekwondo Club* Time 7-9pm Age: 10 – adults Venue: Theatre</p>	<p>Girls Table Tennis (with coach) Time: 3.15 – 6pm Age: 9-19 Venue: Theatre or Dining Hall From 7th Nov tbc</p> <p>THS Gymnastic & Dance Display Team * Time: 4.30-6.45pm Age: 5 – 16 Venue: Sports Hall Time: 5.30-8.00 Venue: Dance Studio</p>	<p>Primary School Football Time: 9 – 10am Age: 5-8 Time: 10 – 11.30am Age: 9-11 Venue: Sports Hall</p> <p>Volleyball (Tsis Club session) Time: 11.30am – 12.30pm Age: 7 – 12 Venue: Sports Hall</p> <p>Irish Dancing * Time: 10.30am – 12.30pm Age: 4 – adult Venue: Dining Hall</p> <p>Village Club Badminton Time 12.30 – 2.30pm Age: 10 – 19 Venue: Sports Hall</p> <p>Hadri Taekwondo Club* Time: 1-4pm Age: 5 – 10 Time: 2-4pm Age: 11 – adult Venue: Theatre</p>
<p>Further information</p> <p>Village Club & Youth Service activities are open to all young people within the age groups.</p> <p>Activities are provided free of charge unless marked *.</p> <p>* If you are aged 13-19 & receive free school meals you could get access to free activities at the Village Club & across the borough! Check out this website: www.coo-1.co.uk</p> <p>BCCC School is the contracted provider for statutory youth services for LAP 4 (Shadwell & Wapping). The Youth Service & Village Club Team also operates out of Ensign Youth Centre, Wapping Youth Centre & the Martineau Youth Facility.</p> <p>Contacts: Steve Nugent- Asst Director (Community Education) Tel 07939 543 900</p> <p>Abdul Malik – Community and Youth Service Manager Tel 07827 870 197</p> <p>Charlotte Parish – Community Admin or Community Office Tel 020 7791 9554 or 020 7791 9500</p> <p>Email: snugent@bishop.towerhamlets.sch.uk amalik@bishop.towerhamlets.sch.uk cparrish@bishop.towerhamlets.sch.uk</p>					
<p>http://www.bishop-learningvillage.towerhamlets.sch.uk</p> <p>BCCC School, Hardinge Street, Stepney, E1 OEB Community Entrance via Lukin Street or Boys School Entrance on Johnson Street off Cable Street</p> 					



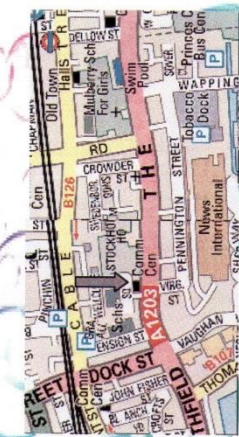
Lap 4 Youth Service Provisions for Girls/Women

Bishop Challoner School, 352 Commercial Road, London E1 0BL Tel:020 791 9500



Ensign Youth Club

Wellclose square, London E1 8HY
Every Wednesday 6pm -8pm



Sports: badminton, wall climbing, football
ICT, pool, music, board games,
table tennis
First aid, relaxation techniques, trips and
residential

Wapping Youth Centre,

Tent Street, E1W 2QD
Every Thursday 4.30-7.30
Cooking, healthy living, leadership training,
sports, badminton, trips, residential

Tarling Community Centre,

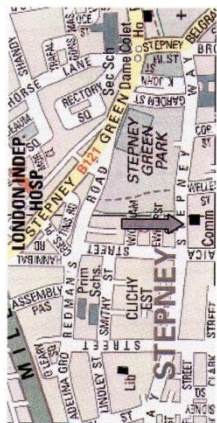
63 Martha Street, E1 2PA
Every Tuesday 4.30-7.30
BBQ, self esteem, dancing classes, board
games, trips and lots more..

Village Club

Lukin Street, E1
Every Friday 5.30-8.30
Gym, swim, SRE workshop, Go-Ape trip,
workshops, conflict resolution, and lots more..

Redcoat Community Centre

260 Stepney Way London E1 3DW
Every Thursday 3pm-6pm



Pool, table tennis, wii, ps3, ICT,
board games, painting, arts and
craft, t-shirt design, cinema,
bowling trips and day outings

For Further Information on Girls and women's work please contact:

Zainab Abdulla
(Ensign Youth Club)
Tel: 0207 702 3340
07920 027 671
ensigny@hotmail.com

Holly Sameed
(Women's development Worker for
Wapping, Tarling & Village Club)
Tel: 07920 027 668
hsameed@bishoo.towerhamlets.sch.uk

Halima Sadia
(Safe Place Worker @ Redcoat)
Tel: 07920 027 673
hsadia@bishoo.towerhamlets.sch.uk



TOWER HAMLETS

Appendix. 4 The British Council International School Awards 2010



British Council, 10 Spring Gardens
London SW1A 2BN, UK

T +44 (0)20 7930 8466

F +44 (0)20 7389 6347

Minicom +44 (0)161 957 7188

www.britishcouncil.org

Bishop Challoner Catholic Collegiate School
Hardinge Street
Tower Hamlets
E1 0EB

13th August 2010

Dear

INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL AWARD 2010

Thank you for submitting your portfolio of international work. I am delighted to inform you that your school has been successful in gaining the International School Award and is accredited for three years from 1 September 2010 to 31 August 2013.

Please send our special congratulations to the international co-ordinator at the school who has worked so hard to co-ordinate such an impressive range of work. They are a credit to the school and the wider community.

The scheme logo, which is a key part of the Award, will be sent to you by email if you have supplied us with an email address. You are encouraged to use the logo on school literature, stationery and your website. Your excellent portfolio of evidence will be returned to your school in September.

We would also appreciate your feedback on the International School Award scheme. A one page questionnaire is enclosed which we would be grateful if you could complete and return to us. If the name of your school changes then please inform us at UK-ISA@britishcouncil.org to ensure we have it correct for your certificate of achievement.

We will contact you nearer the time to confirm the re-accreditation process. Further information will be available from the Global Gateway website: www.globalgateway.org/isa - we would also encourage you to enter the Link2Learn competition at www.globalgateway.org/l2l which has a prize fund of £25,000. Good luck and best wishes with this...

Thank you for taking part in the International School Award. Please convey our very best wishes and many congratulations to all staff and students both in the UK and overseas who have taken part in the scheme. Please also contact your local media to inform them about your successful international work - this is a great achievement and one that deserves celebrating and sharing widely!

I hope that the scope of your excellent international activities will continue to develop and benefit the school community; your support, commitment, creativity and innovative international work is greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Manager
International School Award
British Council



Appendix.5 Questionnaire for Parents and Carers

Questionnaire for parents and carers

Please read the following statements and tick the answer which best fits what you think about the school. Please only tick one box per statement. If you cannot answer leave it blank.

	(please tick)	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	My child feels safe at this school.				
2	My child is making good progress at this school.				
3	This school meets my child's particular needs.				
4	This school ensures my child is well looked after.				
5	My child is taught well at this school.				
6	This school helps my child to develop skills in communication, reading, writing and mathematics.				
7	There is a good standard of behaviour at this school.				
8	My child's lessons are not disrupted by bad behaviour.				
9	This school deals with any cases of bullying effectively. (Bullying includes persistent name-calling, cyber, racist and homophobic bullying).				
10	This school helps me to support my child's learning.				
11	This school responds well to my concerns.				
12	This school keeps me well informed.				

Appendix.6 The Visit of the Lithuanian Director General and the Award



BISHOP CHALLONER
CATHOLIC COLLEGIATE SCHOOL
HARDINGE STREET, LONDON E1 0EB



Friday, 25.5.2007

Director General of the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians
Living Abroad to the Government of the
Republic of Lithuania
Mr Antanas Petrauskas

Visit to

Bishop Challoner Catholic Collegiate School
To award the Silver Cross
to Mrs Catherine Myers – Executive Head

and letters of gratitude to

Mr Patrick Brown
Ms Rose Seymour

11.00	:	Arrival at Hardinge Street Met by Mr Patrick Brown
	:	Guests brought to the library through the 6 th Form
11.10	:	Meet guests in the Library
11.20	:	Mr Dan Regan – Chair of Govs Welcome
11.30	:	Mr Antanas Petrauskas Presentation of awards
11.35	:	Mrs Myers – Vote of Thanks
11.40	:	Reception
12.00	:	Departure



Appendix.7 The Mass of Thanksgiving



Bishop Challoner
Catholic Collegiate Schools



MASS OF THANKSGIVING
AND
BLESSING AND DEDICATION
OF THE
NEW BUILDINGS
OF
BISHOP CHALLONER
CATHOLIC COLLEGIATE SCHOOLS
THE LEARNING VILLAGE

CELEBRANT:
THE RIGHT REVEREND GEORGE STACK
AUXILIARY BISHOP OF WESTMINSTER

IN THE PRESENCE OF
THE MOST REVEREND VINCENT NICHOLS
ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER

AT
ST MARY'S & ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH

22ND JANUARY 2010

11.00AM

Appendix.8 OFSTED Report: New Models of School Leadership, Influences and Outcomes, 2009

Alexandra House
33 Kingsway
London
WC2B 6SE

T 08456 404040
F 020 7421 6855
enquiries@ofsted.gov.uk
www.ofsted.gov.uk



15 February 2009

Headteacher
Bishop Challoner Catholic Collegiate Girls' School
Hardinge Street
Stepney
London
E1 0AB

Dear I

Ofsted survey inspection programme – New models of school leadership: influences and outcomes

Thank you for your hospitality and co-operation, and that of your staff and students, during my visit on 13 February 2009 to evaluate the impact of new models of leadership on school improvement.

The visit provided valuable information which will contribute to our national evaluation and reporting. Published reports are likely to list the names of the contributing institutions but individual institutions will not be identified in the main text. All feedback letters will be published on the Ofsted website at the end of each half-term.

The evidence used to inform the judgements made included discussions with governors, staff and students, scrutiny of relevant documentation and observation of lessons.

The overall effectiveness of the model of leadership, a federation of Bishop Challoner Catholic Collegiate Girls' School, which includes a mixed Sixth Form, with a secondary Catholic boys' school, is outstanding.

The impact of the model of leadership on achievement and standards is outstanding.

- Federation has had a positive impact on students' achievement. GCSE results for 2008 show considerable improvement. Standards are improving year on year and are broadly average overall. Taking account of students' starting points, this represents very good progress.
- Over the last two years there has been a significant improvement in the number of students attaining five higher-grade GCSE passes including English and mathematics. The percentage is now in line with

the national average. However, the school has rightly identified the need to further improve students' functional English skills.

- Over the past three years the number of students in the sixth form has increased significantly and there has been very good improvement in examination results.
- Students undertaking vocational courses achieve very well in a good range of subjects, all of which are well-matched to their needs.

The impact of the model of leadership on the quality of teaching and learning is outstanding.

- Teaching and learning are good overall and there is much that is outstanding.
- Teachers' methodology encompasses a wide range of strategies, including the effective use of the most up to date technology.
- Very thorough, regular assessments ensure lessons are matched closely to students' needs.
- Staff have good opportunities to draw upon the skills of their colleagues within the federation. The federation's faculty heads provide very clear guidance to staff and there is a determination to improve practice further.
- The subject knowledge of teachers and other staff improve because of a well-thought out programme of professional development that is evaluated rigorously.
- Students really enjoy learning and do well because they say the staff make lessons interesting. The excellent relationships between staff and students contribute very significantly to the positive learning environment.
- The federation's systems for tracking and monitoring students' progress ensure the early identification of any underachievement.

The impact of the model of leadership on the quality of the curriculum is outstanding.

- The federation provides a good range of academic and vocational opportunities for students. The ongoing review of the curriculum ensures it is responsive to the needs and interests of students.
- In addition to its very good humanities provision, for which the school has specialist status, there are excellent opportunities for students to develop their musical and dramatic talents. The confidence and self-esteem of students is raised alongside their performance skills.
- The curriculum is brought to life for the students through a wonderful range of visits, visitors and activities. For example, public speaking competitions, science competitions and enrichment courses in physics at universities and visits to Barcelona, Berlin and Auschwitz.
- The college has excellent links with feeder primary schools with many visiting to take part in sporting activities and classes for the gifted and talented.
- The leadership has developed very strong links with local businesses which provide significant enhancement to the curriculum.

- The information, communication and technology (ICT) provision across the federation is excellent and supports students' learning very well.

The impact of the new model of leadership on the quality of leadership and management throughout the school is outstanding.

- The federation's leadership and management structures successfully take account of the needs of the component schools.
- The leadership has ensured a relentless drive towards improvement in both academic standards and the quality of facilities.
- The excellent strategic leadership provided by the senior management team is based on a deep understanding of the local context and the strengths and areas for development within the federation.
- Very effective delegation has ensured senior and middle managers are provided with opportunities to develop their leadership and management skills by working across the federation.
- Teaching and learning continue to improve because of effective monitoring and evaluation.
- Leadership is forward thinking and determined to enhance the federation's capacity through developing partnerships and networking beyond its own boundaries. The concept of the 'Learning Village' with a 'Village Club' on campus, is a good example of this outward looking approach.
- The governing body is very supportive and challenging. It works effectively to continually improve the provision.

The impact of the new model of leadership on inclusion is outstanding.

- The diverse cultures, ethnicities and backgrounds are celebrated and enrich students' experiences.
- There is a very strong 'can do' philosophy which is focused on raising standards and improving the achievement of all students across the federation.
- Teaching assistants are provided with a good programme of professional development to enable them to contribute effectively to the students' progress.
- The development of excellent assessment and tracking systems across the federation ensure gifted and talented, those with learning difficulties and/or disabilities and those at risk of underachievement are provided with guidance and support to reach their potential.

Areas for improvement, which we discussed, included:

- accelerating the development of students' functional English skills, particularly those at an early stage of learning English as an additional language.

I hope these observations are useful as you continue to develop the leadership of your school and the federation.

As I explained in my previous letter, a copy of this letter will be sent to your local authority and will be published on the Ofsted website. It will also be available to the team for your next institutional inspection.

Yours sincerely

|| **Additional Inspector**