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CONSERVATIVE VALUES AND EDUCATION POLICY 1979-1990

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Abstract

This study provides a systematic description of the Conservative Government's education policies and their initial implementation during the period 1979-90. It charts elements of coherence between the Government's values and policies and examples of dissonance. By analysing the underlying values, it identifies conflicts which go some way toward explaining the apparent contradictions.

Government policy reflects a marked switch in emphasis from regionalized provision to institutional provision within a strong, centralized framework which reflects a move from communal provision in response to individual needs to a market model where individual effort is intended to bring its own rewards. This analysis reveals the way in which policies apparently concerned with separate aspects of public services (structure, management, funding and mechanisms of reporting and accountability) culminated in the creation of a mixed market economy as a basis for transferring responsibility for the provision of welfare services from the state to commercial and voluntary agencies, as well as to individuals and their families.

Whilst responsibility for the provision of education has not itself been delegated to parents, their involvement through choice, participation and voluntary financial contributions has steadily increased throughout the period in question. The transfer from the state to commercial and voluntary agencies is also evident in the provision of services to schools (meals, maintenance, cleaning) by commercial agencies under contract and the delegation to voluntary, lay governors of many of the responsibilities formerly exercised by local education authorities.

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SECTION ONE

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1 - Statement of theme

In the period between 1976, when James Callaghan launched the Great Debate, and the general election of 1992, education played a growing part in political debates. Although governments are not solely responsible for bringing about changes in education, the considerable electoral majority enjoyed by the Conservative Governments during the period 1979-1990 gave it unique legislative and financial power to formulate and implement its policies with regard to education. This period should therefore provide a strong example for testing a particular issue: the extent to which there is a congruence between the values and the implemented education policies of the Conservative Governments under Margaret Thatcher.

The volatility of values

Expressed concerns about state-funded education during this period related to the length of compulsory schooling and staying-on rates (usually in unfavourable comparisons with overseas 'competitors'); to the relevance of the school curriculum either to individual pupils or to the adult and working life which awaits them; and to the assessment of learning and the kinds and levels of qualifications achieved by pupils both individually and as a group. With reference to the high cost of education, its providers were increasingly called to account both for their objectives and how effectively these were achieved.

The importance accorded to education by the Conservative Governments under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990) is demonstrated by the enactment of twelve laws, the introduction of numerous reforms and initiatives and the extension of the work of the Employment Department's Manpower Services Commission (now the Training, Enterprise and Education Directorate) into schools, mainly through the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative, compacts and training credits. These initiatives resulted in considerable changes in the content, organisation and evaluation of education and involved a major shift in the locus of control which, by delegating new responsibilities to schools and colleges, will place a premium on the effective management of these institutions (Bush 1989).

Whilst the basic premise that education is 'a good thing' goes unquestioned by the many constituencies concerned with education, the formulation of objectives is complicated by the different and frequently conflicting assumptions about its purpose. Thus, despite the considerable energy which has been devoted to discussions, initiatives and legislation, there is no agreed, explicit statement about the contribution which education is expected to make, nor about the criteria according to which its contribution will be assessed. Moreover, whilst discussions may be based on or informed by factual evidence or appeals to experience, they most commonly reflect the speaker's unspoken, unexamined basic values, or 'feelings about what ought to be' (Kogan 1986). Even when there is a

surface consensus, there remains considerable variation in the interpretation and expression of each value position both by political and interest groups and by individuals and factions within such groups.

Kogan (1986) points to the complexity of analysing the values underlying policy proposals, which may be explicit, assumed, unacknowledged or ambiguous. Variations in interpretation or emphasis over time may result from an individual's socialization, life experiences or role sets. Furthermore, whilst some values are mutually supportive, others may be inconsistent or incompatible.

Interests and powers

Values are always in a tensile relationship with interests. With respect to specific actions, negotiation and bargaining between different interests may lead to compromises between value positions. Given that there are variations in the degree of influence exercised by the different parties, the objectives stated by one group may be conflated, reformulated or amended as individuals or groups work towards their conversion into policies and action, engaging in voluntary or necessary collaboration with others.

The education policy-making framework formally and informally involves central government, local education authorities, school governing bodies, heads and teachers. Informally, influence may be brought to bear individually or collectively by clients or interest factions, for example employers, teachers' and parents' associations, political parties and religious groups. Pupils and students have no formal position in the management structure, but they exercise considerable influence as it is their performance which constitutes the prime indicator of success.

Method and structure

In his Presidential Address to the British Educational Research Association, Bassey (1992) argued that, after a period of some forty years when education policy was broadly historical, 'basing today's action on the way it was done last week or last year', the Conservative governments of the 1980s set about creating education 'by playing hunches, by using intuition without challenging and without monitoring the consequences'. Allied to this approach was a discrediting of the

> 'experts', 'specialists', and 'professionals' referred to as the 'educational establishment'
> [who] have been displaced ... by parental choice, the market, efficiency and management
> (Bell 1990:18).

Sharing Bassey's belief that ideologies need to be made overt and explained' (1992:12) this study is intended to contribute to the search for education policy intentions and the determination of their worth during the Thatcher years. It focuses on values as a framework for analysing policy. The analysis is progressive in that data gleaned from a detailed study of primary sources were interpreted, structured and reformulated on the basis of non-government publications and commentaries in the education and general media. Informal discussions with practitioners and researchers at conferences and other meetings were a further stimulus to reflection.

The study concentrates on the period 1979-1990, although major changes announced immediately following this period are incorporated. Most of the initiatives apply to the whole period of statutory education, but there are some initiatives which specifically apply to the secondary sector, stretching beyond compulsory schooling, such as the examination reform and TVEI.

The text is structured in five main sections, of which this is the first. Section 2 [*Chapters 2-4*] explores some of the concepts used to examine Conservative education policy. First, it considers some of the purposes of education expressed in the literature and in Conservative Party publications. Second, it explores the concept of values and the ways in which they influence action, again with reference to the literature. Finally, it examines a number of the values underlying educational provision and ways in which these values may be interpreted. Four of these values - excellence, freedom, participation and accountability - have been chosen because they are quoted by the Governments of this period to justify polices in education and in other public services. The fifth, equality, is included because of the Government's explicit rejection of the socialist interpretation by reference to need and its operationalization through social redistribution

As a background to the examination of education policy in later chapters, Section 3 [*Chapters 5-7*] provides a context of Conservative social policy, of which education is one strand, between 1979-1990. By drawing out the underlying values and their changing interpretation, it shows that many of the values which gave rise to policy changes in aspects of public service such as housing, social services, health and transport and in the relationship between public and private sector services such as the privatized utilities, also provided a 'field of force' (Lewin 1952, *see Kogan 1986*) in which education policy evolved.

Having considered Conservative values across a broad spectrum of public services, Section 4 [*Chapters 8-14*] relates these values specifically to the education service in the six key areas of structure, governance, curriculum content and assessment, staffing, financial and material resources and evaluation. The section begins with a review of the legacy of the 1970s and then examines policies as expressed in primary and secondary documentary sources such as consultative and positional papers, programmes and legislation. The legislation of the 1980s has been modified in the course of implementation and is still changing with almost every pronouncement by successive Secretaries of State. The section therefore considers the implementation of Government action in the six fields, drawing on research into the perspectives of head teachers and school governors before 1988 and on published interpretations and research undertaken during the first years following implementation of the Education Reform Act.

The present analysis cannot predict the precise outcome nor assess the proportional influence of legislation (as compared with all the other influences). However, it does identify the initiatives and legislation to which the field was required to respond and explores the ways in which these are being implemented. This provides initial indications of the potential consequences of the different structures, professional and accountability relationships and the processes which have emerged over the decade. The complexity of value positions means that their relationship to policies is not necessarily consistent. Section 5 addresses some of these issues by relating the outcomes back to the expressed values and those implicit in the Government's stated intentions.

SECTION TWO

CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

This section sets out to identify some of the objectives which education is expected to meet, to explore the concept of values and the ways in which they influence policy and behaviour and to examine the constituent elements and interpretations of a number of values which underlie post-war education policies. This analysis provides a basis for a subsequent examination of the degree of consonance between the expressed values of the Conservative Governments of 1979-1990 and their education policies and a conjectural analysis of the effects of these policies.

Chapter 2 - Aims of education

The concept of education is a very fluid one, ranging from bringing up children - where connection with knowledge or specific objectives is purely contingent - to a 'family of processes whose principle of unity is the development of desirable qualities in (people)' and which involve knowledge and understanding in depth and breadth (Hirst and Peters 1970:19, 27).

The organized enterprise of education (at school or elsewhere) seeks to develop attitudes and skills as well as factual knowledge, by means of exposure to structured learning experiences. In his definition of formal education, Langford talks of 'a purposive, self-conscious practical activity which goes on in schools and other educational institutions' (1973:4) whilst Moore refers to 'what happens to an individual in specifically educational institutions' (Moore 1970:24,28). These definitions share Wilson's assumption that the objectives of education are achieved by means of teaching and introduce two necessary conditions for education to take place, namely

> the provision of social arrangements and of people 'expert' in understanding the ideal
> (whether freedom, creativity, a trained mind, relevant knowledge, moral awareness) and/
> or in helping to realize the ideals in reference to children (Wilson 1977:19).

However, there is no single agreed definition of the particular attitudes, skills and knowledge which education should inculcate, nor is there agreement about the ideal education structure and process.

Conceptual definitions of what education is are confused with normative expressions concerning what it ought to be. According to Hirst and Peters, conceptual truths specify an 'adequate analysis of the general end brought about by the process of education' whilst persuasive or stipulative definitions seek to persuade others 'by trading on the suggestion that pursuing this, and only this end, is consistent with educating people' (1970:27). Moore similarly distinguishes between descriptive theories, which purport to give a correct account, and practical theories of education which are normative and include both general and procedural or pedagogical theories (1982).

Most descriptive definitions of education concentrate on processes and outcomes, expressed in terms either of intrinsic aims or of instrumental purposes. Emphasis on the processes involved leads to definitions such as 'the sum total of a person's experiences' (Moore 1970), 'a practical activity the unity of which depends on its overall purpose, and that purpose is that somebody should become educated' (Langford 1973:6) and 'the initiation of people into some worthwhile form of life' (Peters 1973:16) promoting 'the spread of humane values - cultural awareness, toleration and emotional maturity' (Boyle, quoted by Knight:35).

Ryle's (1949) definition combines both conceptual and normative elements. He defines 'educate' as an 'achievement verb' which, like win, reform and learn, depends on a demonstrable outcome or achievement. To this extent, it is descriptive or conceptual. However, for Ryle 'educate' and 'reform' differ from other achievement

verbs in that they imply some form of improvement, the achievement of a desirable end product (Moore 1982, Peters 1973). Others support this inclusion of a value dimension 'culminating in a person becoming better ... in a person having an outlook and form of life that is in some way desirable' (Peters 1973:15, 55). A person who is educated is, all other things being equal, improved by the development of various forms of cognitive awareness (Wilson 1972).

Taylor's classification of educational aims

William Taylor (1978) classifies educational aims and value statements into six categories: empirical statements, epistemological statements, societal statements, assessment-oriented aims, interest-based prescriptions and individualist statements. Although there is considerable overlap between some of these categories, they provide a framework for the examination of Conservative educational aims later in the study.

Empirical statements

Empirical statements are based on research into the wishes and pronouncements of government and of the constituencies concerned with education. These may find expression in policies relating to class sizes, school types or teaching methods.

Epistemological statements

Taylor's second category is based on a perception of the structure of knowledge [*see*, *for example, Hirst 1973*]. The concept of standards in its broader sense is often discussed in this context although references to 'an educated person' beg definition. Hirst and Peters refer to 'human excellences' such as autonomy, creativeness, integrity, specialized knowledge and understanding, critical thinking and aesthetic sensitivity, which are 'part of one's understanding of what it means to be "educated"' (1970:27). Hamlyn develops this view.

> The essence of education is nothing unless it brings with it understanding and the appreciation of principles, their relevance and their interconnections. Understanding, moreover, involves and presupposes the acquisition and use of concepts (1973a:196).

Thus Marks and Cox (1982) stress the importance of access to accepted bodies of knowledge and a range of essential intellectual and practical skills.

The definition of the curriculum in terms of linguistic, mathematical, scientific, ethical/spiritual, social and political, physical, aesthetic and creative fields is consistent with this view as it emphasizes the epistemological characteristics rather than the content of the curriculum (DES 1977).

Societal statements

These delineate desirable economic, political and social conditions and identify curricular, pedagogic and assessment strategies to establish or maintain these conditions. Such statements may be a blend of descriptive and normative, as shown in the following quotation from Moore.

> Education ought to promote innate potentialities of pupils, prepare them for work, to be good citizens ... [it] enables human beings to realise their intellectual and moral

potentialities [and establishes] a sense of social solidarity by giving everyone a common cultural background (Moore 1982:8).

One example might be the pursuit of social equality by means of non-selective schools, delayed specialization and assessment, and positive discrimination for those whose economic or social circumstances might place them at a disadvantage as compared with their peers, irrespective of whether such disadvantage manifests itself in educational terms. The comprehensivization of education was the first step towards the elimination of the advantages of élitist education by abolishing grammar schools. At the same time, it was hoped that egalitarian attitudes could be developed in those educated in a non-selective environment. In contrast, the Direct Grant grammar schools, and their successor, the Assisted Places Scheme, specifically seek to provide access to élitist provision on the basis of academic ability.

Others define education in utilitarian terms, as 'the means whereby a supply of trained manpower is assured' (Hirst and Peters 1970:27) or as a nation's investment in young people with a view to increasing productivity (Peters 1973).

A third example concerns expectations of social behaviour. Pateman argues that 'a great deal of popular criticism of schools is concerned with their failure to secure an acceptable level of generational control' (1978:88). Generational control, as defined by Michael Eraut, is a social value which requires children to behave in a particular way in relation to adults, in terms of manners, politeness and deference.

Knight traces a Conservative Party emphasis on cultural heritage. Northam (1939) sought an education system which would ensure that

the best in the nation's past ... borne of spiritual values inculcated by traditional learning and teaching, would be the guide to the future and ... people would become imbued afresh with 'the right outlook' (quoted by Knight 1990:65).

Howarth claimed that 'instruction should include the transmission of the best in the nation's cultural tradition and not what was arbitrarily deemed to be "relevant"' (Knight 1990:65) whilst Marks and Cox (1982) sought a '... commitment to some of the values of our cultural heritage'. The ideals expounded in such normative definitions provide very limited guidance on content to those charged with the responsibility of teaching.

The range of expectations is illustrated in the views of Pateman and Boyson. Pateman's (1978) is all-encompassing, requiring schooling to respond to parental preferences, to use public resources efficiently, to allow teachers professional freedom, to meet the requirements of society and to satisfy children's needs. The interpretation of each of these five objectives could lead to further complexity depending on the individual's value position. Boyson's detailed educational targets reflect a blend of the specifically measurable and the idealistically general:

universal literacy and numeracy; opportunities for all children to reach their full potential; encouragement of the academically most gifted to add to the stock of learning; and the need to pass on the concepts and traditions of Greek-Jewish-Christian tradition (CPES conference 1972 - Knight:70).

There may be considerable consensus about the overall aims of education even across party political lines, as reflected in the extracts from the Labour Government's *Education in Schools* (DES 1977) and from the Conservative Government's *Better*

FIGURE 2.1: EDUCATIONAL AIMS - PERSPECTIVES OF THE LABOUR AND CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENTS

The aims of the schools

a) to help children develop lively, enquiring minds; giving them the ability to question and to argue rationally, and to apply themselves to tasks;

b) to instil respect for moral values, for other people and for oneself, and tolerance for other races, religions and ways of life;

c) to help children understand the world in which we live, and the interdependence of nations;

d) to help children use language effectively and imaginatively in reading, writing and speaking;

e) to help children appreciate how the nation earns and maintains its standard of living and properly to esteem the essential role of industry and commerce in the process;

f) to provide a basis of mathematical, scientific and technical knowledge, enabling boys and girls to learn the essential skills needed in a fast-changing world of work;

g) to teach children about human achievement and aspirations in the arts and sciences, in religion, and in the search for a more just social order;

h) to encourage and foster the development of the children whose social or environmental disadvantages cripple their capacity to learn, if necessary by making additional resources available to them.

DES (1977) *Education in Schools: a consultation document* paragraph 1.19

The purposes of the learning process

a) to help pupils to develop lively, enquiring minds, the ability to question and to argue rationally, and to apply themselves to tasks, and physical skills;

b) to help pupils acquire understanding, knowledge and skills relevant to adult life and employment in a fast-changing world;

c) to help pupils use language and number effectively;

d) to help pupils to develop personal moral values, respect for religious values, and tolerance of other races, religions and ways of life;

e) to help pupils understand the world in which they live, and the interdependence of individuals, groups and nations;

f) to help pupils appreciate human achievement and aspirations.

DES (1985) *Better Schools* paragraph 44

Schools (DES 1985). As Figure 2.1 shows, the Conservative version lifts whole sections from the earlier Labour outline. It is consistent with the emphases of Conservative education policy that the latter version places a more active stress on the development of personal moral values (rather than merely respecting those of others), on the interdependence of individuals and groups (as well as nations). Equally, it is not surprising that 'the search for a more just social order' (DES 1977:para g) and the whole of paragraph (h), which promotes positive discrimination, should have been eliminated. However, given the Conservative declared objectives of raising standards of basic skills to enhance the nation's economic performance in relation to its competitors, it is inconsistent that Labour's paragraphs (e) and (f) relating to these objectives should have been so drastically edited to produce paragraph (b) in the *Better Schools* version. However, despite the level of consensus on aims, the Labour Party vigorously opposed many of the strategies proposed by the Thatcher Conservative Governments to achieve them.

As has already been stated, different aspirations may be conflated into a single policy, which serves a number of distinct objectives. One example of a conflated economic-political-social policy is linked to the efforts to increase the number of students voluntarily remaining in full-time education after age 16. This might serve political ends, by improving the nation's ranking in the 'staying-on rate' tables; economic objectives, by reducing the number of people claiming unemployment benefit; and social and personal objectives by developing the skills and competences of individuals. The consequences are dependent on policies other than education, such as employment and financial policies. For whilst raising the levels of individual competence might resolve skills shortages, it can equally result in skill wastage if there are no suitable jobs available and the individual chooses not to take a lower-skilled job.

Assessment-oriented aims

Taylor's fourth category are aims which derive from available methods of evaluation, instead of developing methods of assessing the extent to which previously determined aims have been achieved. One example of an assessment-oriented aim is Sir Keith Joseph's target for 80-90% of young people to achieve the equivalent of Grade 4 CSE, which was, at that time, the average grade (DES 1985). It might be argued that school governors' reports of school performance fall into this category since success will be measured principally in terms of examination and test results and pupil attendance.

Interest-based prescriptions

Interest-based prescriptions are those where individuals or interest groups identify a particular present or future 'need' or shortcoming and claim priority for this cause without consideration for cost or the competing claims of other objectives. Raymond Williams' old humanists, industrial trainers and public educators (1961) might serve as an example. The old humanists sought a classical, character-building education which would prepare the upper classes and the gentry for their position in society. The industrial trainers' objectives were instrumental, requiring education to produce a well-trained, obedient work force. The aims of the public educators were far-reaching, political and civic. They saw education as preparing the whole population for active participation in a democratic society.

Figure 2.2: IMPLICATIONS OF DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL MODELS

	system-centred	teacher-led	child-centred
assumptions	predominant influence of inherited potential makes it possible to predict the child's future role in society	heredity as basis, but environment affects performance and potential	predominant influence of environment; potential can be increased by experience
values	social control; national and economic need; efficiency	value of the individual; professional ethics	freedom, unique value of the individual
beneficiary	society	individual and society	individual
content	specified knowledge to suit child's future role	activities tailored to suit child's needs	largely unspecified: determined by child's motivation
structure	environment structured to suit the aptitude, nature and developmental stage of the child	flexibly structured and differentiated to meet child's needs and interests	largely unstructured, no pre-emptive differentiation; interpreted experience
process	didactive teaching transmission	range of methods to suit child's needs	experimental, discovery-led, interactive
relationship	formal, authoritarian, little value placed on child's freedom	professional-client, hierarchical	informal, collaborative, non-hierarchical
outcome	knowledge and skills to suit child's future role; conformist and obedient attitude	knowledge, skills, flexible attitudes	no predetermined knowledge or skills; questioning attitude, diversity and independence of mind
evaluation	assess behaviour and performance (usually) against norm-referenced criteria	formative, diagnostic assessment during the process; terminal summative assessment, criterion-referenced	little emphasis on formal assessment; where used, likely to be criterion-referenced

An alternative example is linked to religious beliefs. Anglican, Catholic, Methodist and Jewish communities have received financial support to enable them to provide education within the framework of their religious beliefs. The Islamic community is seeking the same rights, although its claims are still being considered.

Individualist statements

These typify a vision of the educated individual and suggest how schools and colleges might foster or inhibit behaviours on the basis of a particular view of knowledge and of human nature. During the 19th century an explicit distinction between education and training began to be made and the understanding of education as 'all-round development of a person, morally, intellectually and spiritually' emerged (Peters 1973:54). Examples of this category include schools based on a particular pedagogical philosophy such as the Montessori schools or, in a different mould, Gordonstoun.

Models of educational provision

An alternative model for analysis might be based on the determinant, that is to say, the entity which determines the objectives, nature, content, relationships, outcomes and underlying values of the education provided. The two extremes of the continuum are the system-centred and the child-centred models [*see Figure 2.2*]. An interim position is held by the professional, teacher-led model. Such models necessarily simplify and exaggerate propensities rather than certain characteristics.

System-centred model

The system-centred model is based on the assumption that it is possible and desirable to predict the individual's future role in society. Such prediction may be based on an assumed, inalterable potential or on the notional allocation of an individual to his or her 'appropriate' place in the social and economic community. The principal beneficiary is intended to be the community and education consists of inculcating the knowledge, skills and attitudes relevant to the child's future role. Such training is most effectively provided in a structured environment which groups individuals on the basis of an identification of their aptitude, nature and stage in the developmental process [*cf Piaget's phases 1952*]. The transmission process is didactive and directive (Hirst and Peters 1970) within a formal, authoritarian relationship and little value is accorded to the child's freedom. One successfully educated according to this model has acquired knowledge and skills in accordance with his or her perceived ability and developed the attitudes of obedience and conformity. Attainment is assessed by measuring the individual's behaviour against previously determined criteria and in relation to other individuals (norm-referenced). The values which underlie the system-based educational model include social control, national (economic) needs and the efficiency of the process.

Child-centred model

In contrast, the child-centred model sees inherited ability merely as a starting point for the development of the individual's potential by means of 'nurture' or life experience. In this context, education does not prepare the child for a defined place in society but stimulates the continual development of his or her personality and abilities. The target

beneficiary is primarily the individual, whose interest will provide the motivation to learn. Driven by the child's interests and motivation, the content is largely unspecified and the process involves a loosely-structured, interpreted exposure to experiences. There is no pre-emptive differentiation or grading of abilities. The process is experiential, based on discovery and interaction with others, including teachers. Relationships are non-hierarchical, informal and collaborative and the child's freedom and opinions are accorded high priority (Hirst and Peters 1970). The outcome in terms of specific knowledge and skills is difficult to predict if the choice of experiences is left largely to the child. However, it is expected that the child will develop diversity, a tendency to question and independence of mind. Although the lack of a representative group with which the child's performance could be fairly compared means that norm-referenced assessment could not take place, the child's learning could be assessed by criterion-referenced tests. However, the explicit recognition of the uniqueness of the individual, and the expectation of his or her continuing development may make assessment take on less importance. The values underlying this educational model are freedom and the unique worth of the individual. Operational values such as economy and efficiency cannot be applied, since the desired outcome is deliberately open-ended. The pursuit of efficiency would be in direct conflict with a process which is intended to be unbounded.

Teacher-led model

The professional, teacher-led model holds a mediating position. It is teacher-led rather than teacher-centred, in that it seeks to address the interests of both the individual and society rather than those of the teacher. It is based on the assumption that the child's inherited abilities can be developed and extended as a result of appropriate experiences. In this model, the first task of the teacher is the professional analysis of a child's capacities, abilities, interests and needs in the context of the social and economic community within which he or she lives. Subsequently, the child is exposed to experiences and engages in activities whose content, timing and form are adapted to his or her needs. There is differentiation in provision for different pupils but, unlike the system-led model, this is determined by the child's progress and learning needs rather than according to the intended outcome. The teaching process must be flexible and involve a range of methods. Within a professional-client relationship, the child will be guided, enjoying increasing autonomy as it demonstrates its growing maturity. Success is measured through the individual's ability to identify and fulfil the role which he or she chooses for him/herself. Ideally, the child will develop flexible attitudes, enabling him or her to recognize which behaviour is most appropriate in a given situation, and to act accordingly. Progress is assessed by measuring the individual's ability successfully to undertake increasingly complex activities. Since the process is not linked to a predetermined role in society, assessment is likely to be formative and diagnostic, culminating in summative assessment at key points of decision-making. The values which underlie the teacher-based educational model include professional autonomy and ethics and the value of the individual within a community.

It is the normative dimension of educational aims which gives rise to debate due to differing individual perceptions of 'desirable end products' or of 'an educated person'. Hirst and Peters contend that 'in education there is as much debate about the ends of education as there is about the methods to be adopted to promote these ends' (1970:27). Further study of what education 'ought to be' therefore depends on an understanding of values in general and more particularly, the values which implicitly and explicitly underlie educational provision. These aspects are examined in the next two chapters.

Chapter 3 - Values

Concepts

Values are concerns about what ought to be. 'A value is a belief which need not rely upon facts or evidence, though a value position can be supported or challenged by knowledge propositions' (Kogan 1986:95). Lewin describes values as creating a field of force [*see Kogan 1986*] rather than acting directly as forces in their own right. Ryle (1949) talks of values as 'dispositions' which incline us towards specific structures, tasks and patterns of behaviour.

Becher and Kogan (1980) distinguish between normative and operational modes or values. Normative approaches seek to monitor and maintain the values within the system as a whole, to safeguard what is deemed important, whilst operational modes relate to the execution of tasks at different levels of the system, i.e. what is actually done. Among the basic values are equality, equity, the value of the unique individual, community, family and defence of society (Kogan 1974). Instrumental concepts, concerned with the operationalization of basic values, include public burden, selectivity (for self-determination, élitism, or equality), universality, participation, democracy, social control and residualism. Kogan suggests that instrumental concepts can 'harden' into basic values. An example of this is the assertion by some that democracy is a basic right, rather than a procedure for deciding how public resources are to be generated and distributed. Such a decision is, in turn, influenced by the basic values of the decision-makers, such as social justice or equality.

Reference has already been made to the basic and second order (operational) dimension of values. An alternative dimension might distinguish personal values, which target the individual, from system values, which serve a given institution or society as a whole. Although there are areas of overlap, basic individual values are principally concerned with the worth and rights of the individual (often expressed in terms of justice and equality), the development of individual potential and the pursuit of excellence. Basic societal values include the defence of the nation, social order and public welfare.

Operational values which stress the role of the individual include democracy and participative governance, differentiated provision (allowing for self determination, élitism or positive discrimination) and professional autonomy or discretion. Henkel (1991) found a noticeable increase in a rights-based approach, in which users of service are identified as consumers not clients. Rights of choice have been particularly prominent in recent welfare service policies. Operational values at system level influence the nature and extent of public provision (universal or residual) to achieve a balance between public burden and individual need; system maintenance; accountability, expressed in terms of efficiency, effectiveness and economy; control and coherence; equity, probity and constitutionality; and respect for even-handedness and due process (Kogan 1991).

In each case, value positions logically imply (or, in Ryle's terms, dispose us towards) particular objectives, structures and working methods. Where these logical links between basic and operational values are not established (e.g. assessing professional objectives by means of managerial indicators) conflicts or 'dysfunctional harmony' may occur, requiring change either in the individual's way of working or in the allocative system for the institution (Kogan 1986).

Effects

Values may affect behaviour in a number of ways. They may be articulated to persuade others of the desirability of pursuing a given course of action. However, Ayer posits that people never really argue about basic questions of value, because all that can be done is to express one's attitudes, for or against, and discover whether or not others share them (IN: O'Hear 1985:260).

Boudon (1973) claims that the commitment to their values may be so strong that in certain circumstances individuals act against their interests. An example may be the decision not to seek the immediate advantages which grant-maintained status bring to a school because of the perceived injustice to schools remaining within local education authority control.

In the above example, a basic value determines the action. In other cases, action is determined by the desired outcome such as when individuals pursue the personal benefits of a decision, on the basis of a rational examination of its consequences and opportunity cost. O'Hear (1985) claims that such a utilitarian basis is a healthier one for assessing the morality of actions than what he terms the dogmatically authoritarian and empty-headed intuitive.

Variations in the strength of values in determining behaviour may be seen in the way in which individuals resolve the conflict which arises between professional behaviour and conditions of employment. An individual may be subject to contradictory peer pressure. Strike action is deemed 'unprofessional' in that it places individual benefit above client care. Alternatively, others might point to the longer-term damage to clients of a demoralized, understaffed service and claim that industrial action better serves clients by securing the salaries and conditions necessary to attract and retain suitably qualified staff. In Lewin's and Ryle's terms, professionals are predisposed towards the former view, whilst trade unionists tend towards the latter and, if Boudon's values theory holds good, the action taken by individuals would predictably follow from their commitment to professional or trade unionist values. However, the fact that some people participate in industrial action on some occasions whilst refusing to participate on others would lend support to the utilitarian theory. This is not to say that values play no role, as the evaluation of consequences is in itself based on value judgements.

Compromises or concessions between value positions may be made in the course of negotiation and bargaining (Kogan 1986). Peters gives the following example of the dominance of the basic value (freedom) over a procedural value (efficiency):

> it might be found that 'learning by discovery' was rather an inefficient method of learning but, in so far as such a procedure involves an emphasis on freedom, it might be preferred in spite of its inefficiency (1973:28).

A similar play-off between values lies behind Bell's criticism of the promoters of comprehensive schooling for sacrificing educational excellence in the interests of 'social engineering' (Bell, cited by Knight 1990:67). In a more recent example, criticisms that the demands of City Technology Colleges on a cash-limited public expenditure budget are disproportionate to the number of young people involved might be countered by the claim that the pursuit of excellence or safeguarding the future economic well-being of the nation by training young people to meet employment and other needs justifies this course of action, at the expense of equity or economy.

Desired policies may also be abandoned if they threaten the successful implementation of a more important policy. Sir Keith Joseph's proposals for General Certificate of Secondary Education Merit and Distinction certificates met with widespread criticism. His action in not pursuing the scheme, in order to safeguard the introduction of the GCSE, might be interpreted as 'excellence for the élite' giving way to 'higher standards for all'. It could also be argued that, having secured the introduction of the GCSE, it might be possible to achieve the classification of achievements at a later date or in another way.

A person's values do not remain static throughout life. They may become modified by personal experiences and roles held. Anecdotal evidence abounds of the changed perceptions of the 'haves' (e.g. employed adults) when they become 'have nots' (e.g. through redundancy or retirement), or of those converted to a religious or social philosophy of altruism. Hargreaves (1967) showed how pupils' behaviour and their underlying values could be informally modified as a result of peer pressure or role relationships.

More formally, values may be instilled through the socialisation process which constitutes part of professional training. Henkel (1991) points to the emphasis placed by personal social services professionals on individualisation, continuity of personal and social identity and normalisation. Professional ethics govern the 'balance of care and control that reflects the importance of these values' but it might be argued that professional pride causes 'an implicitly greater emphasis [to be placed] on the quality of care than on the quality of life' (Henkel 1991:209). Lacey (1977) found that student teachers need to establish a satisfactory compromise between the new ideas and techniques which they have been encouraged to try during their training and the long-standing norms of the school in which they undertake their teaching practice. When faced with potentially conflicting demands, Waller (1932) found that young teachers take their guidance from conventional sources, 'from the advice of older teachers, the proverbs of the fraternity and the commandments of the principal' (cited by Lacey 1977:49). Recent legislation defines the teacher's role through the stipulation of duties in the Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1987 and influences professional behaviour through the introduction of regular performance appraisal for all teachers, not only those seeking promotion. The importance of this latter initiative as a socializing influence may be seen in a study of American teachers by Edgar and Warren (1969) who found that 'organizational evaluation is a significant factor in professional socialization' (IN: Lacey 1977:47) as new teachers moved towards the views of their evaluators.

Occasionally, there may be a shift from one group of values to another. Teachers or nurses promoted to managerial posts spend progressively less of their time on operational tasks (teaching, nursing) and more on non-operational tasks such as resource allocation, organisation and personnel management. Under such circumstances, loyalty

to (primary) professional values may be complemented or even surpassed by new (secondary) management values. Kogan's observation, that

> the values of government, civil servants and ministers will tend to be instrumental in form because they control complex organisations in which non-operational abstractions have to be made over the whole range of public policies (1974:111),

may equally be applied to professionals who have become managers. This is supported by Henkel (1991), who found that managers' commitment to the efficient running of the services (rather than to their underlying purposes) led to their giving higher priority to organisational values, beliefs in predictability and efficiency, than to the professional, client-based values associated with Welfare State policies.

Henkel (1991) found that professional values focus on the individual's worth, rights and responsibilities rather than those of the system. The professionals' responsibility is to identify and meet client needs, irrespective of the resource implications. In dealing with clients, they seek to protect vulnerable people and safeguard independence and equality of opportunity (SSI mission statement, IN: Henkel 1991:207). The same concern for the individual is reflected in their working patterns. Professionals operate within a recognized, self-regulating framework of codes of practice and staff attitudes. Professional leadership stresses team working rather than a formal hierarchical structure. In contrast, managerial values focus on the system.

> The values by which organisations are driven are not compelling in themselves; they are matters of preference, chosen as consistent with the work and output to be achieved. In effect, both values and people are instrumental (Henkel 1991:200).

The underlying values of efficiency, effectiveness and economy are expressed in operational responsibilities for

> motivating staff, engendering a positive and evaluative approach to outcomes, ensuring staff have adequate training and development programmes, negotiating resources with senior managers and monitoring regularly the work and achievement of the centre (ibid:208).

The accountability structure in turn echoes hierarchical or linear concepts of management. The compatibility between managerial and professional values and the way these are resolved within governing bodies will be considered in Chapter 11.

Chapter 4 - Values and education

Education, depending on the interpretation used, straddles all the value dimensions described above. It targets, and impacts upon, both the individual and society. It can be both an intrinsic good, or basic value (education as individual achievement and the pursuit of excellence) and an instrumental concept or second order value (education as a means of enhancing the social and economic well-being of individuals and of the nation).

The values underlying education policies include raising education standards and promoting excellence; equality; the development of individual potential; the fostering of public welfare and social promotion; and procedural values such as participative governance, consumer choice, effectiveness, efficiency and value for money. They are linked to models of educational provision and a cost-benefit analysis for the individual and for society.

Whilst many of the above values relate to welfare policy in general, Kogan (1991) adds an intrinsic value unique to education: the preservation of the academic core. This concerns the generation and testing of knowledge and the disinterested pursuit of truth. As a result, history or culture are protected from oblivion and opened to analysis and insights; the frontiers of knowledge are advanced and a watermark of good thinking and power of expression is established. Although these activities are usually associated with higher education, it might be argued that this basic value should be kept in mind in determining the objectives of education as a whole, not least so that the necessary skills and attitudes are developed amongst future guardians of the academic core.

The ways in which the values of equality, excellence, freedom, participation and accountability may be interpreted and reflected in policies and implementation are developed in this chapter. Figures 4.1 to 4.5 show how each value relates to associated values and is operationalized through 'enabling devices' on the basis of implicit or explicit criteria. However, just as a policy based on one value might support related values, it could compete with other values and some of these conflicts are also identified.

Equality

Equality as a basic value is widely supported, but interpretations of its meaning and the ways in which it should be reflected in action vary. It is essentially concerned with the allocation of resources and with the access of the individual to these resources.

Educational 'goods' include the number and quality of teaching staff, accommodation, equipment, materials and the level of funding for educational activities and visits. These influence the range and level of curriculum which a school can offer and the extent of individual attention which can be given to each pupil.

Schooling provides the principal means to economic and social success and equality may be measured at three stages of the education cycle: input (or access),

process and outcome. Access relates to the range of curricular provision and the resources which support pupil learning. Where differences between pupils are identified, changes may be made in the process, that is the content and methods of teaching. Given that certain educational qualifications, by discipline and by level, are more highly regarded than others (Boudon 1973, Jencks 1972), educational equality may be seen in terms of outcome, that is, an individual's success in securing high-status qualifications. The stress placed on access is underlined by Harold Silver who claims that

> for most of this century the discussion of education in relation to such concepts as 'equality', 'equality of opportunity' 'democracy' or 'social justice' has focussed on the *structure* of the educational system, and *access* by children from different social groups to its different component parts (in Halsey, Heath and Ridge 1980:3, original italics).

Figure 4.1: EQUALITY

Associated values	Enabling devices	Criteria
equity social justice redistributive justice	universalism pluralism selection	equity need merit

Associated values

A number of concepts are closely linked with equality, such as equity, social justice and redistributive justice.

Equity, in the context of public services, consists of giving each individual an equivalent share of social 'goods'. However, Secada (1989a) claims that even where actions are in accord with a set of rules, the results may be unjust. He argues that differences between groups are interpreted to demonstrate the existence of inequality and that 'equality, therefore, is defined implicitly as the absence of those differences' (1989a:69). The definition of an equivalent share of social goods might be quantitatively equal provision, in terms of access. This accords with Levacic's horizontal equity, the principle that each individual or institution in like circumstances should receive the same treatment and therefore implies that each student should benefit from the same amount of public expenditure (Levacic 1989c).

She contrasts this with vertical equity, a pluralist model within which individuals (and institutions) with different characteristics are treated in ways which take account of and compensate for such differences [see also Musgrave and Musgrave 1985]. Vertical equity justifies differences in per capita education expenditure if they result from differences in the characteristics of students which are judged to require differences in per capita expenditure in order for all students to reach a common minimal level of attainment. This latter interpretation is similar to the principle of social justice, which makes allowances for individual differences (be they social, intellectual, physical) by allocating individuals to groups according to objective, relevant criteria. Those within a given group receive identical treatment, whilst the different groups are treated differentially to suit their specific requirements (Moore 1982). Rawls takes it one step further, proposing the redistribution of social and economic goods in such a way that they are to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged and that any inequalities of opportunity for office or position benefit those with the lesser opportunity (IN: O'Hear

1985:286). In contrast, insofar as resources might be allocated on the basis of maintaining a social order which includes a ruling class, within a pluralist model, special provision could be made for an academic élite.

Enabling devices

The enabling devices used to promote 'equality' at each of these stages are universalism, pluralism and selection for positive discrimination. Educational structures, in terms of institutional type or of curriculum programmes, fall broadly into two categories. A universal system makes a single type of provision for all pupils and a pluralist system, admits individuals to different types of school or curricula on the basis of specified selection criteria e.g. need or merit. A pluralist system may make special provision for 'ordinary' schools and pupils and for 'special' schools and pupils. A selective system, which makes additional provision for 'élite' pupils whose school or curriculum enjoys higher status than other types, may form a separate category within a pluralist system.

The soft interpretation of equality, equality of opportunity, calls for access by all to the best quality education. This was the interpretation shared by the supporters of comprehensive schools. Boudon (1973) sees undifferentiated education (or horizontal equity) as a solution to overcoming social inequalities. For Mary Warnock, inequality lies not in the existence of different school types, but in the criteria which govern differences in provision:

> what is objectionable in educational practice is not there existing different kinds of education, but there being some people who are debarred from one kind or another (Warnock 1973:120).

Jencks, however, argues for differentiated provision or vertical equity, on the basis that individual abilities and previous experience result in clear winners and losers.

> Because successful parents will try to pass on their advantages to their children ... inequality among parents guarantees some degree of inequality in the opportunities available to children (Jencks 1972:4).

Pluralist provision may serve the individual in one of three ways. Compensatory provision seeks to 'top up' the child's existing abilities and strengths. It focuses on process and aims to provide individual children with such support as is necessary (and no more) to enable them to learn alongside their peers in the undifferentiated world of the 'ordinary' classroom.

The second alternative, positive discrimination, is at the hard end of the equality spectrum. It involves a deliberate strategy to improve the position of the socio-economically disadvantaged, not merely to a position of parity, but beyond. Secada (1989a), following Rawls (1971), makes distinctions not solely on criteria of access and provision, but considers the outcome in terms of employment opportunities open to individuals or groups on completion of their education. He argues that disparities at this point represent an injustice in the educational system's distribution of its goods and points to the over-representation of Chinese students in mathematics and pure science courses as an example of an attempt to insure against employment discrimination. From this, he asserts that equality requires underprivileged groups to be over-compensated in terms of education so as to overcome social and other disadvantages.

The third alternative selects the élite for special provision in order to achieve specific objectives of excellence or social planning.

Criteria

Where differentiated provision is to be made, the criteria for inclusion or exclusion must be established. Here again, views differ about fair and appropriate criteria. One common criterion for compensatory provision is that of need, but the analysis of needs raises further questions. Who defines needs? Different definitions might be produced by the political paymaster, the professional provider and the proposed recipient of the service.

Bradshaw (1972) divides needs into four main categories: normative need, felt need, expressed need and comparative need. Normative need is that which is deemed desirable in comparison with what exists to meet assessed standards of achievement or activity. The identification is carried out by those outside the proposed client group i.e. professional service providers or other interest groups such as parents or employers. The definition assumes that a minimum standard is satisfactory for all and does not allow for additional provision to enable some to achieve higher standards. Given that the definition is value-based, there may be variations between groups or even between individuals within a group.

The second category, felt need, is that which the client wants but which is not carried through into expression of demand. Being unexpressed, the range and depth of felt needs are the most difficult to assess. Thirdly, Bradshaw identifies expressed need as 'felt need turned into action' i.e. expressed as demands for services or goods. This is influenced by the clients' perception of what is available and it is sometimes found that the provision of a service (e.g. telephones, advanced surgical techniques) stimulates unexpected levels of demand.

Finally, comparative need compares the characteristics of one group or individual, in receipt of a service, with characteristics of another group or individual not in receipt of the service. The latter group is said to be 'in need'. Differences which may be attributed to the provision of a given service help determine the desirability of prescribing the service for a greater number. Bradshaw sees policy-makers as determining 'real need' in the light of the above four categories. Whitaker and Packwood (1987) have labelled as 'legitimate need' that which policy-makers are prepared to consider as deserving of provision. Most expressions of need fall into more than one category, thus normative need may include elements of both expressed and comparative need and Thayer (1973) points out that all approaches of needs identification include normative elements.

Warnock (1975) recognizes a right to 'needed education'. She does not accept an automatic entitlement to 'desired education', but the basis of her distinction is not clear. Both 'needed education' and 'desired education' may be assessed in normative or comparative terms. In the report which bears her name (1978) educational needs were expressed in normative terms, that is, characteristics which prevented an individual from benefiting from the level of education provided in an ordinary classroom. Such educational needs may arise from learning, psychological or behavioural difficulties or from physical handicaps. The criteria on which needs are based vary, and become increasingly complex, according to the purpose to which they are linked. In educational terms, the objective might include enabling a disabled person to live and work within a protected environment, acquiring the vocational and social skills necessary for an independent adult, and developing the knowledge and skills to play a managerial or entrepreneurial role in society. Clearly, if everyone is to achieve all of these objectives, considerably higher levels of support will be required for some individuals than for others.

A contrasting criterion for selection is merit or desert. This criterion is generally applied to control access to certain forms of education, commonly perceived as prestigious and élitist, on the basis of achievement which is usually, but not necessarily, academic. The traditional élitist principle isolates the intellectually gifted with a view to preparing them for their future role as leaders. This may be variously interpreted as an entitlement (deriving from their potential), as a reward 'earned' by ability and effort or as a functional necessity to secure a suitable education for specified groups. Bourdieu (cited by Halsey, Heath and Ridge 1980:7) contests this view, claiming that educational success depends on ability and effort, but also on a cultural affinity with the school system. He argues that the ones who can receive what the school [ostensibly impartially] hands out are those already [unequally] endowed with cultural capital. Hence economic and cultural capital enable powerful groups to use education to maintain their position and to reinforce inequalities.

Implications

The difficulties which face those seeking equality are considerable. The implementation of an 'educational justice model' would, according to Moore, 'be consistent with, indeed imply, the provision of special classes ... with all the institutional paraphernalia of grades, testing, selection, streaming and setting' (1982:120), which may in turn affect the sense of self-worth and motivation of the child. He goes on to argue that equality of outcome in education is neither possible in practice nor desirable. Because children differ in their abilities and expectations, it would be necessary to fix the norm of achievement low enough to allow everyone to meet it and then to make sure that those who could do better were not allowed to do so. Therefore, he claims,

> the provision of education is to be judged, not by the extent to which it promotes equality or equal opportunity, but by the extent to which it deals with children fairly in what it has to offer them (Moore 1982:122).

Educational structures and the allocation of resources are affected by these competing values and by others. The creation of different types of school, or of different curricular options and qualifications within schools, may follow from the desire to allow for compensatory or élitist discrimination. Alternatively, as will be seen in later chapters, the purpose may be to give parents (and their children) greater choice in an open market environment.

Competing values

Depending on the interpretation, the objective of equality may conflict with those of freedom and excellence or with the procedural values of economy and efficiency. Indeed, Apple (1989) citing Anderson (1985), claims that equality has become redefined by the Conservative Government so that it is now simply a case of guaranteeing individual choice under the conditions of a 'free market'.

Excellence

Excellence is concerned with the measurement and accreditation of performance either as an end in itself or a means towards achieving another, frequently social or economic, objective. Educational excellence tends to be defined in terms of pure rather than applied learning due to 'the conservatism of the English that has led to a

continuously-reinforced academically-skewed culture' (Cunningham 1989:130). At its highest level, excellence is an open-ended objective, associated with intrinsic learning, the disinterested pursuit of truth, the advancement of the frontiers of knowledge and provision of fresh insights into existing knowledge (Kogan 1991). At school level, it is an élitist target, based on a preconceived notion of specialist knowledge and competence and its achievement is a means of securing access to higher education or to desired employment.

Figure 4:2 : EXCELLENCE

Associated values	Enabling devices	Criteria
worth of the individual standards effectiveness	selection differentiated provision	achievement: - examination performance - other

Associated values

The constituent elements of educational achievement concern the nature (knowledge, skills, attributes), the level of mastery (depth) and the range (breadth) of learning which characterize an educated person. Thus excellence is linked with the worth and development of the individual, the worthwhileness of knowledge and the effectiveness of the education process. In this last sense, excellence tends to be subsumed under 'standards' which are conceptually associated with specific ideals (scholarship, academic excellence) and empirically associated with schools which instantiate these (the better public and grammar schools) (Wilson 1977). Issues of educational standards, and their improvement, are usually expressed in relation to inclusive, universal provision.

> What we mean when we talk about raising standards in education is raising the standards of achievement for all, raising the standards of literacy and numeracy, raising the quantity and quality of mathematicians, scientists and linguists, raising the standard of behaviour and discipline on our schools (Mark Carlisle 1979 Party Conference, cited by Knight 1990:142).

The values underlying the effectiveness dimension are closely linked to procedural values such as accountability and public burden insofar as 'standards' are taken to reflect individual, professional and political performance.

Enabling devices

The procedures adopted to raise standards of educational achievement (e.g. selection, differentiated provision) in their turn reflect and support different values (élitism, compensation) and different views of human motivation (reward, competition). If the objective is to encourage a limited number of individuals to achieve high levels of excellence, then the forms of education provided and the criteria of access tend to stress stringent selection and competition between learners. If the concern is rather with the achievement of an acceptable standard by most or all of the learners, education may still be differentiated but the emphasis will be on compensation for educational disadvantage and collaborative learning styles will be encouraged. Under these circumstances, rapid learners would be expected to help slower learners rather than pursuing their own goals.

Criteria

The criterion used to measure excellence, and its derivative standards, is achievement. This may include social, sporting and cultural achievement (for example through Records of Achievement) but the emphasis is predominantly placed on academic achievement, usually measured through examinations.

Those who believe that competition serves as a stimulus to performance, or who feel that only high achievement should be rewarded, opt for clear distinctions between pass and fail grades on the basis of norm-referenced criteria which compare individual performances with all those being tested. Thus the performance of others, as well as his or her own, determines an individual's position and grade and, however high the overall standard of achievement, some are doomed to fail. This process is élitist in that it selects out 'the best candidates' and shows little concern for those who fail to make the grade. It could be argued that motivation of the best is achieved at the expense of the demotivation of others.

Those who seek to stimulate learning by reinforcing positive behaviour and by charting individuals' improvement compared with their own previous performance, choose criterion-referenced assessment which relates individual performance to objective targets of achievement. The assessment may provide graded results, but no pass/fail line. Criterion-referenced assessment is universalistic in that the participation of others in the examination has no bearing on the individual's grade and there is no limit to the number of individuals who may achieve a given grade. By recording achievement, this form of assessment seeks to motivate all pupils to raise their individual standards.

With reference to educational institutions, in addition to pupils' results in Standard Assessment Tasks [see Chapter 11] and public examinations, standards are to be formally measured in terms of their success in securing regular attendance by pupils and in increasing the proportion of pupils choosing to remain in full-time education after the age of 16. Informal measures include perceptions of school discipline, the range of curricular and extra-curricular activities and the school's policy on uniform.

Implications

Insofar as access to different forms of education (e.g. selective schools, the Assisted Places Scheme) is determined by performance at a given point, the process can result in a self-fulfilling prophecy. Thus children who have done well in academic tests may be provided with education to enable them to do even better in future tests, whilst those who have failed may receive no further help on the basis that they are not suited to this type of activity. The significance of this course of action is that academic achievements are seen as an indication of overall ability and access to employment, even where other competences are more relevant, is frequently based on academic results. In this way, pursuit of excellence for the few may, at the very least, lead to perceptions of low standards for the rest.

It has been argued (Jencks 1972, Secada 1989a) that those children who benefit from cultural or economic advantages at home start with an advantage which, unless compensatory measures are taken, is reinforced by the system.

Competing values

The provision of selective education to enable the élite to achieve high standards competes with the values of economy (and reduced public burden) and of market forces. There is some evidence to suggest that pupils at independent schools do not achieve better results as compared with pupils of equal ability in maintained schools (Audit Commission 1992) which might indicate that the resources allocated to the Assisted Places Scheme are not cost-effectively used. Secondly, the income guaranteed by the scheme protects the participating independent schools from the full rigours of a free market.

Freedom

Freedom, or liberty, is another value which secures almost universal support, although definitions differ. Goodwin informs us that 'when liberty is discussed in political philosophy what is referred to is not so much the individual's capacity for freedom as his or her 'objective' freedom, defined as freedom from coercion and freedom in terms of opportunities' (Goodwin 1982:233). Berlin distinguishes between negative liberty (freedom from interference) and positive liberty 'the freedom which consists in being one's own master'. Goodwin redefines these as rights and opportunities. Among the rights are freedom of thought, speech and worship, freedom to own property or sell one's labour and freedom from want and oppression. The broadest of the opportunities is controlling one's fate through self-government. This interpretation highlights the links between freedom, democracy and equality.

Figure 4.3: FREEDOM

Associated values	Enabling devices	Criteria
individualism choice	free market system privatization voucher schemes	variety access unmet demands quality

Associated values

Freedom is linked to the values of the rights and worth of the individual and the exercise of choice. When freedom is exercised through choice, values of public burden, responsibility and responsiveness also come into play [see below]. Freedom is a value which is sought both at individual and societal level. Thus whilst individuals talk of freedom to pursue self-development and self-realisation, the current anti-communist revolution shows nations striving for self-determination.

The most significant point about freedom within a society, and by extension in the context of public services, is the fact that it is relative: the exercise of one individual's freedom may correspondingly restrict that of others. This also applies at a collective level and thus some individual freedoms may be (voluntarily or compulsorily) restricted in the interests of a 'free' society. Examples are taxation to secure national security and internal law and order.

Enabling devices

The operation of freedom is through choice. The main enabling devices within the public services are a free market system (to promote supply), privatization and voucher schemes. An individual's entitlement to public services has, in the past, been granted through access, governed by criteria of need [*see Bradshaw's typology above*], merit or even geographical location. The market principle introduces choice between services from different providers, who may be public or private. Access to the latter generally depends on the ability to pay. One extension of the market principle is the 'privatization' of certain public services either to the private sector (e.g. BT, the utilities) or through the creation of contractual relationships between the state and individual providers e.g. grant-maintained schools and hospital trusts. The latter model enables individuals to choose between a number of public sector providers in addition to the private sector.

The furthest extension of the market principle is the voucher system, whereby individuals have a cash entitlement which they may use to pay for services provided in the public or private sector. Where the cash entitlement falls short of the charge, the individual will need to supplement this from personal resources.

Criteria

The criteria which govern freedom of choice are measured in terms of quantity (availability, variety and access to services, including the way in which unmet demands are addressed) and quality (health and safety aspects and responsiveness to consumer demand). The reverse of choice is unmet need and those who are unable to exercise their right to choose - as a result of economic, political or social constraints - may be said to have their freedom curtailed. Aspects of responsibility, responsiveness and consumer demand are discussed under accountability later in this chapter.

Implications

There is no lack of demand within the welfare services. Henkel indicates

> rising individual and collective expectations ... in part the fault of politicians competing
> for power and using lavish promises to as many sections of the electorate as possible.
> Supply is at present still overwhelmingly by the state and alternative provision depends
> on ability to pay (1991:11).

Thus, choices must be made as to who has access to public services and how such access is to be regulated. The management of public services is now increasingly defined in market terms. Market approaches to public management are strongly associated with values of individualism (Metcalfe and Richards 1990) and provide a framework of strong managers interacting with stronger customers or consumers (Henkel 1991).

The market's operational assumptions are concerned with exchange, not altruism, with today's customers, not tomorrow's potential customers, and with the implication that values must be set by customers rather than goal setters (Kogan 1991). These have implications for variety, affordability, access and unmet demands, which bring conflicting values into play.

Education differs from other marketable commodities because legislation makes compulsory both 'consumption' by those of statutory school age and payment, through the central and local taxes which fund the public services (Drucker 1989). Education

consumers cannot withdraw from the market. They must choose between the services which they already subsidize or buy alternative services in the private sector. The restrictions which characterize the parent-school relationship constitute, in the words of Wachter and Williamson (1978)

> an 'obligational market' which binds customers and suppliers in complex long-term relationships of interdependence; 'buyers who become dissatisfied with suppliers cannot easily relieve the situation by turning to alternative sources of supply' (quoted by Metcalfe and Richards 1990:168).

In education, the definition of the consumer is unclear. Is it the person receiving education, the future employer of educated manpower or, at the broadest level, the society within which educated persons live? The fact that the majority of the 'receivers' of education are minors adds to the difficulty, not because they have no rights as individuals, but because they have no legal status to pursue these rights and depend on others, who may have different expectations, to claim on their behalf. It is parents who exercise their right to choose a school for their child and who must support this choice by securing transport if the school is beyond reasonable walking distance, or by paying any necessary fees in the case of independent education. Children whose parents fail to make a positive choice may be said to have their freedom curtailed.

With respect to individual pupils, the exercise of choice through market forces may also result in schools' paying disproportionate attention to assessment-oriented aims (Taylor 1978), the measurable, visible targets such as examination results and uniform, at the expense of developing pupils' personal characteristics such as confidence, consideration for others and perseverance, which are difficult to quantify. If the publication of league tables of examination success rates becomes the basis for parental choice, schools may be reluctant to enter borderline students for examinations and the needs of the least able and the most able may suffer as the school strives to achieve acceptable pass marks for the majority.

More generally, success in the market-place requires schools to respond flexibly to the demands of today's customers. However, the framework of collective responsibility and public planning, and the educational process with its associated relationships are linked to a time-scale which does not lend itself to rapid change. In qualitative terms, Kogan (1991) points to the need for continuity and protection from episodic demands on institutions, to maintain good teaching and research. By extension, the wider curriculum, the ethos of the school, staff-pupil relationships, pastoral care and links with the community are equally vulnerable to the fluctuations of short term priorities.

Competing values

The assumptions underlying choice determine the balance drawn between individual freedom on the one hand and social planning and value for money on the other. The exercise of choice by some can reduce the choice of others, for example when insufficient parents choose to send their child to the 'neighbourhood school' to safeguard its viability, those children already at the school, as well as prospective pupils, suffer a reduction in the number of choices open to them. As Sallis puts it:

> every act of choice in education changes the school which is chosen, and the one which is not chosen, so that you are not just securing something good for your child but also making it harder for those who are working hard to make something better for the others (Sallis 1988:20).

Whilst the allocation of pupils to schools by LEAs would curtail parental (and therefore the child's) choice, it might result in more efficient use of resources, by rationalizing school places and reducing the time and cost incurred by pupils travelling to a more distant school. Moreover, it might promote more effective planning with provision based on predictable pupil numbers rather than post-hoc reaction to parental choices which, in turn, could contribute to improvements in overall standards and individual excellence.

Finally, how does the market ensure fair treatment and deal with unmet needs? Patten states that:

> one of the obligations placed on individuals, and also placed on the State, is that expectations which have been legitimized by explicit permission or by explicit consent should not be disappointed (1983:9).

By implication, the state which imposes statutory education to be paid for from the public purse has an ascribed responsibility, through such education, to furnish qualified manpower to serve the needs of the economy on the one hand, and to ensure the protection and transmission of the cultures and histories of its people on the other. Market response to immediate, commercially viable, demands may fail to meet these objectives. If responsibility for the service is shared between statutory and voluntary providers, who acts as guarantor for a 'satisfactory service'? As Henkel reminds us

> structures for the pursuit of rights, in so far as they are addressed, are those of law, complaints procedures and contracts creating possibilities for individual action and redress. (1991:209-10)

Although contracts and charters are becoming a characteristic of public and private services, as later chapters will show, there is a mismatch between levels of authority and responsibility and it remains to be seen whether threats of legal action will safeguard educational quality.

Participation

Participation is a second order, procedural value. By the selective involvement of individuals in policy-making and resource distribution, it affects both those individuals and the community as a whole. As has already been discussed, individuals and groups may hold or espouse different values, or different interpretations of these values, in relation to specific issues. Democratic participation seeks to reconcile these potentially conflicting values by means of a process which, ideally, allows them to be expressed and conflict to be resolved so as to achieve a decision which is acceptable to all.

Figure 4.4: PARTICIPATION

Associated values	Enabling devices	Criteria
rights of the individual communality democracy social order	information consultation representation decision-making	élitist pluralist universal

Associated values

Kogan (1986) identifies the values underlying participative models of policy-making as expressiveness on behalf of those affected by decision-making. When linked to partnership, participative models also imply communitarian values, which defy the inequality implied by the working of professional élites. Insofar as participation unites individual interests to support the politically legitimated authority, it contributes to the exercise of democratic government and the maintenance of social order.

Enabling devices

The enabling devices to promote participation include information, consultation, representation (in the deliberations) and decision-making (i.e. influencing the decision by voting or otherwise). At the minimal level, information may be restricted to informing the public of a decision which has been made and the way in which they are required to respond (e.g. rates demands). At the other end of the spectrum, information may present the issue, the context, any emerging proposals for action and their likely implications. Consultation occurs when such full information is accompanied by a specific invitation to participate e.g. by responding to a discussion paper or by attending a meeting. Clearly, responses vary and may even conflict so that some will see their proposals apparently 'ignored'. However, this does not invalidate the process. The operationalization of participation by means of these devices assumes a linear-rational model of decision-making.

Linear-rational models of decision-making

In linear-rational or closed-systems models of decision-making, unambiguous objectives are established, action upon them flows in predictable ways through established implementation structures, outcomes are monitored against them and objectives may, in consequence, be reformulated (Henkel 1991). Even where access to the process is available to all, the quality of participation may be affected by the stage at which individuals or groups are involved, by the nature of their involvement and by the weight given to their contribution in the final decision.

In his description of local government policy-making, Jennings (1977) describes six key stages or tasks which characterize the rational decision-making model: initiation, reformulation of opinion, emergence of alternatives, discussion and debate, legitimation and implementation. Implicit within this cycle are the need to identify specific needs and targets, to allocate resources and, where the demand exceeds available resources, to determine priorities between competing claims and, following implementation, evaluation. The nature of involvement is also significant in affecting the degree of influence which individuals or groups can exercise over a decision and those who are involved in the earliest stages have the greatest opportunity to influence the outcome. For example, in the context of provision for the under-fives, compare the choices open to those who are informed that the the authority has decided to make day-care provision and are asked to comment on the most appropriate location (Jennings' implementation stage), with the choices available to individuals who are invited to consider the best form of provision for under-fives (reformulation of opinion and emergence of alternatives stages). The latter group has scope to consider the desirability and implications of local authority crèches, subsidies for work-place crèches, grants to parents to take up places in private crèches, nursery classes or, alternatively, making no provision at all. The preceding stage (Jennings' initiation) focuses attention on the need to address an issue and may

follow directly from the evaluation phase, by pointing to outstanding gaps or weaknesses in provision and thus restarting the cycle.

Representation goes one stage further by allowing an individual or a representative of a group to participate in the deliberations and negotiations which precede the taking of a decision. This is obviously a stronger position as arguments can be tailored to respond to points already made by other participants in the process and thereby sway the opinion of the decision-makers present. The final stage is that of having a vote or say in the decision-making itself. It should be remembered that participation in the democratic process does not guarantee victory for the individual's preferred policy if this does not coincide with the majority view. It merely provides an opportunity to state a case and, by argument, to influence the other voters.

Alternative models of decision-making

Not all decision-making follows the rational model. Archer (1985:50) points to decision-making on the basis of alliances or exchanges rather than solutions, whereby a political or interest group lends its support to secure a particular outcome in return for resources of various kinds, including support, on a separate occasion. An even less structured vision is outlined by Cohen and March, whose 'garbage can' model interprets organizations as 'a collection of choices looking for problems, issues and feelings looking for decision situations in which they might be aired, solutions looking for issues to which they might be the answer, and decision-makers looking for work' (1989:111). These and other models do not invalidate the proposition that participation is essential for influence or, phrased more popularly 'you have to be in it to win it.' However, it is difficult for public service authorities to build opportunities for participation into an unstructured model.

Criteria

The criteria governing participation may be élitist, pluralist or universal in that access to the decision-making process may be restricted to a single group or to a number of groups or made open to all. Examples in the political context are the House of Lords (membership by nomination or inheritance), the House of Commons (membership by election, open to all) and universal adult suffrage. The fact that, in practice, not all those entitled to participate do so - witness the relatively low proportions voting in local council elections - does not undermine the general assumption that legislation passed by a democratically elected government will be respected. In practice, a democratic majority does not obviate the overriding importance of securing support for individual legislation by a critical mass - measured either in terms of numbers or of weight of influence or power - to enable it to be implemented. Where such acceptance is lacking, resistance to the policy or even social disorder may result. One recent example is the community charge legislation, which has been repealed on the grounds that the tax is uncollectable.

Implications

Kogan gives an example of how participation may be applied to the educational context:

> 'participation' may mean that parents should govern the school, or that they should have the right to criticize the teachers who retain control over the school, or that teachers should be governors and thus modify the clients' ability to criticize. Or it can be construed

traditionally as the right to elect and dismiss councillors who might not pay much heed to the views of parents and teachers (1985:22).

Values of pluralist government and free-market consumerism are evident in the growing demands for wider participation in decision-making and for professional and political accountability. One explanation for the increasing calls for parental participation in decisions governing their children's schooling is given by Boudon. He remarks that awareness of the influence of educational attainment on status has led parents to exercise control over their children's future by acquiring control over schools and curricula, so that they may be better adjusted to the aptitudes, attitudes and expectations of youngsters as perceived by their families (Boudon 1973).

McGee argues that, with the avowed intention of raising the level of service and increasing consumer choice,

> much of the Government's approach to local government over the last 12 years has been based on consumerism within the framework of a free market. The four basic tenets of consumerism are the right to know, the right to choose, the right to safety and the right to redress. The 1980 and 1988 Act emphasized parents' right to know and choose. Safety is generally ensured by inspection and the complaints procedure. There is no right of redress although the early version of the Citizen's Charter states that in some cases an apology will not be enough (McGee 1991).

Evetts (1973) points to a relationship between the perception of education and the means of its management and funding. If education is perceived as a social service, she argues, it may reasonably be provided subject to central direction and funding. If, on the other hand, it is a consumer item, then it needs to be responsive to the demands of those that fund it. Such responses may be made formally through different channels of accountability or direct to the consumers through the free market. Further implications of consumerism for the education service are discussed below and in Section 4.

Competing values

The promotion of wider involvement in decision-making processes gives rise to considerable costs (provision of information, facilities for consultation and representation) without a demonstrable return or a predictable outcome. The delegation of decision-making to individual schools under LMS is a logical extension of participation, but it has generated an ongoing need for governor training, as governors retire and are replaced by others. Annual funding allied with open enrolment make it difficult for the governing body to engage in efficient long-term planning and use of resources. Particularly when the outcomes do not coincide with the values or interests of those involved, competing values may be voiced in appeals for 'rational' and 'efficient' decision-making processes based on professional judgement.

Accountability

Accountability is a procedural value concerned with justification of the use of resources in relation to expected outcomes, overt or unvoiced, which may vary between individuals or groups and even over time. Definitions are wide-ranging, incorporating related concepts such as responsibility and responsiveness, but accountability must address the questions of who is accountable, to whom and for what.

Becher et al (1981) define two areas of accountability: problem solving and maintenance. The former comprises the detection and remedy of weaknesses, rapid response to short-term difficulties. Maintenance is a long-term responsibility for the preservation and enhancement of the overall quality of the organisation.

Figure 4.5: ACCOUNTABILITY

Associated values	Enabling devices	Criteria
communality public burden value for money	public control	efficiency economy
individualism responsibility	professional accountability	effectiveness
responsiveness	consumerist control	consumer satisfaction

Associated values

In the context of welfare services, accountability is linked to public burden and communitarian values, seeking a balance between the weight given to the respective claims of tax/charge payers and individual claimants; the need to sustain economic growth by reducing public borrowing and investing public funds in economic regeneration; and the importance of maintaining public order and social stability (Henkel 1991). In relation to the individual, accountability is linked to values of individualism, responsibility and responsiveness. There is a considerable overlap with some of the values underpinning participation and its enabling devices [*see above*].

Enabling devices

Kogan (1986) defines three main models of accountability: public or state control, professional control and consumerist control (which is further divided into partnership or market mechanisms).

Public control accountability

Public control accountability is the duty to render an account of work performed to a body that has authority to modify that performance by the use of sanction and reward or

> a condition in which individual role holders are liable to review and the application of sanctions if their actions fail to satisfy those with whom they are in an accountability relationship (Kogan 1986:25).

It is characterized by a managerial hierarchy, although this may be complemented by collegial or matrix management structures. This definition is similar to bureaucratic accountability (Jacques 1976), contractual accountability (Becher et al 1981) or legal obligation to render account to one's employers or to someone in authority in accordance with an employment contract which defines the roles and duties associated with the post and which in turn form the criteria against which the individual's performance will be measured.

Warnock (1975) simply refers to a formal relationship between one institution and another institution which has legal or quasi legal authority over it.

Professional accountability

This model combines professional self-control with responsiveness to clients [*see also Becher et al 1981*]. Sallis describes teachers' professional accountability as 'their solemn feeling of responsibility, their care and seriousness, their desire to put children first and to protect them against their many enemies' (Sallis 1988:25). Warnock (1975) speaks of the responsibility which an institution feels it owes to those it affects, but where those affected do not directly or indirectly exercise authority over it. Sockett (1980) restricts the scope of accountability to that which is within the individual's or the organization's control. Thus he seeks to specify the constitutional relationships which would make free-standing professionals contractually committed to ethical practice. He argues that, since the school merely brings together a group of teachers, it is individual teachers who should be held accountable. However, his list of those to whom teachers are 'accountable' is so wide-ranging that it is impossible to apply a single definition of accountability to all the relationships. He holds teachers accountable to individual pupils and parents; to pupils and parents as part of community; to their employers, i.e. the local education authority or school governing body; to those who fund education, i.e. the LEA and central government; to their professional peers; to other educational institutions to which their pupils might transfer; to the public; and to industry, including trade unions. The difficulty of responding to such multi-facetted demands has been compared to that faced by 'a chameleon on a tartan' (Sallis 1988:25).

Consumerist control accountability

Kogan divides consumerist control into two categories: partnership and the market model. It is here that we might find Becher's (1981) moral accountability, being answerable for one's actions to those who are affected by them, and Sallis's

> requirement to have one's work tested, debated and judged within some more or less
> formal structure. Success may not be rewarded or failure punished, but there is an
> obligation to give reasons for action, to review outcomes and to submit to judgement on
> the performance, in all the circumstances, of the task which one accepts as one's own
> (Sallis 1988:25).

Joan Sallis argues for a relationship where the consumer (i.e. the parent) collaborates equally with the professional. She further defines three essential components of accountability within an equal partnership as consensus about objectives; an exchange of information on methods, their implications and limitations; and an open discussion of respective responsibilities and the success of what has been achieved. Finally, she draws attention to the importance of the rights of individual parents and not just that minority whose confidence is greater than their fellows' (cited by Kogan 1986:50).

The market model would transfer control over schooling from public authorities to parents through market competition, modified privatization or voucher schemes. It would involve competition between schools as suppliers and between individual parents as consumers.

Criteria

The measurement of accountability commonly involves means such as performance indicators, cost-benefit analyses, contracts and charters. There are numerous criteria, some related to performance and some to outcome. In some cases, expectations may be relative rather than absolute. For example in medical care, an improvement may be

acceptable in the absence of a total cure. Performance criteria may consider absolute cost (economy), cost in relation to benefit (efficiency) and actual as compared with planned outcomes (effectiveness). The first two are commonly embraced by the term 'value for money' whilst the last is closely related to client satisfaction. Value for money is concerned with the measurement of the performance of a system rather than an individual. Metcalfe and Richards describe it as

> a rhetorical link between techniques and objectives of a particular kind ... [it] flourishes in periods of economic restraint and puts a heavier emphasis on efficiency and economy than on effectiveness. A market approach, where recipients of services have to pay ... and suppliers have to price ... in relation to costs, possibly under pressure from competitors, offers a way of encouraging more critical evaluation of what is needed on the demand side and what is provided on the supply side (Metcalfe and Richards 1990:161-2).

They show economy, efficiency and effectiveness as dimensions of actual and planned inputs and outputs [*see Figure 4.6*].

Figure 4.6:   RELATIONSHIPS OF ECONOMY, EFFICIENCY AND EFFECTIVENESS
TO INPUTS AND OUTPUTS
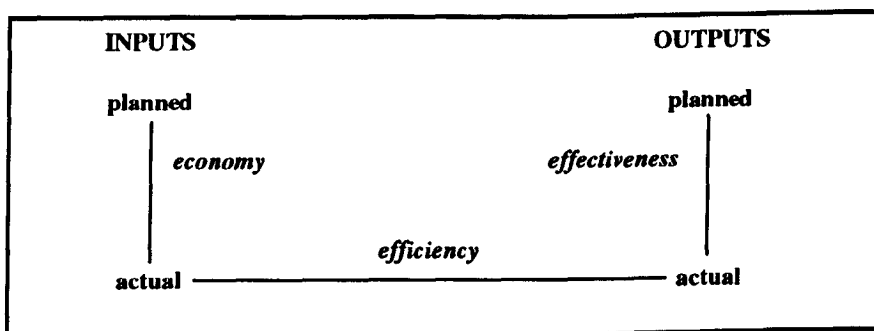
Economy concentrates exclusively on *inputs* rather than on the process or product. It compares planned with actual inputs in terms of effort, resources or time. The danger of a single-dimension evaluation, without consideration of the objective or the quality of a service, is that resources could be wasted: a poorly-targeted, poorly-delivered service is a false economy.

Efficiency compares actual inputs with reference to actual outputs. It is a measure of the extent to which objectives are achieved with the least waste of effort and resources, or the ratio between the measured outcomes of a programme and the inputs used to produce those outcomes. It may be measured in physical units (e.g. teaching hours per examination pass) or in cash terms. An efficient programme is one that uses the least resources to achieve a given outcome, but it will not be effective if it fails to achieve the outcomes that are desired (Levacic 1989c). The emphasis is on the *process* and not on the objectives, nor on the criteria and procedures used to set them. If prescribed attainment targets, however narrowly defined, are achieved by the appropriate key stage within specified resource limits, then the education provided may be termed efficient. Fay (1975) points out that efficiency itself is not a value-free term and in choosing the most efficient means 'one would be forced to enquire efficient in terms of what? - monetary cost? human labour? suffering? ... time?' (1975:50)

Effectiveness relates exclusively to 'how well a programme or activity is achieving its established goals or other intended effects' (Audit Commission 1984a) without questioning the worthwhileness of such objectives. The measurement of effectiveness presupposes agreement on a desired and feasible objective. Effectiveness can be assessed as the difference between the intended outcomes or targets (often called performance indicators) and the actual *outcomes* achieved.

Thus economy and efficiency have a resource dimension, whilst effectiveness focuses on targets set and achieved, irrespective of inputs. Levacic (1989c) argues that efficiency is required as a separate criterion because effectiveness by itself takes no account of the value of the resources consumed in achieving the operational objectives. An efficient and effective programme is one where the objectives are achieved with the least possible use of resources. Drucker (1989) identifies disadvantages and inconsistencies between the individual components. Some individuals or organisations are very efficient but they tend not to do the right things, and are therefore ineffective. Efficiency and cost control are not virtues if they lead to underspend, as this implies that the budget for the next fiscal year can safely be cut. Effectiveness is hereby endangered, he argues, because the questioning of goals will result in controversy and alienate support.

Effectiveness and efficiency are politically determined objectives and are usually expressed in broad and qualitative terms. An example is the government's objectives for education, set out in HM Treasury's expenditure plans for 1988-89.

The Government's principal aims for schools are to improve standards of achievement for all pupils across the curriculum, to widen the choice available to parents for the education of their children and to enable schools to respond effectively to what parents and the community require of them, thus securing the best possible return from the substantial investment of resources (HM Treasury 1988)

Value for money and its constituent concepts are procedural values but Henkel points to 'vigorous attempts ... to establish economy, efficiency, value for money, effectiveness and performance as incontestable values, essential to the sustainment of political order' (1991:12). These concepts and the way in which they gained prominence in Conservative policy-making are discussed further in Section 3. The consequences for professional discretion of the shift from trust to contract are discussed in Section 5.

Implications

A perceived need to specify what was previously taken on trust indicates a loss of confidence in professionals. This is evident at two levels. First, in the replacement of trust by charters such as those drawn up by banks, privatized utilities and by the government on behalf of the inland revenue, schools and other public services. Second, in the replacement of professional discretion by employment contracts for teachers and also between government agencies and individual suppliers such as hospitals and doctors.

Competing values

Accountability conflicts most clearly with the value of professional discretion because other values take precedence over what is professionally identified as the individual's needs and the best means of meeting those needs. However, as has been discussed, there is a series of internal conflicts between the associated values of economy, efficiency and

effectiveness and there is also potential conflict between consumer satisfaction and the other three values, for whilst the expectations of some consumers may coincide with the pursuit of economy, or efficiency, or effectiveness, other consumers may have different expectations, which may or may not coincide with professional judgements.

This chapter has identified potential conflicts between the values of equality, excellence, freedom, participation and accountability. The way in which the education policies of Conservative Governments of the 1980s sought to promote different values or maintain a balance between them is further discussed in Section 4.

SECTION THREE

CONSERVATIVE PARTY VALUES

The preceding chapter examined some of the values on which education policy may be based. This section explores the dominant values which may be discerned from Conservative social policy during the period of Mrs Thatcher's leadership 1975-1990 and gives some examples of their conversion into action. However, membership of a political party, or of a government, does not necessarily entail the adoption of all values and their interpretations and it should be noted that this simplification does not take into consideration the conflicting views and interpretations held by Conservatives inside and outside Parliament.

Chapter 7 links the health and welfare policies with education, in preparation for a detailed discussion in Section 4.

Chapter 5 - The social and economic role of the State

The survival of any community depends on effective defence against attack from outside, the maintenance of internal order and the initiation of new members to the community's norms and values. These needs give rise to the creation of a structure in which the family, and agencies responsible for medical services, defence, law and order, and socialization agencies such as schools, churches, clubs and other community institutions, all play a part.

Community life involves a balance between individual action, voluntary collaboration and state intervention. The state safeguards 'a defined area of common interest' (Morgan 1945:154, quoted by Patten), exercising public force in a way broadly acceptable to those on whose behalf it is employed and holding the ring between individuals and those units which together comprise society: families, churches, voluntary associations, trade unions and commercial enterprises. It has certain obligations, one of which is that 'expectations which have been legitimized by explicit permission or by explicit consent should not be disappointed' (Patten 1983:9).

Political parties, and thus governments, differ in the position which they adopt along the continuum between laissez-faire and intervention, according to their espousal and interpretation of different values. Both Conservatives and Socialists support the principles of freedom and justice, but their interpretations of these values result in a wide divergence in the level of government intervention.

The Conservative interpretation of the role of the state is consistent with the traditional liberalist view that taxation and public spending programmes, except where these are directed to supporting the basic functions of the state - national defence, the preservation of law and order, and a stable currency - involve coercion and are therefore illegitimate (Gamble 1989:6). It restricts state intervention to ensuring that the exercise of freedom by some does not unreasonably restrict the freedom of others, the creation of a social market within which the self-reliant individual can exercise choice and the provision of residual services for those who are dependent due to old age, infirmity or unemployment.

Values underlying social market policies

The values which underlie the creation of a social market and the residual role of public provision may be divided into individual and societal values. Conservative social policies emphasize the individual's responsibility for him or herself and extend this to the family. As a consumer, the individual's rights are addressed through choice. At the level of providers, responsiveness is stimulated through deregulation, consumer-led services and accountability mechanisms. At societal level, the values addressed include economy, efficiency, effectiveness, public burden and decentralization. For Conservatives,

the stress on social market forces and on individualism is the ultimate form of decentralization. However, a free market economy requires a strong state, which in turn depends on a free economy. This, Goldsmith (1985) claims, can only be achieved through a centralization of power to the government in Whitehall. The shift of energies from service provision to control of the framework represents a redirection rather than a reduction in state control (Gamble 1983:5).

Competing values, such as communality, social planning, social and redistributive justice, which were reflected in social policies of the Labour administrations, have lost prominence. Stewart and Burridge point to:

> a choice of service provider exercised by the individual as parent, tenant or elderly person, and using private income or state subsidy or both to pay for the service ... [as a result of which] the quality of provision is dictated by the individual's ability to pay. Under a social market régime the collectivist mediation is lost (Stewart and Burridge 1989:67).

Socialists reject individualism on the grounds of 'equality', defined as equivalence of outcome (Rawls 1971, Secada 1989). Since individual differences result in unequal levels of achievement, earning power and thus spending power, they argue that governments must redress this imbalance by redistributing goods and services on the basis of compensation or positive discrimination. One of the means for achieving this was the welfare state, whose services were originally intended to

> express a generosity of spirit, provide good quality services and be available as part of a concept of the social rights of citizenship set alongside longer established political rights and supported by the obligation to manage the economy so as to ensure full employment (Collins 1985:67).

Conservatives reject socialists' redefinition of personal problems as social needs because it represents a claim to individual rights without a corresponding acceptance of personal responsibility. This, they argue, stimulates demand and raises expectations. The welfare state is costly and 'encourages "soft" attitudes towards crime, immigrants, the idle, the feckless, strikers, the sexually aberrant' (Gough 1983:154) and 'saps initiative' (Bell 1985). Socialists respond that the exercise of individual responsibility and choice within a free market is a reflection of an élitist *sauve qui peut* attitude and an abdication of the communal responsibility which society owes to its weaker members.

Moreover, Patten argues, equality of outcome is unattainable. Its pursuit 'guarantees mediocrity and promotes unfairness' and 'discrimination against ability is a particularly unattractive feature of much egalitarianism' (Patten 1983:12). Conservatives do not seek to equalize but, 'since they believe in fairness, there are extremes of inequality which they would not be prepared to tolerate' (ibid). It is for this purpose that residual provision is made.

Basic functions of the state

Defence of the nation

As already stated, the security of the nation is an essential condition for the survival of its society. Patriotism and the defence of the realm are central Conservative themes and budgetary support is allocated to maintain the security of those territories whose security is perceived as essential for Britain's security (Patten 1983). Mrs Thatcher and her

colleagues engaged in hard bargaining in European Community negotiations to safeguard what they perceived as the political and economic interests of the nation.

Law and order

Conservatism stresses the moral, political and economic value of private property (Norton and Aughey 1981) and internal security and the 'Government made it quite clear that priority was to be given to police expenditure above all others, including education and welfare services' (Alderson 1985:134).

Law and order is a policy area covering crime and justice but it is also a discipline in attitudes, behaviour and so forth. The prevention of disorder has involved a redefinition of 'social problems'. Activities such as the Notting Hill Carnival, the expression of extreme political views and (even peaceful) protest marches are all seen as threats to public order (Kettle 1983). The priority given to the containment and suppression of public disorder over the prevention and detection of individual crimes (Norrie and Adelman 1989) means that police have become publicly identified with Conservative notions of what is normal, acceptable, rightful conduct as opposed to what is abnormal and alien. Thus, argue Norrie and Adelman,

> Divisions between black and white, north and south, rich and poor, employed and unemployed have been exacerbated and manipulated to generate *consent behind the state* amongst certain relatively privileged sections of the middle and working classes for control through conflict *against* other less privileged sections... (Norrie and Adelman 1989, original italics).

However, Gilroy and Sim (1985) stress that, although this strategy has come to prominence during the 1980s, it is not new and is most clearly in evidence in the programmes of the Labour Party, whose pro-police pronouncements on law and order issues in particular are designed to win the middle ground of the middle class and affluent working class support.

Economic policies

The Government's economic policies focused on providing a framework for free enterprise by securing stable money, the security of property, the enforceability of contracts and by removing obstacles to the free market. The view that action leading to direct benefits for the individual will indirectly benefit the community as a whole underlies policies such as reduced income tax (Adam Smith 1904, cited by Patten 1983:105). It is argued that it is possible to maintain equivalent total revenue despite reductions in the rate of income tax because this action motivates individuals to work harder. The ascribed benefits to the community are two-fold: the prosperity of the individuals will reduce the number of claims on certain forms of state support whilst an equivalent amount of resources remain at the state's disposal for a smaller group of claimants, thus raising the level of individual benefit.

Conservative economic policy under Mrs Thatcher initially rested on the monetarist belief that there is a 'natural' rate of unemployment and growth, determined not by demand but by institutional organisation of the markets. It was argued that Keynesian pursuit of full employment and growth by expanding demand is doomed to failure because additional government expenditure merely displaces private spending and expansion of markets merely raises inflation (Gamble 1983, Holmes 1985). Keynesian

intervention was thus replaced by the market order along the lines advocated by Hayek and Friedman, to relieve the 'unproductive burden' of public expenditure on the wealth-creating sector and particularly on tax payers (Hall and Jacques 1983, Gamble 1983). State intervention in service provision was rejected for being inefficient and wasteful, because it ignores and overrides market factors and violates individual rights (Gamble 1989).

Conclusion

Gamble (1989) outlines the general ethos since the 1940s and before the election of Mrs Thatcher in 1979 as a social democracy which promoted full employment and prosperity, high welfare spending from high taxation and a conciliatory approach to trade union power. He states that Heath governed according to circumstances instead of principles, seeking to maintain a balance between classes and interests, making concessions when necessary and pursuing only those policies which had support and which did not threaten the state. In contrast, Mrs Thatcher's government 'projects a vision of a new social and economic order, which carries with it major implications for political and legal relationships' (Gamble 1989:1). Within an international trend towards family, individual, patriotism, free enterprise, authority during the late 1970s-1980s, 'the historic mission of Thatcherism has been to reverse the whole post-war drift of society' (Hall and Jacques 1983:11).

Despite critics' challenge of the underlying assumption that greater efficiency and less bureaucracy would automatically follow from a transfer of public to private sector provision (Bell 1985, Jacques 1983), the Thatcher Governments have been very concerned with reducing the scope of government activity generally and with reducing the extent to which people look to the state to provide goods and services. They pursued these objectives by reforming supply, reducing the range of state-provided goods and services and by increasing people's capacity for, and belief in the virtues of, self-help (Goldsmith 1985:151). These issues are explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 6 - Creation of a mixed-market economy

A declared central objective of the Conservative Governments of the 1980s was to promote individualism by reducing the level and range of government intervention in the economy (Gamble 1989) and to reduce collectivism in pursuit of individual freedom (Jacques 1983). The Government reaffirmed the principle of a social market with multiple suppliers: state, commercial enterprises, voluntary agencies and family.

> It is no business of the State to try to maximize happiness or to make the world perfect; but it does have a duty to remove grievances, to tackle cases of hardship and to reform abuses. The State should not overlook the benefits of voluntary action - the educational and social advantages of doing things for oneself - or the economic force of individual enterprise (Patten 1983:16-17).

It used existing or new legislation to promote self-reliance and, through policies which embraced a more rigorous market orientation, proposed a massive reduction of state activity in relation to both the economy and welfare and the return of many state functions to the private sector (Elmore 1985). Alcock notes that these policies

> are fundamentally at odds with pre-existing forms and practices of state welfare, which assumed that the aims of social policy were to be determined by independent social investigations and that measures would be gradually adapted to meet these aims when economic circumstances allowed (Alcock 1989:106).

However, the Government argued that a mixed market would make suppliers more responsive to the customer and the competition arising from choice would improve the quality of the goods or services. Moreover, the reduced role of the state in welfare provision would reduce 'the politicization of decision-making which allows so many decisions to be taken by politicians and officials instead of by producers and consumers' (Mueller (1979) cited by Gamble 1989:6).

This chapter considers the principal strategies in the creation of a mixed market economy, namely restructuring supply, improving public sector management and creating formal and informal mechanisms of accountability. Their effect on education is introduced in the next chapter.

Restructuring supply

Deregulation

Government intervention in the dimension of choice has affected both the private and public sectors. In the private sector, national and local monopolies have been contested, for example through referrals to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission, which supervises company purchases and takeovers to avoid the creation of a monopoly. In the public sector, deregulation of the provincial bus and coach services, of the parcels service of the Royal Mail, of financial services and latterly of broadcasting has given opportunities to private sector competitors.

Incentives for providers

Government's positive incentives for providers may be direct or indirect. Favourable taxation regulations derive from charitable status, intended to encourage independent agencies to undertake research and provide educational, medical, social and information services. Eligible agencies include those which receive no state funding and which provide their services without charge (e.g. the Royal National Lifeboat Institute), those which receive government grants (The Royal Shakespeare Company, the Royal Opera) and those not in receipt of direct subsidies, whose services are funded through fees and charges (independent schools and hospitals). Indirect support comes through tax-relief on Give As You Earn schemes for employees and special relief for companies who make substantial charitable donations.

The tax-relief on health insurance premiums paid by pensioners has encouraged the development of private health insurance schemes and private medical resources (Elmore 1985). The role of private agencies can be further increased e.g. by privatizing profitable services. A precedent has already been created by the relationships with private drug companies and by the regulations which allow full-time consultants working within the NHS to undertake private work up to a limit of 10% of their gross annual earnings, without loss of NHS salary (Iliffe 1983; Elmore 1985).

Improving public sector management

The overall aim of Government intervention in public service reforms was twofold. The first objective was to improve efficiency and cost-effectiveness through better management. Standards of quality would be maintained and raised by better use of resources, notably by simplifying and decentralizing administration and by cutting back bureaucracy. The second objective was to reduce the scope and cost of services by collaborating with the private sector and voluntary agencies and by changing the emphasis of the state's role from providing services to the task of coordinating services provided by private, voluntary, informal and formal sectors (Lewis 1989).

Claims of deteriorating standards in health care, education and housing were cited as evidence of the failure of state intervention and the superiority of private enterprise (Iliffe 1983) and led to calls for restructuring. Elmore points to fundamental changes in the health service, which have been

> introduced with speed and urgency which bespeaks a massive determination to effect change:... relationship of private insurance and private medicine to NHS; introduction of competition through competitive tendering in the provision of non-clinical services; the development of new forms of accountability and management control; the development of community care; and what has been called the 'domestication' of health and social care (Elmore 1985:100).

The consultative paper *Patients First* (DHSS 1979) provided an early indication of the way towards improved management of public services (*see Elmore 1985:94*), proposing

1   a strengthening of the management arrangement at local level with greater delegation of responsibility to those in hospital and community services;

2   a simplification of the structure of the service in England by the removal of the area tier in most of the country and the establishment of district health authorities;

3   a simplification of the professional advisory machinery so that the views of clinical doctors, nurses and of other professionals will be better heard by the health authorities;

4   a simplification of the planning system in a way which will ensure that regional plans are fully sensitive to district needs.

Such changes are not exclusive to the health service and there is a distinct overlap between these proposals and Gough's (1979) four ways of restructuring the welfare state: the efficient use of labour, social control of destabilizing groups, raising productivity and reprivatizing parts of the social services.

Efficient use of labour

Gough's first step concentrates on more efficient use of labour. Government strategies include extending the role of the Audit Commission beyond financial probity audit to incorporate the assessment and promotion of economy, efficiency and effectiveness in local authority resource management (Henkel 1991) and introducing new forms of accountability and management control in all public services. An important theme of *Care in Action* (DHSS 1981) is concerned with self-audit, assessment, monitoring and review, and the introduction of annual accountability reviews (Elmore 1985). Control over worker efficiency by increasing the emphasis on inspection is reflected for instance in the redesignation of the Social Work Service as the Social Services Inspectorate in 1985 (Henkel 1991).

The Audit Commission, though formally independent of both central and local government, was seen 'as part of a package of measures to impose more control, including sanctions, by the centre over local government expenditure' (Henkel 1991:27).

Social control of destabilizing groups

Gough's second step, social control of destabilizing groups, recognizes the powerful position of public service employees. The National Health Service is the biggest employer in the country and both local government and teachers' unions have a national membership to call on. Action on the part of these unions has, in the past, caused major disruption and provided highly-publicized examples of suffering amongst vulnerable individuals. Patten points to the importance of diffusing power to avoid abuse, on the assumption that 'the concentration of power makes abuse more certain' (1983:11). There is much evidence of Government action, both direct and indirect, to secure such diffusion. Legislation has weakened the power of the trade unions, in particular by requiring a majority vote by secret ballot before industrial action can be taken. The introduction of hospital trusts and local management of schools allows individual institutions to negotiate conditions of employment with a small number of people, undermining the collective power of a national work force. Finally, the close involvement of doctors and (representatives of) teachers in management planning and the allocation of resources is intended to make the 'bosses' less remote from the other employees (Iliffe 1983). Whilst the economic recession is clearly not an intended outcome of Government policies, it, too, has contributed to the falling numbers of union members.

Raising productivity

Productivity may be raised by the recategorization of certain needs as ineligible for resources, by streamlining services (e.g. extending day-care provision in hospital and

social services departments to reduce the need for residential care) and by returning the responsibility for care wholly or partly to families and voluntary agencies (e.g. under the Community Care provisions). These aspects are considered in more detail below.

Controlling expenditure

The potential drain on resources represented by the health and public services was stemmed in two ways. First, annual cash limits were set for each health authority, based on the government's expectations of demand. Second, with respect to local government expenditure, the Government set expenditure levels and distributed the block grant in accordance with its estimate of public service needs, (without reference to local priorities) and potential income from local rates. Where efforts to persuade local authorities to conform to government-set spending limits failed, the Government introduced rate-capping (i.e. reducing the block grant by a sum equivalent to the alleged 'overspend'). Later, it abolished the Greater London and five Metropolitan Councils (Bell 1985:9) in part on grounds of their ostensibly high rates and poor quality services. Setting the rates and rate-capping are justified by the Government because

> where local spending and tax-raising cut across central macro-economic policy, Whitehall will inevitably want to curtail local independence, indeed it must have the *right* to call the tune (Patten 1983:48).

Contracting-out

The contracting-out of public services took the form of enabling and direction. Enabling legislation operates at the level of consumers and providers. The Social Security Act 1986 introduced a formal transfer of responsibility from state to private provision in the area of pensions. It allows individuals to 'contract out' of the State Earnings-Related Pension Scheme (SERPS) element of national insurance contributions, subject to making an approved level of private pension provision. This links the level of their contribution to state welfare services to that of their consumption entitlement. A second example is that of 'consumers' of local authority housing, who may may opt out of local authority control by transferring to new landlords such as Housing Associations, under the Housing Act 1988.

Providers, such as hospitals and medical and dental practices are encouraged to offer services to the health authorities under contract. Similarly, schools (at the request of a majority of voting parents) may opt out of local education authority control by seeking grant-maintained status.

Direction relates principally to public authorities whose direct labour organizations (DLOs) no longer have a monopoly to provide goods and services within the public sector. Competitive tendering regulations oblige local authorities and health authorities to consider a range of service providers and to award contracts on the basis of quality and price. The cost of processing tenders and awarding contracts may, where these are offered to outside agencies, be recouped in savings on central services such as personnel administration and the maintenance of accommodation and equipment.

Privatization

Privatization is a key element in the government's economic strategy, leading to a fundamental shift in the balance between the public and private sectors, a profound change in attitudes within state industries and, according to John Moore MP, opening up

'exciting possibilities for the consumer; better pay, conditions and employment opportunities for the employees; and new freedom for the managers of the industries concerned' (Financial Secretary to the Treasury in 1983, quoted by Gamble 1989:9).

A distinction must be made between the privatization of assets (e.g. the British Airports Authority) and of services (e.g. the utilities). The motivation for privatization varies. The 1983 Conservative Manifesto (Conservative Party 1983) argued that the reform of the nationalized industries was vital to economic recovery. Acting on the conviction that private ownership enhances the productivity of industries and that the taxpayer should not be responsible for subsidizing ailing industries, British Steel, British Petroleum, Cable and Wireless, Jaguar and others were returned to private ownership. Other motives were that private management would be more responsive to the wishes of consumers (e.g. the agency status accorded to the DVLC, and the Ordnance Survey), and that privatization is essential for customer choice within a free market economy (e.g. British Airways, Rover, Trustee Savings Bank). Another, not inconsiderable, benefit for the Government was the one-off income generated by the sales.

Saunders and Rigg (1991) state that the privatization of public utilities (gas, electricity and water) has more to do with the supposed efficiency of private sector management and with accountability for performance standards and compensation provisions, than with choice. Whilst there is competition between the regional electricity companies and between the water authorities, the infrastructure does not lend itself to switching readily between suppliers. Until Mercury has completed its nationwide network, choice in the telephone services is largely restricted to the purchase rather than rental of telephones and associated equipment. Foreman-Peck (1989) points to the failure of the Government to break up the major corporations (e.g. British Telecom, British Gas) as an indication that competition was not a major interest in these privatizations. He posits that this may have been inspired by the reluctance to reduce the monopoly power, the profits and therefore the sales value of these companies. The Government's sale of a second tranche of its BT shares in December 1991, after the company has registered considerable profits but before the weakening of its near monopoly, may lend credence to this argument.

The (re)privatization of parts of the social services is the fourth stage in the restructuring of public services (Gough 1979). *Care in Action* (DHSS 1981) encouraged

> a more imaginative approach to the possibilities of planning and providing services with
> the private sector where it is economical to do so. Interchange or sharing of private sector
> and NHS staffing may eventually be possible (Elmore 1985:89).

Reference has already been made to the relationships between pharmaceutical companies and the NHS, and to NHS consultants' right to undertake some private work. Iliffe (1983) points to the important contribution which doctors can make as 'willing allies' in strengthening the link between the private and public sectors. The medical profession, proud of its clinical freedom, is invited to exercise its judgement concerning referrals and placements. A doctor may thus refer a privately-insured patient to the radiography department in a private hospital. The consequences of such an action may include: reducing the pressure on NHS facilities, bolstering the economic viability of the private institution and giving the patient the necessary treatment with minimum delay. Where NHS expenses are concerned, the referral charges payable by the doctor's practice are reduced whilst the additional claims on private insurance are reflected in increased premiums (voluntarily) payable by the individual.

Mechanisms of accountability

It has been noted above that the Thatcher Governments promoted privatization and choice as an indirect means to raising the quality of goods and services. Gough (1983) argues that these attempts to disclaim responsibility for falling standards by returning public services to the market may be politically hazardous, and that for this reason, there is greater emphasis on transparent accountability.

Public service audits, evaluation by means of institutional development plans, staff appraisal and the publication of prescribed information have all been used to hold individuals and organizations accountable for their performance. Conservative Governments have introduced legislation aimed at strengthening accountability of suppliers to consumers. The four principal strategies in descending order of force are regulation, representation, information and charters.

Regulation

Legislation and statutory bodies exist to protect the consumer from misleading advertising, shoddy goods and inadequate standards of safety and hygiene. The Government made statutory provision where it felt that self-regulation would not adequately protect the consumer e.g. the regulation of financial services. Private companies, acting under licence, are also subject to quality controls e.g. the criteria for awarding independent television licences included programme quality as well as purchase price.

The privatized utilities must serve customers nationwide, even in areas where such provision might not be cost-effective. To temper unease about the lack of competition and the potential abuse of monopoly power, the Government established industry-specific regulatory bodies such as Oftel and Ofgas. However, Foreman-Peck (1989) found that their formal powers are weak.

A system of voluntary self-regulation is a characteristic of the professions, involving an ethical framework which governs the assessment of and provision for the needs of the client. This has been seriously undermined in the case of professionals employed in the health and education services. One example is the increasing power of lay managers on health authority boards to define the objectives and targets of medical services. This is reinforced by the definition of contractual duties and responsibilities of professionals employed by or under contract to the health service, such as GPs. A stronger trend can be discerned in education through legislation which defines the curriculum content and forms of assessment, the increasing power of the (predominantly lay) governors and the contractual obligations defined in the Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1987.

The charters [see below] which are being promulgated in the public and private sectors are another, though weaker, form of voluntary self-regulation.

Representation

Representation on the managing or reporting bodies of public services is another mechanism of accountability. At a political level, constituents are represented by their Councillor or MP. Formal representation of lay managers on health authority boards and parents and others on school governing bodies gives shared power to representatives of the wider community.

Information

Public access to local authority committees such as the education, police liaison and social services committees provides, at the very least, information on policies. More specific information must be provided for parents to enable them to choose a school and to assess annually how the school is performing.

Charters

Citizens' and consumers' charters are a feature of the post-Thatcher era. Charters have been drawn up by the Inland Revenue, the National Health Service (The Patients' Charter), Education (the Parents' Charter), by private utilities and by commercial enterprises such as banks. Charters outline the objectives set by providers concerning the quality of their products and services and their relationship with customers but, generally, do not provide any form of redress for the customer. One exception is British Rail, which sets (variable) targets of performance and promises discounts on future rail travel subject to strict conditions, if actual performance levels fall below targets by more than a specified amount.

Saunders and Rigg point out that 'one of the ostensible purposes behind these initiatives is to redress the unequal distribution of power between individuals and public services' (1991:220). However, their value beyond reminding providers of the ideals they strive for is yet to be determined. It is difficult to see how an individual will be compensated for a failure to provide hospital treatment within two years of referral, or how a school will compensate a pupil for poor quality or lost education.

Transferring provision from state to other agencies

In addition to stimulating the private sector and rationalizing provision in the public sector, the Government reduced its own role as a provider by encouraging voluntary and self-help groups to work in partnership with the statutory services and to help families care for their relatives (Collins 1985) and by transferring responsibility for the provision of social and welfare services from the state to these and to commercial agencies, by means of exhortation, incentives and withdrawal of services.

Exhortation

For the Conservatives, freedom entails individual responsibility, expressed in the belief that 'it is right and proper for those who can to look after themselves' (Holmes 1985) and that therefore responsibility for health (Iliffe 1983) and other areas of welfare is personal, not social. In the words of Patrick Jenkin, 'the cardinal principle must be to emphasize the individual's personal responsibility for his own health' (Elmore 1985:93) with health care treated just as any other item of consumption (Elmore 1985:85). Where the individual is unable to cope, the first port of call is expected to be the family.

> Since we believe in individual freedom, diffusion of power, continuity, tradition, community and (most of us) the Christian ethic, it follows that we must regard the family as the bedrock of a civilized and free society. As the Welfare State developed, we lost sight of its family-oriented objectives ... support for the family rather than egalitarianism is the main objective of social policy (Patten 1983:79).

The Government considers that the family can and should take on a major responsibility for the care of the ill and elderly (Gough 1983). Indeed, in the 1981 White

Paper *Growing Older*, it argued that families were best placed to understand and meet the wide variety of personal needs of the elderly person and that

> the primary sources of support and care for elderly people are informal and voluntary. These spring from the personal ties of kinship, friendship and neighbourhood (DHSS 1981a).

Lewis notes that this responsibility falls particularly on women: 'women's work, particularly as unpaid carers in the home, is the bedrock of government policy on community care' (Lewis 1989:89). The Government recognizes that this 'may often involve considerable personal sacrifice', particularly where the 'family is one person, often a single woman caring for an elderly relative', but maintains nevertheless that 'it is the role of public authorities to sustain and, where necessary, develop - but never to displace - such support and care' (DHSS 1981a).

The nuclear family is being reshaped by adolescent withdrawal from the family circle, a greater instability in the life of the couple and the refusal of women to play their former central binding role (Patten 1983:80). Yet the subordination of the needs of certain individuals to the needs of the family is assumed in government policies which seek to make families take more responsibility for their members and which ignore 'the delicate balance between dependency and independence for which people apparently aim in their family relationship' (Finch 1989, quoted by Lewis 1989:92).

Incentives for consumers

In order to stimulate individuals to provide for themselves, 'positive and negative incentives have been introduced through new legal measures to regulate and encourage private welfare' (Alcock 1989:107). Policies operate on three levels, ranging from laissez faire, through enabling (soft intervention) to withdrawal of services and direction (hard intervention). At the first level, the Government safeguarded the individual's right to secure private education, health, housing, pensions and life insurance and so on, to supplement or replace public sector provision. By reducing the rate of income tax, particularly by dropping the ceiling of the higher tax band to 40%, the Government gave individuals a larger slice of their income, some of which was spent on private sector services. Conversely, when the interest rates went up, many reverted to dependence on public sector services.

Soft intervention (Alcock's positive incentives) encourages individuals to make private provision for their present and future needs. This includes tax relief on mortgages, on premiums for pensions, life insurance and latterly, on private health insurance premiums for those over retirement age. These incentives go beyond the bounds of direct self-interest, for example, by granting tax-relief on regular contributions towards charities under the give-as-you-earn scheme. Additional incentives are available to those who meet specific criteria of 'worth' (e.g. bonus payments for first time house buyers who have demonstrated their willingness to save over a prescribed period) or ability (means-tested government support to enable selected individuals to receive education at an independent school). The take-up of such incentives varies but in 1989, 66.6% of the population lived in owner-occupied homes (CSO 1991). In the 1989-90 academic year, the Assisted Places Scheme provided for 33,000 state-supported places at 278 independent schools (DES 1991f).

The enforced sale of council houses to occupiers achieved two objectives. It increased the percentage of owner-occupiers by allowing council house tenants to buy

their house at a reduced price, as compared with the market rate. Secondly, it undermined the position of local authorities by setting prices intended to benefit the purchaser rather than the local authority and by denying local authorities the right to spend the income on capital projects such as building new council houses. Stewart and Burridge cite the issue of council house sales as a symbol of anti-municipalism, claiming that it was

> an attack on the form of collective consumption that council housing constitutes; it disintegrates the unitary interests of council tenants and dissipates their organizational potential over one landlord; it transfers public subsidy from the democratic control of the local councils to the boardroom policies of building societies and banks; it can be sold as an exemplar of individual choice; and it can be justified as a pillar of the monetarist demand for reduced public expenditure ... the rallying cry for a more general attack on local democracy (Stewart and Burridge 1989:75).

Positive incentives encourage individuals to use and pay for private sector welfare services by means of an indirect subsidy but without removing their formal obligation to contribute to state provision, through taxes and council charges, irrespective of whether public services are used.

Hard intervention takes the form of negative incentives (Alcock 1989) such as charges, the withdrawal of services and directives. The first of these involves an obligation on the part of the individual to contribute towards the cost of public services at the point of delivery. One example is the introduction by the Labour Government of charges towards the cost of prescription medicines and dental treatment in an attempt to redistribute public funding to those most in need. The Conservative Government increased the level of these charges and extended the principle in 1989 to include opticians' fees. Such contributions are broadly linked to assumed ability to pay, in that specific categories (children, retired persons and those in receipt of certain social security benefits) are exempt.

Enabling legislation becomes entwined with direction. The provision of community care which enables some elderly people to receive care in their own home is based on an assumption that family members or neighbours will care for the physically and mentally impaired (DHSS *Growing Older* 1981). Thus choice for some depends on the compulsory altruism of others (Lewis 1989:91).

Withdrawal of services

As a result of the Government's belief in personal responsibility for health (Elmore 1985), the National Health Service has suffered quantitative reductions and diminished scope through cuts and cash limits and a qualitative shift to reassert individualism, self reliance and family responsibility (Gough 1983). The productivity strategies identified by Gough (1979), namely changing eligibility criteria, streamlining services and returning the responsibility for care wholly or partly to families and voluntary agencies, have already been mentioned. An example of the first was reported in the *Sunday Times*:

> the Patients' Charter, under which nobody must be kept waiting for more than two tyears, has prompted health authorities to reduce lists by not offering some operations on the NHS, including tattoo removal, test-tube baby treatment and, increasingly, plastic surgery (24 May 1992:1).

It is claimed that the 'surplus operating capacity' is used to extend private services.

The policy of 'community care' streamlines health services, for example, by discharging long-term patients from psychiatric hospitals on the grounds that they are capable of living independently in the community with appropriate support. A similar policy is pursued with regard to care for the elderly. In 1986, the cost of caring for a frail elderly person in a domiciliary setting was calculated at £135 per week, as compared with £295 per week in a National Health Service geriatric ward (Audit Commission, 1986a). By transferring responsibility for the 'hotel' element of hospital treatment to the individual or family, considerable savings may be made.

Chapter 7 - Conservative social policy and education

Conservative policies reflecting the values of individualism, choice, producer accountability and responsiveness, effective management and decentralization have been described in the preceding chapters. These are carried through to the Government's education policies, although not totally consistently. This final section highlights some key aspects in education policy linked back to the two headings: restructuring supply and transferring provision from the state to other agencies.

Restructuring supply

When Mrs Thatcher's first Government was elected in 1979, there were broadly two sectors: LEA maintained schools, virtually all unselective, and independent schools. By 1990, public sector provision had been 'deregulated' in two ways. First, there was a legislative basis for two new categories: grant-maintained schools and City Technology Colleges. Secondly, local education authorities had lost their power to assign pupils to specific schools and even the right to give priority in school placements to pupils resident within the LEA in preference to those from outside. On consumer-led provision, particularly directed to parental choice, successive legislation culminating in open enrolment, provides parents with an element of choice, supported by the financial resources which attach to pupil numbers.

Considerable incentives have been made available to sponsors to set up City Colleges and to the first schools prepared to 'opt-out' of LEA control and to operate under contract to the Department of Education and Science. Although the City Colleges were to be established with funding provided substantially from non-government sources, the running costs would be totally met by the state. In the event, a high proportion of the establishment costs were also met by the government as funding from industrial sponsors was insufficient to implement the proposals (Coulby and Bash 1991). By 1991, £105 million had been spent on capital costs for City Technology Colleges (Bassey 1992).

The first cohort of secondary schools to achieve grant-maintained status received a transition grant of £30 000 plus £30 per pupil (Dean 1992) as well as the additional 16% of their annual school budget to compensate them for loss of centrally-provided LEA services. Grant-maintained schools 'enjoy a clear advantage in the allocation of capital grants. In 1991-2, the figure per pupil was £231 for grant-maintained schools and only £109 in the LEA sector' (Bush 1992).

> An analysis of opting out carried out by the local-authority supported Local Schools Information Service earlier this year [1992] revealed that since 1988 the Government has pumped more than £30 million into the scheme - on top of the £173 million for the 145 [then] approved grant-maintained schools ... recouped from local authorities. At present prices, 2000 secondary schools opting out would cost the Government an additional £547 million in grants and capital projects (Dean 1992).

The Government's attempts to improve the management of public services lie behind the new responsibilities devolved to governing bodies under local management of schools. The Audit Commission has examined and reported on several aspects of the management of the education service (Audit Commission 1986, 1988, 1988a). The recommendations of self-audit, assessment, monitoring and review have been adopted in many schools, partly as a development of the annual review which was a condition for TVEI funding. The funding formula and delegated budgets turn schools into cost-centres which can benefit from their success in attracting pupils and from prudent management.

Efficient use of labour (Gough 1979) was promoted by the redesignation of LEA education advisers as inspectors (cf their social services counterparts) and the 1986 legislation which laid the basis for regular, compulsory performance appraisal for all teachers in maintained schools by 1995. The power of the teacher unions, a potentially destabilizing factor (Gough 1979), has been undermined by the Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1987 and by the governing bodies' powers to recommend the appointment, salary levels and dismissal of teachers under LMS, which created twenty-five thousand 'employers' instead of the 120 LEAs which formerly fulfilled that role.

In addition to the above examples of 'contracting-out' of educational services, competitive tendering has reached all educational establishments which have delegated budgets under the local management of schools (LMS) legislation. LMS allows governing bodies to buy educational, management and maintenance services from the local authority or from independent providers and requires them to respect the open tendering procedures. Indeed, the market principle is applied with greater vigour in education than in parallel public services such as health. Whilst district health authorities have replaced direct managerial power over units such as hospitals by the power of the purchaser for whom units must provide on contracts, and thus enabled a public agency to sustain a social planning control over what is provided, direct consumer control with only tentative and ambiguous local authority intervention is handed to school governing bodies - a consumer-led institution.

Whilst the contracting out of former central services such as school meals and cleaning are one aspect of privatization, the most obvious example of privatization is the Assisted Places Scheme, whereby the state contributes all or part of the fees payable on behalf of pupils admitted to independent schools under the scheme [see Chapter 9]. A further development is the proposed privatization of school inspections.

The previous Chapter outlined policies for 'a simplification of the structure of the service in England by the removal of the area tier and the establishment of district health authorities' (DHSS 1979). The basis for a similar development in education may also be discerned. Legislation, in particular the Education Reform Act 1988, has transferred many responsibilities for education from local education authorities to the Secretary of State and to governing bodies [see Chapter 11]. The Act gave the Secretary of State 415 new powers and introduced two new categories of publicly-funded schools which are independent of LEA control. These initiatives might be seen as preliminary steps towards simplifying the education structure by the removal of the LEA 'layer'.

New forms of accountability have been placed on teachers (as professionals) and on governors (as representatives of the providers) within a framework of the specification of the content of education and the tasks which teachers are required to perform. These include teacher appraisal and the collection and presentation of information concerning

the activities and performance of pupils for the benefit of parents, governors and the general public. Governors, for their part, are required to provide detailed information for parents on the school's curriculum, organization and extra-curricular activities and details of public examination results, together with an annual written report on the work of the school and on the way in which the governors and the staff have discharged their responsibilities. Parents, as the legal representatives of their children, play an increasing role in the governance of schools and their right to complain has been formalized in the statutory appeals procedures concerning school placement, diagnoses of special educational needs, the LEA's or the governing body's unreasonable behaviour or failure to discharge its duty with respect to the curriculum or religious education. Finally, the Parents' Charter provides details of parents' 'new rights ... new responsibilities and choices' (DES 1991g).

It should be noted that the Education (No 2) Act 1986 which placed the obligation on governors to provide an annual report and arrange a parents' meeting, was the same Act which repealed the duty on the Secretary of State to make an annual report to Parliament. This may be seen as devolution of accountability along with the delegated authority, but it is inconsistent with the increasing powers allocated to the Secretary of State in the Education Reform Act 1988.

Transferring provision from state to other agencies

There has been a reduction in collectivism, a stimulation of mixed economy provision and a transfer of responsibility from state provision to social market. The reduction in collectivism, that is, the loss of collective planning and resourcing, is most clearly demonstrated in the transfer of power from local education authorities to schools through local management of schools (LMS) and grant-maintained schools legislation. Mixed economy provision takes the form of traditional independent schools and a new category of jointly-funded establishment, the City Technology College, which operates alongside maintained schools.

Although most services are still directly funded by the state, there is some evidence of withdrawal of services. The Education Act 1980 removed the duty on local education authorities to provide school meals for pupils other than those whose parents were in receipt of designated social security benefits. Where the authority chooses to provide meals, it may charge for them at the economic rate, except in the case of the pupils mentioned above, who remain eligible for free school meals. The power granted to governing bodies or LEAs by the Education Reform Act 1988 to make charges for 'optional extras' provided with the agreement of parents, opens the door to private services such as individual instrumental tuition, which might have been provided at public expense in the past.

In contrast to other welfare services, however, there is no encouragement for families to undertake the responsibility for education themselves. Although parents have the right to secure their child(ren)'s education otherwise than at school, the legal framework which defines the duration and content of education and the qualifications of teachers, makes it difficult for parents to meet these requirements themselves.

Section Four will consider how these trends were converted into education policy changes.

SECTION FOUR

CONSERVATIVE EDUCATION POLICIES
AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION

Section 3 outlined the principal social policy values expressed by the Conservative Party during the 1970s and 1980s and introduced the theme of their place in education policies. This section sets the context of the education service inherited by the Conservative Party on its election to government in 1979 and looks at the ways in which Conservative values were converted into action affecting school education under six operational headings: macro structure, governance, curriculum and assessment, staffing, material resources and evaluation. This summary of policy measures concentrates mainly on the period of Mrs Thatcher's Governments, 1979-1990.

The Government expected the competition generated between schools to contribute to higher standards and greater cost-effectiveness by rationalizing surplus school places. On the face of it, the measures taken have addressed all four objectives. Nevertheless, the policies have not necessarily worked out as planned. The values discussed in Section 2 and other values espoused by those responsible for implementation affect their response to Government policies. The early indications of such reactions, which are emerging from research findings, are considered alongside the policies in Chapters 9-14.

Chapter 8 - Legacy of the 1970s

This chapter notes the background from which the 1979 administration moved policy and introduces the key objectives of the Conservative administrations of the 1980s.

Expansion and recession

Education enjoyed a period of expansion during the late 1960s and early 1970s due to the increase in the birthrate and the raising of the school-leaving age (RoSLA) to 16 with effect from 1973, but a high proportion of the budget was spent on accommodation, teacher training and salaries and there was limited scope for experimentation. The 1972 (Conservative) White Paper *Education: A framework for expansion* expected this expansion to continue with an emphasis on qualitative improvements because '"Roofs over heads" in schools ... will be a less pressing problem [and] choices of a new kind can therefore be made' (DES 1972 para 5). Although school leavers, even those with no formal qualifications, readily found employment, there was a widespread hope that the introduction of comprehensive education and RoSLA would enable more young people to achieve the grammar school standards formerly only available to a minority.

At the 1973 Conservative Party Conference, Margaret Thatcher outlined the Government's ideal:

> to create a rich diversity of choices to be steadily made available to more and more citizens, authorities have power to pay ... fees to an independent school ... authorities can take up free places in direct grant schools ... authorities can also retain ... the grammar schools. Where there are only comprehensive schools in an area it is vital for parents to have a choice between them (Knight 1990:75).

However, events during the 1970s influenced both educational provision and the public perception of education, resulting in a critical appraisal of education, its content, its quality and the value for money which it represented. The oil crisis and the economic recession, together with the introduction of new technologies, reduced the number of jobs available, particularly for unskilled manual workers. This coincided with the largest number ever of young people coming onto the labour market and, although the RoSLA to 16 in 1973-4 provided a year's grace, rising unemployment led to fierce criticism that schools were failing to prepare young people to meet the needs of industry.

The 1970s recession affected the resources available but the demand for public services did not diminish. The size and allocation of the education budget was influenced by two factors. First, the replacement of the hypothecated (education) grant by a block (local authority) grant meant that education had lost the independence of a separately-funded service and had to compete against other public services for its share of shrinking resources. Moreover, under the corporate management structure introduced in the 1970s in response to the Redcliffe-Maud (1969) and Bains (1972) reports, education departments

had to open up their policies and expenditure plans to the scrutiny of senior officers from other departments.

In the mid-1970s the (Labour) Government was obliged by the International Monetary Fund to make sharp cuts in public expenditure, amounting to £150 billion between 1975-1977 'to control a disturbingly high rate of inflation and to ensure adequate resources for regenerating industry'. Nevertheless, it was optimistic that '... by the end of the decade it should be possible to resume a modest rate of growth in public expenditure' (DES 1977:para 1.17).

Equality

For the Labour Government, selective education perpetuated a system whereby certain members of society could maintain and reinforce their position of privilege. In an initial attempt to promote equality of access (the soft dimension), it abolished direct grant grammar schools on 27 October 1975 (Great Britian 1975) and, despite Conservative opposition, secured legislation requiring LEAs to

> have regard to the general principle that (secondary) education is to be provided only in schools where the arrangements for admission are not based (wholly or partly) on selection by reference to ability or aptitude (Education Act 1976 Section 1).

Threats to deprive independent schools of their charitable status were not actually put into effect. A second phase, equality of outcome by means of positive discrimination (the hard dimension), was announced as official Labour Government policy in *Education in schools: a consultative document* (DES 1977).

Opponents of comprehensive schooling, most notably the authors of the Black Papers, complained about falling standards and pointed to growing unemployment and alleged unemployability among young people. Boyson (1970) embarked on a crusade to '[restore] free choice, personal responsibility and standards of excellence to their right place as central values in the life of the people' (quoted by Knight 1990:61). Bell (1972) called for the defence of basic standards of literacy to give children some certainty and security when 'everything formerly accepted is called into question' (quoted by Knight 1990:66).

Accountability

By 1976, teacher autonomy was challenged in the context of accountability for public expenditure; responsiveness to clients; and the rights of parents to participate in determining the education to be received by their children. The Tenth Report of the House of Commons Expenditure Committee (1976) focused attention on the lack of control which the DES appeared to have over the way in which education funds were spent. This was partly a value for money argument and partly criticism of the apparent condonement by the DES of teachers' sole control over the curriculum. In 1976, the OECD reported: 'it is true to say both that [the DES] has extremely limited authority and that it has great powers' [*see Lawton 1980:34*].

The William Tyndale affair provided a focus for criticism and the publicity which it generated served to undermine confidence in the education system as a whole. In his

report, Auld made it quite clear that

> the head teacher is in effective control of the school, its aims, policies and methods of teaching [but] if inefficient or unsuitable education is being provided at the school or insufficient regard is being paid to the wishes of parents of pupils at the school, the [local] authority must do something about it (Auld 1976:para 828).

The manifest failure of the governing body and the Inner London Education Authority to take the necessary action in this event was taken as evidence that professional power had got out of hand. The new Permanent Secretary, James Hamilton, questioned the lack of attention paid to complaints about education by parents and employers and criticized teachers for sheltering behind their expertise. By this time, moderates on both the left and the right were suggesting that the curriculum was too important to be left solely to the teachers.

In this climate of disenchantment with progressive methods and individual expression, it was felt that increasing participation by the lay community would be a means of securing greater professional and public service accountability. A Committee of Inquiry was set up in January 1975 under the chairmanship of Mr Thomas Taylor 'to review arrangements for the management of maintained schools and the relationship with parents of pupils and the community at large' (Taylor 1977). Its report, *A new partnership for our schools* (1977), called for parental participation on governing bodies and formed the basis of much of the Conservative legislation concerning governing bodies in the 1980s.

Standards

In the face of growing criticism, the Secretary of State, Fred Mulley prepared a report on standards, basic skills in primary schools, the comprehensive curriculum, the examination system and provision for 16-19 year olds (The Yellow Book 1976). Details from this report were leaked just before Prime Minister Callaghan launched the 'Great Debate' on education with a speech at Ruskin College in October 1976, in which he declared:

> Parents, teachers, learned and professional bodies, representatives of higher education and both sides of industry, together with the government, all have an important part to play in formulating and expressing the purpose of education and the standards that we need (Callaghan 1976).

This speech was followed by four regional conferences, a round of meetings and written evidence which, in the words of the resulting Green Paper, 'identified a substantial measure of agreement on what needed to be done to improve our schools' (DES 1977:para 1.5).

The Green Paper commented on social change, on the decline of the empire and on the UK's dependence for economic strength on its ability to sell its goods and services overseas. It referred to the changes brought about by the relocation of families to New Towns and expanded towns, by immigration and by legislation on sexual equality. It conceded that 'there are some areas of weakness in education and some unmet needs' and it criticized the curriculum for being too wide and placing insufficient emphasis on science and modern languages, and schools for failing to 'turn out' pupils with adequate basic skills and economic understanding to meet employment needs (DES 1977:para 1.2).

It also defined the purpose of education as perceived by the Labour Government [*see Figure 2.1 facing page 9*].

The Conservative response

If the 1970s saw the Conservative Party without a defined education policy (Knight 1990), the 1980s represented a period of unprecedented activity on almost all educational fronts, except pre-school and adult education. This activity covered what is taught and to whom; when and how pupil learning is assessed; how teachers are selected, trained, deployed, paid and appraised; how schools are structured and funded; who governs schools and to whom and how governors are held to account. The Government introduced a series of programmes and new examinations and concerned itself with areas outside the scope of this study, such as vocational training for the unemployed, youth training programmes, the accreditation of education and training and the reform of higher education.

All this activity was accompanied by numerous White Papers, Green Papers, consultation documents from the DES and discussion papers from HM Inspectorate, supplemented by the publication of HMI inspection reports on different aspects of education and, from 1983, on individual schools and colleges. The Government set up seven Committees of Enquiry and commissioned research and pilot studies from academic and commercial bodies. Statutory agencies and ad hoc working parties were set up to inform decisions and implement legislation, especially in connection with the National Curriculum and assessment. The period 1979-1990 saw the enactment of twelve laws and the publication of their associated Orders and Statutory Instruments. Guidance on implementation was issued in the form of 109 Circulars [*see Appendix 1*]. As the rate and pace of change accelerated, explanatory brochures were issued for teachers, parents and employers and, in some cases, for pupils and students themselves.

The Government's stated objectives, in pursuit of its overall aims, were to raise standards, to increase parental choice and to secure value for money in education. Chapters 9-14 consider Government policy and initial implementation in greater detail with regard to the six fields of operation which they sought to affect.

Chapter 9 - Structure

The initiatives considered in this section are those which modified the institutional provision of education. These include the number and variety of educational establishments in a given area, the management of admissions and the use of public funds to provide or subsidize schools or to contribute to the fees payable by selected individuals attending independent schools.

Number and variety of schools

The law prescribes the education which parents must secure for their children aged between 5 and 16 years as being full-time and suited to the child's age, ability, aptitude and any special educational needs he or she may have (1944 Act as amended), but it allows parents to choose whether such education shall be provided 'at school or otherwise'. Educational establishments are set up to provide for particular categories of pupils. All schools restrict admission to pupils within a particular age-range, e.g. primary, secondary. In some schools pupils are admitted on the basis of ability, special aptitudes or special educational needs. Distinctions may also be made on the basis of sex or confessional allegiance. Finally, access to independent schools is usually further restricted to those willing and able to pay the fees.

The Education Act 1944 defines two phases of school education: primary (age 5 to 11+ years) and secondary (age 12 to 19). The Education Act 1964 formally gave LEAs a choice between a two-tiered (primary and secondary) or a three-tiered (first, middle and secondary or primary, secondary and tertiary) structure. The LEA's structure determines the age-range of the community within which pupils receive their schooling.

The Conservative Governments between 1979-1990 made no statutory changes to the educational phases laid down in 1944 other than to introduce the concept of Key Stages to mark the periods of learning preceding statutory assessment at ages 7+, 11, 14 and 16 years (Education Reform Act:Section 3). There were, however, other requirements which affected the structure of schools. The Government's exhortations that local education authorities manage their resources effectively by removing surplus school places at a time of falling rolls resulted in school closures and amalgamations and, in some cases, tertiary reorganization outside the schools sector for students aged over 16 years.

Whilst rationalization of school places led to a reduction in the *number* of schools during the 1980s, Conservative Governments have attempted to increase parental choice between different school *types*. In 1979, the majority of maintained schools were comprehensive, mixed and non-confessional. Depending on historical circumstances and local demand, in many areas there was still a degree of choice between the mixed comprehensive schools and schools which admitted pupils in accordance with a

specified confessional allegiance (usually voluntary schools), by sex or, less commonly, on the basis of their academic or other abilities.

The battle between comprehensive and grammar schools, which led to the 1976 Act and Labour's threat to close independent schools, had focused on structural differences. In its review of education policy, the Conservative Research Department (1976) had found that 'parents are much more concerned about standards than systems ... not so much the kind of school but what is taught in the classroom' (Knight 1990:101). Nevertheless, the Government's early action focused on structure. Its first step was to repeal the Education Act 1976 which had imposed on LEAs the 'duty to give effect to the comprehensive principle' in the organization of their schools (Education Act 1979). In doing so, the Government claimed to safeguard existing parental choice by specifically allowing for institutional variation on grounds of academic ability, and paved the way for future applications for changes in a school's nature.

As well as increasing the scope for parental choice between LEA maintained schools through open enrolment, the Education Reform Act 1988 introduced a new type of school independent of the LEA, funded direct by central government and managed by the governing body. Parents, acting through the governing body, would be able to apply to the Secretary of State for grant-maintained status. If they succeeded, the governing body of the new grant-maintained school would enjoy considerable discretion. Although Section 57 of the Act required a grant-maintained school to retain the character (as a comprehensive or selective school) which it had immediately prior to its change of status, the Secretary of State subsequently announced that he would consider applications from grant-maintained schools for a change in character. This could result in schools which are currently comprehensive applying to admit future pupils on the basis of academic ability.

Structural change was also introduced at post-statutory level. Education beyond the age of 16 is legally 'further education' but provision is made for students aged 16-19 to be educated within the schools sector. One of the objectives of both main political parties has been to increase the number of young people continuing their education after the age of 16. The aim of education for 16 to 19 year-olds proposed in the Macfarlane Report was 'a pattern of provision which is educationally sound, makes best use of available resources and allows flexible responses' (Macfarlane Report 1980). Falling rolls and the desire to encourage young people to remain in full-time education after the age of 16 led to a variety of provision, including consortia of school sixth forms, sixth form colleges and tertiary colleges.

Admission policies

Choice between schools is governed to a considerable extent by the admission criteria which come into operation when demand for places exceeds the number available. Admissions policies may be weighted to promote the effective use of resources on the one hand or to maximize parental choice on the other. The Education Act 1944 restricted the LEA's obligation to provide education in accordance with the wishes of the parents insofar as this would not detract from the provision of efficient education. Legislation during the 1980s saw this emphasis on efficiency progressively give way to the rights of parents concerning their choice of school.

Dubbed 'the Parents' Charter' by the media, the Education Act 1980 gave parents the right to the express a choice of school for their child(ren). Encouraged by the Government to rationalize school places, many LEAs published 'planned admission levels' for each of their schools (DES 1981a). Where demand exceeded the number of planned places, pupils were admitted in accordance with published criteria with priority given, for example, to those with siblings at the school, those who lived nearest to the school or those with special social or medical needs. To those pupils who could not be accommodated within the published limits, LEAs offered places at other schools. The 1980 Act required LEAs to set up an independent panel to consider appeals. Where parents appealed against the decision, it was incumbent on the LEA to justify its decision on one of three grounds, namely that the school was physically full, that the pupil had failed the meet the criteria of academic ability (in the case of a selective school) or the admission criteria established by the governors (in the case of a voluntary school), or that the admission would be prejudicial to the efficient provision of education or the effective use of resources in the area.

The Education Reform Act 1988 abolished planned admission levels and obliged schools to admit pupils to the limit of their physical capacity, defined in terms of standard numbers for admission (Sections 26 and 27). The policy of open enrolment was intended to prevent admissions to popular schools from being artificially limited, for example so that a less popular school could maintain viable numbers. It eliminated administrative barriers to school placement both within and between local education authorities (Greenwich case, Coulby and Bash 1991) by abolishing the LEAs' former flexibility to reduce demand for secondary school places in a given area by transferring catchment areas (Section 31). Instead of the LEAs' managing pupil places, the Act laid the foundation for the viability of individual schools to be determined by market forces, on the assumption that competition is the most efficient means of organization, matching supply to demand or needs. Successful schools are expected to attract increasing numbers of pupils and schools whose rolls fall as a consequence will either improve their standards or 'self-select' for closure or amalgamation. Coulby and Bash (1991) argue that whilst such rationalization is intended to bring about efficiency benefits for the system, the rights of parents who chose a less popular school for their child are reduced or wholly withdrawn.

A further consequence of the 1988 Act concerns grant-maintained schools. The right to change the character of a school by approval from the Secretary of State may result in an increase in the number of schools which provide particularly for the academically able, for pupils of a single sex, or for pupils who embrace a specific religious faith. Those which successfully apply for a change in character from comprehensive to selective school, may adapt their admission criteria to require future pupils to undergo admission tests. The Islamic community is seeking state aid to provide 'their' own school (Coulby and Bash 1991) along the lines of existing aided schools. There is concern that the creation of Islamic schools might contravene the spirit of the Race Relations Act and the Swann Report (1985) opposed ethnically separate education. However, it appears that the criterion of race is a legitimate one for parents considering the choice of their child's school given that, in April 1990, the Secretary of State seemed to take the view that a parent's right to choose a schools overrides the 1976 Race Relations Act (Coulby and Bash 1991). A High Court judgment on 15 May 1992 required the Secretary of State to review his decision to refuse aided status to a Muslim school (Pyke 1992).

Legislation affected not only the number of pupils to be admitted to a school, but it also opened up ordinary schools to pupils of a wider range of abilities and educational needs. The Education Act 1981 reflected many of the recommendations of the Warnock Report (1978). Its underlying purpose was to eliminate the educational deprivation which resulted from the categorization of pupils by disability. Under the Act, education authorities are required to prepare a Statement of a multi-professional analysis of a child's specific educational needs and to recommend appropriate provision. This Statement, which is subject to regular review, must be prepared either at the parents' request or whenever the educational provision made for a child differs from that made for his or her peers. It was expected that, as a result of this legislation, most pupils would be integrated into ordinary schools and that there would be a drop in the number of special school places. It was also hoped that a number of pupils in ordinary schools (up to 18% of the cohort) would benefit from special support to meet their educational needs, which had previously been unnoticed or deemed insufficiently serious to warrant the pupil's transfer to a special school.

Public funding of independent school places

There is further scope for choice between schools according to whether they are state-funded, state-subsidized or privately-funded. The allocation of state funding may be direct (as in the case of CTCs) or indirect (as in the case of fees under the Assisted Places Scheme).

In 1970, O'Sullivan argued that 'excellence in education could not be secured by a state school system alone' and called on the Conservative Party to 'conserve individual parental freedom and choice in education, promote competition between schools and encourage decentralized initiative (perhaps through education vouchers)'. His perception of the essential contribution of the independent sector was shared by Bell (1972), who believed that total state control of education and the absence of the normal safeguard of conflict and diversity would result in increasing prescription in the content of education (cited by Knight 1990:66). The extent to which O'Sullivan's free market philosophy was absorbed into formal Party policy may be seen in *Better Schools*.

> Among the strengths of our schools system are its diversity and the extent of choice ...
> which it offers to parents. The independent sector makes a significant contribution on both
> counts. In recognition of [its contribution for boarders, pupils with special educational
> needs and those who are artistically gifted] about one in six pupils in independent schools
> is assisted with his fees from various central and local government funds. Some 35,000
> pupils are expected to be benefiting by the end of the decade (DES 1985:para 288).

The Education Act 1944 empowered LEAs, at their discretion and on a means-tested basis, to contribute towards the fees payable by pupils at Direct Grant Grammar Schools. Following the abolition of Direct Grant Grammar Schools in October 1975, some such schools were absorbed into the maintained sector, usually as comprehensive schools, whilst others adopted independent status. Arguing that Labour had failed to consider educational standards and discipline and that too few maintained grammar schools remained to revive the old scheme, the 1979 Conservative Party manifesto promised to introduce an Assisted Places Scheme to enable pupils to attend former Direct Grant Grammar Schools, described as 'centres of excellence'. It later described the purpose of the scheme as a means to restore 'a degree of parental choice which was removed by the abolition of the Direct Grant Grammar Schools' (DES 1985:para 195).

Under the provisions of the Education Act 1980, the Secretary of State determines the number of assisted places to be funded at each of a selected number of independent schools of proven academic worth. Academically able children can take up a place at an independent school irrespective of their parents' ability to pay the fees. The proportion of the fees and additional expenses paid by the Government varies according to parental income. The scheme was expanded by the Education Reform Act 1988 and provides opportunities for 1% of the relevant age group. This initiative, which the DES claimed would 'help to meet the academic needs of pupils whose talents might otherwise not be catered for' (Edwards et al 1989:3), provides indirect public funding for selected independent schools, tied to the admission and continuing attendance of individual pupils.

The second initiative focuses on direct, institutional support. In accordance with the powers granted to the Secretary of State under the Education Act 1944 to provide funds for schools other than maintained schools, proposals were made for schools which would specialize in science and technology (DES 1987). These were formalized as City Technology Colleges (CTC) by the Education Reform Act 1988, which broadened the concept to embrace colleges specialising in the technology of the arts (CCTA). City Colleges were to be situated in urban areas and provide education for pupils of different abilities in the 11-18 age group drawn wholly or mainly from the area around the school. Pupils would be admitted on the basis of technical aptitude and a commitment to remain at school until the age of 18+. The terms of the national curriculum did not explicitly apply to City Colleges, which would offer a broad curriculum with an emphasis on science and technology (CTC) or on technology in its application to the performing and creative arts (CCTA).

The purpose of establishing CTCs was threefold. First, to help overcome a national shortage of suitably-qualified scientists and technicians and thereby make the country more competitive in the world market. The second objective was to establish prestigious 'magnet schools' in urban areas, where pupil motivation and staff morale were depressed. Thirdly, CTCs would be independent schools, established by sponsors (from industry and commerce) but whose running costs would be met by the Government. Unlike other independent schools, CTCs would not charge tuition fees. The Government hoped that the joint funding arrangement would lead to a closer involvement of industry in the life of the school which, in turn, would make the school more responsive to employers' needs.

Although the Government pays up to 80% of capital costs as well as 100% of current expenditure of CTCs (Bash and Coulby 1989), Cyril Taylor, chairman of the CTC trust has admitted that the cost of starting schools from scratch had been 'woefully underestimated by the DES' and that the aim now was to 'buy up schools in use and "phase in" the CTCs over a period of up to six years' (Nash 1988).

Values implicit in structural changes

The Conservatives espoused a soft interpretation of equality, that is, equal opportunities for all to be different, which entailed a system based on 'properly established facts, variety and local option' (Boyson 1977, quoted by Knight 1990:121) and selection.

> Variety and flexibility implies different kinds of school and a continuing process of assessment which will sometimes lead to selection for schools and sometimes to selection inside schools. You cannot teach all children in the same way and in the same kind of school (Norman St John Stevas, *see Knight 1990:121*).

This definition of equality as diversity was presented as a 'positive freedom of the child to be taught how to do things ... and the positive freedom of parents to be allowed diversity of choice in education' (Knight 1990:116).

Bell had criticized the pursuit of equality and calls to abolish streaming and examinations as symptomatic of the desire of 'equalitarian levellers' and the 'interventionist levellers' to pursue social engineering aims, which he described as 'a matter of averages not excellence' (Knight 1990:67). Conservative Educationalists,

> that body of individuals (intellectuals, academics, politicians, educationists, journalists and others) who stood for the preservation of, what they saw as, the best and most effective of traditional educational methods and structures, whilst granting the ncessity to adapt these to the perceived changing needs of pupils and society, (Lord Maude, quoted by Knight 1990:80)

considered that this pursuit of the hard dimension of equality (equality of outcome) could only succeed at the expense of standards of excellence.

This goes some way towards explaining the importance given to choice in Conservative policy as a keystone of quality throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Much legislation was specifically presented in terms of increasing parental choice and obliging the education providers to make available the information on which such a choice could be made. The resulting competition between schools for pupils would, in the Government's view, lead to schools' raising their standards in order to attract pupils and the resources which are linked to them.

The initiatives outlined above are consistent with the Government's objectives of value for money in public services, increasing parental choice and, more specifically, with its determination to provide appropriate education for pupils of outstanding ability.

Given the need to remove surplus places as school populations contract, the free market mechanism offered a means of abdicating responsibility for the politically unpopular act of securing essential school closures. The Government equally sought to dilute the power of 'irresponsible' (interpreted as Labour) local authorities and seized on the rising tide of 'parent power' to mark, in the 1980 Act, the first small step in a line which culminated in the 'opting out' of schools from local authority control (Coulby and Bash 1991).

Nevertheless, there is an underlying inconsistency in the legislation for, whilst the LEA's control (however discreetly exercised) is seriously undermined by allowing schools to opt for grant-maintained status, it retains responsibility for safeguarding the quality and cost-effectiveness of the education provided in its area through the rationalization of school places and delegation of financial responsibility to school governing bodies.

Implementation

The Government's intentions in changing the structure of educational provision were to increase parental choice, to raise educational standards, to provide for the

academic élite and to secure value for money. The 1981 Act specifically concerned pupils with educational needs and expected a large number of pupils then enrolled in special schools to be integrated into mainstream schools. However, the Act has been described by the vice-chairman of the Warnock Committee as

'Warnock in legislative form' but without the central government commitment and resources required to do what was needed properly (Cooke 1991)

and subsequent legislation has made little reference to special needs pupils. Cooke recognizes that it is too early to say whether the effects in terms of special education of the new factors introduced by the 1988 Act will be 'broadly beneficial or disastrous or somewhere in between'.

The remainder of this chapter considers the effect of structural changes in terms of achieving the other four of the Government's objectives.

Increasing parental choice

The issue of parental choice was addressed by the Conservative Government first by changing admission arrangements and later by introducing new types of school.

Admission arrangements

The 1980 Act enabled local education authorities (LEAs) to maintain a balance between parental choice and the efficient provision of education in the authority as a whole. Stillman and Maychell (1986) found that the percentage of parents whose child was admitted to their first-choice school during the years immediately following this legislation was 92.2 (1983) and 90.6 (1984). Only 1.3% of parents appealed against the decision in 1983 and this number fell slightly to 1.2% in 1984. Just under half the appeals were successful: 42.3% and 42.6% respectively (Stillman and Maychell 1986:159). Parents' sense of choice influences the amount of time and effort which they are prepared to put into exercising such a choice 'although an appeal can be a formidable barrier for parents, who may have no previous experience of dealings with the LEA' (Johnson 1990:123).

New school types

The claim that grant-maintained schools and City Colleges will increase parental choice bears closer examination. Clearly, those resident within reasonable travelling distance of county, voluntary and grant-maintained schools and City Colleges have access to the full range of publicly financed school types. However, by 18 June 1992, out of a total of 25,000 state schools, only 263 had secured approval for grant-maintained status. This includes 217 secondary (or middle deemed secondary) schools and 49 primary (or middle deemed primary) schools. Moreover, it is argued that

for the vast majority of parents, the fact that there are a handful of CTCs dotted about the country, and a tiny number of assisted places available nationally, is an irrelevance ('Ultra Vires' 1991).

Where a choice exists, open enrolment and the Government's promotion of City Colleges and grant-maintained schools as 'beacons of excellence' to be emulated by other schools is likely to result in oversubscription of the more popular schools. At the same time, the subsequent choice open to disappointed parents will be further reduced

by the non-viability of less popular schools. Predictions that if one school becomes grant-maintained others in the locality may follow suit are beginning to be borne out in practice (Coulby and Bash 1991:76). In some LEAs, (e.g. Kent, Cambridge) consideration is being given to block applications for grant-maintained status. Parents who want their child to attend a selective school may, in areas such as Wakefield, be obliged to apply to a grant-maintained school as all the grammar schools have opted out of LEA control (*Education* 17 August 1991:121). This loss of choice between LEA maintained and grant-maintained schools is, in law, significant since the Education Reform Act provides for a complaints procedure for parents whose children apply to or attend LEA maintained schools, but makes no such provision in relation to grant-maintained schools (Sams 1991). Thus, in practice, some parents will 'continue to be denied their choice and others experience no real widening of it '(Coulby and Bash 1991:66; 'Ultra Vires' 1991).

Some LEAs, perhaps in the interests of offering a diversity rather than uniformity of provision within their area, are establishing their own technology centres or planning to reorganize their own provision on a magnet school basis (e.g. London Borough of Wandsworth). Under this scheme, individual schools would make specialized provision to attract pupils with particular talents, needs or curricular interests (Johnson 1990). Whilst such patterns of organization may secure the continued provision for minority needs and interests within the authority as a whole, if the capacity of individual schools or travelling distance prevents a pupil from attending the relevant magnet school, his or her special interests or skills may not be addressed at all. It is not clear what provision will be made for generalists, that is children who show no outstanding aptitude in any field. Furthermore, the changed role of LEAs following the implementation of local management of schools, open enrolment and 'opting out' may seriously undermine planning for and the individual's access to such provision. Evidence from magnet schools in the USA suggests that popularity would make CTCs increasingly selective, at least to the extent of excluding those who are perceived as educationally 'at risk'. Walford and Miller (1991) also remark that, as CTCs become increasingly popular, they will want to move up the traditional hierarchy of esteem and thus 'deviate from [their original] role - as Kingshurst already seems to be doing' (quoted by Coulby and Bash 1991:74).

Effects of structural changes

A positive benefit of parental choice is identified by Johnson who, referring to her 1987 research and to the work of Stillman and Maychell (1986) claims that 'if choice is successful, several researchers including myself have found that family commitment to the school seems high' (Johnson 1990:123). This action starts a relationship between home and school described by Hirschman (1970) as loyalty and by Westoby as 'opting-in'.

> In opting to send their child to a school, [parents] also opt to provide the school with a definite, externally fixed, quantum of additional revenue. The links between pupil numbers and revenue are close enough to resemble a form of educational voucher scheme (Westoby 1989:67).

The extent to which this initial loyalty is retained varies, depending in part on the level of satisfaction with the school and on the way in which any dissatisfaction is handled. Where parents are not satisfied with the quality of education provided by the

school, they may complain or, in Hirschman's terms, exercise 'voice'. However, many parents are reluctant to express their criticisms for fear of the consequences for their child. Those parents who choose not to voice their criticisms, or who are dissatisfied with the school's response, have recourse to a final stage, 'exit', whereby they break off the relationship with the school by transferring their child (and the associated resources) to another school. Parents may also take this course in response to comparative test results (Coulby and Bash 1991). However, 'exit' requires considerable thought because, in addition to the practical considerations (e.g. increased travelling time and costs, school fees in the case of independent schools), the transfer will require the child to adapt to a new environment and to teachers who may approach the syllabus in a different way. Moreover, there is no guarantee that in the new school there will be no cause for dissatisfaction.

Building on Hirschman's model (1970), Westoby examines parental influence on the education of their children by expressing 'voice'. The 1986 and 1988 legislation increased the number of parent representatives on the governing body and the range and level of responsibility delegated to governors. This, according to Westoby, may be interpreted as a more rounded strategy which combines parental influence as pure consumers with measures to strengthen their position within schools as organizations. The legislation appears to be founded on the premise of the traditional economic theory that organizations whose performance declines relative to that of their competitors, will respond in such a way as to recover their position. Westoby argues that this premise is misplaced and that the effectiveness of open access and competition between schools as a means of raising standards may fail because

> an increasing flow of 'exiting' customers in search of preferred products may have the effect of weakening voice, at least in the organizations which are declining. The effect may thus be, by weakening their recuperative mechanisms, to accelerate the decline that first began to cause exits (Westoby 1989:71).

Moreover, where competition is based on quality rather than cost,

> it is those who care most about quality who will be the first to exit if (relative) quality declines. Yet these are often the same ones who would be most articulate and energetic in applying voice if they stayed (ibid:71).

The effect of changes in parental representation on governing bodies and the governors' accountability to all parents are discussed below. However, there are two other sources of 'voice' in the management of the school which are relevant to the present discussion: the teachers and the governing body as a whole. Research into the effects of 'placing requests' in Scotland (University of Glasgow 1986) revealed a lowering of staff morale when there is a 'net flow of requests away from a school'. This might in return result in the loss of the most able and committed teachers - to other schools or even out of the profession - possibly leaving the school unable to meet its obligations with respect to the curriculum. As will be shown later in this study, governors devote a considerable amount of voluntary effort to the fulfilment of their obligations. The need to replace staff or respond to complaints from parents under Section 23 of the Education Reform Act would add to the governors' workload. Their continuing commitment may also be affected by the success or failure of the 'enterprise'. Thus the acceleration of decline referred to by Westoby may be further hastened by the loss of voice arising from resignations of effective teachers or governors.

Raising educational standards

The contribution of structural changes to educational standards can only be conjectured. E G West contends that freedom of parental choice maximizes talent by harnessing parental commitment, which has been shown to be a contributory factor to pupil success. However, allowing schools to increase in size to meet parental demand may not necessarily raise standards. Indeed, the former direct-grant grammar schools and many independent schools, praised by the Government for their high academic standards, were and are generally of moderate size.

In 1989-90, 85.5% of 18 year-old school leavers achieved at least one GCE A Level pass, representing 20.3% of the total age group. The statistics for all school leavers show that at least 3 GCE A Level passes were obtained by 14.6% of school leavers. When these figures are broken down by school type, they show that the 26.3% of grant-maintained school students and 57.7% of independent school students achieved this standard (DES 1991e). These differences might be attributable to the opportunities offered to the academically able in grant-maintained or independent schools. Of the 217 former LEA-maintained secondary schools which had achieved approval for grant-maintained status by June 1992, 54 are selective. Equally, awards under the Assisted Places Scheme are offered to pupils on the basis of academic selection tests. It might therefore be argued that if the most able students are 'creamed off', the standards achieved by the remaining students are a testimony to the quality of education provided in the LEA-maintained sector. This view is supported by the Audit Commission report (1992) which says that independent schools which perform well in terms of raw A Levels are no more effective at adding value to the potential shown by students at GCSE level than are sixth forms in the maintained sector.

If 'standards' are interpreted in terms of the performance of all young people in the relevant age group, rather than the excellence achieved by a minority, then the public funding of students in the independent sector or of City Colleges may be said to counteract the pursuit of standards. Argyropulo (1986) contents that such initiatives 'help most those children with parents best able to play the system to escape from poor schools. They do nothing for the quality of education of the majority who remain behind' (quoted by Bash and Coulby 1989:50).

Elitist provision

In 1987-88, 26,899 pupils participated in the Assisted Places Scheme. The total cost to the Government was £48m, broken down into an average of £1,867 per participating pupil. The average fee per pupil was £2,346 and 40% of pupils received total remission of fees (Edwards et al 1989). The Assisted Places Scheme

> ostensibly offers opportunities for 'worthy' poor to 'escape' from their backgrounds, but the evidence available so far shows that it attracts middle class pupils and helps to increase the market appeal of the fee paying sector (Bash and Coulby 1989:50).

Edwards et al (1989) found individual benefits 'insofar as assisted-places pupils have already been conspicuously successful in public examinations and in gaining access to higher education' but, they go on, 'there is no evidence so far that the main beneficiaries have been from the target groups originally envisaged' (1989:218). Similarly, Douse (1985) describes the beneficiaries as mainly those from families made 'artificially poor' by death, divorce or unemployment. Their 'low income may be partly

compensated for by the cultural capital available for the child' (cited by Johnson 1990:98). However, Marks (1992) quotes a MORI poll conducted in December 1991 which gives the following participation rates by socio-economic groups: AB - 19%; C1 - 41%; C2 - 22%; DE - 16%. He contends that the 'close agreement' between the MORI figures and those published by the DES (1991k) 'is further evidence that the MORI sample is fully representative' (Marks 1992:8).

The main opposition is directed at the systemic consequences, both ideological and financial, of the Scheme. Whilst acknowledging that the Scheme brings tangible benefits to the individuals who hold assisted places, Argyropulo (1986) argues that these are translated into potential costs for those individuals not themselves participating in it. Other critics decry the opportunity cost of not directing this expenditure to the enhancement of provision for all young people in the maintained sector (Edwards et al 1989), particularly because the Government was, at the time, squeezing the education budget. The then Secretary of State, Mark Carlisle, stated that this money was additional to that available for the maintained system (TES 15 February 1980). Although parental commitment to school is expressed in financial as well as moral terms, there is no evidence to support the assumption that, in the absence of a private sector, the state sector would receive voluntary contributions from parents on the same scale as those currently paid in fees to independent schools. Marks (1992), a supporter of the Scheme, argues that it is 'a cost-effective use of public funds', on the grounds that the average cost of an assisted place (in 1989-90) was £2,300 per year, 'compared with around £2,100 for a pupil of secondary school age in a state school' (Marks 1992:7).

Whilst it is consistent with the Government's attempts to harness private resources to public expenditure within a mixed market, the Assisted Places Scheme conflicts with the stated objectives of 'a Conservative Government explicitly committed to reducing the scale and cost of state intervention, expanding the role of the market in the allocation of national resources' (Edwards et al 1989:6).

Edwards et al, (citing Walford 1987) argue that, by increasing the academic selectiveness of some independent schools, and thus enhancing their results and their market appeal beyond what would have been attainable through the operation of 'pure' market forces, the Scheme has provided an 'artificial boost' to their prospects in competing with the public sector (Edwards et al 1989:219). The average fees of participating independent schools have risen from £1,323 in 1981/82 to £2,346 in 1987/88 (Edwards et al 1989:2). The reasons for such increases are many, including inflation and rising costs generally. The Independent Schools Information Services cited the average fees in January 1988 as being £732 for senior girls' day schools and £784 for senior boys' day schools. This evidence that the fees being paid on behalf of assisted students are over three times as high would lend support to the argument that the guaranteed income represented by the Scheme protects independent schools from the need to restrict fees to attract sufficient numbers of pupils within a genuinely free market. In this way, whilst cash limits are applied to local authority services and thus, indirectly, to LEA maintained schools, independent schools remain free of Government controls.

The Government's objectives with regard to City Technology Colleges have not been achieved in a number of respects. First, it was intended to have twenty such colleges in operation by the early 1990s; by September 1992 there will be 15 City Colleges, including one CCTA. Second, the level of funding from industry falls short of the

'substantial level' mentioned in the Government's proposals. Moreover, major companies, whilst public supporters of the Conservative Party, have declined to participate in the scheme, preferring to make any contributions to the maintained sector. Third, most of the Colleges are not in inner city areas, as originally planned, partly because of the opposition of some Labour councils. The decision to give CTCs defined catchment areas, contradicting open enrolment regulations, almost 'smacked of discredited policies of positive discrimination' (Coulby and Bash 1991:73). Here again, with several of the Colleges in less deprived areas now able to draw applicants from a wider area, it may be argued that the beneficiaries are not those originally targeted by the Government. Finally, whilst it is too early to evaluate the success of the enterprise, the HMI (1991) report on Kingshurst City Technology College indicates weaknesses in provision of technology, the very area in which such colleges are intended, and resourced, to excel.

Value for money

The number of maintained schools in England and Wales fell from 28,176 in 1979 to 25,098 in 1990. Whilst the establishment of 143 grant-maintained schools and 15 City Colleges adds to the range of schools from which parents may choose, these initiatives have to some extent gone against the Government's objective of rationalizing provision by taking surplus school places out of the system.

Bash and Coulby claim that LEAs have been accused of non-efficient provision, 'whilst DES prevaricates or prevents the closure of schools and authorises GMs or CTCs!' (1989:127). In the first place, applications for grant-maintained status take precedence over local authority proposals for reorganization. A local authority's plans for more cost-effective provision is therefore delayed until the Secretary of State has ruled on any grant-maintained applications and the outcome of such applications may undermine the LEA's own proposals (e.g. Calderdale, see *Education* 17 August 1990:121). It has been suggested that, in approving an application for grant-maintained status in Avon, the Secretary of State put the interests of the current parents of one school before those of five other schools involved in proposed reorganization (Coulby and Bash 1991).

Secondly, the creation of new City Colleges exacerbates the over-provision of school places in certain areas, e.g. Solihull and Southwark, and pupil numbers in the surrounding schools will fall by the number of enrolments in the colleges (Coulby and Bash 1991). Given that the Colleges were originally expected to admit pupils from their immediate catchment area (contrary to the spirit of open enrolment), it would technically be possible that reduced enrolments would focus on a single school which could then be withdrawn from service. However, given the attraction of the enhanced facilities of the new Colleges, and the relaxation of the catchment criterion, it may be expected that pupils outside the catchment area will apply. By applying the criteria of aptitude and commitment, City Colleges may well draw pupils from a wider area, thus threatening the cost-effectiveness, if not viability, of a number of schools.

In conclusion, Bash and Coulby (1989) have also discerned a trend towards segregated, élitist provision for the 16+ group. There is some evidence that LEAs, forced to rationalize provision, have maintained strict divisions between A Level provision in schools and other provision in the further education sector, which 'flies in the face of the tertiary college model' (Bash and Coulby 1989:82). By forcing students to choose between institutions or curricula the consequences undermine the Government's attempts

to link academic and work-related courses through initiatives such as TVEI. There is a sharp contrast between the accent on 'choice' at statutory education level and the unification which is being proposed and implemented at further and higher education level. The Further and Higher Education Act 1992 enables polytechnics and larger colleges of higher education to secure university status and to award their own qualifications (following the abolition of the CNAA). Colleges of further education, tertiary and sixth form colleges will be taken out of local educational authority control, given corporate status and funded through central councils.

Impact of policies on structure

Open enrolment has placed schools in competition for pupils and introduced an element of marketing into the statutory provision of information. The threat, already experienced in a limited form, of league tables of examination results, attendance and truancy rates, is a logical consequence of the market-place philosophy. In welcoming these measures as providing parents with 'real' information, the Government implies that it is possible to reduce the indicators of 'good schools' to these few quantitative measures. However, in response to widespread criticism, the Government has conceded that schools will be able to publish a statement alongside their national test results explaining any special factors which affect them (Coulby and Bash 1991).

Secondly, the right to change the character of a school by approval from the Secretary of State may result in an increase in the number of schools which provide particularly for the academically able, for pupils of a single sex, or for pupils who embrace a specific religious faith.

If the trends towards opting out and changes in the character of schools involving specialization or academic drift develop, the result may be greater differentiation between schools on a linear scale of quality and esteem rather than the positive diversity for which its supporters had hoped. Whether this is the result of a conscious policy or merely the outcome of a series of apparently unrelated decisions, critics of current government policy have discerned a possible future scenario in which a clear hierarchy of schools will re-emerge (Campbell et al 1987, Cordingly and Wilby 1987, Bash and Coulby 1989) with independent schools at the top, followed by City Colleges, grant-maintained schools, voluntary schools and, the LEA maintained schools at the base (Coulby and Bash 1991).

Chapter 10 - Governance and management

The balance of control established by the 1944 Act was dramatically altered by the Education Reform Act 1988 (ERA) which shifted huge areas of control to the Secretary of State at the DES (Bash and Coulby 1989, Lawton 1992). In an attempt to reduce the power of 'loony left' and ineffective authorities, the Education Reform Act seeks to empower parents, heads, governors and industrialists instead of the traditional providers, the LEAs (Bash and Coulby 1989).

The Conservative manifesto 1987 asserted that 'everyone is concerned that standards of achievement should be high. Where parties differ is over methods to realize that aim' (Conservative Party 1987). The Conservative Party's solutions rested on the identification of targets and the publication of achievements which would serve as a basis for parental choice within a free market. Linked to this, educational institutions would be

> subject to a measure of lay oversight and control. That role should be discharged by the governing body, to be composed ... of persons, especially parents, who may be expected to take a close interest in the affairs of the school in question and reflect the views of those whom the school serves most directly (DES 1984:para 42).

Issues of governance deal with the locus of control and the internal management of schools in terms of structure, content, staffing, other resources and evaluation. The 1980s have seen a considerable shift of power from the local educational authorities, to the Secretary of State on the one hand and to the governing bodies of schools and colleges on the other. Whilst successive legislation incrementally increased the power of governing bodies in some respects, in others, powers first delegated were subsequently withdrawn. Articles and Instruments of Government were revised to reflect these changes.

Governing Bodies

Acting selectively and belatedly on the recommendations of the Taylor Report (1977), the Government made provision for the reconstitution of school governing bodies over a period of six years. The Education Act 1980 introduced a common terminology for primary and secondary school government, required all schools (with the possible exception of linked infant and junior schools) to have a separate governing body and made provision for the election of parent and teacher governors. A category of 'other' governors allowed for a non-teaching staff representative and a pupil representative (provided he or she was aged 18) to serve on the governing body.

The Green Paper *Parental Influence in Schools* (DES 1984) proposed that parents should have an absolute majority of seats on governing bodies and considerably increased powers. However, after consultation, these proposals were modified. The main principles underlying governing body membership proposed in *Better Schools*,

were that no single interest would predominate and that an additional category of co-opted governor would allow for adequate representation of the business community (DES 1985:para 221). The Education (No 2) Act 1986 accordingly increased the proportion of parent governors and introduced a category of 'community governors'. At the same time it formally excluded pupils from membership of the governing body. Governors' period of service was extended from two to four years to allow for an element of continuity (ibid:para 223) and the legislation strengthened the governing body's role to ensure that it could not be overridden in the exercise of its assigned functions (ibid:para 227). If elected members did not, between them, have the specialist expertise essential to any effective board, suitable individuals could be co-opted from the local business community.

Schools which achieved grant-maintained status under the Education Reform Act 1988 were required to nominate a number of first or foundation governors greater in number than all other categories of governors taken together (Section 53). Insofar as the Government has expressed its hope that many more, if not all, schools achieve grant-maintained status, the composition of their governing bodies may be seen as the Government's ideal model.

With the emphasis on economy and efficiency as described in Chapter 4, rather than on the effective achievement of ideal and school-specific aims, the Government chose to adopt the business board of directors model of school management. Thus governing bodies would comprise representatives of the 'shareholders' (who fund the service through taxation and local rates and charges), consumers (parents, employers) and providers (LEA, teachers).

Responsibilities of governors

The Education (No 2) Act 1986 gave the governing body responsibility for the admissions policy (subject to LEA approval), for the internal management of the school (discipline, suspensions) and for determining the use of school premises outside school hours, subject to some LEA direction. By exercising their right to apply for grant-maintained status under the Education Reform Act, parents would be able to secure for the governing body the discretion to negotiate the future structure of the school, in terms of size and character, direct with the Secretary of State.

In 1979, the LEA and governing body had enjoyed considerable discretion with respect to the curriculum, within the statutory requirement that it suit the age, aptitudes and ability of the pupils at the school. The 1981 Act introduced the obligation to address, in addition, any special educational needs of registered pupils. The 1986 (No 2) Act imposed a duty on governors to establish a policy on sex education and, with the LEA and the head teacher, to secure a balanced treatment of political matters. More generally, it gave governing bodies the power to make variations in the LEA statement of the curriculum to reflect local needs. This latter discretion was revoked by the Education Reform Act 1988 which imposed a duty on governing body to secure, with the LEA and the head teacher, 'that the curriculum for the school satisfies the requirements of [Section 1 of the Act]'.

The 1988 Act enhanced the governing body's role in relation to the appointment and dismissal of staff with the establishment of appointment panels on which governors

would have half of the places. When fully implemented (between 1991 and 1994), local management of schools will give governors responsibility for determining the number of teaching and non-teaching staff employed in the school, the salaries payable, the development, appraisal and, if appropriate, disciplinary action leading to the dismissal of, staff. However, the LEA remains the formal employer and the governing body must consider any advice given by the Chief Education Officer relevant to the appointment. Thus it is the LEA which formally appoints and dismisses teaching and non-teaching staff, on the recommendation of the governors.

The financial resources immediately at the disposal of governing bodies in 1979 were limited to capitation, the per capita allowance for materials and equipment. All other expenditure, from major building works under the approved capital programme to minor repairs, cleaning and maintenance, was authorized and handled by the LEA. The Education (No 2) Act 1986 required LEAs to inform each governing body of the total school costs and the way in which this money was spent. Local management of schools (LMS), when implemented, will result in the delegation of the school's budget [see Chapter 13 and Appendix 6] to the governing body which will then be wholly responsible for its expenditure in pursuit of the school's responsibilities and objectives. The LEA can suspend the governing body's right to a delegated budget only if the governing body is guilty of 'substantial or persistent failure to comply with any requirements applicable under the scheme' or is 'not managing the appropriation or expenditure of the sum put at [its] disposal for the purposes of the school in a satisfactory manner' (Education Reform Act Section 37).

In tandem with its increasing authority, the governing body is required to report formally to the parents of pupils on the conduct and achievements of the school [see Appendix 2]. In 1980, the emphasis was on enabling parents to make an informed choice between schools on the basis of what the school offered (curriculum, pastoral care and arrangements for discipline, uniform policy etc) and public examination results. The 1986 Act imposed a formal obligation on school governors to provide an annual report on the work of the school and to hold an annual meeting to discuss the report and any other relevant matters raised by the parents. Moreover, provided that sufficient parents attended the meeting, the governors would be required to take note of and refer to the head teacher or the LEA as appropriate, any resolutions passed at the meeting. The Education Reform Act required governors to account for the expenditure of both its delegated budget under LMS and any monies raised from alternative sources such as Parent-Teacher Association fund-raising.

Responsibilities of head teachers

The internal management and discipline of the school remains the responsibility of the head teacher. With the exception of regulations concerning records of admission and attendance and the suspension of pupils, these responsibilities have been largely undefined until the Education (No 2) Act 1986 and the Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1987. The former Act abolished corporal punishment in schools and laid down the head teacher's responsibilities with respect to the curriculum and to discipline. The latter gave a more wide-ranging description including the head teachers' relations with other teachers, parents and outside bodies [see Appendix 3].

Values implicit in governance policies

The implicit values are participation and accountability with an underlying belief in the basic values of the rights of the individual as against that of the collective good. Thus higher priority is given to parents' rights to exercise choice than to the planning of education provision throughout a geographical area.

Secondly, in pursuit of economy, efficiency and effectiveness, the delegation of power to schools was based on a belief in the efficacy of cost-centre management.

Thirdly, the definition of a head teacher's duties and the level of responsibility delegated to governors are examples of the Government's growing lack of confidence in the professional judgement of teachers and education officers. Decision-making has been transferred from them to central government and to the predominantly lay members of the governing body.

Implementation

The Government's objectives were to increase parental influence in the education of their children, to make schools more accountable to the community which paid for them and to make schools more responsive and effective by delegating decision-making to the lowest possible level. This section calls on the findings of some recent research studies to examine

a)   governing body membership;

b)   governors' perceptions of their responsibilities and role(s) in the light of the 1986 and 1988 Education Acts;

c)   the skills and knowledge required by governors and aspects of governors' training; and

d)   whether a limited number of places on a governing body and access to an annual report and annual meeting will, as the Government intended, provide a framework to 'associate the whole parent body with the affairs of the school, and in particular with the work of parent governors' (DES 1984:para 85).

Governing body membership

It appears that the Government's confidence in the willingness of individuals, representing the separate constituencies (parents, teachers, LEA, community, foundation) to play the full role now required of them in school government was not misplaced. In their survey of school governing bodies in 1990, Keys and Fernandes found that the average vacancy rate was low (4%) although schools in inner cities, or those with more than 6% of pupils from ethnic minorities or those with more than 6% of pupils receiving free school meals, tended to have higher numbers of vacancies for governors that other schools (1990:34). They found that 98% of governors were of English, Scottish, Welsh or Northern Irish origin (Keys and Fernandes 1990:3 and 1990a Tables 16-21). In their later research, Baginsky et al (1991) also found a general concern about difficulties of recruiting governors from ethnic minorities, particularly for parent governors.

However, although one aim of changes in governing body membership is to increase the influence of parents and members of the business community, only 25% of

governing bodies have attempted to appoint one or more governors from the business community (Keys and Fernandes 1990:25). Amongst the actual membership of governing bodies surveyed, 18% were employed in industry or commerce; 12% were business persons and 6% were engaged in manual or clerical occupations (Keys and Fernandes 1990a: Tables G16-21).

The variety of expertise and experience which a school can recruit onto its governing body is influenced by many factors, not the least of which is the timing of governors' meetings. Baginsky et al (1991) found that

> one school habitually held meetings in the afternoon which caused problems for people with jobs outside the school, two of whom resigned their governorship (1991:19).

In another school, morning meetings were well attended by governors drawn from a necessarily restricted field: 'housewives and clerics, the retired or self-employed and people with flexible jobs or amenable employers'. On the other hand, evening meetings often meant that members of staff who live some distance from the school were obliged 'to wait around in school after a long day in the classroom' (Baginsky et al 1991:20).

In a separate survey, Keys and Fernandes (1990) found that 43% of governors 'had found it necessary to take time off work to fulfil some part of their responsibilities' and more than half of these (22%) did so to attend full meetings (1990:11).

Baginsky et al (1991:115) also considered the priority given to individual expertise when recruiting governors. They noted that

> it is possible that the representative nature of some governing bodies could become secondary to the other imperative of recruiting 'useful' individuals. ... However, even in schools which can recruit parents and other representatives with financial, legal and business acumen and which end up with 'professional' governing bodies, if the governors do not understand the curriculum, their effectiveness will be undermined (1991:115).

The willingness of governors to undergo the training necessary to understand the curriculum and other school-related matters is discussed below.

Responsibilities and roles

Governors' responsibilities have augmented considerably. An immediate consequence of this is an increase in the number of meetings, whether of the full governing body or of subcommittees, which individual governors attend. Keys and Fernandes found the median time spent on their activities as members of the school governing body was about 10 hours per term for primary school governors and 12 hours per term for secondary school governors (1990:9 and 1990a:Table G23.1). Of the 44 governors (excluding head teachers) interviewed by Baginsky et al, most were unwilling to quantify the time commitment, but the estimates of those who did ranged from three hours per term to 10-12 hours per week. Whatever the actual time invested, the workload matched the prior expectations of 27 of these governors, exceeded it for 11 and fell short of prior expectations for the remaining six (Baginsky et al 1991:56).

Of greater significance is the perception which different governors have of their responsibilities and roles. In their research, Kogan et al (1984) identified four potential models for governing bodies 'based on a different conception of what a governing body has as its purpose'. The most usual were the advisory governing body and the supportive governing body, but the accountable governing body and the mediating governing body

were also found. Baginsky et al (1991) carried out case study interviews in nine schools. They found that one in three governors, representing almost all the schools involved, 'likened the governing body to a board of directors of a limited company' and referred to the governing body as the 'policy-maker, decision-taker and controller of the school'. This can be likened to Kogan et al's accountable governing body. Baginsky's respondents also described the governing body as a support, a consultant (cf Kogan's 'supportive' and 'advisory' models), and a helper. Variations on these themes included the roles of watchdog, backstop and sharer. A few also saw it as a link (cf Kogan's 'mediating' model), a guardian and, in one case, a rubber stamp (Baginsky et al 1991). Compared with Kogan et al's findings, Baginsky's research reflects a distinct shift from the advisory-supportive to the accounting-controlling governing body.

Although many of the governors interviewed believe that their role was still evolving, several clear differences are already identified. It was claimed that political factions had for the most part disappeared and that 'few overtly political stances were now taken'. Governors were now seen to take a longer-term view, to be more committed and to be 'concerned with the centre of the argument rather than just the periphery'(Baginsky et al 1991:11). Some attribute the differences mainly to the change in status (governors' role 'was prosaic, now it's a legal relationship') or to governors' perception.

> Before 1988 we still had a voice and I think we could have been very influential but I don't think governors believed they were. Obviously now we seem to have more power, but we believe we have and that is the difference (Baginsky et al 1991:12).

Keys and Fernandes collected responses from 2,686 governors in 1,134 maintained primary and secondary schools. Their research focused more specifically on quantitative characteristics, but one question dealt with appropriateness of the responsibilities now delegated to governors. Of the governors surveyed, about 54% felt that the level of responsibility given to governing bodies is about right; 42% felt that governing bodies have too much responsibility, in particular in the areas of local management of schools, appointments and other personnel issues and the National Curriculum. Fewer than 5% of governors felt that governors have too little responsibility (Keys and Fernandes 1990:13 and 1990a: Tables G24.1 to G24.3).

Between 60% and 70% of head teachers felt that governing bodies had too much responsibility, the higher percentage being amongst those heads who had chosen not to be governors. Only one per cent of heads felt that the level of responsibility was too low. The areas in which heads felt that governors had too much responsibility were LMS, appointments and personnel issues and the National Curriculum. However, 32% of head teacher governors and 42% of non-governor heads indicated that they believed that governors had too much responsibility in all areas (Keys and Fernandes 1990:19 and 1990a: Tables HG24.1, HG24.3 and HO24.1).

A possible explanation for this discrepancy between the perceptions of head teachers and those of governors as a whole might be found in the following responses drawn from the Baginsky study:

> Governor: We used to listen, observe, keep in touch and help the head teacher with any problems. I think this was useful. Now we have sacrificed quality for quantity ... We have co-opted several people on to the governing body who don't know a thing about education just to keep the numbers up ... and they pontificate about matters like the curriculum (quoted by Baginsky et al 1991:12).

Co-opted governor: Some schools have difficulties with governors not understanding their role. They do not manage the schools they direct them. With no experience, they interfere without supporting (quoted by Baginsky et al 1991:140).

Teacher governor: We have four governors who have extremist views and they are trying to lead the governing body. This is creating bad feeling among the governors and concern that we may be precipitated into situations that have not been properly considered or voted on (quoted by Baginsky et al 1991:139).

Chairperson: She (the head teacher) does not seem to understand the new role of the governing body and that is a problem. Perhaps she does not trust us (quoted by Baginsky et al 1991:24).

Several governors saw this relationship as developing into 'more of a partnership' between the professionals and the governing body, although one or two heads added that 'we are not there yet' (Baginsky et al 1991:12).

However, conflicting perceptions about the levels of authority of the governing body and the school's management team might arise not simply from 'the system' but also from the skill or lack of it with which the chairpersons and head teachers lead their respective teams and develop their working relationships. As Baginsky et al conclude, 'no matter what structures are established, progress towards "partnership" will be possible only if the staff and governors trust each other' (1991:115).

In a series of interviews conducted with head teachers and chairpersons of governing bodies in five LEAs, Edwards and Baker attempted to gauge not only perceptions of responsibilities but also the way in which they were addressed by different members of the governing body.

The head of primary school in Authority C claimed his governors did not wish to get involved and were quite content for him to make the decisions. He was worried by the governors' new 'employer powers', a worry that was shared by the secondary head of Authority D (Edwards and Baker 1990 Annex:7).

He (primary head Authority B) also commented that the governors left everything to the chair (Edwards and Baker 1990 Annex:7).

Edwards and Baker surmised that some of the specific responsibilities might not be popular with governors:

for some schools, staff cuts will be necessary and governors will be forced to exercise their employer powers in a direction that they will not welcome (1990:25).

It is clearly too early to assess how the legislation will develop in practice and whether the fears that the burden will be so great that governors will resign, will be realized. Keys and Fernandes collected information about 903 governors who had resigned from 545 governing bodies during the period summer 1989-spring 1990. The main reasons for resignation were given as natural wastage (36%), pressure of work (35%, although it was not clear whether this referred to the governors' occupation or to their work as governors), domestic pressure (12%), loss of interest (8%), responsibilities too great (8%) and other reasons (6%) (Keys and Fernandes 1990:24 and 1990a:Table RG.9).

Other consequences are foreseen by a chairperson of governors of a primary school, who expressed his fear about the role of governing bodies under LMS.

The main problem of LMS is not the mechanics: it's all to do with the transfer of authority. The church-aided schools have had a sort of LMS for years but their governors know what their job is, and it's not to interfere with the professionals. Governors are now being told they have the power, and in effect they have three choices:

1) leave it to the head

2) take the strain from the head

3) flex their muscles.

If they choose the third, heads may well say they have had enough and are getting out (Chairperson, Authority B, quoted by Edwards and Baker 1990 Annex:8).

Skills, knowledge and training

The Government has repeatedly expressed its confidence in commonsense when it comes to education and there has been a deliberate policy to transfer the government of education from the LEA providers and professionals to lay persons representing those who pay for and use the service. Such action is based on the assumption that, collectively, lay governors have, or will acquire, the knowledge, skills and experience to manage schools wisely in the interests of all concerned.

Keys and Fernandes found that 44% of governors held a degree or a professional institute final qualification (e.g. in accountancy or surveying), although the proportion of secondary school governors with such qualifications (53%) exceeded similarly qualified primary school governors (35%) (Keys and Fernandes 1990:3, 1990a:Tables G.16-21c).

In terms of general competence, about 78% of chairpersons of governing bodies declared themselves satisfied with the balance of people, skills and interests of the governing body of their school in summer 1990. However, they identified a lack of skills in: finance and accountancy; management and organizational; business and industrial; marketing and PR; legal; surveying, building and related skills at professional and craft level (Keys and Fernandes 1990:26). These are the very skills which are important in dealing effectively with the new responsibilities delegated to governing bodies. The identification of such skills as 'lacking' may be taken as an indication of two things. The first is a recognition of the range of services formerly provided 'free' by local education authorities. The second implication is the schools' need, at a time of financial constraint, to gain access to such services without having to pay the 'market rate' charges, possibly by means of recruiting 'useful' in preference to 'representative' governors (Baginsky et al 1991).

Governors interviewed for the Baginsky study commented that 'the governing body was more informed, better-trained and had a greater knowledge of the school. It also brought a wide range of expertise to its task' (Baginsky et al 1991:11). The same research also showed high levels of confidence amongst governors in their ability to contribute [*see Figure 10.1, page 79*].

Considerable effort has gone into the provision of training for governors by LEAs, individual schools and specialist groups like Action for Governors Information and Training and the National Association of Governors and Managers. The Government has provided support for part of the cost to LEAs through grants for education support and training (GESTs).

Keys and Fernandes found that just over two-thirds of the serving governors surveyed had taken advantage of training which had been offered [*see Figure 10.2, page 79*].

Figure 10.1: LEVELS OF CONFIDENCE IN RELATION TO MAJOR AREAS OF GOVERNORS' WORK

Category of governor	Curriculum	Staffing	Finance	School organization
chairperson	86%	97%	89%	94%
teacher	94%	94%	70%	88%
parents	82%	94%	79%	94%
LEA nominated	71%	83%	75%	79%
Foundation	92%	92%	85%	11%
Co-opted/ minor authority	75%	82%	75%	25%

[adapted from Baginsky et al 1991:136]

Figure 10.2: GOVERNOR TRAINING: OFFERS AND TAKE-UP

Training	offered	taken up
before summer 1989	76%	48%
summer 1989-spring 1990	87%	54%
total of serving governors	92%	68%

[Keys and Fernandes 1990a: Tables G1.1 to G1.2.2]

Such patterns of participation were not universal and the chairperson of governors of a primary school in Authority E referred to the 'underwhelming response of the governing body to training'. In a similar vein, the primary head in Authority B stated that 'the governing body had not expressed any interest in training' (Edwards and Baker 1990 Annex:7).

The reasons why offers of training were not taken up may be related to its timing, location or the organization and content.

Keys and Fernandes found that 69% of their respondents preferred weekday evenings, whilst 23% opted for weekday during working hours. However, these responses were drawn from those who had attended sessions on weekday evenings (81%), daytime (19%) or weekends (21%) and may therefore not reflect the views of those who were unable or unwilling to attend courses at the times offered (Keys and Fernandez 1990:5). The difficulties involved in setting a time to suit all or most governors are indicated in the following findings:

> courses held during the day were not convenient for governors who worked (Baginsky et al 1991:97);

> weekly sessions on the same evening each week, as offered in some LEAs, from 7.30-9.30 pm could prove impossible for many (Roberts 1988:19);

> teachers were often unable to attend day time courses as ... 'cover' was not always available for their classes and [they] were having to attend additional professional courses in relation to curricular changes (Baginsky et al 1991:96);

> a parent governor thought that the times chosen were 'convenient to the trainers not the trainees' (Baginsky et al 1991:97).

Baginsky et al also found that teachers lost their pay if they took leave of absence to attend governor training (1991:96), a deterrent which might also apply to other governors.

The time involved in travelling to training sessions clearly affects the level of take-up, even where travelling expenses are refunded. The preferred location for most governors would be 'their school' (46%) or another local school (21%) (Keys and Fernandes 1990:5 1990a: Table G1.7). This may be difficult and costly for some authorities to arrange, particularly those with large numbers of small schools in rural areas. However, the added value of such an investment was identified by Baginsky et al, particularly as 'the need for the intense governor training ... in the first year after the reconstitution of the governing bodies in 1988, is not now so urgent' (1991:113). They found that

> it was clear that many governors would appreciate a move away from central or area training to local whole governing body training... if a governing body is to be effective, its members need to be able to work together to achieve a common understanding of the ethos and aims of their school and to collaborate in finding solutions to problems. There should be a full governing body, as well as an individual, approach to issues' (Baginsky et al 1991:113-4).

This last point is of particular significance because governors exercise corporate, and not individual, power.

Research also revealed criticisms of the organization and content of courses. A failure to tailor courses to the needs of individual categories of governor, or according to experience, was commented on by Roberts:

> most LEAs ran courses for governors, full stop. No differentiation was made between new and experienced governors nor was there a distinction between teachers, LEA, parent governors etc (Roberts 1988:19).

Baginsky et al found that some teachers felt the courses were not particularly suited to them and would have preferred courses designed specifically to meet their needs (1991:96). The need to impart a great deal of information in a short time frequently resulted in a didactive training format (Roberts 1988), which was criticized by many governors for allowing insufficient time for discussion. On the other hand, dissemination by group discussion came in for criticism for being 'interesting but time-consuming' (Baginsky et al 1991:99). One head teacher questioned whether LEA provision constituted training at all.

> The LEA has made every effort to run courses but courses do not equal training. As far as training is concerned, I don't think they've begun. They do not get governors together and analyse and discuss situations (Head teacher, quoted by Baginsky et al 1991:98).

Nevertheless, the difficulties faced by LEAs do not go unrecognized. One co-opted governor said:

> The LEA training officer has a difficult job. She is not training like and like. We should be in streams. It's like painting the Forth Bridge - it is never finished (Co-opted governor, quoted by Baginsky et al 1991:97).

Accountability

Whilst the Government's framework assumes a willingness on the part of the community to participate, it equally assumes that those willing to be involved will have the opportunity to do so at a level which they find acceptable. To some extent, success in elections depends on visibility and potentially 'better' candidates (particularly among parent representatives) may be passed over in favour of those who have the time to canvass or who are already active in parent-teacher associations (Beckett et al 1991:20). As not all those with an interest in education, be it as parent, employer or charge-payer, can participate in the decision-taking, governors will need to earn the confidence that they are acting in the best interests of all concerned.

There seems to be some confusion about governors' role as a representative or a delegate and to their responsibilities (as compared with those of the governing body as a whole) for reporting back to their 'constituents'. This issue appears particularly relevant to parent governors (Beckett et al 1990:20). Baginsky et al (1991:77) noted that there were few references to channels of communication between the governing body and parents generally and that 'it was not always clear if a formal feedback took place or, indeed, if this was expected'. Beckett et al (1990) also commented on potential conflict on the part of teacher governors between their personal views, those of the teaching staff as a whole and those of the head teacher. The flow of information between the governing body and interested parties is left to the discretion of individual governing bodies since the only legal requirements are that minutes of meetings should be made available and, under Sections 30 and 31 of the 1986 (No 2) Act, that governors produce an annual report for parents and make arrangements for an annual meeting at which the report, and other matters, may be discussed.

Given the novelty of these responsibilities and the speed with which they had to be implemented, governors need both practical and financial support. An indication of the costs involved in producing the first annual report in 1987, generally excluding secretarial time, is given in Arden's questionnaire survey of London Diocesan Board schools. The 101 primary schools which responded spent between £1-£274, giving a unit cost ranging between one and 43 pence. There were two exceptions: in Tower Hamlets, individual reports cost between one pence and £1.38 to produce and in Harrow, both responding schools spent £1.15 per copy. Secondary schools spent between £38 and £433 on the report, representing between 3 and 43 pence per copy (Arden 1988:19-20).

The responsibility for the additional funding lay with the LEA, as the following extract from a letter from DES to London Diocesan Board, dated 17 July 1987 (**after the first round of parents' meetings had been held**) indicates:

> The costs arising from a Governing Body's discharge of its functions under the Education (No 2) Act 1986, including the report to parents, form part of the running costs of the school and, as such, are to be met by the local education authority. ... While no percentage of the increased provision [for local authority current spending] is specifically earmarked for expenses arising out of the implementation of the Act, LEAs are expected to take the implications of the Act into account when allocating funds to cover the running costs of schools (DES, quoted by Arden 1988:13).

At national level, Bristow (1988) found that 58 of the 84 responding authorities centralized printing or made payments to schools, and 56 LEAs paid for specific clerical support. The vast majority of LEAs provided guidance; just over half produced a model report and just under half arranged briefing meetings.

Responsibility for drafting the report varied, possibly reflecting the interpretation of its function as a minimal legal requirement, a 'professional' account or as a report from the governing body as a whole. Buglione (1988) found that, within one London Division, the first draft had been compiled by the chairperson (35%), the chairperson with the head teacher (41%) and the chairperson and governors (19%). In no case did the head initiate the draft and in 38% of cases the head played no part in the drafting. This non-involvement was more marked amongst primary school head teachers, but Buglione points out that this may be partly attributed to a 'suggestion' made at a meeting of Divisional primary heads 'that heads not participate, as a protest against the lack of additional resources to meet the additional demand' (1988:24).

Bristow's research into 233 reports (from a random sample of school nationally) show a more varied authorship, at least of the first draft: chairperson (24%), chairperson with head teacher (28%), head teacher alone (22%), a subcommittee of governors (17%) and the whole governing body (3%). In the remaining six cases, the report was drafted by the clerk to the governors, for governors' approval (Bristow 1988).

There was also considerable support for governors in preparation for the annual parents' meeting. The London Diocesan Board for Schools had circulated to schools a sample agenda for the first parents' meeting, including a suggestion that those attending might split up into small groups, each with a governor, towards the end of the meeting to discuss any matters they wished to raise. This approach was found to be particularly useful by the schools which adopted it, despite the nervousness of some governors (Arden 1988). Maintained schools received guidance and 39 LEAs (84 respondents) provided officer support at the annual parents meeting (Bristow 1988).

Nevertheless, attendances at the annual meetings were low. Within the 101 London Diocesan Board primary schools surveyed by Arden, attendances at the 1987 meeting ranged between 3% and 11% of parents, with an overall average of 7%. In one school, no parents came to the meeting. Another, which attracted an attendance of 140, had combined the meeting with a PTA function (Arden 1988). Secondary schools generally fared even worse, with an overall average of 3%. The average for per LEA (including 4 ILEA districts) ranged between 1% and 8%. One secondary school however, achieved an attendance of 120 and another school attracted 300. The latter

> represented a 23% attendance rate in an inner city area and was the result of a great deal
> of effort by staff and governors in providing an Open Evening in addition to the annual
> meeting (Arden 1988:14).

In the London Division reported on by Buglione, average parental attendances in 1987 were 9.5% for primary schools and 4% for secondary schools, giving an average of 7.4% for all schools (Buglione 1988:25).

Bristow's findings from 84 LEAs found that the average attendance at the 1987 annual meetings was 42 parents, or 5% of the number of pupils on roll. Variations ranged from 378 (Solihull) and 400 (Cornwall) to one parent (Cheshire, Cleveland, Humberside, Lincolnshire, Rotheram) and none at all (Merton, North Tyneside). As found by Arden, the meetings which were combined with another function attracted higher numbers (Bristow 1988).

Since most of the meetings failed to achieve a quorum, those parents attending could not exercise their entitlement to consider and pass resolutions, reducing the meeting to the level of information giving and exchange of views, with no mandate to command action. This in turn might lead parents to content themselves in future years with reading the report.

Some of the reasons for low attendance rates proffered by governors included a belief that parents from different ethnic backgrounds had an outlook which kept school and home separate, that meetings were boring events and that 'with many parents on income support and a high proportion of one-parent families attendance was bound to be low' (Baginsky et al 1991:142).

Almost half of the schools have rescheduled their annual meeting to the spring (39%) or autumn (13%) terms to attract more parents (Bristow 1988:39) but the passage of time has not necessarily led to improved attendances, as the following comment shows.

> After three years of holding annual parents' meetings we now find we have to lay on an
> attraction to get 80-90 parents to attend - in a school of 470 pupils (quoted by Baginsky
> et al 1991:142).

However, a low attendance rate is not always unwelcome. One head of a Diocesan school wrote

> It could not be better than it is - 22 amiable parents, no quorum, no questions, no
> complaints, no discussion (though every encouragement by the chairman) and everyone
> away within half an hour - just the job! (quoted by Arden 1988:15).

An alternative interpretation might be that most parents are happy with the quality of education. The governors of one school commented 'we have had three per cent of the

parent body over the three years - does that indicate a happy group of parents?' (quoted by Baginsky et al 1991:141). Yet other governors questioned the perceived relevance to parents.

Many are put off by anything that sounds at all formal. I feel many parents think a general meeting won't have any personal relevance (Parent governor, quoted by Baginsky et al 1991:142)

The annual governors' meeting for parents will not be well attended in any establishment where the agenda is merely to discuss the contents of a published and distributed document. Open evenings, exhibitions of school work, curriculum demonstrations, meetings where parents discuss pupils' progress with teachers - these are all well attended (Head teacher, quoted by Baginsky et al 1991:142).

This latter viewpoint seems endorsed by the higher attendance rates reported by Arden (1988) and Bristow (1988) and it may well be that attendance at 'shareholders' meetings is not an indication of the level of parental interest in their child's school. Following the analogy through, it is usually those shareholders with particularly strong feelings, or who wish to contest the directors' decisions who are most highly motivated to attend meetings. Companies do not expect a large turnout at routine AGMs and go to considerable lengths to drum up support at times of crisis, such as threats of takeover. Similarly, when schools are under threat of closure, parents may generally be relied upon to register their protest.

Impact of policies on governance

In general terms, the changes do not appear to have fulfilled the Government's objectives of wider parental involvement in terms of representation and participation. The restricted range of membership arises from the difficulty of recruiting members from ethnic minorities, from a perceived need for 'useful' rather than representative governors and from changes in the period of office. Representation on the governing body is still, necessarily, limited to a small number, but the extension of the period of office to four years improves continuity at the cost of wider representation. Moreover, since parent governors may continue to serve even after their child has left the school, the opportunities for other parents to become governors is proportionately reduced. Finally, with respect to the timing of elections and period of office, some LEA officers expressed concern at the possible loss of many experienced governors, appointed in 1988, when their period of office comes to an end in 1992 and believe that 'the Government would be well advised to introduce a system of phasing for governor elections' (Baginsky et al 1991:106; Browning 1992).

Evidence of non-governor parental participation is even more discouraging. Although the Government's action has resulted in an increase in the information to be made available to parents and other interested parties, the level of real participation at other stages of the democratic process [see Chapter 4] is still limited. Consultation depends on the school governing body, as LEAs have lost the authority to ensure a degree of comparability between schools, e.g. by influencing the governing body agenda and by circulating papers of the authority's education committee. With respect to decision-making, the detailed statutory definition of the school's principal objectives (in terms of the national curriculum and assessment) and the constraints of the budget reduce much 'decision-making' to operational rather than policy levels. Finally, on the basis of his findings, Bristow argues that

the experience of the first round of annual reports and meeting suggests that the Government's intention to involve parents more directly in the process of accountability has largely back-fired. So far from tapping a groundswell of active participation and interest which had hitherto lain dormant, in the vast majority of cases parents appeared disinclined to exercise their right to attend a meeting and discuss a report which, in a very high proportion of cases, appears to have been thoughtfully and conscientiously produced (Bristow 1988:43).

One LEA governor, quoted by Baginsky et al, expressed the dismal view that 'the system now facilitates the unprofessional, often vociferous, governor dictating on matters such as the curriculum to the professional staff' (1991:139). There have also been claims, contrary to that recorded by Baginsky et al [*see 1991:11*] that politically motivated groups are proposing candidates for election to governing bodies. Given the demands made by membership, it seems increasingly likely that governing bodies, attracting those with the time and the confidence to undertake the training and responsibilities, will become unrepresentative of the parents and other community constituents.

With regard to the effectiveness of governing bodies, early research into the implementation of legislation has shown that the attraction of experienced private sector managers onto school governing bodies has proved easier for some schools than for others and this has influenced the speed with which they have been able to respond to the demands of the Education Reform Act. There is also some evidence that insufficient preparation for LMS has taken place in some areas and that governors are often far from clear about their new responsibilities (Coulby and Bash 1991:68).

Chapter 11 - Curriculum content and assessment

Mrs Thatcher was aware of the importance of content rather than structure and urged her colleagues to

> avoid becoming preoccupied with systems and structures to the detriment of the actual content of education ... schools and their pupils should have access to specialised knowledge, to liberal-minded teaching and to general education of high quality ... schools are for children and it is what goes on inside them that matters (quoted by Knight 1990:68)

Programmes

As already discussed, the legitimacy of the curriculum as a 'secret garden' was increasingly challenged in the latter half of the 1970s. The Conservative Government's initial incursions comprised specific programmes to make provision in new curricular areas or to promote different teaching styles. The first of these was the Microelectronics Education Programme (MEP), launched in 1980 as a pump-priming exercise designed to stimulate local education authority activity in the use of microcomputers in education. The programme covered curriculum development, teacher training and information services and was linked to the Department of Trade and Industry's Micros in Schools scheme which assisted a majority of schools to purchase a microcomputer and ancillary equipment. The MEP was succeeded in March 1986 by the Microelectronics Education Support Unit (MESU).

The second, the Lower Attaining Pupils' Programme (LAPP) was intended

i)   to improve the educational attainments of pupils mainly in Years 4 and 5 of secondary education for whom existing examinations at 16 [O level/CSE] were not designed and who were not benefiting fully from school; and

ii)   to prepare them better for the transition to adult and working life.

It was the 'first curriculum development initiative in recent times to be directly funded from central government, with a sum of £2m per year, from September 1983' (DES/ HMI 1989). The seventeen LEAs who participated had to meet 25% of the costs from their own resources, although some received additional funding from the European Community's programme on transition from school to adult and working life. The four-year funding was followed by two years of tapered funding (1988-1990). The Secretary of State

> hoped that this 'pump-priming' would encourage LEAs to continue funding in their schools promising and effective work which emerged as a result of their projects (DES/ HMI 1989:1).

The Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) was launched as a pilot scheme in September 1983, administered by the Manpower Services Commission (now the Training Enterprise Education Directorate of the Employment Department), in close

Figure 11.1: STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A BASIC CURRICULUM

DES 1977	DES 1980	DES 1980a	DES 1981b	DES/WO 1984	DES 1985	ERA 1988
linguistic	English	English	English	English	English & literature	English
	modern language	-	modern language	modern language	modern language	modern language
mathematical	mathematics	mathematics	mathematics	mathematics	mathematics	mathematics
scientific	science	science	science	science	science	science
			CDT micro-electronics	technical education		technology
ethical and spiritual	religious education	religious education	religious education	--	religious education	religious education
social and political	history	-	humanity	humanity	humanities	history, geography
		preparation for adult and working life	preparation for adult and working life		economic education sex education health education	economic awareness, multicultural, health, careers, personal and social, environmental education
physical	physical education	physical education	physical education	physical education	physical education	physical education
aesthetic & creative	applied crafts arts	-	practical, aesthetic	aesthetic	aesthetic practical subjects	art music

association with the Department of Education and Science, and extended into a national scheme in 1987. The main purpose of the pilot initiative was

> to test methods of organising and managing the education of 14-18 year olds across the ability range to improve the provision of technical and vocational education in a way which will widen and enrich the curriculum and prepare young people for adult and working life (Great Britain 1986 Cmnd 9823:para 3.1).

The Government further influenced curriculum in school by means of two laws. The Education Act 1981 required schools to make more varied curricular provision to allow for greater integration of pupils with special needs within ordinary schools.

The second relevant enactment was the Education (No 2) Act 1986, which required the governing body to make a statement indicating whether sex education would be included in the curriculum and, if so, the nature of such instruction. The head teacher would be able to authorize deviation from the governors' statement **only** if required by the syllabus of a public examination to be taken by pupils. Circular 11/87 (DES 1987h) further stipulated that sex education, if provided, would have to be set in a moral context and have regard to the 'value of family life'. The 1986 Act also laid down specific responsibilities regarding political activities and teaching in the school. The governing body and the head teacher would have a duty to ensure that no promotion of partisan politics (undefined) would be carried out in the school and that, where political issues were concerned, their treatment would be balanced so as to reflect different views.

Progress towards a common curriculum

Meanwhile, following on from the information gathered in response to Circular 14/77 *LEA arrangements for the school curriculum*, the DES and HM Inspectorate published a series of discussion papers and consultation documents. In 1984, Sir Keith Joseph announced that a clearer definition of curricular objectives agreed by all, not least parents and employers, was required to guide teachers in their work (Knight 1990:170). Later, *Better Schools* outlined the contribution which such a definition would make to the quality of education:

> A more precise definition ... of what pupils of different abilities should understand, know and be able to do, will assist with the formulation of the curricular policies of the Secretaries of State, the LEA, and the school; will help all concerned to assess the effectiveness of policies and practice; will encourage teachers to have high expectations of pupils (and so help bring about their realization) (DES 1985:para 81).

As Figure 11.1 [*opposite*] shows, the proposed common curriculum, defined as broad fields of knowledge in 1977, has become progressively more specific until, in the Education Reform Act, it is expressed almost exclusively as single subject disciplines. By 1985, the Government was specific about the need for

> some awareness of economic matters, notably the operation of market forces, the factors governing the creation of private and public wealth, and taxation, [as] a prerequisite for citizenship and employment; and health and sex education, taught within a moral framework, [as] a necessary preparation for responsible adulthood (DES 1985:para 71).

At the same time, it rejected what it perceived as politicization, because 'to assign a special place in the timetable to courses labelled "peace studies" unbalances the curriculum and oversimplifies the issues involved' (ibid:para 71).

Whilst reassuring schools that a more precise description 'implies no particular view of timetabling or teaching approach' (ibid:para 52), the Government acknowledged that 'if programmes on these lines are to be pursued, it is likely that 80-85% of each pupil's time needs to be devoted to subjects which are compulsory or liable to constrained choices' (ibid:para 69). Moreover, it recognized the pressures on school time, conceding that, even where 'unnecessary' topics were eliminated from the curriculum and where

> curricular planning optimises the interrelation of areas of learning, schools will still have insufficient time for teaching all that it is in principle desirable for them to teach. Choices will need to be made and priorities determined (ibid:para 58).

Throughout this early period of gathering information, setting norms and seeking to influence opinions, the Government retained a certain sensitivity about the respective responsibilities of the partners in education for the content of the curriculum and this characterized *Parental Influence in Schools* and *Better Schools* in paragraphs such as the following:

> It would not be appropriate for either the Secretaries of State or the LEA to determine the detailed organization and content of the programme of the pupils of any particular school ... [or] for the Secretaries of State's policy for the range and pattern of the 5-16 curriculum to amount to the determination of national syllabuses for that period ... that should be a matter for the head teacher and his staff ... (DES 1985:para 35)

> ...on the basis of discussion and consultation between the partners of the education service and with full regard to the needs and wishes of those whom it serves ... (DES 1984:para 41)

> ... the Government believes that a division of functions on these lines would enable the head and the other teachers at the school to determine the content of the programme for each pupil and the methods of teaching that programme ... (ibid:para 44)

> It would, however, be appropriate for the curricular policy of the LEA, on the basis of broadly agreed principles about range and pattern, to be more precise about, for example, the balance between curricular elements and the age and pace at which pupils are introduced to particular subject areas (e.g. a foreign language) ... (DES 1985:para 36).

> The establishment of broadly agreed objectives would not mean that the curricular policies of the Secretaries of State, the LEA and the school should relate to each other in a nationally uniform way. In the Government's view, such diversity is healthy ... the purpose of the Government's plans, to redefine the curricular responsibilities of the LEA, the governing body and the head teacher ... The Government does not propose to introduce legislation affecting the powers of the Secretaries of State in relation to the curriculum ... (ibid:para 37).

However, these sensitivities were fully overcome by the time *The National Curriculum 5-16 - a consultation document* was issued by the DES in 1987. This prescribed not only the content but also the proportion of the timetable to be allocated to each subject area. The Education Reform Act represents a softening of these proposals for, whilst it makes provision for attainment targets, programmes of study and arrangements for assessment of compulsory subjects at each of four key stages to be set by the Secretary of State, Section 4(3) expressly prevents his determining the amount of time to be spent on any subject area. The way in which consensus about the principle of a common curriculum had been created by successive reports, including those listed in Figure 11.1, may be seen in the fact that the thrust of the complaints about the consultative document concerned the content and weighting of individual subjects within the proposed curriculum rather than the principle itself.

The Education Reform Act 1988 reiterated the 1944 requirement that all pupils whose parents have not applied for exemption receive religious education, and required LEAs to constitute a standing advisory council on religious education (SACRE) to advise the authority on relevant matters and on the extent to which 'it is appropriate for the requirement for Christian collective worship to apply in the case of [a given] school, or in the case of any class or description of pupils at that school' (Education Reform Act 1988 Section 12).

Assessment

Examinations at 16+

The Conservative Party had rejected the proposals in the Waddell Report (1978) for a regionally-based, teacher-controlled 16+ examination which would replace both GCE ordinary level and CSE and which would be available through the three modes already established by the CSE, on the grounds that a first priority for the pursuit of excellence 'had to be the retention of objective and externally assessed examinations'. The Party 'wanted evolutionary reform, not the radical revolution proposed by Labour' (Knight 1990:128).

Nevertheless, in October 1980, the DES/WO issued *Examinations at 16-18: a consultative paper*, which proposed that the dual system of 16+ examination be replaced by a single examination based on national criteria for syllabus and assessment procedures. This proposal received considerable support from teachers and others who had been calling for a single examination to cater for the whole ability range, not just the top 60% for whom the existing examinations were designed.

At the North of England Conference 1984, Sir Keith Joseph linked excellence specifically to a new, much higher target for pupil performance. Whilst the Government might tolerate a bottom 10%, it would not accept a bottom 40%: the proportion of pupils for whom neither the GCE nor the CSE made formal provision. This represented a shift in the Conservative interpretation of excellence, which was no longer to be an objective reserved for those of the highest intellectual ability. Persuaded of employers' needs to know what young people knew, understood and could do, Sir Keith announced the Government's intention to introduce a single examination at 16+ to replace both GCE O Level and CSE examinations. The Government asserted that 'examinations are one important means of assessing achievement; examinations, properly designed, are a stimulus to good performance, and parents and employers, as well as many pupils, rightly value them' (DES 1985:para 90). The new examinations were intended to serve the following specific objectives:

1   to raise standards across the whole ability range;

2   to support improvements in the curriculum and in the way in which it is taught;

3   to provide clear aims for teachers and pupils, to the benefit of both and of higher education and employers;

4   to record proven achievement;

5   to promote the measurement of achievement on what candidates know, understand and can do;

6   to broaden the studies of pupils in the 4th and 5th secondary years and of 6th form students (ibid:para 93).

The GCSE would be criterion-referenced, that is, designed to ensure that 'success or failure depends on the candidate's own performance, tested against defined standards and irrespective of the performance of others, and that similar performance will be similarly recognised and rewarded' (ibid:para 98).

The emphasis on higher standards for all was further developed in the White Paper *Better Schools*:

> It is the Government's longer term aim to raise pupil performance at all levels of ability so as to bring 80-90 per cent of all 16 year-old pupils at least to the level of attainment now expected and achieved by pupils of average ability in individual subjects, i.e. the level associated with grade 4 in the CSE examination; and to do so over a broad range of knowledge, understanding and skills in a number of subjects ... attainment targets are needed also in relation to matters not tested by the GCSE and, in relation to all aspects of the curriculum, for the end of the primary phase (DES 1985: para 80).

Courses leading to the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) started in 1986 and the first examinations were held in 1988. Furthermore, to encourage the ablest pupils, no less than others, to pursue a broad and balanced curriculum, Sir Keith Joseph published proposals for Merit and Distinction certificates, 'to reward candidates obtaining good grades in a specified range of subjects' (DES/WO 1985:para 48). However, widespread opposition to these proposals resulted in their being quietly abandoned.

Examinations at 18+

The Government had declared its intention to retain GCE A Levels to 'maintain standards as the basis for degree courses' in the 1980 paper (DES/WO 1980:5) but countered criticism of the narrowness of these examinations with a proposal for 'intermediate level examinations for those doing two A Levels, to avoid abuse by others'. A follow-up consultative paper (DES/WO 1984) still asserted unquestioningly that:

> A Levels set standards of excellence which must be preserved ... provide the foundation for degree courses ... and offer the best available means of selection for higher education (DES/WO 1984:1),

but by then the Government appeared to have lost its fear of 'abuse by others' and stated that 'although the examinations are designed for A Level students, the Secretaries of State hope that others (including mature students) might benefit' (ibid:2). To avoid any confusion with the Intermediate Level examinations proposed by the Schools Council, and which implied a way-stage to A Level, the examinations were redesignated Advanced Supplementary Level and defined as two-year courses which would comprise half the content and require half the teaching time of A Levels. Their purpose was not to provide an alternative qualification for those unable to achieve A Level, but 'to broaden without diluting academic standards the curriculum of A Level students' (ibid:1) by encouraging such students to pursue one subject which complemented and one which contrasted with the subjects being studied for A Level. It was intended to start courses in 1986 with the first examinations being held in 1988, but their introduction was delayed by one year.

Following the introduction of the GCSE, there were again calls for the reform of A Levels and the Secretary of State responded by setting up a Committee of Inquiry under the chairmanship of Professor Higginson. The Committee was asked to 'recommend

the principles that should govern GCE A Level syllabuses and their assessment, so that the consistency in the content and the assessment of subjects is secured.' However, its recommendations were to take into consideration the

> Government's commitment to retain GCE Advanced Level examinations as an essential means for setting standards of excellence, and with the aim of maintaining or improving the present character and rigorous standards of these examinations (Higginson Report 1988).

Given this brief, it is perhaps not surprising that the Committee's proposals for leaner and tougher syllabuses, with expansion to five subjects plus one Advanced Supplementary Level as the norm for full-time students, were rejected by the Secretary of State, Kenneth Baker.

Standard Assessment Tasks

Until the Education Reform Act 1988, participation in national examinations had been optional. Pupils were entered for individual subjects on the basis of the school's assessment of their competence. This voluntary nature ceased with the introduction under the Act of a statutory requirement for pupils to submit to assessment of their achievements at the ages of (about) 7, 11, 14 and 16 years, something which Boyson had advocated as far back as 1977 (Knight 1990:121).

A Task Group for Assessment and Testing (TGAT) was set up by the Secretary of State

> to make recommendations about how children's performance and progress across the subjects of the national curriculum should be assessed, and reported to those with a right to know (DES/WO 1988:6).

The Group's full report, *National Curriculum Task Group for Assessment and Testing: A report* (1987) recommended that the basis of the national assessment system should be essentially formative, but designed also to indicate where there is need for more detailed diagnostic assessment. At age 16, however, it should incorporate assessment with summative functions.

A second important recommendation was that assessment should be concerned with the quality of each pupil's performance, irrespective of the performance of other pupils (criterion-referenced assessment). [*See also Appendix 4.*]

Values in curriculum and assessment policies

The changes in the curriculum and assessment can be assessed at several levels and reflect the sometimes competing values of central determination, professional discretion, the rights of the individual, accountability, standards and excellence.

At the level of values, in contrast to those of interests, these changes reflect a move to the idealist view of education from the progressivist approach of the 1960s and early 1970s and a distinct move from client-determined need to centrally-determined, largely standardized, provision. The definition of a national curriculum in terms of targets, programmes and form of assessment assumes the existence of an objective, preconceived notion of skill and excellence, rather than the gradual development of the individual by increases in knowledge, skills and competences. Moreover, its organization into ten

levels is based on the assumption that all the subjects are organized hierarchically (Coulby and Bash 1991).

The changes embody an intention to prescribe and quantify learning centrally. This may be attributed to issues of power and interest inasmuch as centralization affected the position of both local education authorities and teachers. The Act saw the curricular discretion formerly enjoyed by teachers abrogated by the Secretary of State and the three new statutory bodies: the National Curriculum Council, the Curriculum Council for Wales and the School Examinations and Assessment Council. Coulby and Bash raise the more general issue concerning the political determination of school knowledge and the arrangements which the 1988 Act makes to arbitrate conflict in this area, by pointing out that

> just in case anything untoward were to occur during the process of determining the school curriculum within any subject area, it is clear in the 1988 Act that all this apparatus - Working Groups, National Curriculum Council, Secondary Examinations and Assessment Council - is anyway only advisory to the Secretary of State who may, if so minded, disregard all advice and follow political or personal inclinations (Coulby and Bash 1991:16).

Coulby and Bash (1991) perceive a clear decision not to trust teachers' judgements behind the moderating and appeals procedures which were finally implemented (DES 1990d) and Tester asserts that

> Mrs Thatcher's determination to downgrade teachers' views and force schools to rely more on banks of national tests now appears to have won the day (Tester 1989:58).

It could be argued, however, that a framework of minimum requirements in terms of content and methods of assessment is an essential basis for securing the accountability of individual institutions, governed by largely lay committees. The individual pupil's rights to an appropriate education are defined in terms of entitlement and safeguarded by parents' formal rights of complaint under Section 23 of the Education Reform Act 1988 and by the mechanisms of accountability which school governors are required by the Act to implement, such as the annual report and specified published information.

With regard to standards, the National Curriculum and SATs are intended to enable schools to measure and report on certain aspects of pupil achievement. By linking this to actual expenditure per pupil, an indication of the schools' efficiency in achieving a restricted objective may be obtained. These measures are thus highly consistent with the value of accountability. Whether the requirement to publicize the schools' outputs, without reference to the abilities and knowledge of pupils on entry, will result in the improved standards predicted by the Government remains to be seen. However, the implicitly competitive aspect conflicts to some extent with the emphasis on the worth of the individual inherent in criterion-referenced examinations. The use of the metaphor 'delivery' suggests a system-centred model [see figure 2.2 facing page 10], where the curriculum is

> a commodity which can unproblematically be delivered by the NCC via schools and teachers to pupils in schools. The pupils are simply recipients of this delivery, empty vessels which must be crammed as full as possible as quickly as possible with the commodified national curriculum (Coulby and Bash 1991:29-30).

The single-subject certification at GCSE and the adherence to academic GCE A Levels as the standard of excellence continue to promote specialization at the expense

of a broad-based education and to allow young people effectively to work less hard at subjects which they find difficult. The Government's reaction to the Higginson Report (1988) recommendations would also seem to indicate that the objective of higher standards for all at 16 it is not to be carried forward to older students, for whom the rigorous selection of an élite by means of GCE A Levels at 18 will continue. Yet both policies are justified by the Government on the grounds of raising standards of excellence.

The objective of raising standards was explicitly addressed by the measures discussed above, but it also resulted in a redefinition of the role and responsibilities of teachers, in changes in initial training and in the introduction of teacher appraisal [*see Chapter 12*].

Implementation

This section considers the extent to which the above policies on the curriculum and forms of assessment meet the Government's specific objectives, using the criteria of

a) breadth, balance and relevance;

b) appropriateness for pupils' age and aptitudes;

c) suitability of the curriculum for national assessment; and

d) the delivery of the 'entitlement curriculum' promised under the Act.

Breadth, balance and relevance

Curriculum

The Government had expressed concern about the relevance of the curriculum and the inclusion in a' cluttered' timetable of 'unnecessary' subjects such as peace studies (DES 1985, Coulby and Bash 1991). The National Curriculum would therefore concentrate on those subjects which were relevant to a child's future needs.

Breadth and balance were built into the curriculum in two ways. First, the National Curriculum Council listed themes, dimensions and skills which would complement the core and foundation subjects. The 'by no means conclusive' list of themes includes economic and industrial understanding, careers education and guidance, health education, education for citizenship, environmental education (NCC 1990:4-6). Amongst the dimensions is 'a recognition that preparation for life in a multi-cultural society is relevant to all pupils and should permeate every aspect of the curriculum' (NCC 1990:2) and skills are illustrated as 'communication, numeracy, study, problem solving, personal and social, information technology' (NCC 1990:3).

Secondly, to leave time for such themes and for the pursuit by individual pupils of subjects outside the core/foundation subjects, the Act expressly proscribed the requirement in any Order

> that any particular period or periods of time should be allocated during any key stage to
> the teaching of any programme of study or any matter, skill or process forming part of it;
> or
> that provision of any particular kind should be made in school timetables for the periods
> to be allocated to such teaching during any such stage (Education Reform Act S.4(3)).

However, Coulby and Bash argue that the division of the school curriculum into subjects whose content was to be determined by expert Working Groups would inevitably place stress on the actual time available within the school day.

> A panel of experts in a field is likely to consider that their particular area is important and needs plenty of school time; it is likely to do this overtly, by making demands on timetable time, or covertly, by listing such a large number of ATs [attainment targets] that they can only be covered in a considerable amount of time. Since the ultimate political arbiters seem to favour knowledge rather than skills, the tendency towards the compilation of lengthy lists is further encouraged (Coulby and Bash 1991:21).

Ignoring Section 4 of the Act, the Science Working Group made a bid for 20% of secondary school time which, even after a considerable concession, has increased the overall time devoted to science in the curriculum at both primary and secondary level. In order to counteract this trend, Secretaries of State slimmed down Working Group proposals (e.g. History, *see Coulby and Bash 1991*) and by the time the Physical Education Working Group was convened the Secretary of State felt it necessary to constrain its members in the following terms:

> The Secretary of State intends that because of the nature of the subject, the objectives (attainment targets) and means of achieving them (programmes of study) should not be described in as much detail for PE as for the core and other foundation subjects. He considers that schools and teachers should have substantial scope here to develop their own schemes of work. It is the task of the PE working group to advise on a statutory framework which is sufficiently broad to allow schools wide discretion in relation to the matters to be studied (DES 1990a).

The expansion of targets and programmes left progressively less time for pupils to take subjects which the then Secretary of State (John MacGregor) thought desirable - Economics, Classics, a second modern language or three separate sciences - but which were not part of Baker's framework. Indeed, Coulby and Bash argue that the simplicity of Baker's model of a National Curriculum entitlement for all children and young people from 5-16 conflicts with the complexity of the school knowledge which schools, parents and employers wish to be available.

The pressure on school time had several major consequences. The first is the change in balance between subjects of the same status. Science has a more generous allocation than other core subjects, and the weight given to foundation subjects introduced later in the programme is less than that accorded to the earlier subjects, with some (e.g. music, art) ceasing to be compulsory after Key Stage 3.

A second consequence is the restriction of opportunities to include a wider, multicultural dimension. The Secretary of State had cut out all the English Working Group's references at secondary level to reading from a range of cultures 'creating a strong impression of political interference to support a "whites-only" view of literature' (Coulby and Bash 1991:18). Similarly, emphasis was to be laid on British history, at the expense of European and world history.

> An ethnocentric history curriculum, stressing facts rather than analysis, was certainly the closest the National Curriculum had come, at that stage, to being party political. Political interference was also at its most blatant with regard to this subject ... the then Prime Minister herself seems to have intervened (Coulby and Bash 1991:19).

Thirdly, and more generally, Coulby and Bash (1991) argue that competition between subject areas seems to be resulting in a proliferation of attainment targets to the

extent where, especially at primary level, the practicality of the whole National Curriculum enterprise seems to be in danger and the very concept of a common curriculum for all throughout the compulsory phase has become untenable.

Assessment

Research into the effects of examinations on teaching content and style ('curriculum backwash') indicates that the Standard Assessment Tests (SATs) are likely to exercise considerable influence on the National Curriculum. Coulby and Bash (1991) and Gipps (1990) trace some likely consequences. Given that test results will be important to parents and children, and to schools which are competing for 'clients', teachers will respond to pressure to pursue high scores by adapting their teaching style irrespective of their assessment of pupil needs. They, as their 'payment by results' colleagues before them, will give highest priority to subjects which are formally assessed. This could lead to the marginalization of subjects which are not part of National Curriculum and even unassessed foundation subjects may have a hard time competing with mathematics, science and English in primary schools. Teaching to the test may well lead to 'improved standards' but Gipps asks 'if test results rise as a consequence of teaching to the test rather than as a consequence of some other change in the classroom process, is such a rise necessarily worthwhile?' (Gipps 1990:33). Curriculum backwash may lead to impoverishment in terms of breadth and the NCC themes, dimensions and skills are unlikely to receive much attention (Coulby and Bash 1991).

With respect to assessment of Key Stage 4 and beyond, the issue of 'breadth, balance and relevance' has been addressed in several ways. The first and most significant change has been the replacement of the GCE O Level and CSE examinations by the GCSE. Unlike its predecessors, it did not target a particular sector of the ability range. By extending the range of grades and providing differentiated papers, pupils in different classes could be prepared for the same examination and the need for 'double entries', that is, entering 'borderline' O Level pupils for CSE examinations as a 'safety net', was eliminated. The need to separate pupils preparing for O Level from those preparing for CSE imposed by the different syllabuses of these examinations had, in the past, prevented schools offering certain subject options to pupils of all abilities, thus restricting their curricular range. The inclusion of coursework in GCSE assessments was intended to

> help teaching and learning processes by measuring and encouraging the development
> of important skills not easily tested in timed written examinations, including practical
> and oral skills and the ability to tackle extended pieces of written work (DES/WO 1985
> para 20).

In this way it would support the Government's purpose of enabling all pupils to show what they knew, understood and could do. DES statistics of pupils' examination performances between 1979-80 and 1989-90 reflect an increase from 24% to 35.2% in the number of pupils achieving a minimum of five passes at O Level or their GCSE equivalent (defined as Grades A-C). The figures also show that the percentage of pupils achieving no graded passes fell from 12.3% to 8.5% (DES 1991e). A direct causal relationship is difficult to demonstrate but this success might be attributed, at least in part, to the wider access and varied assessment modes, which in turn contributed to more effective learning.

Whilst many, particularly teachers' associations, have welcomed the improved examination results as an indication of rising standards, the Government has expressed

concern about the rigour of coursework assessment and called for a complete overhaul of GCSE ' to maintain standards and public confidence'. The Secretary of State has announced that, from 1992, GCSE grades will be more dependent on the final examination. He has imposed ceilings on the percentage of marks to be awarded for coursework as follows: English language (reading and writing 20%, plus reading and speaking 20%), English literature (30%), history and geography (25%), religious studies, classical studies and social science (20%) and technology (40-60%), but the coursework element of science will not be reduced (DES 1991j).

The second initiative concerns the post-16 sector. GCE Advanced Levels have been, and continue to be, held up by Government as a standard of excellence. Nevertheless, the narrowness of the specialization has caused concern, especially when compared with the UK's economic competitors. Advanced Supplementary examinations were introduced to secure breadth without sacrificing depth. It was hoped that the most able students would pursue studies outside their specialist area.

However, figures published by the GCE Boards in August 1991 show that the introduction of AS Levels has done little to stem the ten-year decline in students taking science examinations at post-GCSE Level. More generally, A Level remained much more popular (almost 700,000 entries in 1991, compared with 51,000 for AS) and not many schools were able to achieve a breadth of study by combining the two (DES 1991i).

The third initiative follows logically from the introduction of the TVEI programme and involves the recognition of pupils' achievements in vocational subjects by means of qualifications such as those offered by Business and Technician Education Council (BTEC), the Royal Society of Arts (RSA) and the City and Guilds, many of which were formerly only available to students through further education colleges.

At present, whilst pupils are required to study, and be assessed in, a range of National Curriculum subjects, the single-subject examination system allows them to seek public examination accreditation for as many or as few subjects as they wish. In an attempt to encourage young people to work for qualifications in a range of subjects, both academic and vocational, the Secretary of State has made proposals for Ordinary and Advanced Diplomas. It is proposed to offer the first Diplomas in the summer of 1994 and present indications are that they will be available to candidates who have achieved grades A-C (level 7 in the new system) in four GCSE subjects or A Level pass in two subjects. This would represent the first 'group certificate' in general education since the introduction of the General Certificate of Education. Such group certificates are common in continental Europe and the Government believes that employers are looking for young people who have achieved a reasonable standard in a range of core skills, including a foreign language and computer literacy. It is possible that the Diplomas might constitute a first step towards the (re-)introduction of group certificates.

In contrast, the National Record of Achievement (NRA) scheme, jointly launched by the DES and the Employment Department in February 1991, and supported by the circulation of more than a million NRA folders, was undermined by the relevant DES Circular (1990b). The scheme encourages pupils and students to record, in consultation with teachers and trainers, achievements across the spectrum of academic, vocational, social and sporting skills. However, the Circular (DES 1990b) outlines a statutory system of minimal recording of progress through attainment targets, leaving the decision of whether to adopt the minimal legal records or to integrate these into a broader Record of Achievement with LEAs and schools. National Records of Achievement

demand a considerable investment of time from both students and teachers, which may be deemed unwarranted unless the scheme enjoys national recognition, especially amongst parents and employers. This is unlikely to be achieved unless the system is followed nationwide (Coulby and Bash 1991). It appears that most schools have met the minimalist requirements and even education authorities which are pioneering the scheme (Oldham, Leicestershire and Oxfordshire) have reported issuing only a few thousand folders between them.

Appropriateness for pupils' age and aptitudes

Curriculum

The definition of a national curriculum for all pupils ignores the contribution made by teachers' professional analysis of pupil needs and introduces a more authoritarian relationship between the different partners in the service.

The 'delivery' view of the curriculum takes no account of the fact that what is taught might not be learned because of individual differences in pupils' backgrounds, motivations, interests, learning styles and skills.

> Since learning is perceived as a one-way process in which pupils provide neither hindrance nor assistance ... the focus of attention is shifted to use of time in the school week in order to maximize the amount that can be delivered (Coulby and Bash 1991:29).

The NCC emphasis on time management (NCC 1989) sees links between foundation subjects as a means of saving time rather than as a means of providing a more rounded, more practical approach to knowledge by helping children make academic connections across the curriculum and by providing interesting and diverse opportunities for learning, differentiated according to pupil needs and interests (Coulby and Bash 1991:30).

The NCC monitored the implementation of the core subjects during 1989-1990 and found some weaknesses in the original programmes. The organization of some subjects gave rise to concern about proper sequencing and progression in mathematics and whether science targets have been assigned to the key stage appropriate for their level of difficulty (NCC 1991). Concern has also been expressed about the danger that, where certain topics or themes are treated solely in the early stages of a child's school career, he or she may leave school with 'only a six year-old's understanding of India, or the water cycle, or the seventeenth century' (Coulby and Bash 1991:24).

There is also criticism of the attempts to make the combined science curriculum suitable for the full ability range. Researchers from the Oxford University Department of Education (1991) found that the compression of three sciences into a two-subject timetable slot has resulted in the loss of much of what is distinctive about physics. They further claim that this is one of the reasons why physicists drop out of teaching. The dilution of courses to make them more accessible results in boredom and lack of intellectual stimulus on the part of the more able.

The rapid progress of more able children 'clearly working well beyond the range of abilities in a class, may be helped by working with older children' (NCC 1991:11) although 'there is no expectation or requirement that pupils should be held back or pushed forward except where the school judges this to be in the best interest of a pupil' (DES 1989a). Coulby and Bash (1991) argue that the reorganization of the school away from traditional age-related classes

may well make teaching, and indeed assessment, more streamlined but it will bring to the schools of England and Wales a phenomenon not seen for many years - that of the older child, visibly noticeable, kept down with a younger peer group for one, two or even three years (1991:60).

Pupil progress between classes on the basis of mastery of the attainment targets would bring the UK into line with a number of other European countries, although children are not kept down in the same class for three years, as Coulby and Bash state.

Pupils with special needs

With particular reference to pupils with special needs, the National Curriculum seems to assume that handicap can be cured by insisting that all children learn the same material. The Education, Science and Arts Committee (1990) drew attention to the weakness in this interpretation of the curriculum as something to be delivered, pointing out that

> some of the effects of the 1988 Education Reform Act on the 1981 Education Act are as yet uncertain and not recognized. The Department's policy on special needs should be developed in conjunction with its policies on LMS and the National Curriculum and not in isolation from them, as it appears to be. There is no guarantee under the 1988 Act that children with the wider range of special educational needs in mainstream schools will receive the support and extra provision they require to gain access to the National Curriculum. Neither is there any guarantee that the process of integration supported by the 1981 Education Act will be able to continue under LMS (pp vii-viii).

Teachers in special schools reporting to the NCC (1990) felt that the main benefits to be derived by their pupils were access to a wider range of subjects, higher expectations of achievement, greater equality of educational opportunity and increased possibilities for integration into ordinary schools. However, whilst many teachers aspire towards full curricular integration for the maximum number of children,

> some teachers of pupils with severe, profound and multiple learning difficulties questioned the relevance of the National Curriculum for their pupils. Concern was expressed in all special schools that teaching for the National Curriculum might reduce the time required for the instruction, counselling and therapy required to meet the specific educational needs of individual pupils (NCC 1991:24).

Assessment

The TGAT group intended assessment of pupil performance to highlight particular strengths and weaknesses as a means of planning future learning needs. However, the complexity of this task, given the number of attainment targets per subject, has led to greater concentration on paper and pencil tests [see below]. This narrowing of methods whereby pupils can demonstrate their knowledge, skills and understanding may result in lower levels of achievement. Insofar as testing methods affect the teaching style, a narrowing of testing methods may further affect pupil performance. Birmingham Education Authority has conducted some voluntary pilot tests in special schools. Its report warns that unless the the system of standardized testing is made more sensitive, many pupils in special schools may never move beyond the 'W' assessment (working towards Key Stage 1) even though they have made 'incremental' progress.

The GCSE examinations were intended to serve the whole ability range, with differentiated papers being made available to pupils of different abilities. Grades would be awarded

as far as practicable on the basis of good performances, earning good marks, in tasks which stretch candidates at varying levels of ability while being within their reach, rather than on the basis of poor performances, earning low marks, in tasks which are unsuitable for them (DES/WO 1985 para 33).

This differentiation, together with the option of three modes (affecting the extent of teacher influence on the content and marking of examinations) and high proportions of assessed course work were intended to help those students who find traditional examinations stressful. As the statistics quoted above indicate, there has been an increase in the number of pupils achieving GCSE passes overall, and at the higher levels. However, a major survey conducted in Wales (Welsh Office 1991) supports the findings of other studies that many teachers are rejecting the GCSE as inappropriate for low ability pupils. It claims that a two-tier system akin to the old GCE/CSE divide is re-emerging as teachers seek alternative courses. The greatest dissatisfaction is amongst history teachers, who say that the assessment tasks - coursework and examination questions - are less appropriate for the least able candidates than they were pre-GCSE.

National implementation of the curriculum and assessment

Criticisms of educational standards were attributed to the fact that professional (i.e. teachers') control over the curriculum had resulted in a lack of rigour and the inclusion of irrelevant subjects such as peace studies. It was argued that the clear definition of targets would help teachers in the fulfilment of their task and 'give a clear incentive for the weaker schools to catch up with the best and encourage the best to do even better' (NCC 1989a).

The findings of the NCC report (1991), based on survey questionnaires and case studies, showed that teachers of Key Stage 1 and Key Stage 3 pupils generally supported the National Curriculum. The former perceived the benefits for pupils as a better balance of knowledge and skills, greater coverage of science, better progression and continuity and target setting and common goals (NCC 1991:14). Other changes brought about by the National Curriculum included more observation of pupils, more use of investigations, more group work and greater awareness of the need for curriculum differentiation. Additional benefits highlighted by Key Stage 3 teachers were

improved progression and continuity; a better knowledge of pupils' progress; a more balanced and wider range of knowledge; a reappraisal of mathematics and science teaching; better organised, more systematic and consistent teaching; a catalyst for curriculum change (NCC 1991:19).

Developments were welcomed by primary teachers on the grounds that they promoted greater curriculum coherence and balance, although worries were voiced about reduced opportunities for spontaneity in teaching and learning (NCC 1991:16). Not surprisingly, teachers in Key Stage 1 also reported an increase in the time spent on science with consequent reduction in time spent on other activities (NCC 1991:17). This last change could have significant consequences for the balance of the curriculum.

The preceding section of this chapter has already indicated how the aspirations for curricular activities, including the NCC's dimensions, themes and skills, exceed the amount of time available. Where choices are made, these are based either on the values of individual teachers or schools, or on the pressures from outside. Implicit value judgements are contained in the slimming down of 'later' subjects and in the suggestion that the National Curriculum requirements may be satisfied for some subjects by means

of 'shorter courses' in Key Stage 4 (MacGregor 1990:17), although the NCC consultation report on history and geography at Key Stage 4 indicates that 38% of schools are not planning to offer the shortened history or geography courses (NCC 1991).

If the Government was reluctant to leave the curriculum in the hands of teachers, it had equal misgivings about their objectivity in assessing pupils' achievements. The implementation of national assessment by means of Standard Assessment Tasks (SATs) did not pass without difficulty. First of all, members of the TGAT Committee may not have foreseen the proliferation of attainment targets. The emphasis of the TGAT proposals on the formative role of SATs became less feasible with the increasing number of elements to be assessed. It has been suggested that the 'TGAT methodology itself created the potential for a further nightmare of time-consuming testing bureaucracy' (Coulby and Bash 1991:47). Despite revisions following the pilot phase, the first round of Key Stage 1 SATs proved so time-consuming and complex that the Government has ordered shorter tests, with more reliance on pencil and paper exercises which can be carried out by all pupils simultaneously. SATs will continue to be given prominence over teacher assessments (Coulby and Bash 1991:52) because, it is claimed, they have shown that teachers frequently underestimate the ability of their pupils. Statistics from Wales show that in 23% of cases, pupils scored higher on the SAT that the teacher's own marking (Welsh Office 1991).

The original tasks were criticised for being too unwieldy, insufficiently objective and taking up valuable teaching time. However, the new style tests may give rise to different problems. Pilot tests have shown that 14-year-old girls obtained higher scores than boys in mathematics, science, English and technology. It is feared that a switch to written tests may result in lower achievements by girls.

The NCC survey showed that teachers, LEA inspectors and advisers were very positive and supportive of the underlying principles and goals of the National Curriculum, in broad agreement with the content and working hard to support its implementation in schools. On the negative side, there was concern about the ways in which changes were being introduced (NCC 1991:25), particularly the speed of its implementation. Initially, teachers felt a lack of confidence in their ability to teach new topics well (especially in junior school science and technology). This was aggravated by the reliance on cascade training models to make maximum use of small numbers of advisory staff. As a result, there was sometimes not enough time for the training to be passed on to relevant staff before the National Curriculum was implemented (NCC 1991:23).

The report also highlighted features which might slow down rising standards and which should therefore continue to be monitored. These were identified as

> the current (transient) difficulty in planning from Orders for KS3 when pupils entering Year 7 have not studied subjects in their National Curriculum form; internal constraints such as insufficient numbers of qualified staff with the specialist knowledge to teach all parts of the subject; GCSE being, for some teachers, a higher priority than quality implementation of the Orders; inappropriate or insufficient materials and resources and insufficient information on pupils' progress in each subject when transferring from other classes or schools (NCC 1991:22).

The delivery of the 'entitlement curriculum' under the Act

At first sight, the Act guaranteed a common curriculum for all pupils and the resulting Orders would define, in considerable detail, what was to be learned and when. The

entitlement was to be enforced by parents' right to register a complaint with the LEA under Section 23 of the Act. If parents are not satisfied with the LEA's handling of the matter, they may pursue their complaint with the Secretary of State under Sections 68 or 99 of the Education Act 1944. The provisions of Section 23 exclude grant-maintained schools and City Colleges, and no reference is made to the rights of appeal of parents whose children attend such schools.

The development of the 'overcrowded curriculum' (Coulby and Bash 1991) has been considered above. By 1990, John MacGregor requested that the NCC re-examine the curriculum framework for the 14-16 phase and consider the possibility of only the core subjects plus technology and a modern foreign language being compulsory for all (MacGregor 1990). Because this exceeds the interpretation of content and involves a deviation from the prescribed subject for this age-group, amending legislation may ultimately be required and the NCC advised against this course of action. Nevertheless, his successor as Secretary of State, Kenneth Clarke, ignored the Council's advice and abandoned the concept of an entitlement curriculum for the 14-16 phase. Despite the arguments against the rigidity of the curriculum prior to the 1988 legislation, secondary head teachers resisted the flexibility now proposed for this phase, not least because there is a danger that the 14-16 curriculum may again be split into two tiers, of high-status academic subjects and low-status vocational subjects (Coulby and Bash 1991:24-25).

The previous section describes some of the difficulties encountered in the implementation of national assessment for core curriculum subjects in Key Stage 1. As with the requirements for the curriculum itself, the Secretary of State began to limit the scope of the testing requirement (DES 1990a). Coulby and Bash (1991:48) argue that he has thus 'abandoned the principle of compulsory national assessment in all National Curriculum foundation subjects at Key Stage 1 and has hinted that he intends to do the same for Key Stage 2'. This trend was followed by his successor, Kenneth Clarke. In the summer of 1990, SEAC recommended that the attainment targets should be sampled by the testing arrangements and not comprehensively covered [*see Makins 1990*]. Key Stage 1 SATs showed that Clarke had 'expediently forsaken both Baker's range of subjects and TGATs comprehensive mode of assessment' (Coulby and Bash 1991:49). The complexity of the first round of Key Stage 1 SATs was nevertheless rejected as unworkable and more straightforward tests were commissioned.

Impact of policies on the curriculum

Kirk (1986) states that the concept of a central curriculum 'reduced education to a cramming exercise, it circumscribed professional activity and constrained initiative, and made deliberate use of political power to mould the minds of the young' (Kirk 1986:2). His criticisms are based on the impossibility of securing a consensus and the view that a common curriculum would reduce pupil choice, differentiation and the scope for reflecting cultural pluralism. Moreover, it would result in the centralization of power and undermine the professional autonomy of teachers.

In contrast, Donald Naismith (then) Director of Education in Croydon was reported as supporting the initiative.

A nationally prescribed curriculum would protect the education service from many current criticisms ... It would be a safeguard against indoctrination and ensure adequate

resources and public commitment ... a National Curriculum would not threaten local freedom or represent an unacceptable degree of regulation. 'Variety and change paradoxically would flourish better against the security of guaranteed entitlement' (*Education* 17 January 1986).

Whilst the accuracy of neither viewpoint can yet be fully determined and the indications are that these views represent two extremes of the spectrum, the following points may be made.

Kirk's assertion that there could be no consensus on a common curriculum has been shown to be largely unjustified for, despite the arguments concerning the content of individual subjects and the balance between them, there has been widespread support for the principle.

It is likely that there will be neither a total absence of choice nor a guaranteed entitlement for all. However, the development of knowledge, skills and understanding which will prepare young people 'for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life' (Education Reform Act Section 1), are increasingly interpreted in the context of economic activity, especially with respect to the UK's economic competitors and the crowded nature of the compulsory subjects leaves little time for a broader curriculum or the pursuit of special interests. Moreover, as noted by the Norwood Committee (1943), examinations have a significant influence on curricula, especially at secondary level. Just as the adoption of national criteria for the GCSE may be seen as an early step towards securing a national curriculum, it may be argued that the degree of prescription in the SATs will exercise considerable influence on the day-to-day implementation of the national curriculum.

Whilst the Government has centralized control of the curriculum, it has developed a framework in which responsibility for the outcomes of education provision is delegated to individual institutions. In the context of other initiatives (e.g. local management of schools, the curtailment of the professional and political discretion of teachers and LEAs, teacher appraisal) the imposition of a National Curriculum and assessment may be seen as an essential prerequisite for the delegation of management responsibility to institutional governing bodies composed largely of lay members and, as such contributes to the loss of local freedom.

In the competition between schools arising from open enrolment, the curriculum and assessment must be defined in terms which lend themselves to nation-wide assessment. A common task (expressed in terms of attainment targets and programmes of study) would allow for inter-school comparisons to be made.

The changes introduced under the National Curriculum have not been accompanied by the additional resources expected by Naismith, except for some in-service training under the Grants for Education Support and Training provisions.

Kirk fears 'the deliberate use of political power to mould the minds of the young' whilst Naismith cites the National Curriculum as a safeguard against indoctrination. Without going so far as to claim that indoctrination is taking place, Coulby and Bash (1991) have pointed to considerable influence being brought to bear in the determination of the history curriculum, not only in the emphasis on British history but also in Kenneth Clarke's exclusion of any events which took place within the past thirty years on the grounds that they constitute 'current affairs'. Similarly, reading texts from other cultures were removed from the English Working Group's proposals, despite the NCC's

assertion that the 'recognition that preparation for like in a multi-cultural society is relevant to all pupils and should permeate every aspect of the curriculum' (NCC 1990:2). Finally, the autonomy of teachers and other professional educationists in LEAs and, more recently, in Her Majesty's Inspectorate, has been seriously undermined.

Despite the relationship in the Act between attainment targets and children's 'different abilities and maturities', there is little specific provision for pupils of special needs. A head teacher may disregard or modify the curriculum as appropriate for pupils who are the subject of a statement under Section 7 of the 1981 Act (Education Reform Act Section 18) or, in accordance with regulations to be made by the Secretary of State, exercise temporary exception or modification for particular pupils not the subject of such a statement. Nevertheless, all non-statemented pupils are expected to progress through all stages of the curriculum.

The introduction of SATs for children aged about seven may have far-reaching consequences, particularly for those perceived by themselves or others as having 'failed'. Coulby and Bash (1991:58) argue that state-endorsed labelling will lead to lower expectations and a reduction in the amount and level of curriculum made available to these children (e.g. through streaming). Equally, opportunities to stretch the child academically will not be sought. As their self-esteem and expectations are lowered, such pupils may seek out a low-achieving peer group to reduce pressure [*see Hargreaves et al 1975*]. While competition may raise standards for some (Gipps 1990:34-6), 'for others it will lower both standards and life chances' (Coulby and Bash 1991:59).

Chapter 12 - Staffing

The traditional (post 1944 Education Act) perception was of a triangle of power shared amongst the DES, the LEAs and the teachers. Teachers' control may be exercised either through teacher associations or in the way in which they interpret and transmit the curriculum to meet the needs of individual pupils (Lawton 1980). This professional role of teachers was emphasized by the Houghton Committee in the conclusions to its report:

> in our view ... the teaching profession should be paid adequately and teachers should enjoy reasonable careers. But if the community shoulders the increased cost, teachers must also accept an obligation to use their professional power and expertise in the community's service. In a changing world we all, and parents in particular, look to teachers to promote the educational and social values of rationality and of independent judgement, and to foster maturity in both personal relationships and the approach to work ... As in other professions, these salaries are in part recognition of the fact that the job cannot be compressed within a rigid structure of prescribed duties, hours and days (Houghton Report 1974:para 294).

Thus endorsement of professional autonomy was closely linked to the expectation that teachers use their expertise in the community's service. The objectives of education identified in this paragraph are wide-ranging and contain no strictly instrumental objectives. The implied assumption of a consensus concerning educational and social values came to be seriously questioned later in the decade.

Teacher supply

In the early 1980s, staffing proposals were principally concerned with the efficient use of qualified teachers. The DES discussion paper *School teacher numbers and deployment in the longer term* recognized that 'some new policies will give rise to new calls on the time of teachers' (DES 1984a:22). It cited, as examples, differentiation in teaching; changes in teaching methods and more practical work arising from TVEI, new examinations and records of achievement; ongoing curriculum review and evaluation in schools; assessment and provision for pupils with special educational needs; and improvement in teacher quality and versatility, by overcoming the mismatch between teachers' subject qualifications and the curriculum at a time of falling rolls, as identified in *Teaching Quality* (DES 1983b). The paper concluded, however, that these initiatives should not give rise to a significant increase in overall teacher numbers as extra resources could be 'found over time'. It was claimed that reductions in the number of pupils admitted to special schools would release teacher-time for redeployment, as would school closures and the standardization of pupil:teacher ratios among LEAs. More teaching by head teachers would create some non-contact time for classroom teachers at primary level. At secondary level, the paper's proposed solutions include allowing pupils less choice between curriculum options, larger classes, rationalization of 16+ provision and reduction in class contact time for those aged over 16, for example by replacing some of the taught periods by periods of directed private study.

Teacher performance

By 1986, concern for teacher numbers was replaced by considerations of the quality of their performance. *Better Schools* identified the management of the teacher force as 'one of the most crucial responsibilities of the LEAs' (DES 1985 para 177), to ensure that teachers' professional commitment, skills and knowledge are used to best effect in the schools.

The desire to take control from professionals in 1970s had stemmed from a dissatisfaction with the products of the education system, in particular youth unemployment (Weinstock 1976). Despite what Bash et al (1985) describe as 'the fallacy of this link', Sir Keith Joseph's sustained attack on 'the ineffective teacher', whose lack of control led to disruptive classrooms, provided an easy target for parental dissatisfaction. Teachers' industrial action provided further grounds for criticism of their unprofessional behaviour, leading to a scheme of teacher appraisal, to be implemented between 1992 and 1995. [*See Section 49 of the Education (No 2) Act 1986.*] The necessity for teacher appraisal had been announced in 1985 on the basis that

> the regular and formal appraisal of the performance of all teachers [*and not just probationers*] is necessary if LEAs are to have the reliable, comprehensive and up-to-date information necessary for the systematic and effective provision of professional support and development and the deployment of staff to best advantage (DES 1985:para 180).

Possibly playing down the level of dissent, the Government claimed that appraisal was 'widely seen as a key instrument for managing this relationship, with teachers' professional and career development assisted and salary progression largely determined by reference to periodic assessment of performance' (DES 1985:para 181). It

> [welcomed] the efforts made by many ... to negotiate a new salary structure ... embracing new pay scales, a new contractual definition of teachers' duties and responsibilities and the introduction of systematic performance appraisal, designed to bring about a better relationship between pay, responsibilities and performance, especially teaching performance in the classroom (DES 1985:para 181).

Teacher status

Bash and Coulby (1989) argue that main causes for teachers' industrial action were the level of salaries and loss of salary negotiation rights, the status of the profession and teachers' removal from the process of education policy-making. These gave rise to a number of legislative measures in which, they argue, teachers were 'victims not agents of [a] wave of change which set out to curb their power and discretion' (Bash and Coulby 1989:10).

In the first of these, the Government called into question the arrangements, established under the Remuneration of Teachers Act 1965, for negotiating teachers' salaries independently of their conditions of employment. Moreover, if teacher performance was to be appraised (in accordance with Clause 49 of the 1986 Act), it would be necessary to define the minimum responsibilities associated with each post. Traditionally, these had been laid down in case law (the obligation to act *in loco parentis*) and in a general contract which required teachers to be present on the school premises at all times when the school was in session and to carry out such tasks as the head teacher might

reasonably require. The Government addressed this 'anomaly' by means of the Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1987, which defined teachers' responsibilities in terms of 1265 hours of directed activities and specific tasks related to the conduct, teaching, guidance and assessment of pupils; to record-keeping, reporting to and consultation with colleagues, parents and others; and to the management and review of the work of the school and of their own and their colleagues' performance and professional development [see Appendix 5]. Whilst the additional responsibilities of deputy head teachers and head teachers were also clearly defined in the Act, the duties to be performed by holders of the new incentive allowances were very vague.

Second, the status of teachers was to be improved by raising standards of initial and in-service teacher training. Some initiatives related to improvements in the level of teachers' knowledge and training, such as the requirement that all intending teachers must have a pass in English and mathematics at O level/GCSE grade C or above, or its equivalent and the move towards an all-graduate profession. Others sought to improve the match between teachers' subject specialism and their principal teaching subject through cross-training schemes. In the latter part of the 1980s, a serious shortage of teachers developed in certain subjects and in certain parts of the country, which diverted the emphasis from quality to quantity. Strategies to stimulate suitably qualified people to join the profession included bursaries, re-training, the Teaching as a Career Unit (TASC) and the early implementation of European Communities Directive 48/89/EC (Commission of the EC 1989), which allowed for the recognition of qualified teacher status achieved in other EC member states. Two alternative routes to qualified teacher status were introduced, one for non-graduates (licensed teachers scheme) and another for graduates (articled teachers scheme). Both were to be largely school-based with additional courses provided off-site. At the same time, responsibility for assessing probationary teachers passed from HMI to LEAs, and more recently the Secretary of State announced that the probationary year is to be abolished (DES 1992). This may be linked to the third initiative, teacher appraisal, which has already been discussed.

The fourth initiative weakened the capacity for trade unions to negotiate on behalf of their members. The Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1987 established a formal link between pay and conditions of service and abolished the Burnham pay negotiating machinery for school teachers. The increased powers (under the Education Reform Act) of the governing body to set staffing levels and, through the LEA, to hire and fire staff, created some 20,000 'employers', with whom unions could not reasonably expect to negotiate national agreements (Bash and Coulby 1989). Furthermore, the Nottingham City Technology College has announced its plan not to recognize the main unions and instead to enter into a no-strike agreement with a staff association (Sutcliffe 1988) and other school governors may pursue the same policy. The Education Reform Act also undermines a teacher's security of employment in two ways. Where individual governing bodies have delegated powers for staffing decisions, the LEA no longer has the facility to redeploy redundant staff from one school to another. Second, an LEA has no obligation to find employment for a teacher who objects to working in grant-maintained schools if that teacher's school 'opts out'.

In the fifth initiative, teachers' involvement in education decision-making was seriously curtailed. Their salaries were to be determined by an Interim Advisory Committee, and later by a pay review body, on which they had no negotiation rights. The Schools Council, the majority of whose members were teachers, was replaced first by

the National Curriculum Development Committee and the Secondary Examinations Council and after the Education Reform Act by the National Curriculum Council and the School Examinations and Assessment Council, both of which comprise members nominated by the Secretary of State.

Values of policies relating to teachers

Perhaps the most significant consequence of government action in relation to teaching staff is the replacement of a relationship based on trust and the exercise of professional discretion in the service of the client, by an employment contract against which subsequent performance will be measured. This public control (Kogan 1986) or contractual (Becher et al 1981) model of accountability reflects the Government's quest to evaluate public services, above all, in terms of economy, efficiency and client satisfaction [*see Chapter 4*] and challenges the value of professional discretion. Together with the changes relating to the curriculum and assessment, it also reinforces the transfer of power from professional teachers and administrators to the Secretary of State on the one hand and to parents, through governing bodies, on the other.

Implementation

As shown above, the principal objectives of Government policies with respect to teachers concern the supply of a sufficient number of suitably qualified teachers, the definition of teachers' tasks and methods of appraising their performance and the transfer of power from the professionals (principally teachers, but also including educationists at LEA and, subsequently, HMI level). This section considers the implementation of these policies in terms of teacher supply, teacher performance and teacher status.

Teacher supply

The various provisions to encourage suitably-qualified individuals to undertake initial teacher training met with a degree of success. The Senior Chief Inspector was able to report in 1989-90 (DES/HMI 1991) that there was a sufficient number of suitably qualified teachers, although their deployment did not eliminate all the vacancies. The availability of teachers to individual schools has, however, been endangered by the local management of schools (LMS) formula arrangements whereby schools are funded on the basis of average teacher costs but charged according to the actual salaries payable. Coulby and Bash (1991:79) found that 'schools with 'expensive' staff have been hardest hit, particularly those which had been historically favoured by the LEA in terms of staffing'. One primary head teacher admitted that his school had 'often been overstaffed by one and the Authority has turned a blind eye. The bonus has varied, but it's been there. Now it will be strictly according to the formula' (Primary head teacher Authority A, quoted by Edwards and Baker 1990 Annex:2).

Edwards and Baker's respondents shared a general view 'that it was quite wrong that schools should be penalized for having experienced, highly-paid staff. All my staff, except two, are on a scale B, so my teacher costs are very high and I can't see how I could do with fewer staff' (Primary head teacher, Authority C, quoted by Edwards and Baker

1990 Annex:2). The problems were compounded in (mostly secondary) schools suffering from falling rolls.

> I shall lose 2.5 staff on this year's costs but I need to lose 4 to 5 staff anyway because of falling rolls. I've lost this number of staff for the last four to five years. Put that together with the cut through LMS and you can see my difficulties (Secondary head, Authority B, quoted by Edwards and Baker 1990 Annex:3).

Planning for continuity of teaching or even covering the curriculum becomes extremely difficult under these circumstances. Other head teachers expressed concern about recruitment being salary-led. Coulby and Bash's (1991) assertion that 'governing bodies are, for the first time, having to very carefully consider the salary a particular teacher would require before making appointments' (1991:79) appears to be borne out in practice.

Several heads saw themselves in future appointing on cost rather than ability. The primary head in Authority E saw the possibility of limited term contracts so that staff could be replaced before they became too expensive. The head of the primary school in Authority B, who was already in the LEAs pilot scheme, had a more hard-nosed approach:

> In future I shall say to prospective staff: 'Here's the job, this is the rate. Take it or leave it.' (Edwards and Baker 1990 Annex:2)

A third strand was that of supply teachers, particularly where the school's need exceeded its budget allowance. One secondary head teacher (Authority E) expected to be allocated 1.1 to 1.2 supply staff a day whereas the school was using about 3. A primary head said 'we have a fair amount of illness here - more than anywhere else I have known. How am I going to pay for that?' (quoted by Edwards and Baker 1990 Annex:3). The consequences were likely to involve permanent staff in providing more cover for absent colleagues, with a corresponding reduction in their non-contact time.

One positive interpretation of a delegated budget for cover was the possibility of better quality staff. Thus a primary head (Authority A) anticipated that 'the quality of supply teachers will be better ... if I anticipate the "supply" problem and ensure I'm not dependent on casual labour!' (Edwards and Baker 1990 Annex:3).

Teacher performance

An improvement in teacher performance was sought through better training, a clearer definition of duties and responsibilities and the implementation of teacher appraisal.

As indicated earlier, the 1980s saw stricter entrance criteria and graduate status for all (standard) new entrants to the profession. The probationary year never achieved the formal status of a second cycle in the initial training process proposed by the James Committee (1972). However, the abolition of this requirement (as announced by the Secretary of State in September 1991) might deprive a new teacher of the support traditionally associated with the status of probationer and deny an employing LEA the right to terminate the contract of a teacher who has not passed his or her probation. Experience has shown that it is very difficult, even for experienced LEA staff, to prove a teacher's 'incompetence'. It might be argued that governing bodies, relatively new to their responsibilities, will find it even more difficult to ensure that the pupils within their school have the best possible teachers.

The emphasis on training was reinforced by the requirement, under the 1987 Act, that all teachers participate in at least five days' in-service education and training each year (the so-called 'Baker days'). Many teachers have also undertaken training in connection with new initiatives such as GCSE, TVEI, the National Curriculum and, amongst senior staff, preparation for new management responsibilities associated with local management of schools. Here again, the consequences of LMS may be that smaller schools are able to afford less training when they have to 'buy' it from the LEA or other agencies. If the authority's central budget is reduced as a result of some schools opting out, its remaining resources may not enable it to maintain a team of inspectors or advisory teachers to cover the range of the curriculum. If each of seven grant-maintained schools claims the 16% allowance in lieu of LEA centrally-provided services, they will, between them, exhaust the authority's budget.

The Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1987 defined, for the first time, the specific responsibilities of school teachers. Whilst this made it easier to point to what a teacher was required to do, it equally enabled a teacher to cease to engage in the extra-curricular activities which, by custom and practice, many had voluntarily undertaken prior to the Act. Paragraph 34(2) of the *Schoolteachers' Conditions of Service Document 1990 [see Appendix 5]* includes the all-embracing requirement that a teacher

> perform, in accordance with any direction which may reasonably be given to him from time to time by the authority or by the head teacher of any school in which he may for the time being be required to work as a teacher, such particular duties as may reasonably beassigned to him

but paragraph 36(1)(b) restricts the extent of such direction to 1265 hours per year. From the management point of view, head teachers needed to monitor the 'directed activities' undertaken by each member of their staff to avoid the risk of using up their allowance before the end of the year. Clearly in this, as in other areas of staff management, the quality of the relationship between head teachers and their colleagues influences the flexibility of approach taken by the staff. Thus while reports of 'logging directed hours' were common in the period immediately following the enactment, they are seldom heard now. It is likely though, that this will provide one strategy whereby teachers can indicate their displeasure should industrial disputes, for example over salaries, occur.

If the 1987 Act defined the scope and nature of a teacher's responsibilities, the regulations made under Section 49 or the Education (No 2) Act 1986 will, from 1995, result in a regular appraisal of the teacher's performance. The form which this will take, and the characteristics of the appraisers (i.e. peers, senior teachers, governors) still remains to be determined. It will, however, make explicit the type of appraisal which currently takes place, often implicitly, when teachers apply or are considered for promotion, for an incentive allowance or for secondment.

Improvement of teacher performance may also be one of the indirect outcomes of the National Curriculum. HMI (DES 1985d) identified 'explicit long-term course or topic planning, as well as ... specific lesson preparation' as contributing to work of good quality (para 19). Thus improvements in these areas may reasonably be expected to contribute to higher levels of teaching. The NCC received reports of

> greater attention to curriculum planning, a catalyst for extending staff cooperation, better organisation of teaching an increased awareness of content requirements for each subject' at Key Stage 1 and an increased sense that every moment in the classroom had to be used to good effect. Evidence from case study data strongly indicated that, as a result of the

National Curriculum, curriculum planning was more structured, long-term, formally recorded and involved teamwork. All are generally regarded as 'good practice' in teaching and therefore likely to raise standards' (NCC 1991:17).

In support of the NCC findings, the HMI Annual Review for 1989-90 (DES 1991h) also noted marked improvements in school management and curriculum planning.

Teachers in special schools reported similar benefits in addition to greater cooperation with ordinary schools, the full use of staff expertise in core and other foundation subjects, greater self-esteem and parity with ordinary schools (NCC 1991:24). Such collaboration may contribute to better meeting the special needs of individual pupils, whether or not they are integrated into mainstream schools.

Teacher status

Teacher status, and its affective counterpart, morale, have been influenced by four main strands of Government policy. These are the transfer of power from professionals to lay persons, the deprofessionalization of teaching by changes in initial teacher training, the contractual status of teachers as educational agents rather than professionals meeting the educational needs of their clients and the lack of representation by teachers (as a body) in their salary and conditions negotiations arrangements which succeeded the Burnham Schoolteachers Committee. Bash and Coulby describe teachers as victims of a 'wave of change which set out to curb their power and discretion' (1989:10).

The first major curtailment of teachers' professional influence was the replacement of the Schools Council by two separate bodies (the School Curriculum Development Committee and the Secondary Examinations Council, superseded by the NCC and SEAC under the Education Reform Act) on which teachers did not have automatic representation. This lack of confidence in teachers' judgement is also reflected in the weight given to the SATs and the moderating and appeals procedures which were implemented (DES 1990d). The government of schools is a second area where this transfer of power away from the professional is very marked. Although the LEA representatives on governing bodies were frequently lay persons, it was the (professional) Chief Education Officer (CEO) who took responsibility for the preparation of the agenda and the advice given during the meeting. Governing bodies (as discussed above) comprise predominantly lay members who must consult the CEO only in connection with teaching staff appointments. The extent of advice which a governing body seeks from the LEA on other matters is left to its discretion.

The admission of non-qualified teachers to City Technology Colleges and the introduction of non-standard routes to qualified teacher status have led to the deprofessionalization of teaching (Bash and Coulby 1989) and are inconsistent with the Government's strategy for improving teacher quality (Reid and Newby 1988). Despite indications (NFER 1991) that the articled teacher scheme is more expensive that the traditional post-graduate certificate in education (PGCE), Kenneth Clarke has announced his intention to replace the current PGCE by a largely school-based model of training (North of England conference 1992) on the grounds that this more closely resembles the 'professional model' used by solicitors and doctors. However, unlike the three-phase training (personal, professional off- and on-the-job, and in-service training) proposed in the James Report (1972), the current proposals are criticized by the University Council for the Education of Teachers as 'ill-thought-out' and 'more likely to undermine that to support the valuable objectives being sought' (reported in TES/NFER 1992:40).

Impact of policies relating to teachers

Teachers formerly exercised their role within a professional framework which involved the analysis of a child's needs and the choice of curriculum and method to meet these needs and the objective assessment of the child's achievements and future learning needs. The Education Reform Act has imposed a curriculum with attainment targets, programmes of study and assessment instruments. The legal requirement that teachers 'deliver' the curriculum in accordance with the relevant Orders, is an indication of the change in role from professional to agent of the Secretary of State. The review of teaching methods, on the advice of the Secretary of State's 'three wise men' (North of England Conference 1992), threatens to remove the last vestige of professional discretion by the imposition of a teaching style.

Teachers are employed by local authorities, in the service of governing bodies, to fulfil obligations laid down by the Secretary of State. Their salaries and conditions of service are determined by an independent School Teachers' Review Body, largely made up of industrialists, and their employment is largely determined by the continuing viability of the school which, in turn, may depend on factors outside the teachers' control. Although deprived of the professional autonomy and the scope to respond to client needs which characterise professional accountability (Becher et al 1981), they will still be appraised with reference to the achievement of their pupils.

This change in status is consistent with the Conservative concept of education as a service delivered in response to market demand. However, the 'responsiveness' dimension of accountability is not followed through. Whilst the local community may determine, by its choice, the continued survival of the school, the school and its teachers have only limited discretion in meeting the education objectives of the market, if these do not coincide with those prescribed by the Government.

Chapter 13 - Financial and material resources

This aspect of policy is concerned with the source (public, private, joint) and nature (direct, indirect) of funding and its generation, allocation and expenditure.

Direct public funding

In 1979, the sources of the local authority's budget were its block grant from central government and its income from local rates and charges. The amount allocated to the education service was determined by the council after consideration of the demands of all the services in relation to the council's political priorities.

Subject to its statutory obligations, the LEA was free to determine its educational and social priorities and make such provision as it could afford. The OECD report (1976) had already commented on the lack of control exercised by the DES. Specifically, the Government controlled local authority (and thus, indirectly, education) expenditure through the level of block grant. In order to reduce wide variations in public sector expenditure and to curb what it saw as 'overspending' generally and especially on activities of which it disapproved, the Government set target spending levels and 'rate capped' (i.e. proportionately reduced the block grant of) those authorities which failed to comply.

The Government's action to promote more cost-effective management in education took several forms. Some were specifically targeted at education, whilst others related to all public services. In the context of falling rolls, it exhorted LEAs to remove surplus places by closure or amalgamation of schools. This was followed by the Audit Commission reports on cost-effective management of public services in general (e.g. Audit Commission 1984, 1986a, 1988b) and education in particular (e.g. Audit Commission 1986, 1988, 1988a). Encouragement was backed by coercion in the form of reductions in the overall Government grants in line with its assessment of a local authority's expenditure needs and rate-capping (or charge-capping) for those authorities which continued to spend at a level above that approved by the Government.

The Education Act 1980 removed the statutory obligation imposed in 1944 to provide milk and lunch-time meals. Whilst LEAs still had a statutory obligation to provide for children whose parents were in receipt of family income supplement or supplementary benefits, they would enjoy considerable discretion both in the provision of milk and meals to other pupils and in the charges to be levied. This was an early example of the transfer of public provision to the responsibility of parents.

Indirect public funding

Additional grants have been made available to local authorities for education programmes (e.g. Microelectronics Education Programme and the Technical and

Vocational Education Initiative) or to make provision for pupils, or areas, with particular needs (e.g. Section 11 funding for children from ethnic minorities and Urban Aid Grants). The Education Act 1984 expanded this focused support by enabling the Department of Education and Science to set aside a total of up to 0.25% of its annual budget for the purpose of selectively subsidizing approved LEA activities under the Education Support Grant scheme. Under the scheme, the Government determines annually which activities qualify for support, the total sum allocated for each activity and the percentage of expenditure (subject to a maximum of 70%) to be refunded through the scheme. As the grants cover only a proportion of the total expenditure, LEAs have to commit part of their own budget to approved activities in order to qualify for a subsidy. Schemes have been established under various names to support grant-related in-service training (GRIST), TVEI-related in-service training (TRIST), the LEA training grant scheme (LEATGS) and grants for education support and training (GEST).

Joint funding

Indirect funding for independent schools under the Assisted Places Scheme was introduced in the Education Act 1980 and by 1991-92, 295 schools participated in the Scheme. Thus the state and parents contributed, albeit unequally, to the maintenance of an independent sector.

The 1988 Act introduced direct joint funding for a new type of independent school by seeking sponsors to establish the City Technology Colleges and City Colleges for the Technology of the Arts. The sponsors were originally expected to provide, or make a significant contribution towards, the resources required to establish a City College whilst the Government would pay for ongoing costs such as teachers' salaries and materials. Later, the Government was shown to pay 80% of the setting-up costs.

In the past, maintained schools had been able to supplement their capitation by means of voluntary contributions to the school fund from parents and others, or by raising income at events organized by the parent-teacher association. Although it remains illegal for maintained schools and City Technology Colleges to require parents to make a payment for fees, the Education Reform Act introduced the right for schools to charge for certain extra-curricular activities.

Management of expenditure

The most sweeping changes in school finance introduced by the Education Reform Act 1988 affect the way in which resources are allocated and managed. Under local management of schools (LMS), responsibility for the management of schools and their budgets is delegated by the local education authorities (LEAs) to the governing body of individual schools [see Appendix 6]. The stated purpose of LMS is to improve the quality of teaching and learning by enabling the governing bodies and head teachers to make more effective use of the resources available to them and by allowing them to be more responsive to the needs and wishes of parents, pupils, the local community and employers. Schools which are not yet required to receive a fully delegated budget (i.e. special schools and nursery schools) continue to receive a partially delegated budget, which includes an allocation for books and other equipment but excludes staff salaries.

As LMS is implemented, many responsibilities formerly held by LEAs are delegated to schools, including the administration of the budget, staff numbers, staff appointments, and ancillary services such as school meals (where provided) and the cleaning and maintenance of buildings and grounds.

The proportion of the local authority's Aggregated School Budget (ASB) allocated to each school is calculated according to the Resource Allocation Formula (the Formula). A minimum of 80% of the ASB must be allocated to schools according to the number of registered pupils. This includes an allowance for additional points for certain age-groups and special needs and may also include extra provision for certain subjects for students aged 16+. The calculation of teacher salaries costs is based on average costs throughout the LEA and not on the actual salaries paid to teachers at any one school. The implications of this decision have been addressed in Chapter 12.

Values underlying policies related to resources

Local management of schools introduces an element of horizontal equity (Levacic 1989c) since 80% of the funding is based on actual pupil numbers. Nonetheless, the extent to which LMS will equalize funding per pupil may be limited. First, accommodation, facilities and heating efficiency varies considerably between schools and in some schools a greater proportion of their budget may have to be allocated to maintain health and safety standards, leaving proportionately less capitation for books and minor equipment. Second, the potential for generating additional income from parents through a voluntary subscription scheme or from fund-raising activities is also variable and LMS virtually removes the scope formerly allowed to LEAs to redistribute its resources to implement programmes of compensatory education or positive discrimination. Within the context of choice in a free market environment, disadvantaged schools will presumably attract fewer pupils so that they can, in time, be closed. In this way, the Government hopes to achieve its objective of rationalizing school places whilst allowing the consumers (i.e. parents) to determine which schools are surplus to requirements. This procedure underlines the Government's rejection of provision on the basis of compensation or positive discrimination.

Various education support grant schemes have been used to pursue the Government's objectives of reducing public expenditure on what it considers non-priority areas, by directing LEAs' attention and a proportion of their funding towards central government's priority areas. However, this intervention by means of positive incentives undermines the Government's claims of decentralization and goes against the views it expressed in *Better Schools*:

> The LEA must be able to determine policies for the overall effectiveness and management of schools in its area (para 227). It cannot discharge its duty to maintain schools unless it is ultimately responsible for the effective management of the money it makes available ... [but] ... school's identity and sense of purpose will be enhanced and public expenditure will be deployed more effectively if each school is given a measure of delegation (DES 1985:para 246).

Implementation

The Government's strategies to improve the management of public expenditure were discussed in Chapter 6. Despite an overall increase in the education budget, changes in the way in which it is allocated by central government and by local authorities have resulted in cuts in services and a marked decline in the standard of buildings (National Audit Office). This part of the chapter deals with the implementation of policies in terms of allocation of resources, calculation of school budgets, management of resources and non-government sources of funding.

Allocation of resources

Changes in allocation include the Government's assessment of education needs (based partly on falling pupil numbers) and the actual number of school places which remain in use. The resulting discrepancy may involve an uneconomic use of resources, which may be unavoidable because of the status of the school or because of delays in the school closure procedure. As indicated above, the Government has, since 1988, dealt with applications for grant-maintained status before those involving school closures.

A second feature of the 1980s has been the withholding of a percentage of the education budget to be allocated to centrally determined programmes and priorities. These funds have sometimes been controlled by parties other than the DES and local authorities. One example is the Manpower Services Commission (later the Training Agency and currently the Training Enterprise and Education Division) of the Employment Department, which controlled the budgets for TVEI and for work-related non-advanced further education. Similarly, funding for teachers' in-service training became increasingly centralized, with LEAs having to make bids for a proportion of the costs under the ESG scheme and its successors. Thus local authorities have progressively lost their freedom to allocate resources in accordance with local priorities, culminating in the implementation of LMS, which transfers the responsibility for determining budget expenditure to the governing bodies of schools and colleges.

Thirdly, a proportion of the central education budget has been allocated to the funding of non-LEA maintained schools. These contributions have been tied to individual pupils (Assisted Places Scheme) or to establishments (City Colleges and grant-maintained schools). The amount of initial funding required to establish the City Colleges considerably exceeded the Government's expectations both because it had underestimated both the actual costs and the level of contribution which it would receive from industrial sponsors. The introduction of grant-maintained schools was stimulated by giving these schools setting-up grants and priority in the allocation of capital grants. In addition, an advisory centre was set up for both new types of school.

Government initiatives have also laid claim to a proportion of the budget to conduct research and pilot studies, to establish programmes or introduce new initiatives and to provide related teacher in-service training. These may give rise to conflicts in priorities. Coulby and Bash point to

> the expenditure of resources on the establishment of a vast testing bureaucracy [which]
> needs to be contrasted with severe impoverishment elsewhere in the education service ...
> at the same time [as] many inner city schools were having major difficulties recruiting
> people to poorly paid teaching jobs. (1991:54)

Calculation of school budgets

The individual school's share of the aggregated school budget is calculated according to the LEA's resource allocation formula [*see Appendix 6*]. Coulby and Bash report on the phasing out of 'even the marginal attempts at positive discrimination that had developed since the 1960s' (Coulby and Bash 1991:69).

> The overwhelming emphasis on age-weighted pupil numbers as the main basis for calculating budgets, and the government's lack of enthusiasm for complicated special needs formulae, represented a shift away from patterns of school resourcing that reflected the perceived level of need in a particular school as well as its size (Coulby and Bash 1991:68).

Levacic (1990) showed that an LEA using free meals and pupil turnover as indicators brought about a considerable change in the distribution of funds, whilst another LEA with a relatively sophisticated special needs index brought about a distribution more in line with earlier subjective judgements of educational need. Doubtless through a recognition of their inability to benefit from economies of scale, overall primary schools have tended to gain from local management of schools (LMS) whilst small secondary schools have lost. In some LEAs resources moved from inner city schools to suburban and rural schools (Coulby and Bash 1991).

A second area of concern is pupils with special needs, especially those who are not the subject of a statement. Since, as Norman Butt (1991) writes 'An LEA must legally only support "the 2 per cent". With LMS it is all it has the money to do' (Butt 1991), parents may feel driven to take legal action against an LEA to secure a formal assessment of needs, and thereby secure the resources (reported in *ACE* Bulletin No 37). Lunt and Evans (1992) state that 'there is now clear evidence to suggest that there is a considerable increase in demand for statementing' (Lunt and Evans 1992:15). The *ACE* Bulletin goes on to say that

> Governing bodies, flexing their muscles under LMS, are turning parents away if their children with special needs do not have a statement or if, in the governors' opinion, the provisions on the statement are not generous enough to support them (*ACE* Bulletin 37).

These attitudes are in defiance of the Education Act 1981 which requires provision to be made for pupils with special needs, including, wherever possible, their integration into ordinary schools.

> The Education Act 1981 gives LEAs and school governors responsibility for identifying, assessing and providing suitable education for SEN pupils. These responsibilities are not qualified by the advent of LMS. In developing and extending LMS schemes, the LEA will need to take full account of its responsibilities under the 1981 Act (DES 1991a).

As Goacher et al (1988) point out, 'the 1981 Act is enabling rather than coercive. Inherent in such a system is the assumption of good practice as well as that of goodwill' and the 1981 Act was not supported by additional resources, on the assumption that savings from special school provision could be reallocated.

Management of resources

LMS gives governors the flexibility to adjust expenditure to the specific needs of the school. They also enjoy the direct benefits of any economies made through energy conservation, reducing the need for redecoration or repair and cash discounts in purchasing. However, schools which are old, expensive to heat or subject to damage by

those outside the school have to bear a burden which was previously shared by the service as a whole. Careful schools which were unable to reap the benefits of their economy under the centrally-funded system may still find themselves penalised. One authority has related school energy budgets to historical use and placed them in one of six bands, which gave rise to the following complaint:

> In some of these schools, the caretaker over-heated the place and so they've got a higher rating than me. I've got a caretaker who is a Northerner and very careful (primary head, Authority A quoted by Edwards and Baker 1990 Annex:6).

Edwards and Baker found that the burdens do not just fall on old schools but generally arise from the inflexibility of heating systems. In many schools it is not possible to shut off the heating in unused parts of the buildings. A secondary head in Authority C reported that *his heating system has to be on or off for the whole building* as he '[can] not even have hot water without heating' (Edwards and Baker 1990 Annex:6). A primary head pointed out the disadvantages of her high standard accommodation:

> The school is unique as it has to be air-conditioned/heated twenty-four hours a day. Moreover, I have a swimming-pool and a sports hall, yet I have nothing to do with the management of either. The trouble is that there is no separate metering for the pool and the sports hall (primary head in Authority E, quoted by Edwards and Baker 1990 Annex:6.

Shared facilities often give rise to considerable problems as the expense incurred in granting access for parents' meetings or adult education may be out of proportion compared with the facilities used. Schools no longer have the privilege of free use of their premises and any loss of income resulting from free use granted, say to the Parents' Association, will have to be balanced by more outside lettings at the market rate. The opportunity to make a profit is often limited by the facilities the school can offer (Edwards and Baker 1990 Annex:6) and by the potential damage to the school's relationship with its immediate community if those attending functions are noisy or otherwise inconsiderate (Beckett et al 1991).

A general problem is the authority's policy on community use. Several head teachers feel penalized since their authority exercises its right to extensive use of the school premises for the community or youth club but only makes minimal charges. The school has to meet the costs of the caretaker's overtime and for additional cleaning. Even more difficult are those schools where hirers of community facilities such as a sports field or leisure centre have to pass through the school to gain access (Edwards and Baker 1990 Annex:7).

The fact that a major proportion (80%) of the school budget is calculated on the basis of pupil numbers makes it difficult for schools to meet the additional needs particularly of pupils who are not the subject of statements under the 1981 Act. In a competitive market, schools will have to balance the attraction of extra funding for special educational needs pupils against the possibility that the school will become stigmatized and thus face a reduction in its basic income through falling rolls (Bash and Coulby 1989:48).

Some of the potential consequences of calculating teachers' salaries on average instead of actual costs have already been discussed. Personnel and staff development costs are likely to fall more heavily on small schools and the costs of recruiting staff may lead to the selection of teachers on the basis of potential length of service rather than

competence and experience. One can envisage a downward spiral in a less popular school which, finding it difficult to retain staff, might be doubly penalized. Not only does it face higher recruitment and induction costs but, if it has to use some of its incentive allowances to attract suitable staff, existing staff may be demotivated and leave in their turn.

With respect to staff development, the LEA Training Grant Scheme is a mandatory exception and a high proportion of these funds were already devolved to schools. Some schools perceive LMS as being of benefit as it makes them 'more discerning about INSET provision and examine the cost-effectiveness of existing systems of teacher release' (Brown and Earley 1990:3). However, these same researchers noted that some schools may have to offer 'a total remuneration package' over and above the local average to secure the necessary supply cover for teachers undertaking INSET and this, together with other reasons, might result in INSET being given a lower priority in some schools. Decisions on INSET, as on other issues, may increasingly be taken on the basis of financial rather than educational criteria (Ball and Bowe 1990).

The creation of a series of competing schools rather than a network of local provision has a number of direct financial consequences. The responsibility of school governors to provide information on the school's activities and pupils' achievements has already been noted in Chapter 10 and, as Arden (1988) showed, the resources allocated were, in some cases, as little as one pence per brochure. However, as competition between schools increases, the resources devoted to public relations generally and to school prospectuses in particular are likely to claim an increasing share of the school's budget (Coulby and Bash 1991). Any benefits derived from cash discounts, which may be individually negotiated on purchases, may be gained at the expense of the low prices arising from the authority's ability to buy in bulk. Moreover, staff may have to take time to collect goods from cash and carry warehouses.

Alternative sources of funding

Whilst the Government has allocated funds to non-LEA maintained schools, it has simultaneously welcomed contributions from industry, parents and others. The National Confederation of Parent-Teacher Associations produced a report showing that the average sum raised by home-school associations is equivalent to 27% of the capitation in primary schools and 7% in secondary schools (1991). As such contributions are voluntary and schools cannot admit pupils on the basis of their parents' willingness to subscribe to school funds, schools will benefit unequally from parental contributions.

Charges may be made for extra-curricular provision under Section 109 of the Education Reform Act. Early research by Maychell et al (1991) indicates that whilst there is no significant change in the number of activities engaged in by schools, those visits which are undertaken tend to relate specifically to National Curriculum attainment targets.

Impact of policies on financial and material resources

As mentioned above, the calculation of school budgets on the basis of pupil numbers is likely to disadvantage schools with significant number of pupils with special needs but who are not the subject of a statement. The respective strength of the two Acts (1981, 1988) on this matter remains to be tested in court.

A second impact arising from the calculation of school budgets is the differential between average teacher salaries (the basis for school funding) and actual teacher salaries (which are payable). Since experienced teachers will make greater demands on the school budget than newly qualified colleagues, it is possible that this factor will influence recruitment and appointment of new staff. Indeed, in one local authority, a procedure for ranking teachers in the event of compulsory redundancy includes seniority as one criterion, with the longer-serving teachers being more likely to be dismissed.

The need to generate additional income will place different degrees of pressure on different schools. The potential income from lettings may not be available to all schools. Even where company sponsorship is involved, Beckett et al (1991) point to the danger of giving 'the impression that schools are only interested in establishing links that will result in financial sponsorship'; conversely, care must be taken that the pupils and the school are not exploited for commercial or public relations benefit (1991:153). It is possible that the pursuit of funding, or the inexperience of heads and governors in dealing with commercial agencies, might make schools less than fastidious in considering the benefits of partnerships.

The effectiveness of financial management depends, to a large extent, on the competence of those responsible. The chair of governors of the secondary school in Authority E asserted that 'the [LEA's] formula consultation document revealed a naivete about financial management [and] he regretted the lack of consultation by the Authority with the business world' (Edwards and Baker 1990 Annex:1). At school level, finance and accountancy was one of the areas of competence lacking among governors (Keys and Fernandes 1990). Given that school governorship is a voluntary, unpaid commitment, there is no guarantee that the members will have the necessary competences and the cost of buying in professional services can be prohibitive. The extent to which governors ask for, and LEAs are able to give free of change, the services which they formerly provided is not known, and likely to vary considerably. However, LEAs may only withdraw the delegation of powers when they consider that the governing body

(a) have been guilty of a substantial or persistent failure to comply with any
requirement applicable under the Scheme; or

(b) are not managing the appropriation of expenditure of the sum put at their disposal
for the purposes of the school in a satisfactory manner

or if it appears to them necessary to do so by reason of gross incompetence or mismanagement on the part of that governing body or other emergency (Education Reform Act Section 37).

It is therefore possible that the inexperience of governors might have a detrimental effect on the school whilst, at the same time, the 'slimmed down' LEAs are unable to keep the same level of oversight.

Chapter 14 - Evaluation

The Government traced a clear link between education and economic prosperity. Whilst recognizing its obligation to make a contribution towards such prosperity through education, the Government had to reconcile this with its objective to reduce public expenditure. The Government's concern about what it saw as the failure of certain local authorities to concentrate expenditure on what it deemed to be appropriate policies has already been explored. Within the education service, it determined

> to ensure as far as it can that, through the efforts of all who are involved with our schools, the education of our pupils serves their own and the country's needs and provides a fair return to those who pay for it (DES 1985:para 11).

The evaluation of the education service thus focused on four aspects: the measurement of output in relation to closely-defined targets, the control of staff performance by the introduction of contractual obligations and appraisal for teachers, the promotion of cost-effective provision and consumer satisfaction.

Defining targets and measuring output

Sir Keith Joseph described good education in terms of effective, well-ordered schools in which pupils developed, learned and achieved. The curriculum was to be relevant to the real world and to the pupils' experience of it (1984, Knight 1990:170). Although individual effectiveness would be assessed in relation to individual need, he set a target for 80%-90% of pupils to achieve a level which had formerly been the average grade (Grade 4 CSE) (DES 1985:para 92). As indicated in Figure 11.1 [*facing page 87*], curricular targets came to be defined in increasingly specific terms to allow for nationwide assessment. The national curriculum widened target groups to embrace all pupils and not only those to be entered for particular public examinations.

The Government argued that standard assessment tasks and the General Certificate of Secondary Education would enable teachers, parents and other interested parties to see how children were progressing individually and in relation to the national average. Not only would this help schools plan future provision for their pupils, but the published results would enable parents to choose between schools. Despite the Government's recognition that the best results did not necessarily indicate the best schools because

> it is difficult to assess the success of the school in building on the pupil's individual capacities and experience - the value that the school has added, and enabled the pupil to add, in developing them (DES 1985:para 12),

its emphasis has been on quantifiable indicators and the Secretary of State (Kenneth Clark) has shown a marked reluctance to allow published results to be adjusted to take account of input indicators, such as assessments of pupil ability on arriving at a school or criteria of social or economic deprivation.

In addition to reports on the school as a whole, the Government has instituted formal rights of access by parents to information on their own child(ren). 1983 saw the introduction of Statements of special educational needs in accordance with Section 7 of the Education Act 1981, which entitles parents to request an assessment and to see the report. The Data Protection Act 1984 gave parents the right to see their child's school record, subject to certain safeguards. Finally, schools are obliged to produce a written report each year, recording each child's progress and, where relevant, results in standard assessment tasks. Whilst the format of such reports is at the discretion of schools, the Government has sponsored pilot studies on Records of Achievements and has issued model formats of report cards and National Record of Achievement Folders to all schools to promote their use [see Appendix 7].

It is the duty of the Secretary of State, under Section 77 of the Education Act 1944, to secure regular inspections as appropriate or desirable, by HMI and others. The same section empowered LEAs to inspect its own establishments by its own officers. One of the trends of education policy during the 1980s has been the requirement for more formal HMI inspection of the performance of pupils, teachers and educational institutions and systems. However, legislation passed in 1992 transfers responsibility for inspections to governing bodies and requires them to arrange for the inspection of their school on a regular basis.

Teachers' responsibilities and performance

It could be argued that the shift of teachers' responsibility from the identification of and provision for pupil needs to the 'delivery of the national curriculum' has resulted in a role which is largely administrative rather than professional. Such rationalization is consistent with the increased emphasis on the efficient delivery of a service within a restricted budget. Equally, the selection, deployment and appraisal of staff by non-professionals is facilitated by a standardized unambiguous job description. Staff development courses (especially those subsidized by central government grants) have tended to concentrate on the development of general management skills for head teachers and the preparation for new teaching programmes and methods associated with TVEI, GCSE and the national curriculum.

Teachers' salaries above the main professional grade are no longer expressed purely in terms of posts of responsibility but rather in terms of performance and incentives. The governing body's discretion to make payments above the main professional scale to recruit and retain staff with specific subject specialisms is not new, but it has been formalized in the 1987 Act.

Similarly, whilst the informal appraisal of performance in association with promotion is well established, such appraisal is now formalized and extended to all staff, independently of any promotion procedures.

Cost-effective provision

Local authorities have been forced to make efficiency savings or cuts in 'programmes of lower priority', 'to restrain pay increases for their employees and also look for possible savings in their manpower' so that resources could be reallocated to policy

priorities acceptable to the Government. Where exhortation failed, the Government implemented 'rate capping legislation and preferential targets for low spending authorities' which, it argued, should help bring about a more equitable distribution of expenditure on schools between LEAs (DES 1985:para 218).

Another approach was through the Audit Commission's advice to local authorities on the effective provision of public services, and studies specifically in the area of education (DES 1985:para 282). The Government claimed widespread support for a new funding mechanism and for more systematic and purposeful planning of INSET (DES 1985:para 175).

Consumer satisfaction

Reference has already been made in Chapter 10 to the Government's attempt to harness parental support for raising educational standards through a market forces model. Government strategies include access to information, the right to appeal against school placement, the right to representation on the governing body and the right to complain about the failure of the LEA and/or the governing body to meet the curricular requirements of the Education Reform Act. This is in line with the Government's promise that progressively more power would be given to the consumers. The Government also sought to 'strengthen the accountability of the governing body to every parent' (DES 1984:para 85). The reasoning behind this approach was that

> professional processes are publicly financed, and serve parents, employers and the community as a whole as well as the pupils. They ought therefore be subject to a measure of lay oversight and control. That role should be discharged by the governing body, to be composed ... of persons, especially parents, who may be expected to take a close interest in the affairs of the school in question and reflect the views of those whom the school serves most directly (DES 1984:para 42).

The quantitative nature of the evaluation in the Government's performance indicators, together with the redesignation of the role of the teacher, reflect a greater concern with economy and efficiency than with effectiveness and individual pupil need. The increasing obligation on the LEAs and schools to account for the exercise of their delegated authority, contrasts with the abolition of the Secretary of State's duty to provide an annual report to Parliament on education under the Education (No 2) Act 1986, despite the considerable increase in his powers.

There is also an inconsistency in policies which undermines the supplier's ability to respond to market needs. This arises from the fact that Government has imposed, by legislation, the structure, governance, content, assessment, staffing, resourcing and criteria of evaluation. The choice of consumers is thus between any incidental differences which may emerge between suppliers, arising principally from historical advantages of reputation and quality of material resources and from the contributions in cash and kind which parents are able to make.

The principal difficulties inherent in the evaluation of a public, statutory service on the basis of consumer demand is that of dissonance in expectation and the values underlying them. Pronouncements, both public and private, reveal differences between groups and between individuals within groups [*see Lawton 1992 on the Conservative 'neo-liberals' and the 'new right'*] as well as variations in emphasis over time. As

mentioned above, the Government has assumed that its criteria will be acceptable to those seeking to evaluate the service, apparently ignoring the fact that whilst consumers might seek effectiveness and enhanced quality of provision (irrespective of cost), tax/charge payers may be more concerned with efficiency and economy. Moreover, given that changes in education take time to work through, it is possible that the adjustments made to meet a certain set of demands will not affect the outcome for those who required them, and will produce an outcome deemed unsatisfactory by those affected.

Values in evaluation policies

The values underlying evaluation policies are, first and foremost, a belief that suppliers (including professionals) should be held accountable to the consumers and those who fund the services. Linked to this is a belief in the rights of the individual to choose and the corresponding necessity that suppliers be responsive to expressed wants.

The criteria which are used to measure the processes and outcomes of education in turn reflect other values, which may best be considered in pairs, since they are likely to be held by competing groups of individuals.

The first of these concerns the balance between social provision and public burden. As mentioned above, this may result in a conflict of values between consumers and funders. This conflict has been addressed by the Government in terms of providing a minimum entitlement, supported by virtually flat rate funding, without regard for social and educational differences, except those which are expressed in the form of Statements of special educational needs. Linked to this is the dichotomy between individualism and the common good. Whilst an improvement in standards for all is desirable, the needs of individuals of high potential or with special needs may be better served if separate or supplementary provision is made. Government policies have tended to give priority consideration to the needs of individuals, with particular emphasis on the able, in preference to the needs of the majority. In contrast, the cumulative effect of policies on the role of teachers has resulted in a shift away from professional analysis of, and provision for, the needs of individuals to the delivery of a standardized programme whose prescribed content allows little exercise of discretion.

A third dichotomy concerns the values of responsibility and responsiveness. Although the Government has declared its belief in free market mechanisms, responsive to consumer demand, the legislative framework indicates a lack of trust and a perception that a central specification is an essential element of 'responsible' provision.

Implementation

Measuring educational outcomes is complicated by a lack of agreed objectives and variations in criteria used over time and between assessors. Moreover, outcomes may not become evident for some time after the completion of formal education and the value added specifically by individual institutions or by the education service as a whole may not be readily measurable. Earlier parts of this section described Government policies and traced the ways in which those policies were transformed in the course of implementation. These changes have, in turn, affected the mechanisms for evaluation of the policy outcomes, which are examined in this chapter under four headings:

a) defining targets and measuring outputs
b) teachers' responsibilities and performance
c) cost-effective provision
d) consumer satisfaction

Defining targets and measuring outputs

The National Curriculum and its assessment were to constitute a prime criterion for measuring the standard of education provided by a school and, collectively, by the education system. As Chapter 11 has shown, variations are being introduced into the National Curriculum and into the assessment arrangements which will make it more difficult to make school-by-school comparisons. A number of parents appealed against their child's being subjected to Standard Assessment Tasks (SATs) and their children were therefore excluded from the assessment pending the outcome of the appeal. Press reports suggest that anti-SAT campaigners will inform more parents on their rights to have children withdrawn from testing. If parents exercise this right, test results will becomes less representative.

The requirement that the results of SATs and public examinations be published in their 'raw' state has provoked criticism because such statistics would not provide an accurate indication of the 'value added' by the school. The Secretary of State has resisted calls for adjusting figures to take into consideration factors such as pupils' socio-economic circumstances on the grounds that this denies parents the information necessary to make an informed choice between schools. Schools may, however, provide a statement of such circumstances alongside national test results. However justifiable the attribution of comparatively poor results to a predominance amongst the school's pupils of working class children, bilingual pupils, children with special needs or one-parent families may be, Coulby and Bash claim 'it is difficult to see in practice how either middle-class or working-class parents will be attracted to enrol their children' at the school (1991:61).

Two other criteria of a school's success are attendance rates (or, rather, truancy rates) and the number of pupils who remain in full-time education beyond the school-leaving age. These figures are also subject to misinterpretation. Pupils may be ill or their absence from school be authorized by parents to enable them to look after siblings or to visit relatives abroad. Although schools can report unjustified absences to the LEA so that action may be taken under Section 37 of the 1944 Act, the justification for assessing a school's performance on the basis of such absences is questionable. Similarly, some young people may prefer to take up employment when it is available rather than risk subsequent unemployment by staying on at school. This is more likely to occur at times or in areas of high unemployment - which itself raises the overall staying-on rate.

The Education Committee of the London Borough of Wandsworth has announced that school closures will be determined on the basis of test scores and attendance records, thus conforming to the Government guidelines. At the same time, it has introduced tests for five-year-olds which will enable schools to demonstrate the progress which a child has made between entry and the Key Stage 1 SATs. This is intended to provide a measure of the 'added value' provided by the school.

Teachers' responsibilities and performance

The framework for monitoring the performance of teachers has been established by the 1987 Act and the teacher appraisal regulations. However, in the context of appraisal, it

should be remembered that there may be teaching without learning and there may be learning without teaching (Gronlund 1974). Equally, the evidence that learning objectives have been effectively achieved by schools, namely, that the achievement of the objectives is genuinely the result of the efforts of the teachers, can only be gained in strictly controlled circumstances. It is more readily demonstrable that teachers have fulfilled their teaching obligations and that pupils - provided they have fulfilled their obligations with respect to effort and application - have achieved their objectives (Wijffels 1991).

Cost-effective provision

Provided that the National Curriculum and assessment provisions are comparable across the country, it will be possible to compare test results and expenditure per pupil to generate a measure of cost-effectiveness. However, some school costs are not related to pupil numbers and would invalidate a school-by-school comparison. Examples are heating, cleaning, insurance and maintenance costs linked to the age, structure and condition of the buildings or to use by adult and community groups. Nevertheless, comparison of school expenditure under different headings year by year could provide useful management information for the governors and senior staff.

Consumer satisfaction

The Government's policies are built on the assumption that parents will exercise their choice between schools on the basis of the quality of individual schools. Whilst this may be a contributory factor, Stillman and Maychell (1986) found that the parents' 'sense of choice' was a significant factor in the exercise of choices. Different sets of parents within the same area responded differently, according to whether they felt that a real choice existed.

Parents opting for grant-maintained status may choose this means of expressing their dissatisfaction with the local authority provision. Alternatively, they may wish to claim even more autonomy for the school than that offered under LMS, irrespective of the quality of LEA provision. A third motivation may be the financial incentives currently offered by the Government (starting-up grant, priority consideration for capital grants and 16% of the LEA's central services budget). This level of support cannot be sustained if considerable numbers of schools opt out without the injection of additional resources. Indeed, the central services allowance has already been reduced to 15% and there are indications that it may be further reduced. Faced with LEAs' financial restraint, some schools may feel this is the only way in which they can secure the financial benefits which may give them a competitive edge in the fight for pupils.

Impact of policies on evaluation

A framework for competition between schools has been created through cost-centred funding (LMS) and the national prescription of objectives expressed in terms of participation rates, attendance, curriculum and forms of assessment. Thus it will be possible to quantify a given school's achievements in terms of test results, attendance and staying-on rates and to compare these with its level of funding.

The appraisal of individual teachers will be more difficult, given that many of them were trained and appointed to a role which differs considerably from that which

they are now asked to fulfil. Although they will still be teaching children, the discretion to adapt the content and method to the needs of individual children has been undermined and it is not clear to what extent a teacher can be held accountable for the failure on the part of individual pupils to achieve the prescribed standards.

The implementation of the Government's policies will reveal, perhaps for the first time, the actual level of funding at the disposal of any given school, from both public and private sources. However, a simple division of funding by pupil numbers to give the cost-effectiveness of individual schools would not be a fair indication of the school's efficiency since, as has already been indicated, costs for certain items of expenditure such as heating, and provisions for (unstatemented) special needs, may vary considerably between schools. It is possible that the policies may lead to unjust comparisons being made between schools.

Criteria for measuring consumer satisfaction are notoriously difficult. Anecdotal evidence abounds of parents who, whilst very satisfied with their child's education, nevertheless subscribe to the view that 'education is a mess and standards have fallen'. In identifying specific criteria such as attendance and staying-on rates, examination results and first destinations of school leavers, the Government has reflected a particular set of values which may not be shared by the population at large. Whilst schools may pursue objectives and publish achievements other than the above, such activities would supplement but not replace the Government's requirements. There is, as already mentioned, a risk that the competition for school places might force many schools to focus on a very narrow set of objectives, to the detriment of the general development of their pupils.

In conclusion, much has been made of the child's entitlement to a good education, expressed in terms of access to the school of his or her parents' choice and a guaranteed curriculum. However, it remains to be seen whether the places available in the desired schools, the number of suitably qualified teachers and the commitment from parents and pupils will be sufficient to secure the rise in standards which the policies are intended to deliver.

SECTION FIVE

CONCLUSION

Chapter 15 - Inconsistencies and conflicts

Conservative policy aimed to reduce the power of the welfare state and the providers who form part of it and to eliminate unnecessary levels of bureaucracy. It substituted in large part the market relationship between providers and customers for the existing professional-client relationship. It asserted the needs for excellence as against those for equality and those of choice against social planning.

Ideally, policies should reflect and support their underlying value positions and a congruence of values may make it possible for separate policies to support more than one value position. Thus the provision of different types of school may be justified on grounds of increasing parental choice or of raising the quality of the education service as a whole, by means of competition within a market economy. These operational values can be traced back to basic values if parental choice is interpreted as a manifestation of freedom and competition as a means to achieving excellence. They also reflect a Conservative interest in diminishing professional power and public expenditure. There is evidence of such congruence in several of the education policies promulgated by the Conservative Governments between 1979-1990.

However, throughout this study, there have also been indications of intrinsic conflicts between some of the values espoused by the Government and inconsistencies between its policies. As discussed in Chapter 4, interpretations of equality may lead to proposals for unselective education (on the basis of equitable provision) or, conversely to selective education, either to compensate for perceived economic, social or cultural disadvantages (positive discrimination) or to allow the most able to achieve the excellent standards of which they are deemed capable [*élite pluralism, see Ball 1990*]. Similarly, pursuit of the best, if defined as excellence for some, may undermine pursuit of the good, defined as high standards for all. The redirection of public resources for the education of an élite thus conflicts with equitable funding for all. In a second example, the promotion of freedom, expressed as parental choice, may conflict with cost-effective management of surplus school places.

This chapter will examine Conservative policies with respect to the the coherence of the underlying values and the extent of continuity between these and preceding policies. Thus far, however, these are a matter for conjectural analysis because the empirical evidence of their conflicts is lacking.

Are policies informed by a coherent set of values?

It could be argued that this is so, because several values recur throughout the education policies of the period, principally choice, participation, standards, excellence and accountability. Nevertheless, as has already been noted, these values are challenged implicitly by competing values and explicitly through other policies, and there is evidence of some incoherence in the legislation.

Predominant values

Lawton (1992) charts the rise of choice through three stages: 1969-77 a need to strengthen the voice of the parents; 1974-84 the development of a 'parents' charter' comprising information, the right to express a choice of school and representation, plus an extension of choice for parents of bright children through the Assisted Places Scheme (with implied criticism of state sector); and 1984-88, the period of enhanced governing body powers culminating in open enrolment and opting-out (Education Reform Act 1988). A related theme, participation, was also evident from the 1980 Act onwards, but its principal purpose was to serve the more important goals of choice and accountability.

A second major value was that of standards. Initially interpreted as academic education for the bright, an objective underlined by the introduction of the Assisted Places Scheme, it developed into demands for improved performance on the part of all pupils. The strategy has now come full circle, having started with a criticism of (child-centred) teaching methods by the Conservative right during the 1970s, through criticisms of 'clutter' subjects such as peace studies (1985) and the imposition of a 'broad, balanced and relevant curriculum' (1988) until, in 1991, teaching methods have again come under scrutiny.

The third major value was accountability, to parents for the quality of education provided for their children and to tax and local charge payers for the use of public resources. The strategies became firmer as the decade progressed. Initially, there was an obligation for 'soft reporting', that is, for providing information to governors and to parents generally. The belief that the market would act as a regulating mechanism reached its apogee in the linked policies of open enrolment and (largely) pupil-linked funding under local management of schools (LMS). However, perhaps because of impatience rather than lack of faith, a two-pronged initiative was implemented to ensure that schools respond to the demands of the community. The first of these involved a strengthening of governors' powers with regard to the curriculum (1986) extending by 1988 to the total management of schools and their budgets. The second prong introduced quality control through the national curriculum and assessment, an initiative which withdrew from governors an area of former discretion.

There appears to be a further, implicit, value underlying Government's policy: that of obeisance. The deliberately differential funding of TVEI, whereby early applicants received provision 'lavishly superior to that available to others' (Bash and Coulby 1989:112), served as an indication that rewards were available for those who responded rapidly to the Government's initiatives. Similar incentives were offered to the first cohort of schools opting out of LEA control [*see Chapter 9*]. Just as incentives for TVEI decreased as the number of participating schools increased, a similar trend may be discerned with respect to grant-maintained schools. It might therefore be suggested that 'freedom' consists in supporting Government, rather than LEA, initiatives.

Although the dominant values shine through, the education policies of the 1980s reveal some conflicts as the Government tried to balance these with competing values.

Competing values

The first values conflict is that between rational and social planning and the free operation of market forces. In the early 1980s, local authorities were urged to 'rationalize'

provision and to take surplus places out of use by school closures and amalgamations. They were supported in this by the freedom which the 1980 Act gave them to set planned admission levels and to refuse parents' applications for a place at a given school on the grounds of efficiency. An extension of this conflict may be seen at central government level, where the funding of additional places in independent schools (Assisted Places Scheme), the creation of new schools (City Colleges) and the priority given to applications for grant-maintained status over LEA rationalization plans, occur in parallel to exhortations and stronger measures to curb local authority expenditure.

The second values conflict concerns planning versus choice. In the mid-80s, the LEAs' role as planner and arbitrator was still clear

> the government recognises that the individual teacher, the school and the LEA each have legitimate interests as respects deployment and that these are not always identical or, being different, easily reconciled. But the Government believes that LEAs are responsible for pursuing such a reconciliation in the wider interest of all pupils within the maintained schools system (DES 1985:para 197).

However, this was superseded by the social market model promulgated by the Government in later papers and 'LEA regard for overall efficiency and economy was subordinated to parental choice' (Lawton 1992:51). Moreover, LMS devolved responsibility for teacher deployment, professional support and development from LEAs to individual governing bodies and thereby removed the opportunity for LEAs to achieve 'reconciliations' in the interests of all pupils, without relieving the LEA of responsibility for the quality and efficiency of the education provided.

A third conflict, at the level of individual teachers, concerns the evaluation of professional services, delivered within a free market, according to rational managerial criteria such as economy, efficiency and effectiveness. Although the details remain to be worked out, there is bound to be an element of dysfunctional harmony between the values of 'professional' teachers and those, including teachers, who have adopted some of the managerial values associated with their new responsibilities and roles (Kogan 1974, Henkel 1991).

Incoherence between policies

The coherence of education policy was affected by what might be termed 'trial and error' procedures. Given its considerable parliamentary majority, the Government could secure enactment without recourse to the amendment and compromise which precedes consensus. This has, on occasion, led to rapid legislation which was subsequently modified in the light of experience. Examples include the representation by students aged over 18 among the 'other' governors (1980 Act), the delegation of certain controls over the curriculum to governors (1986 No 2 Act) and the introduction of local management of colleges, along the same lines as local management of schools (1988 ERA). The first of these was abolished in 1986 and the other two were overtaken by more comprehensive legislation in 1988 and 1992 respectively.

Policies to promote more active involvement by parents and others in the education system conflict with those which seek better and more cost-effective management of schools. The promotion of wider involvement in decision-making processes gives rise to considerable costs (provision of information, facilities for consultation and representation) without a demonstrable return. The delegation of decision-making to

individual schools under LMS is a logical extension of participation, but it has generated an ongoing need for governor training, as governors retire and are replaced by others. Annual funding, open enrolment and the uncertainty of future parental choices which it generates, increases the difficulties faced by those planning provision at all levels. This is aggravated when the number of pupils drops significantly and a disproportionate amount of resources needs to be allocated to maintain the National Curriculum. A conflict then arises between several policies. Are the (few) remaining parents to be deprived of their right to choose, or is the school's funding to be enhanced over and above the formula to enable the registered pupils to complete their education? In terms of quality and equality of opportunity for the remaining pupils

> the danger is not that a school closes, but that it remains open, a clearly underfunded third class option for those who cannot send their children anywhere else (Coulby and Bash 1991:58).

There is a contradiction between the free structure and the 'epistemological totalitarianism' (Bash and Coulby 1989:114) of the National Curriculum. The claim that parents may choose between different schools is restricted by the requirement that all schools deliver, and render account in terms of, the National Curriculum. Whilst the Government claims that the exercise of market forces will raise educational standards and has transferred the major responsibility for the government of schools to lay members in pursuit of their objectives, it has exercised direct intervention in setting the educational objectives and the indicators by which the school's performance is to be measured. This is in direct contrast with the market model. The Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) argues that

> the most effective national curriculum is that set by the market, by the consumers of the education service. This will; be far more responsive to children's needs and society's demands than any centrally-imposed curriculum, no matter how well meant. Attempts by Government and by Parliament to impose a curriculum, no matter how 'generally agreed' they think it to be, are a poor second best in terms of quality, flexibility and responsiveness to needs than allowing the market to decide and setting the system free to respond to the overwhelming demand for higher standards. The Government must trust market forces rather than some committee of the great and good (IEA quoted in Bash and Coulby 1989:114).

However, Bash and Coulby (1989) argue that the curriculum policies are not so much at variance with the structure as is sometimes suggested. The contrast between apparent centralization in one sphere and apparent decentralization elsewhere is explained as a means towards a different end.

> Schools responsive to market choices are believed by government to be more likely to produce high levels of scholastic achievement to the benefit of both the individual and the nation. The strength of the state therefore has to be used to remove anything that interferes with this process or with the development of an appropriate sense of self and nation on the part of the citizens. Thus, not only does the partnership with LEAs and teachers' unions need to be abandoned in favour of the discipline of the market, it also becomes imperative (at least in the short term) to police the curriculum to ensure that the pervasive collectivist and universalistic welfare ideology of the post-war era is restrained so that support for self-help, the concept of the 'responsible' family and a common 'national identity' can be constructed (Bash and Coulby 1989:51).

Continuity between Conservative policies and those which they inherited

Although, as Figure 2.1 [*facing page 9*] shows, there were considerable areas of agreement between the Labour and Conservative administrations concerning the aims of education, there were differences in emphasis and Conservative education policies represent a radical departure from what went before in terms of approach, dominant values, and nature of provision.

Aims

The similarities and differences between Labour and Conservative educational aims were discussed in Chapter 2. Using the national curriculum as an indication, it would appear that the acquisition of understanding, knowledge and skills relevant to adult life and employment (DES 1985:para b), the effective use of language and number (ibid:para c) and, to a lesser extent, the development of personal moral values, respect for religious values and tolerance of other races, religions and ways of life (ibid:para d) are the Government's primary objectives, and that the remaining items have a secondary importance. Similarly, the importance of science was recognized by giving it core subject status and technology became compulsory as a foundation subject. This reflects a move towards some of the objectives set by Labour, although the pursuit of 'a more just social order' and positive discrimination are clearly inconsistent with Conservative objectives.

Government policies do not necessarily fall neatly into Taylor's classification of educational aims [*see Chapter 2*] and there is considerable overlap. However, the 'societal statements' category is the one which most accurately embraces the majority of policies.

Although the Government commissioned research, it was not consistent about acting on the findings. For example, despite the findings of the Lower Achievers' Project (LAPP), and Eric Bolton's observation that

> less able pupils are much more likely to experience the poor and the shoddy than the more able: a worryingly persistent feature of English education at all levels (DES/HMI 1990),

the Government still opted for a single common curriculum for virtually all pupils, with the exception of those who are the subject of a formal Statement of special educational needs.

The epistemological basis of the curriculum, which informed earlier proposals (e.g. DES 1977), was sacrificed to a subject-based format. As Lawton states:

> HMI expertise and experience were ignored, and a National Curriculum was produced which was based simply on a list of subjects that education ministers and their civil servants presumably studied at school (1992:49).

The national curriculum comprises specific targets linked to assessment tasks. The impact of the publication of pupils' results and the pressure on time, already referred to, increases the likelihood of 'teaching to the test'. This may, perhaps unintentionally, result in the pursuit of assessment-oriented aims.

The interests which informed Conservative policy were principally those of influential members of the party and their supporters. The checks and balances normally

present were to a large extent disempowered by the considerable parliamentary majority, and thus financial and legislative power, enjoyed by the Conservative Governments during this period.

Finally, individualist statements achieved expression in the Assisted Places Scheme, which assumed that public sector, mainly comprehensive, education was inadequate for the needs of the most able students.

Approach

Lawton (1992) points to Conservative education policies, and in particular the Education Reform Act 1988, as marking a shift in approach from the bipartisan, consensus-seeking to the 'aggressively ideological and political' (1992:46), despite the fact that there was growing consensus for change in educational organization, curriculum planning and teaching methods, especially following the William Tyndale affair (1975) and the Great Debate (1976).

Dominant values

Conservative policies, in education as well as in other public services, revealed a shift from the communitarian and redistributive values underlying social welfare, to the individualist, competitive and consumer-oriented values of the market. Thus schools, which have essentially operated within a cooperative framework, are now in open competition for pupils and the resources which they represent. Indeed, despite Keith Joseph's announcement at the 1983 Party Conference that the idea of vouchers in education was dead, 'open enrolment plus per capita funding produced the same result as the voucher systems' (Lawton 1992:53).

Nature of provision

Chapter 2 of this study introduced a set of models marking three points on a continuum of educational provision, namely system-centred, teacher-led and child-centred [see Figure 2.2, facing page 10]. During the 1960s and 1970s, educational provision found itself somewhere between child-centred and teacher-led, as teachers were expected to give more prominence in their assessment of pupils' needs to the pupils' own expressions of interest and wants. The 1970s saw increasing criticism of child-centred teaching methods and a challenge to teachers' professional discretion in the determination of the curriculum [see: Callaghan 1976, the Taylor Report 1977]. By 1990, the pendulum had swung back to system-centred provision, tempered by market choice. Differences in performance between schools will, it is argued, be stimulated or eliminated as a result of parental choice. This creates a fourth model on the continuum, the market-led model. Its position is difficult to chart given the variety in expectations of parents and in the needs and interests of their children. In theory, this could give rise to a modified form of the child-centred model, on the grounds that parents are interpreting their child's needs and wants. In practice, it is a form of the system-centred model because the Government has determined, by legislation, the structure, governance, content, staffing, finance and methods of evaluation, according to its perception of what parents want, or ought to want. This action indicates that the Government's confidence in the wisdom of parental choice is not as absolute as its pronouncements might suggest. The dangers of entrusting education provision to the exercise of parental choice in a free market were

foreseen long before compulsory education was introduced:

> We may ask whether parents do ... prove themselves as solicitous, and as well qualified, to judge rightly the merits of places of education, as the theory of Adam Smith supposes? Whether the necessity of keeping parents in good humour does not too often, instead of rendering education better, render it worse? (Mill 1833:24-25 quoted in Bash and Coulby 1989:23).

For the most part, the Conservative Governments of the period 1979-90 have successfully achieved their political programme but the implementation and outcomes are still emerging. The success of Conservative policies will depend on the Government's political stamina and the extent to which their policies follow consistently from their value position. It should be remarked that political programmes need not always be consistent to be successful. A feature of Conservative policy has been the skilful use of ambivalence i.e. greater centralization (for example, through the National Curriculum) and decentralization (for example, through local management of schools).

Conservative Governments throughout the 1980s have declared, as their prime objective, the raising of standards in education. However, it is not yet possible to assess the extent to which educational achievement beyond the narrow measure of examination results has improved, nor to quantify the contribution made to any such improvement by Government policy until the policies have had time to work through into the service.

Chapter 16 - Values analysis as a basis for policy analysis

In classifying education policy in relation to Conservative values during the Thatcher years, this study has adopted a reflective, rather than an empirical approach (Bassey 1992). This chapter explains the reasoning behind this choice.

Forms of analysis

Values

Given 'the messy realities of influence, pressure, dogma, expediency, conflict, compromise, intransigence, resistance, error, opposition and pragmatism in the policy process' (Ball 1990:9), it cannot be claimed that a values analysis is a sufficient critical test of policy. However, it addresses some of the questions and provides a framework for testing coherence and continuity at the different stages.

Economic factors

Economic factors can clearly have a major impact on education policy. The recession of the 1970s prevented the progress from quantitative towards qualitative improvements which had been intended by the Conservative Government in 1972 (DES 1972 para 5). However, during the period 1979-1990, the economy was not the main issue except for a general belief in transferring funds from the state to the taxpayer [*see Chapter 5*]. This can be seen, for example, in the allocation of funds to favoured initiatives such as the Assisted Places Scheme, TVEI, the City Technology Colleges and grant-maintained schools, at times when the Government restricted local authority expenditure and thus, indirectly, expenditure on LEA maintained schools.

Interests

Values jostle with interests in the initiation, emergence and implementation of policies. Ministers wish to leave their marks on history and local authorities look to hold their place, partly out of pursuit of power and partly out of belief in the values underpinning social policy. Teachers have professional commitments to particular curricula, syllabuses, modes of pupil grouping and teaching methods. These may support or conflict with personal interests in status, promotion and working conditions. Thus, the financial and status advantages enjoyed by a grant-maintained school may appeal to the personal interests of a teacher whose professional interests reject what is seen as élitist provision for some at the expense of others.

The expression of interests and their achievement through exchanges (Homans 1961) and bargaining at national level were largely frustrated, as has already been mentioned, by the Government's overwhelming parliamentary majority. It is therefore at the implementation stage that the interest sets (Hoyle 1989) will seek to achieve changes. Institutions necessarily affect policies as governors, teachers and students seek to achieve their differing objectives within the imposed framework. There is already some evidence of a softening of some of the absolute policies of the 1988 Act, such as the simplification of the Standard Assessment Tasks, and concessions concerning the obligation to study both history and geography, and art and music, throughout the statutory phase. An analysis of how these changes were achieved necessarily involves a detailed observation of individuals within their institutions and external pressure groups for, whilst some actions and alliances may be planned and overt, others may be covert or even unconscious.

Outcomes

A fourth strand of analysis is by outcomes. Such an analysis may concentrate on the changes in structure and in the roles and relationships of those involved in the system. Alternatively, it may seek to measure the changes in knowledge, skills, understanding and attitudes of those who have been educated. These achievements may be related back to objectives (providing an indicator of effectiveness) or to cost (indicating efficiency).

An analysis of outcomes was rejected because it is too early to assess the impact of the changes brought about by the Education Reform Act: the major reforms have yet to be fully implemented (local management of schools (1993), the national curriculum (1996), teacher appraisal (1995)) and City Technology Colleges and grant-maintained schools are in their infancy. Whilst Section 4 reported some of the research findings which are becoming available and made conjectural assessments of the impact of policies, these are largely restricted to the process of implementation rather than revealing the effects of the policies themselves.

Conclusion

This study has provided a systematic description of the Conservative Government's education policies and their initial implementation during the period 1979-90. It has found elements of coherence between the Government's values and policies and examples of dissonance. By analysing the underlying values, it has identified conflicts which might go some way toward explaining the apparent contradictions.

It has identified a marked switch in emphasis from regionalized provision to institutional provision within a strong, centralized framework which reflects a move from communal provision in response to individual needs to a market model where individual effort is intended to bring its own rewards. The systematic analysis reveals the way in which policies apparently concerned with separate aspects of public services (structure, management, funding and mechanisms of reporting and accountability) culminated in the creation of a mixed market economy as a basis for transferring responsibility for the provision of welfare services from the state to commercial and voluntary agencies, as well as to individuals and their families.

Whilst responsibility for the provision of education has not itself been delegated to parents, their involvement through choice, participation and voluntary financial contributions has steadily increased throughout the period in question. The transfer from the state to commercial and voluntary agencies is also evident in the provision of services to schools (meals, maintenance, cleaning) by commercial agencies under contract and the delegation to voluntary, lay governors of many of the responsibilities formerly exercised by local education authorities.

Future work

The present study should provide a basis for further work on the changing roles of and relationships between those involved in the education service. The changes in the role and status of teachers are underlined in the proposed shift in emphasis in teacher training from developing an understanding of the child and the epistemology of the subject, to on-the-job practice of teaching skills. Given these changes, will the 'delivery' of the national curriculum give pupils an understanding of the world around them as well as the skills and knowledge on which so much emphasis is laid? Will the new competitive market model succeed in raising standards, as the Government intends, or will it create a multi-tiered service, with the best education being reserved for the academically able or those willing to pay for it?

APPENDICES

Appendix 1
Principal Government publications on education 1979-1990

EDUCATION ACTS (Total: 12)

Education Act 1979

Education Act 1980

Education Act 1981

Education (Fees and Awards) Act 1983

Education (Grants and Awards) Act 1984

Further Education Act 1985

Education (Amendment) Act 1986

Education Act 1986

Education (No 2) Act 1986

Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1987

Education Reform Act 1988

Education (Student Loans) Act 1990

STATUTORY INSTRUMENTS (Total 93)

1979
SI 1979/333   State Awards (State Bursaries for Adult Education) (Wales) Regulations 1979

1980
SI 1980/545   Provision of clothing under 1948 Act - LEA power to charge

SI 1980/658   Publication of School Proposals

SI 1980/917   Areas to which pupils belong

SI 1980/918   Middle Schools (deemed primary or secondary)

SI 1980/1011 Grants for Welsh Language Education

1981
SI 1981/630   School Information

SI 1981/909   School Premises: revokes 1972 regulations made under Education Act 1944 Section 10

SI 1981/1086 Schools and Further Education

SI 1981/1133 School Admission Standard Numbers

SI 1981/1328 Teacher Training Scholarships [superseded by the Education (No 2) Act 1986]

1982
SI 1982/106   Teachers' Regulations 1980

SI 1982/1730 Particulars of Independent Schools

1983
SI 1983/7   Education Act 1981 Commencement No 2 Order

SI 1983/29   Special Educational Needs

SI 1983/74   Education Grants

SI 1983/481   Teacher Training Awards [superseded by Education (No 2) Act 1986]

SI 1983/973   Fees and Awards

SI 1983/1185 Students' Dependants Allowances

SI 1983/1499 Approval of Special Schools

1985

SI 1984/1098 Education Support Grants

SI 1984/684   Music and Ballet Schools Grants

1985

SI 1985/685   Assisted Places Scheme

SI 1985/830   Assisted Places Scheme: Incidental expenses

1986

SI 1986/1324 Bursaries for Teacher Training

1987

SI 1987/96   Training Grants Regulations: Education (No 2) Act 1986

SI 1987/344   Education (No 2) Act 1986 :Commencement No 2 Order Section 66

SI 1987/1138 Grants City Technology Courses

SI 1987/1158 Further Education Recoupment:: Education (No 2) Act 1986

SI 1987/1160 Further Education Governing Bodies: Education (No 2) Act 1986

SI 1987/1183 Abolition of Corporal Punishment (Independent Schools): Education (No 2) Act 1986

SI 1987/1261 Mandatory Awards

SI 1987/1359 School Government Regulations

SI 1987/1433 School Teachers' Pay and Conditions Order 1987

1988

SI 1988/240   Grants Royal Ballet School

SI 1988/1397 Education (Bursaries for Teacher Training) Regulations

SI 1988/1474 Education (Parental Ballots for Acquisition of Grant-maintained Status) (Prescribed
            Body) Regulations 1988

SI 1988/1799 Education (Higher Education Corporations) Order 1988

SI 1988/2035 Education (Recognized Awards) Order 1988

SI 1988/2036 Education (Recognized Bodies) Order 1988

1989

SI 1989/46   Education (ILEA) (Transitional and Supplementary Provisions) Order 1989

SI 1989/282   Education (Designated Institutions) Order 1989

SI 1989/302   Education (Prescribed Courses of Higher Education) (England) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/308   Education (National Curriculum) (Attainment Targets and Programmes of Study in
            Mathematics) Order 1989

SI 1989/309   Education (National Curriculum) (Attainment Targets and Programmes of Study in
            Science) Order 1989

SI 1989/351   Education (Schools and Further Education) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/370 Education (Pe-scheme Financial Statements) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/377 Education (Prescribed Public Examinations) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/398 Education (Schools Hours and Policies) (Information) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/825 Education (National Curriculum) (Attainment Targets and Programmes of Study in Modern Languages) Order 1989

SI 1989/901 Education (Modifications of Enactments Relating to Employment) Order 1989

SI 1989/907 Education (National Curriculum) (Attainment Targets and Programmes of Study in English) Order 1989

SI 1989/954 Education (School Curriculum and Related Information) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/1040 Education (ILEA) (Continuity and Offers of Employment) Order 1989

SI 1989/1135 Education (ILEA) (Transitional and Supplementary Provisions) (No 2) Order 1989

SI 1989/1139 Education (Reorganization in Inner London) (Temporary Exceptions for Individual Pupils) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/1235 Education (Assisted Places) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/1236 Education (Grants) (Music and Ballet Schools) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/1237 Education (Assisted Places) (Incidental Expenses) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/1261 Education (School Records) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/1308 Education (National Curriculum) (Exceptions) (Wales) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/1319 Education (Teachers) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/1352 Education (Financial Delegation to Schools) (Mandatory Exceptions) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/1452 Education (Further and Higher Education Funding Schemes) (Publication and Information) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/1468 Education (Adult Education Centres Funding Schemes) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/1469 Education (Grant-maintained Schools) (Publication of Proposals) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/1470 Education (Proposed Further and Higher Education Institutions) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/1503 Education (School Government) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/1825 Education (Abolition of Corporal Punishment) (Independent Schools) (Prescribed Categories of Persons) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/2037 Education (Areas to which Pupils and Students Belong) Regulations 1989

SI 1989/2055 Education (Designated Institutions) (Amendment) Order 1989

SI 1989/2335 Education (Publication of Schemes for Financing Schools) Regulations 1989

1990

SI 1990/391 Education Reform Act (Commencement No 89 and Amendment) Order 1990

SI 1990/306 Education (Grants) (Travellers and Displaced Persons) Regulations 1990

SI 1990/353 Education (School Financial Statements) (Prescribed Particulars etc) Regulations 1990

SI 1990/423 Education (National Curriculum) (Attainment Targets and Programmes of Study in English) (No 2) Order 1990

SI 1990/424 Education (National Curriculum) (Attainment Targets and Programmes of Study in Technology) Order 1990

SI 1990/532 Education (Governing Bodies of Institutions of Further and Higher Education) Regulations 1990

SI 1990/549 Education (Grant-maintained Schools) (Finance) Regulations 1990

SI 1990/1208 Education (Welsh Medium Teacher Training Incentive Supplement) Regulations 1990

SI 1990/1278 Higher Education (Wales) Regulations 1990

SI 1990/1381 Education (Individual Pupils' Achievement) (Information) Regulations 1990

SI 1990/1401 Education (Student Loans) Regulations 1990

SI 1990/1543 Education (National Curriculum) (Assessment Arrangements for English, Mathematics and Science) Order 1990

SI 1990/1555 Education (Further and Higher Education Institutions Access Funds) Regulations 1990

SI 1990/1639 Education (National Curriculum) (Assessment Arrangements for English, Mathematics and Science) (Wales) Order 1990

SI 1990/1857 Education (Training Grants) Regulations 1990

SI 1990/1989 Education (Grant) Regulations 1990

SI 1990/2031 Education (Eligibility of Primary Schools for Grant-maintained Status) Order 1990

SI 1990/2187 Education (National Curriculum) (Exceptions) (Wales) Regulations 1990

SI 1990/2516 Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1987 (Continuation) Order 1990

SI 1990/2518 Education Support Grants Regulations 1990

SI 1990/1082 Education (National Curriculum) (Attainment Targets and Programmes of Study in Welsh) Order 1990

CIRCULARS (Total 109)

1979

1/79	Rate Support Grant Settlement 1979/80
2/79	Government Expenditure Plans: implications for local authority expenditure 1979/83
3/79	Tuition fees in FE 1979/80
4/79	Local authority expenditure 1979/80
5/79	Tuition fees and admissions to FE establishments and awards 1979/80; Race Relations Act 1976

1980

1/80	Education Act 1980
2/80	Procedure affecting proposals made under Section 12-16 of the Education Act 1980 [superseded by 3/87]

1981

1/81	Education Act 1980 Admissions, appeals, publication of information and school attendance Orders
2/81	Falling rolls and surplus places [superseded by 3/87]
3/81	Boarding school education for service children
4/81	Education Act 1980: School government
5/81	EC Directive on education of migrant workers' children
6/81	The school curriculum 1944
7/81	Education Act 1980: Sections 27 and 33(3) Regulations
8/81	Education Act 1981

1982

1/82	Approval of AFE courses in England

2/82	Re: Disabled Persons Act 1981
3/82	Education Act 1981 Section 14 : discontinuance of maintained special schools
4/82	Statutory proposals for secondary school falling rolls [superseded by 3/87]
5/82	Approval of AFE courses (Revised arrangements)
6/82	YTS implications for the education service
7/82	Education Act 1980 Sections 27 and 33(3) Regulations: Teachers
1983	
1/83	Assessment and statements of SEN
2/83	Initial training and qualifications for teaching of holders of specialist qualifications
3/83	The in-service teacher training grants scheme [superseded by 4/84]
4/83	Approval of AFE [withdrawn by 5/84]
5/83	Reduction of teaching posts in AFE: Redundancy compensation
6/83	Approval of special schools (1944 and 1981 Acts)
7/83	Education Act 1980: Application of Section 2 to Maintained special schools
8/83	The school curriculum 1944
1984	
1/84	Crime prevention
2/84	Certification of LA claims for exchequer grants/subsidies
3/84	Initial teacher training: approval of courses (*Teacher Quality*)
4/84	The In-service teacher training grants scheme [superseded by 3/85]
5/84	Approval of AFE courses in England 1985/6 [withdrawn by 2/85]
6/84	Education support grants
7/84	Education Act 1980: Application of Sections 2 and 3 to all maintained schools
1985	
1/85	Youth service
2/85	Approval of AFE courses in England 1986/7 [withdrawn by 3/86]
3/85	The in-service teacher training grants scheme [superseded by 1/86]
4/85	The future of one-year Certificate in Education courses for secondary teachers of business studies and of CDT
5/85	Education Support Grants
6/85	The FE Act 1985: commercial activities in FE
1986	
1/86	The in-service teacher training grants scheme: arrangements for the academic year 1986/87 and revised arrangements to support GCSE training in the academic year 1985/86
2/86	School attendance and Education Welfare Services
3/86	Approval of AFE courses in England 1986/7 and 1987/88
4/86	Protection of children: disclosure of criminal background of those with access to children
5/86	Education Support Grants
6/86	LEA Training Grants Scheme: Financial year 1987/88

| 7/86 | Approval of courses of further training for school and FE teachers in England 1987/88 and notification of included arrangements for 1988/89 |
| 8/86 | Education (No 2) Act 1986 |

1987

1/87	Follow-up to HMI reports
2/87	Controlled schools: change of status (Education (No 2) Act 1986)
3/87	Providing for quality: the pattern of organisation to age 19 (*Better Schools*)
4/87	Approval of AFE 1977-78 [sic] 1988-89
5/87	Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1987
6/87	Education (No 2) Act 1986 Regulations: FE Recoupment
7/87	Education (No 2) Act 1986 Regulations: Further guidance (implementation)
8/87	School Teachers' Pay and Conditions of Service
9/87	LEA Training Grant Scheme 1988-89
10/87	Approval of further training of school and FE teachers 1988-89
11/87	Sex education at school: Education (No 2) Act 1986

1988

1/88	Physical and mental fitness to teach of teachers and entrants to teacher training
2/88	Disabled Persons (Services Consultation and Representation) Act 1986 - Implementation Sections 5 and 6 LAC 88(2)
3/88	Teachers' Pay and Conditions
4/88	Working together for the protection of children from abuse: procedures within the education service
5/88	LEA Training Grant Scheme 1989-90
6/88	The transfer of responsibility for education in Inner London
7/88	Education Reform Act 1988: local management of schools
8/88	Education Reform Act 1988: governance of maintained further and higher education colleges
9/88	Education Reform Act 1988: local management of further and higher education colleges: planning and delegation schemes and Articles of Government
10/88	Education Reform Act 1988: grant-maintained schools
11/88	Admission of pupils to county and voluntary schools
12/88	Protection of children: disclosure of criminal background of those with access to children [Joint Circular: Home Office and DES/Department of Health and Welsh Office]

1989

1/89	The Education Reform Act 1988: local arrangements for consideration of complaints
2/89	The Education Reform Act 1988: charges for school activities
3/89	The Education Reform Act 1988: religious education and collective worship
4/89	Interdepartmental circular on the misuse of alcohol [Published by the Home Office]
5/89	Curriculum assessment
6/89	National Curriculum: Mathematics and Science Order under Section 4 Education Reform Act 1988
7/89	The Teachers Regulations (Compensation for redundancy and premature retirement)

8/89	Ethnic-based statistics on school teachers (Welsh Office)
9/89	The Education Reform Act 1988: modern foreign languages in the National Curriculum
10/89	The Education Reform Act 1988: National Curriculum English Key Stage 1 Order under Section 4
11/89	The Education Reform Act 1988: statutory approval of qualifications under Section 5
12/89	School teachers' pay and conditions of employment under Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1987
13/89	Local management of schools and further and higher education colleges: Order under Section 22 of the Education Reform Act 1988
14/89	The Education (School Curriculum and Related Information) Regulations 1989
15/89	The Education Reform Act 1988: temporary exceptions from the National Curriculum
16/89	Ethnically-based statistics on school pupils
17/89	The Education (School Records) Regulations 1989
18/89	The Education (Teachers) Regulations 1989
19/89	Adult continuing education and the Education Reform Act 1988: planning and delegation schemes
20/89	Local Education Authority Training Grants Scheme: Financial year 1990-91
21/89	Grant-maintained schools: financial arrangements
22/89	Assessments and Statements of Special Educational Needs: procedures within the education, health and social services.
23/89	Special schools for pupils with emotional and behavioural difficulties
24/89	Initial teacher training: approval of courses
1990	
1/90	Education Reform Act 1988: statutory approval of qualifications under Section 5 [replaces Circular 11/89]
2/90	Education Reform Act 1988: National Curriculum: English Key Stages Two to Four under Section 4
3/90	Education Reform Act 1988: National Curriculum: Section 4 Order Technology: Design and Technology and Information Technology
4/90	Arrangements for the establishment of Education Committees
5/90	Crime Prevention: The success of the Partnership Approach [Home Office Circular 44/90]
6/90	School Teachers' Pay and Conditions of Employment
7/90	Management of the school day
8/90	Records of Achievement
9/90	Education Reform Act 1988: The Education (National Curriculum) (Assessment Arrangements for English, Mathematics and Science) Order 1990
10/90	Education Reform Act 1988: specific grant for the education of travellers and displaced persons
11/90	Staffing for pupils with Special Educational Needs

SELECTED OTHER PUBLICATIONS

1979

DES (1979) *LEA arrangements for the school curriculum: report on the Circular 14/77 review* London: HMSO

HMI/DES (1979) *Aspects of secondary education in England. A survey by HM Inspectors of Schools* London: HMSO

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Appendix 2

Information for parents on schools

The *Education (School Information) Regulations 1981* required school governors (or LEAs on their behalf) to publish a school prospectus for parents and prospective parents. The prospectus must include:

* the school's name, address and telephone number
* the names of the head teacher and of the chairman of governors
* the type of school and (where applicable) any religious affiliation
* the curriculum
* the teaching arrangements (for example, grouping of pupils)
* homework policy
* external qualifications and relevant syllabuses for which courses are provided
* arrangements for pupils with special educational needs
* arrangements for pastoral care and school discipline
* policy on school uniform
* policy on charges and remissions (under ERA)
* arrangements for the consideration of complaints
* arrangements for parents' access to syllabuses, schemes of work, the Governing Body's annual report, HMI reports about the school [*see below*] and statutory documents.

In accordance with DES Circular No 9/91 *Education (Information on School Examination Results) (England) Regulations 1991*, maintained secondary schools must also provide details of pupils' entries and results in all public and vocational examinations, including the General Certificate of Secondary Education, General Certificate of Education Advanced Level and Advanced Supplementary examinations. These details must be presented alongside comparable statistics for the local education authority in which the school is situated and the national statistics for England.

Under Sections 30 and 31 of the *Education (No 2) Act 1986*, the governing body of every school must prepare a report on the work and achievements of the school. This report must be circulated to parents at least two weeks before the annual general meeting to which all parents of registered pupils should be invited. The purpose of the meeting is to provide an opportunity for parents to discuss what has happened in the school during the previous year with the governors and the head teacher. Parents may also raise issues of concern not contained in the report concerning the way in which the governing body, the head teacher or the LEA have carried out their duties. If the parents of at least twenty per cent of the registered pupils are present at the meeting, they may make resolutions which must be considered by the governors and referred to the head teacher and/or the LEA for action, as appropriate.

The *Education (Pupils' Attendance Records) Regulations 1991* stipulate that, from 1 August 1991, all schools (other than independent schools for resident pupils only) must distinguish in their attendance registers between authorized and unauthorized absence for pupils of compulsory school age. From 1 August 1992, the prospectuses and annual reports of all maintained schools must include specified information on rates of unauthorized absence. This is seen as part of a school's accountability to parents and to the wider community.

Her Majesty's Inspectors conduct a programme of regular inspections of the performance of individual schools. Their reports to the Secretary of State are published and must be made available to parents and other interested parties.

Appendix 3

Head teachers' responsibilities

In maintained schools, head teachers are qualified teachers who are appointed to undertake the management and administrative responsibilities involved in running a school. If during the appraisal of his performance, a head teacher is found to require further in-service training in any aspect of his work, then he is obliged under his conditions of service to undertake that training.

Conditions of service

Head teachers' conditions of employment and their general responsibilities are defined in the *School Teachers' Pay and Conditions Document 1991*, as follows.

Overriding requirements

27   A head teacher shall carry out his professional duties in accordance with and subject to -

   (1)   the provisions of the Education Acts 1944 to 1988;

   (2)   any orders and regulations having effect thereunder;

   (3)   the articles of government of the school of which he is head teacher, to the extent to which their content is prescribed by statute;

   (4)   where the school is a voluntary school or a grant-maintained school which was formerly a voluntary school, any trust deed applying in relation thereto;

   (5)   any scheme of local management approved or imposed by the Secretary of State under section 34 of the Education Reform Act 1988 (Chapter 40);

and, to the extent to which they are not inconsistent with these conditions -

   (a) provisions of the articles of government the content of which is not so prescribed;

   (b) in the case of a school which has a delegated budget,

   (i)   any rules, regulations or policies laid down by the governing body under their powers as derived from any of the sources specified in sub-paragraphs (1) to (5) and (a) above; and

   (ii)   any rules, regulations or policies laid down by his employers with respect to matters for which the governing body is not so responsible;

   (c)   in any other case, any rules, regulations or policies laid down by his employers; and

   (d)   the terms of his appointment.

General functions

28   Subject to paragraph 27 above, the head teacher shall be responsible for the internal organisation, management and control of the school.

Consultation

29   In carrying out his duties the head teacher shall consult, where this is appropriate, with the authority, the governing body, the staff of the school and the parents of its pupils.

Professional functions

30 The professional duties of a head teacher shall include -

School aims

(1) formulating the overall aims and objectives of the school and policies for their implementation;

Appointment of staff

(2) participating in the selection and appointment of the teaching and non-teaching staff of the school;

Management of staff

(3)(a) deploying and managing all teaching and non-teaching staff of the school and allocating particular duties to them (including such duties of the headteacher as may properly be delegated to the deputy head teacher or other members of the staff) in a manner consistent with their conditions of employment, maintaining a reasonable balance for each teacher between work carried out in school and work carried out elsewhere;

(b) ensuring that the duty of providing cover for absent teachers is shared equitably among all teachers in the school (including the head teacher), taking account of their teaching and other duties;

Liaison with staff unions and associations

(4) maintaining relationships with organisations representing teachers and other persons on the staff of the school;

Curriculum

(5)(a) determining, organising and implementing an appropriate curriculum for the school, having regard to the needs, experience, interests, aptitudes and stage of development of the pupils and the resources available to the school; and his duty under sections 1(1) and 10(1)(b) and (2)(a) of the Education Reform Act 1988;

(b) securing that all pupils in attendance at the school take part in daily collective worship in pursuance of his duty under section 10(1)(a) of the Education Reform Act 1988;

Review

(6) keeping under review the work and organisation of the school;

Standards of teaching and learning

(7) evaluating the standards of teaching and learning in the school, and ensuring that proper standards of professional performance are established and maintained;

Appraisal, training and development of staff

(8)(a) supervising and participating in arrangements made in accordance with regulations made under section 49 of the Education (No 2) Act 1986 (b) for the appraisal of the performance of teachers in the school; participating in arrangements made for the appraisal of his performance as head teacher, and that of other head teachers who are the responsibility of the same appraising body in accordance with such regulations; participating in the identification of areas in which he would benefit from further training and undergoing such training;

(b) ensuring that all staff in the school have access to advice and training appropriate to their needs, in accordance with the policies of the maintaining authority or, in the case of a grant-maintained school, of the governing body, for the development of staff;

Management of information

(9) providing information about the work and performance of the staff employed at the school where this is relevant to their future employment;

Pupil progress

(10) ensuring that the progress of the pupils of the school is monitored and recorded;

Pastoral care

(11) determining and ensuring the implementation of a policy for the pastoral care of the pupils;

Discipline

(12) determining, in accordance with any written statement of general principles provided for him by the governing body, measures to be taken with a view to promoting, among the pupils, self-discipline and proper regard for authority, encouraging good behaviour on the part of the pupils, securing that the standard of behaviour of the pupils is acceptable and otherwise regulating the conduct of the pupils; making such measures generally known within the school, and ensuring that they are implemented;

(13) ensuring the maintenance of good order and discipline at all times during the school day (including the midday break) when pupils are present on the school premises and whenever the pupils are engaged in authorised school activities, whether on the school premises or elsewhere;

Relations with parents

(14) making arrangements for parents to be given regular information about the school curriculum, the progress of their children and other matters affecting the school, so as to promote common understanding of its aims;

Relations with other bodies

(15) promoting effective relationships with persons and bodies outside the school;

Relations with governing body

(16) advising and assisting the governing body of the school in the exercise of its functions, including (without prejudice to any rights he may have as a governor of the school) attending meetings of the governing body and making such reports to it in connection with the discharge of his functions as it may properly require either on a regular basis or from time to time;

Relations with authority

(17) (except in the case of grant-maintained schools) providing for liaison and co-operation with the officers of the maintaining authority; making such reports to the authority in connection with the discharge of his functions as it may properly require, either on a regular basis or from time to time;

Relations with other educational establishments

(18) maintaining liaison with other schools and further education establishments with which the school has a relationship;

Resources

(19) allocating, controlling and accounting for those financial and material resources of the school which are under the control of the head teacher;

Premises

(20) making arrangements, if so required by the maintaining authority or the governing body of a grant-maintained school (as appropriate), for the security and effective supervision of the school buildings and their contents and of the school grounds;

and ensuring (if so required) that any lack of maintenance is promptly reported to the maintaining authority or, if appropriate, the governing body;

Absence

(21) arranging for a deputy head teacher or other suitable person to assume responsibility for the discharge of his functions as head teacher at any time when he is absent from the school;

Teaching

(22) participating, to such an extent as may be appropriate having regard to his other duties, in the teaching of pupils at the school, including the provision of cover for absent teachers.

Daily break

31 A head teacher shall be entitled to a break of reasonable length in the course of each school day, and shall arrange for a suitable person to assume responsibility for the discharge of his functions as head teacher during that break."

In addition, head teachers have curricular responsibilities under theEducation (No 2) Act 1986, as follows:

The articles of government for every county, controlled and maintained special school

(6) ... shall provide for it to be the duty of the head teacher, in discharging his duties in relation to the secular curriculum for the school -

(a) to consider the statement of the local education authority under section 17 of this Act and those of the governing body under this section;

(b) to have regard -

(i) to any representations which are made to him, with regard to the determination or organisation of the secular curriculum, by any persons connected with the community served by the school; and connected with the community served by the school; and

(ii) to any such representations which are

made to him by the chief officer of police and which are connected with that officer's responsibilities; and

(c) to ensure that the curriculum -

(i) so far as it relates to sex education, is compatible with the governing body's policy (as expressed in their statement under subsection (2) above) except where that policy is incompatible with any part of the syllabus for a course which forms part of that curriculum and leads to a public examination;

(ii) so far as it relates to other matters, is compatible with the authority's policy (as expressed in their statement) or, to the extent to which it is incompatible, is compatible with that policy as modified by the governing body's statement under subsection (1) above; and

(iii) is compatible with the enactments relating to education (including, in particular, those relating to children with special educational needs).

Appraisal

Formal appraisal is now part of the statutory conditions of service of head teachers and all full-time teachers (with the exception of probationary teachers) and it will be introduced gradually in the period up to 1995, under the *Education (School Teacher Appraisal) Regulations 1991.*

Sources: DES (1991) *School Teachers' Pay and Conditions Document 1991* London: HMSO

The Education (No 2) Act 1986, Section 18

Appendix 4
Standard assessment tasks (SATs)

In accordance with the requirements of the national curriculum that pupils' performance in relation to attainment targets should be assessed and reported on at ages 7, 11, 14 and 16, SEAC is responsible for the design and implementation of SATs. These will be used at ages 7, 11 and 14. It is foreseen that the GCSE examinations will be the principal, but not the only, means of assessment afor pupils aged 16.

SATs are to be used as a form of national external testing and used to complement teachers' own assessment and schools' internal tests and examinations. They will enable each pupil's progress to be measured against national standards. SATs should be created to fit in with classroom practice.

National assessment through SATs will be:

"**formative**, in providing information which teachers can use in deciding how a pupil's learning should be taken forward, and in giving the pupils themselves clear and understandable targets and feedback about their achievements. It will also provide teachers and others with the means of identifying the need for further, diagnostic assessments for particular pupils where appropriate to help their educational development;

summative, in providing overall evidence of the achievements of a pupil and of what he or she knows, understands and can do;

evaluative, in that comparative aggregated information about pupils' achievements can be used as an indicator of where there needs to be further effort, resources, changes in the curriculum etc;

informative, in helping communication with parents about how their child is doing; and with governing bodies, LEAs and the wider community about the achievements of a school;

helpful for **professional development**, in that the process of carrying out systematic assessment, recording attainment and moderating the outcomes in discussion with other teachers will provide a valuable basis for teachers to evaluate their own work and to gain access to new thinking." (*National curriculum: from policy to practice* London: DES, 1989).

SEAC has commissioned various national agencies to develop SATs and extensive trials have or will be undertaken at all key stages before the SATs are finalized. In their final form, SATs will be progressively introduced from summer 1991.

Source: DES (1989) *National Curriculum: from policy to practice* London: DES

Appendix 5

Teachers' conditions of service

Exercise of general professional duties

A teacher who is not a head teacher shall carry out the professional duties of a school teacher as circumstances may require -

if he is employed as a teacher in a school, under the reasonable direction of the head teacher of that school;

if he is employed by an authority on terms under which he is not assigned to any one school, under the reasonable direction of that authority and of the head teacher of any school in which he may be for the time being required to work as a teacher.

Exercise of particular duties

A teacher employed as a teacher (other than a head teacher) in a school shall perform, in accordance with any directions which may reasonably be given to him by the head teacher from time to time, such particular duties as may reasonable be assigned to him.

A teacher employed by an authority on terms such as those described in above shall perform, in accordance with any direction which may reasonably be given to him from time to time by the authority or by the head teacher of any school in which he may for the time being be required t work as a teacher, such particular duties as may reasonably be assigned to him.

Professional duties

The following duties shall be deemed to be included in the professional duties which a school teacher may be required to perform:

Teaching (having regard to the curriculum for the school):

* planning and preparing courses and lessons;

* teaching, according to their educational needs, the pupils assigned to him, including the setting and marking of work to be carried out by the pupil in school and elsewhere;

* assessing, recording and reporting on the development, progress and attainment of pupils;

Other activities

* promoting the general progress and well-being of individual pupils and of any class or group of pupils assigned to him;

* providing guidance and advice to pupils on educational and social matters and on their further education and future careers, including information about sources of more expert advice on specific questions; making relevant records and reports;

* making records of and reports on the personal and social needs of pupils;

* communicating and consulting with the parents of pupils;

* communicating and co-operating with persons or bodies outside the school;

* participating in meetings arranged for any of the purposes described above;

Assessments and reports

* providing or contributing to oral and written assessments, reports and references relating to individual pupils and groups of pupils;

Appraisal

* participating in any arrangements within an agreed national framework for the appraisal of his performance and that of other teachers;

Review: Further training and development

* reviewing from time to time his methods of teaching and programmes of work;

* participating in any arrangements for his further training and professional development as a teacher;

Educational methods

* advising and co-operating with the head teacher and other teachers (or any one or more of them) on the preparation and development of courses of study, teaching materials, teaching programmes, methods of teaching and assessment and pastoral arrangements;

Discipline, health and safety

* maintaining good order and discipline among the pupils and safeguarding their health and safety both when they are authorised to be on the school premises and when they are engaged in authorised school activities elsewhere;

Staff meetings

* participating in meetings at the school which relate to the curriculum for the school or the administration or organisation of the school, including pastoral arrangements;

Cover

* supervising and so far as practical teaching any pupils whose teacher is not available to teach them, provided that no teacher shall be required to provide such cover after the teacher who is absent or otherwise not available has been so for three or more consecutive working days; or where the fact that the teacher would be absent or otherwise not available for a period exceeding three consecutive working days was known to the maintaining authority or in the case of a grant-maintained school or a school which has a delegated budget and whose local management scheme delegates the relevant responsibility for the provision of supply teachers to the governing body, to the governing body for two or more working days before the absence commenced, unless he is a teacher employed wholly or mainly for the purpose of providing such cover ('a supply teacher'); or the authority or the overning body (as the case may be) have exhausted all reasonable means of providing a supply teacher to provide cover without success; or he is a full-time teacher at the school but has been assigned by the head teacher in the time-table to teach or carry out other specified duties (except cover) for less than 75 per cent of those hours in the week during which pupils are taught at the school;

Public examinations

* participating in arrangements for preparing pupils for public examinations and in assessing pupils for the purposes of such examinations; recording and reporting such assessments; and participating in arrangements for pupils' presentation for and supervision during such examinations;

Management

* contributing to the selection for appointment and professional development of other teachers and non-teaching staff, including the induction and assessment of new and probationary teachers;

* co-ordinating or managing the work of other teachers;

* taking such part as may be required of him in the review, development and management of activities related to the curriculum, organisation and pastoral functions of the school;

Administration

* participating in administrative and organisational tasks related to such duties as are described above, including the management or supervision of persons providing support for the teachers in the school and the ordering and allocation of equipment and materials;

* attending assemblies, registering the attendance of pupils and supervising pupils, whether these duties are to be performed before, during or after school sessions.

Working time

A teacher employed full-time, (other than a teacher employed wholly or mainly to teach or perform other duties in relation to pupils in a residential establishment) shall be available for work for 195 days in any year, of which 190 days shall be days on which he may be required to teach pupils in addition to carrying out other duties; and those 195 days shall be specified by his employer or, if the employer so directs, by the head teacher.

Such a teacher shall be available to perform such duties at such times and such places as may be specified by the head teacher (or, where the teacher is not assigned to any one school, by his employer or the head teacher of any school in which he may be for the time being required to work as a teacher) for 1265 hours in any year, those hours to be allocated reasonably throughout those days in the year on which he is required to be available for work. Time spent in travelling to or from the place of work shall not count against the 1265 hours referred to above.

Such a teacher shall, in addition to the requirements set out in sub-paragraphs (a) and (b) above, work such additional hours as may be needed to enable him to discharge effectively his professional duties, including, in particular, the marking of pupils' work, the writing of reports on pupils and the preparation of lessons, teaching material and teaching programmes. The amount of time required for this purpose beyond the 1265 hours referred to in sub-paragraph (b) and the times outside the 1265 specified hours at which duties shall be performed shall not be defined by the employer but shall depend upon the work needed to discharge the teacher's duties.

In this paragraph, 'year' means a period of 12 months commencing on 1st September unless the school's academic year begins in August in which case it means a period of 12 months commencing on 1st August.

Source: DES (1990) *Teachers conditions of service document 1990* London: HMSO

Appendix 6

Local management of schools

The Education Reform Act 1988 (ERA) makes provision for local management of schools (LMS), whereby responsibility for the management of schools and their budgets is delegated by the local education authorities (LEAs) to the governing body of individual schools. The stated purpose of LMS is to improve the quality of teaching and learning by enabling the governing bodies and head teachers to make more effective use of the resources available to them and by allowing them to be more responsive to the needs and wishes of parents, pupils, the local community and employers.

Schools which are not yet required to receive a fully delegated budget include special schools (that is, schools specifically for pupils with learning difficulties arising from behavioural, emotional, social or physical causes) and nursery schools. In accordance with the Education (No 2) Act 1986, these schools continue to receive a partially delegated budget, which includes an allocation for books and other equipment but excludes staff salaries. However, LEAs are free to extend delegated budgets to these schools if they wish.

The following details are based on DES Circular No 7/88 *Education Reform Act: local management of schools*, DES Circular No 7/91 *Local management of schools: further guidance*, issued in April 1991 and *The Education (Financial Delegation for Primary Schools) Regulations 1991*, which extended LMS.

* LMS must be fully implemented by 1 April 1993 with respect to all county and voluntary schools, or by 1 April 1994 with respect to schools in Inner London authorities ;

* any school may apply to have its own budget from April 1992;

* by April 1993, 85% of the Potential Schools Budget (*see below for definition*) must be delegated to the school level;

* by April 1993, 80% of those delegated funds must be directly linked to pupil numbers, with additional weight given to particular age-groups and special needs;

* special schools will be able to apply for delegated powers from April 1994, by which time LEAs must have introduced formula funding for all their special schools.

* LEAs are required to allow all secondary schools to operate their own bank accounts to ensure the necessary flexibility to manage their budgets effectively.

In order to make the self-management of schools effective, the Department of Education and Science (DES) recommends the use of a school development plan. Advice on how to formulate the plan is given in the DES handbook *Planning for school development 1989*.

Calculation and allocation of the delegated budget

The LEA decides upon the total LEA expenditure on schools and colleges, central administration and school inspection for the financial year. This amount constitutes the **General Schools Budget** (GSB). Capital expenditure, interest payment on debt and expenditure supported by grants from central government or the European Community must be deducted from the GSB. The remainder is the **Potential Schools Budget** (PSB).

The cost incurred in providing the following services, subject to a maximum of 15% of the PSB, may be deducted:

* home-to-school transport;

* school meals;

* structural maintenance;

* insurance of educational premises;

* provision for pupils whose special educational needs have been defined in a formal statement by the LEA, in consultation with the parents, in accordance with the Education Act 1981;

* an educational psychology service;

* an education welfare service;

* peripatetic teachers;

* LEA initiatives;

* special staff costs;

* school-specific contingencies;

* library and museum services; and

* any other approved items.

The sum remaining after these deductions have been made is the **Aggregated School Budget** (ASB). The proportion of the ASB allocated to each school is calculated according to the **Resource Allocation Formula** (the Formula). As required by ERA, each LEA has devised a Formula, in consultation with its schools, for the local implementation of LMS.

A minimum of 80% of the ASB must be allocated to schools according to the number of registered pupils. This includes an allowance for additional points for certain age-groups and special needs and may also include extra provision for certain subjects for students aged 16+. The calculation of teacher salaries costs is based on average costs throughout the LEA and not on the actual salaries paid to teachers at any one school.

The remaining 20% of the ASB is allocated on the basis of other criteria, which **must** include provision for:

* pupils with special needs, taking into account educational needs and other factors, such as social deprivation. The definition of pupils with special needs does not include children who have difficulties solely because they speak a language other than English at home. Thus, there is no statutory requirement for provision for cultural minorities or all those who would benefit from a priority teaching policy;

* curriculum protection for small schools (by, for instance, maintaining a minimum level of staffing);

* type of school premises (which may involve disproportionate maintenance costs).

There are transitional arrangements, for example, to compensate schools for the discrepancy between the average teacher salaries allowed by the Formula and the actual salaries payable to staff in post. This affects small schools in particular. Regulations require LEAs to reduce the effects of such factors on the resource allocation by 1994, although the Secretary of State is prepared to consider applications from LEAs to extend some arrangements. There are also transitional arrangements covering existing LEA contracts for the cleaning of school buildings and ground maintenance. However, these must be delegated to the schools by April 1993.

Devolved responsibilities

As LMS is implemented, the following responsibilities formerly held by LEAs are delegated to schools and by 1993 the following will apply.

* **Finance.** The governing body and head teacher are informed of the school's total annual budget for the year and are entirely responsible for its allocation for various needs. They may redeploy savings made in one area (such as heating) to other categories (such as t temporary staff or equipment).

*   **Staff numbers**. The school governing body determines the number of teachers required to deliver the national curriculum and to achieve other school objectives. It may redirect funds between areas of expenditure to enable it to employ additional teaching staff. It must weigh up the benefit to the school of an experienced - and therefore more highly paid - teacher as compared with a less experienced teacher, whose lower salary enables the school to increase expenditure on, for instance, additional materials.

*   **Staff appointments**. Although the LEA remains the formal employer, the governing body is responsible for the recruitment and selection of teachers and other staff. The LEA has a duty to give its advice on the appointment of a head teacher or deputy head teacher, and the right to give advice on the appointment of other teachers. The governing body must consider this advice, but the LEA must appoint a candidate chosen by the governing body who meets the legal requirements.

*   **Ancillary services**. Services such as school meals, cleaning, maintenance of buildings and grounds, which were formerly administered and funded by the LEA must be funded out of the school's total budget and managed by the governing body. When the contracts agreed upon by the LEAs before delegation have expired, schools must offer contracts on the basis of compulsory competitive tendering from public and private companies, on the basis of specifications of the nature and standard of work required.

LEAs have the power to suspend a governing body's right to a delegated budget where it appears that the governors have failed to comply with requirements of the scheme or have not managed the school's budget in a satisfactory manner.

Appendix 7

Reports to parents on pupils' progress

The *Education (Individual Pupils' Achievements) (Information) Regulations 1990* make it mandatory for schools to provide parents with an annual written report on their child's achievements, covering national curriculum subjects, public examination results (if appropriate) and other school subjects and activities. In January 1991, the Secretary of State issued a model format for such reports for pupils from the ages of 5 to 14 but the format is not compulsory. DES Circular No 8/90 (Records of Achievement) explains the Regulations.

Records of achievement

Many schools now create a Record of Achievement for all pupils. The aim is to provide a short, summary record of a pupil's progress through all aspects of school life and the learning process, not only of academic achievement.

Central to the creation of the Records are personal statements made by the pupils themselves about their view of their achievements and abilities. This provides them with the opportunity to learn how to reflect on their own progress.

It is hoped that these records will be recognized and valued by employers and institutions of further and higher education when candidates are being considered for employment or admission to courses.

The Government funded nine pilot schemes and set up a national steering committee to oversee and evaluate the schemes. Following the Committee's report, the Government commended the schemes and their aims and suggested guidelines for good practice in the formation of records (DES Circular No 8/90: *Records of Achievement*). No obligation for schools to operate these has yet been imposed but acceptance of recent Government proposals (*Education and training for the 21st century, May 1991*) would make Records of Achievement compulsory for all pupils.

In preparation, the Department of Education and Science and the Department of Employment have developed a National Record of Achievement for use in summer 1991. National Record of Achievement folders have now been sent to all schools and colleges by the Department of Employment and their use will be evaluated. They apply to all age-groups and are in six sections: personal details; school achievements; qualifications and credits; other achievements and experiences (the guidance for this section asks for evidence of achievement in the core skills, which are communication skills, problem-solving skills, personal skills, numeracy, information technology and modern language competency); a personal statement and employment history.

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