TITLE   **The Influence Of Language As A Tool For Policy Implementation: Further Education After The 1988 Education Reform Act.**

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ABSTRACT

The task of this work is to show that the use of language can be an important tool in any attempt to use power. In view of the complexity of the subject the span of investigation has specifically focused on the changes brought about by the Conservative Government expressed in the Education Acts in 1988 and 1992 during the period 1991-1996, tracing their effect on three further education colleges in the public sector and one in the private sector.

In order to test the hypothesis, that there has been a significant change in the value system within which further education policy has been expressed, a selection of all direct guidance given to further education colleges for the period 1944-1997 is analysed. By exploring the panoramic of the narrative it is argued that policy failure for the average student is found not to be uncommon and at odds with the vision which drove the Education Act 1944. In order to offer some explanation of these outcomes the narrative is analysed. This reveals several themes representing a journey towards modernising democracy and underlying themes which consistently tempers attempts towards radical change. Further it reveals a paradigm shift from the pursuit of educational effectiveness, based on equality and the notion of social responsibility, to the pursuit of educational efficiency did take place.

It is argued that the Government's language themes challenged and altered the professional's language thus their right to decide but rendered the newly incorporated colleges less able to manage the high risk environment in which it was placed by them. In contrast, it is suggested that the private college which operates with professional autonomy as key to its success demonstrates that professional autonomy and commercial success are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, this approach has much in common with new trends in management discourse.

CHAPTER ONE: THE DYNAMICS OF THE POLICY PROCESS IN FURTHER EDUCATION

Perhaps one of the most interesting contributions that can be made by social science lies in investigating the dynamics of public policy. This is because public policy can be seen to reflect the value system of a society whilst at the same time investigation at the point where policy becomes practice tells us much about the real, rather than the imagined, power structure of that society which may influence those values.

The choice of policy direction tends to reflect the political perspective of the government in power as it seeks to obtain what it believes to be the "right" goals to promote economic growth. However, in a democratic society political dogma cannot be all-powerful because any government has to be sensitive to the public mind in order to attract the electorate. Investigation of policy making at the implementation stage offers, therefore, an opportunity to illuminate debate about the power that the elected government has to exert its will.

The ability of a political group to ensure that its set of beliefs is dominant in society is dependent on the power that it has over decision making all the way down to the institutional level where policies must be implemented. Wolfe, Ham and Hill, amongst others, have expressed the view that the role of the state as a political power player should be made explicit in decision making.[1] They are critical of the pluralist model as tool for conflict resolution in a democracy and emphasise the role social structure can play in the covert suppression of conflict serving to limit the issues for open discussion.[2] Bachrach and Baratz have made a particularly relevant contribution to this approach by introducing the concept of "non-decision making"; this has increased the discourse about power to include a distinction between issues which

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[1]WOLFE, A. The limits of legitimacy. New York: Free Press. 1977
  HAM, C. and HILL, M. The policy process in the modern capitalist state. London: Wheatsheaf Books. 1987.
[2] Pluralist writers emphasise power as shared amongst many, often competing, groups. Those who write about elite power or class relations, on the other hand, argue that there is a concentration of power in the hands of a particular economic group.

fail to appear because of action on behalf of those who hold power and those which fail to appear because of inaction.[3]

Investigation of the state's power to implement policy becomes particularly pertinent when we recognise that what is deemed "right" for society, though value laden, can somehow become part of our accepted social order and appear rational and beyond question. As Hammersley states, "the language of "acceptability" provides a rhetoric through which selectors define the "good sense" of their decision making..."[4]

Understanding why some issues in society become "acceptable" as against others that do not, is important in order to understand the recipe for successful policy implementation. Where unequal power exists it becomes even more important to investigate whether public opinion of what constitutes legitimacy can be influenced and or changed.

Early studies of policy-making tended to focus upon the context in which a decision was taken or a choice made. Pressman and Wildavsky played a key role in refocusing interest on the implementation of policy by raising awareness of the fact that policies often brought about little in terms of lasting change.[5] In one of the early studies of policy implementation Hall, Land, Parker and Webb drew attention to "legitimacy" as a limiting feature of the capacity of a policy to move from the drawing board into practice.[6] Yet government may be able to redefine the limits of legitimacy indeed it is argued that in the 1980s Mrs Thatcher's government managed

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[3] BACHRACH, P. and BARATZ, M. Power and poverty, New York: Oxford University Press. 1970.

[4] HAMMERSLEY, M. The dilemma of qualitative data: Herbert Blaumer and the Chicago tradition. London: Routledge. 1993

[5] PRESSMAN, J. and WILDAVSKY, A. Implementation. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1973.

[6] They found that legitimisation of a policy, its feasibility and government support, is not fixed. Indeed they argue political tactics enables moves or counter moves by the authorities. Attaching a score to three general components of changes in issue priority, its comparative strength, its characteristics and its basic criteria, they measured improvement by evaluating how the scores changed and why. They found that changes to issue priority comprised alterations to the characteristics of the issue rather than fundamental alterations of the general criteria. HALL, P. LAND, H. PARKER, R. and WEBB, A. Change choice and conflict in social policy. London: Heinman Educational Books. p 487- 506.1975.

to do this. We need to understand whether, and if so, how this can be achieved and in what circumstances.

It is postulated here that policy implementation theory will be enhanced by thinking about the role of discourse in changing the boundaries of the legitimate, it can help to explain the dynamics of the policy/action relationship This work, therefore, focuses on discourse as an element of power. It is asserted that understanding the battle for power can be elaborated by linking it with the battle for power over discourse.

On the macro level it is postulated that the state may have the power to influence what is considered "acceptable" to the wider public and thus bring about changes to social values in order to smooth the passage of legislation and its implementation. At the meso/micro level it is anticipated that discourse analysis will contribute to the understanding of the policy implementation process within the organisations for whom the policy change is intended.

Organisations, however, are not policy- centered: indeed Barrett and Fudge suggest that policy is achieved through interaction and negotiation between policy implementers and those who are expected to take action.[7] Developing this approach, Crozier, Gouldner and Benson suggest that organisations are power systems that have their own discourse.[8] Government thus needs to influence an organisation's decision-making processes in order to ensure implementation of its policy.

Organisational Discourse: the case of further education

This study is particularly concerned with the Conservative Government's attempts to change the way further education colleges defined their roles after it took office in 1979. The objective of this study is to analyse the extent to which the Conservative

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[7]BARRETT, S. and FUDGE, C. Policy and Action. London: Methuen. 1981
[8]CROZIER, M. The bureaucratic phenomenon. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1964
GOULDNER, A. Patterns of industrial bureaucracy. Glencoe: Free Press. 1954.
BENSON, K. Inter-organisational networks and the policy sector. In ROGERS, and WHETTON, D. eds. Interorganisational Co-ordination. Iowa: Iowa State University Press. 1983.

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Government's education policy is implemented in the further education sector in the 1990s.

This thesis suggests that discourse serves a key function in legitimising and facilitating the implementation of radical policy changes in the further education sector. It tackles an important and neglected subject by means of content analysis applied to government circulars and memoranda from 1943 to 1997 and two phased interviews with twenty-eight staff members in four further education colleges. It will investigate the extent to which discourse skewing, the covert or overt power to shift debate and change legitimacy to control, can be used by the state to change educational practice.

Prior to the Conservative Government taking office in 1979 it had become a common perception, on behalf of the public mind as well as the professional mind, that state intervention in the system of education for the general population was morally superior to private provision. The legitimisation of state intervention relied on its egalitarian approach, which became a dominant social issue, coupled with the belief that an educated workforce would complement economic growth.

Education had thus commonly been defined as a "merit" good: in other words, society as a whole placed a value on it that exceeded that of its individual consumption. In the case of further education, however, there was the general problem of individual under-investment in education - individuals did not always recognise or indeed value the social effect. Government intervention thus came about in order to correct the general trend towards under-investment and to establish the foundations needed for sustained economic growth.[9]

Further education colleges also provide training. There is a separate case for government intervention in training. There is a national trend towards under-investment in general training because individual employers have no incentive to

[9]BURNS, N. 1991. In MACLURE, S. Missing links: the challenge to further education. London: PSI

offer education of a general kind - this would increase their employees' transferable skills and thus their ability to change companies. Those who offer training, therefore, tend to concentrate on job-specific training.[10] In this situation general training becomes the responsibility of the individual, who may not have the resources or interest to invest in it fully. Paradoxically, sustainable growth in a dynamic environment requires employees with transferable rather than specific specialist skills.

There was an accepted wisdom that the state had a role to play in increasing participation in both education and training. Despite this the UK is falling behind Europe in vocational training. Indeed Bennet, Glennerster and Nevison suggest that this may be evidence of a market failure in education and training in the UK.[11]

There will always be a tension between central government intervention based on priorities with a broad consensus and priorities developing at the local level. Traditionally this relationship is described as a partnership, yet tension can be overt if local authorities are ideologically in conflict with central government – the development of further education colleges thus had the potential to be caught between two power players.

A college's portfolio of courses reflected a response to wider societal needs for a cultured and educated population interpreted by central government and a long tradition of responding to the broader educational needs of the local community. Further education colleges can be defined as control agencies they are labour-intensive, bureaucratic and deliver direct to the customer.[12] They attract super-programme budgets with the consequence that Government has always had extensive

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Publishing. 1993.

[10]MACLURE, S. op. cit.

[11]Their research suggests that at the minimum school leaving age inadequate returns to low-level vocational qualifications in comparison to that of higher or no qualifications act as disincentive to participation. BENNET, R., GLENNERSTER, H. and NEVISON, D. Investing in skill: expected returns to vocational studies. Journals Oxford Limited: Education Economics, Vol 3, No. 2. 1995.

[12]DUNLEAVY, P. The architecture of the British central state. Public Administration Vol 67, No. 4. Winter. 1989.

control through regulation; power to control local authority borrowing through local authority capital programmes and, to some extent, local authority current spending through restrictions on central grants.

Although working within these limits, in practice the colleges enjoyed considerable freedom in managing and controlling their operations and innovation strategies. The problem for the government thus became how to steer the further education sector, and given their preference for reduced welfare spending, how to finance them differently.

Government Initiatives: post 1979

The question of whether state intervention could be justified on moral grounds, or any other grounds, became part of government debate in the 1970s. Advocates pointed to the failure of the old system to reach some young people and suggested that subjecting the education system to market conditions was morally and socially defensible as long as safety nets were in place.[13] The market argument is, of course, not new and is rooted in the psychology, or political dogma, of self-interest and utility maximisation.[14] The Education Act introduced by Kenneth Baker in 1988, began the process of change for further education colleges, was far from value free.

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[13]VALLANCE, E. Moral support for making profits. Management Today, October, 1995.
  TOOLEY, J. The ethics of markets in education: policy process and practice. Southampton: University of Southampton Centre For Education Marketing Symposium. July, 1996.
[14]This is the conception of individual liberty under the law developed from the seventeenth century Old Whigs. Writers such as David Hume, Adam Smith and Edmund Burke espouse this interpretation of liberalism which recognises the limits of human reason, the spontaneous order of social interaction and supports the enforcement of just rules of conduct which they argue provides the protection of an individual at the same time as it allows maximisation of individual expression. Social rules outline what must not be done but individuals are free to determine their own action: any limit to this freedom of action is deemed to destroy liberal order: as individuals interact in order to achieve maximum individual benefit they also create a wider social order which is of benefit to society as a whole. Governments task is to ensure the enforcement of abstract rules that devalop in order to provide reciprocity from the summation of an individual's just conduct – any action on behalf of government to alter the spontaneous order of society, for example welfare economics in order to provide social justice, is seen only to be appropriate in a simple society where there is a single hierarchy of ends and any such rules can be applied to all. In a complex system the market mechanism acts to provide an optimum position by many players joining in a game of skill and chance – government's task, therefore, is only to enforce the law to ensure free competition. HAYEK, A. Studies in philosophy, politics and economics. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1967.

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Government changes to the further education sector were introduced in the 1988 Education Act and refined in the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act.[15] Collectively these initiatives created revolutionary change in the strategic direction and management of operations of further education colleges.

It is clear that the fairly unproblematic introduction of changes to the curriculum in schools had demonstrated that where government adopted a tough stance it could bring about reforms in areas which had previously been regarded as highly sensitive – as a result increased momentum of government intervention was inevitable.[16]

In March 1991 the then Secretary of State Mr Kenneth Clark proposed the introduction of an independent sector for post-sixteen provision. Further education colleges were to become independently managed incorporated bodies. Whilst local autonomy had ensured that the further education colleges had been demand-led the Government was adding to that competition - the colleges now had to deal with a new facet of competition, entrepreneurialism. The intention was that the governing bodies, not the LEA, should become responsible for the general direction and management of the incorporated colleges. The new governing body had to consist of not less than 50% of persons ".... to be, or to have been, engaged or employed in business, industry or any profession or in any other field relevant to the activities of the institution."[17] The governance of the colleges was to be biased towards the business environment.

A White Paper in 1991 further embellished the changes indicated by the Education Act 1988. It indicated that funding was to be distributed by the government via a new statutory funding council - the Further Education Funding Council.[18] Funding

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[15]We will return for a more in-depth discussion of these influences later in this work here we simply offer a flavour of the changing climate for the further education sector.
[16]MACLURE, S. op. cit.
[17]The Education Reform Act 1988, section 152.
[18]DES. Education and Training for the 21st Century. May, vol. 2, 4.6, 1991.

from sources other than the government was to be encouraged.[19] At the same time the sector was to become market oriented "the funding regime will consist of a basic annual budget together with an element dependent on the numbers actually enrolled."[20] Coupled with this, in the longer term pay negotiations with staff were to become localised in order to provide market flexibility.[21]

In 1989 the Confederation of British Industry Report had identified the paucity of skills development in the UK and set targets to address the skill shortage; it also identified the need to bridge the gap between academic and vocational qualifications.[22] In 1991 a National Council for Vocational Qualifications was set up to remove the "hotch-potch" of examining bodies, adding to the changed environment in which the colleges functioned. National Vocational Qualifications were introduced with the intention that they would be fully operational by 1994.[23]

The focus of NVQ qualifications is training based and they are, therefore, more directly linked to market forces. The NCVQ did not have statutory powers of influence, although it did have the power to withhold funding to colleges, particularly if they did not add NVQs to their portfolio of courses. Coupled with this the Government indicated that some funding would come from training credits which would enable students to purchase what they perceived to be the best deal.[24] This caused colleges to look carefully at the income generation of their range of courses.

In the 1980's the government attempted to increase control over local revenue increasing pressure through rate capping and later council tax capping. The balance of power between local and central government shifted.

Outcomes of the Initiatives

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[19] DES. Education and Training for the 21st Century. vol. 2, 4.10. op. cit.
[20] Prime Minister, House of Commons. Further Education. Hansard, 21st March, 1991
[21] DES. Education and Training for the 21st Century. vol. 2, 7.18. op. cit.
[22] CBI. Towards a Skills Revolution. 1989.
[23] DES. Education and Training for the 21st Century. vol. 1, 1.5. op. cit.
[24] DES. Education and Training for the 21st Century. vol. 2, 4.10. op. cit,

The incorporation process removed the colleges from the public sector and placed them in a market-oriented environment. The change in the funding methodology introduced competition among educational institutions. It also increased competition within the organisations through the introduction of control through devolved budgets. This was in common with changes made to the public sector in general. The foundations for competitive tendering were laid down in the Local Government and Planning Act 1980 and the Local Government and Housing Act 1988. This resulted in large organisations separating core from margin activities and out-souring margin activities, this matched a general trend across the developed world.

. The new board of governors, now biased towards the business environment, altered the role of the professional in decision making. At the same time the introduction of the NVQ limited a college's control over the content of its courses as well delivery and reduced choice in the selection of examining bodies.

The direction of the policy for education subtly challenged the professional educationalists' right to decide. However, professionals are autonomous actors who hold legitimate powers to resist external attempts to change their working environment. Power to control in areas like the school curriculum, seen as off limits and not "legitimate" in the 1960s became accepted in the 1980s. Compared to the compulsory education sector, further education's story has been less well known, but resistance from the professions can be hypothesised here too. Given this situation the Conservative Government's problem became that of how to control the change process at the institutional level – how to gain control over the professional groups.

Faced with potential resistance what better tools to use to convince a profession than the language it uses, and which is used, about its activities, in combination with financial control. The main part of the thesis examines the way these two spheres of influence have been used in combination to affect change in the further education colleges. It sets out to increase understanding of the government's problem in

reforming this sector. It also questions the right of the state to enter the discourse and challenge the professionals and tell them what to do.

Since both financial incentives and the nature of the language used by policy makers have changed and both interact and reinforce one another it will be impossible to state that either one or the other is ultimately the more important. Our task is to show that discourse can be an important tool in any attempt to use power.

CHAPTER TWO: POLICY MAKING AND LEGITIMACY

State intervention has become a common feature of developed democratic industrialised economies and now provides many services on which an individual relies. Further education colleges became subsumed into such provision following the Education Act 1944. The establishment of public sector services relies on regulating, constraining and sometimes influencing and controlling diverse stakeholder needs. The legitimacy of the state to act on behalf of the polity exists where those regulated and controlled accept the state's right to make the rules.

There are three basic choices of organisational mechanisms for mediation or control in an economy, namely markets, bureaucracies and clans. Each category is based on a different set of assumptions related to the transaction process.[1] It is the demand for reciprocity and equity, implicit in all complex exchange mechanisms, that creates transaction costs.[2] If the objectives of the transacting parties are congruent transaction cost will be low since reciprocity and equity can be met. Any ambiguity will cause transaction cost to rise.

Where conflict is endemic in the system rules and procedures serve to bring about resolution.[3] Organisation of the market has thus come to represent a sense of moral order over the natural order of the market and the mechanism through which society's development can be achieved.[4] The growth of state apparatus, structures, procedures and rituals can be seen to "excite and preserve the reverence of the

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[1] In a market transactions take place between the buyer and the seller, the process is mediated by price. The competitive market reassures both parties that the terms of exchange are equitable. In a bureaucratic relationship each party contributes labour to a corporate body that mediates the relationship by placing a value on each contribution compensating it fairly. Legitimate authority is implicit. Where individual's roles are congruent it is possible to use the clan, based on co-operation, as a process of mediation and control.

[2] OUCHIE, W. Markets bureaucracies and clans. Administrative Science Quarterly. March, 25. 1980.

[3] Williamson argues organisations came about because markets failed. WILLIAMSON, O. Markets and hierarchies: analysis and anti-trust implications. Free Press. 1975.

[4] Organisations Halsey suggests become "courts of appeal before which policy and practise appear as plaintiffs or defendants in an evolving trial of promise and performance." HALSEY, A. Change in British society. 3rd ed. Oxford University Press. 1981.

population"[5] made up of autonomously acting individuals or to be the result of economic necessity driven by structural power inequalities.[6] The role that the state does, or should have in organising social action thus provides the basis for much debate. The 1980s saw this debate re-emerge as a significant issue.[7]

The structure of society that developed post 1944 was based on the recognition that the market could waste resources and at best failed to provide some goods and services;[8] hence the government increased its intervention in the market in order to re-adjust market failure The reconstruction of education was part of a radical re-think about how society should function – it altered tradition. Indeed, Giddens argues that the recreation of tradition was essential to the legitimisation[9] of the scale of state intervention and authority over individual rights that began post 1944.[10] During this period traditional values and social norms were found wanting providing the opportunity for change to take place.

The national education system that developed post 1944 appeared to rest on a new consensus about the type of educated individual that society needed to create. There

[5]BAGEHOT, W. In CROSSMAN, R. ed. The English constitution. London: Fontana Books. 1963.
[6] Indeed Foucault argues that the surveillance techniques perfected in small organisations became subsumed into large organisations as society developed and created bureaucratic organisations with hierarchical power. Pastoral power he argues is simultaneously individualising, totalising and normalising because as government attempts to improve society it intensifies regulatory control. FOUCAULT, M. Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison. Harmondsworth: Penguin. 1977.
[7]DUNN, J. Political obligation in its historical context: essays in political theory. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1980.
[8]Market failure arises where benefits cannot be attributed to an individual user making charges difficult to determine, roads for example. It can also arise where a sole supplier controls allocation of resources by controlling price which may not reflect social need and where many suppliers duplicate provision wasting resources and creating a high average cost. Government intervention is used where monopolies are the most efficient mode of production but where price needs to be controlled in order to maximise social benefit. Alongside this, public services, which involve merit goods such as education, are taken over by government because society as a whole places a greater value on them than does the individual consumer - some economists argue that these would have to be regulated if they were shifted into the private sector in order to maximise social benefit.
[9]State power is perceived as legitimate where authority is established by the consent of the governed.
[10]Giddens argues that whilst traditions can change they are preserved through ritual and beliefs constructed by authority figures replaying experiences and feelings - rituals provide reasons for tradition to continue. However, he suggests that institutions and constitutions are continually re-negotiated - truths become re-identified as custom or habit weakening identity and meaning of social norms thus change becomes a possibility. GIDDENS, A. In defence of sociology: essays, interpretations and rejoinders. Cambridge: Polity Press. p15-30. 1996.

was also a need for efficient use of human resources in order to meet the increasing demand for skills and specialised manpower so that the UK could compete in the global context. It was assumed that increased education attainment of the population would create sustainable economic growth. Alongside this, increased education and was assumed positively related to social stratification, as a result the new system had as its central tenet equality of opportunity. The state's task thus stemmed from the recognition that there was wastage of working class talent. A more in-depth analysis of why this occurred must be left until later in this work, but the task of the state-run education system was that of delivering an educated population.

As the system of education grew, institutions that acted as intermediate bodies were created to carry out practical tasks from which government distanced itself.[11] Left alone these institutions became powerful in their own right, particularly affecting the strategic direction of the education system. Expert knowledge became a form of authority so that these institutions became clothed with legitimacy. Briault suggests that the relationship which developed between these power players is best described as "a triangle of tensions" – each competing over resources and pursuing different objectives.[12]

In the 1970s concerns began to be raised that the system of state education appeared to be failing in its major task, readjustment became central to government debate. In 1979 Mrs Thatcher's government began to bring about a system of education more closely linked to market needs; in order to legitimise its right to steer society in a different direction the government had to be able to convince the polity that the system had failed. The intermediate institutions however now held significant power positions within the decision making process of the education system. Coupled with

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[11]Namely the DES, responsible for the general direction of education policy, the LEA which organised local provision and the teachers. Later the MSC, who had responsibility for national training policies, began to influence the strategic direction of some educational institutions.
[12]The dominant assumption was that these institutions agreed about the intrinsic value of education. Briault, however, found their values and objectives to be unstructured - often in tension with one another and some times in agreement. BRIAULT, E. A distributed system of educational administration; an international viewpoint. International Review of Education, vol. 22, no. 4, p 429. 1976.

this, the further education colleges had developed a tradition of autonomy. In order to change the system of education the government had also to be able to influence these powerful institutions.

In a democracy government needs support from the polity to legitimise its right to change existing patterns of behaviour. The role that authority, power, consent and social order plays in decision making is thus central to understanding a government's right to bring about social change - to explain why people might accept the authority of the state.

A democratic system exists where power is generally dispersed through a participative decision-making process commonly expressed in election processes and the influence of pressure groups.[13] The state serves to emphasise public power and to do this it depersonalises the use of power through its institutions.[14] In general, governmental bodies and officials are deemed to act in the public interest but there is the potential for some to exploit their power over others: in which case Etzioni suggests that "decisions ... would reflect the decisions of the most powerful and organised interests in society, while the interests of the underprivileged and politically unorganised would be neglected."[15] Governmental power could thus be used to meet the desired outcomes of a minority interest.[16] At its worst public policy making could be organised by a dominant elite, reflecting that elite's own values and reinforcing its power.

At the centre of the justification for the democratic process to bring about change is the intellectual discourse about the variety of sources of power and the role it plays in decision making. To understand the use of power it is important to understand the

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[13]DAHL, R. Who governs ? New Haven: Yale University Press. 1961.

[14] The exercise of legitimate power involves person "A" in influencing person "B" to do what "A" wants. Legitimate power within bureaucratic organisations is expressed as authority this entitles "A" to get "B" to fulfil the task as "B" accepts the fact that "A" has the authority to request it. THURTON, R Behaviour in a business context. London: Chapman and Hall. 1991.

[15]ETZIONI, A. A comparative analysis of complex organisations. New York: Free Press. 1961.

[16] Djilas argues that by controlling organisations and political institutions the state would be autonomous. DJILAS, M. The New Class. London: Thames and Hudson. 1957.

debate about an individual's potential to determine, or be determined by, social interaction.

The story about the use of power in society is dependent on the political views of the storyteller, whose perception alters the relationship between actors. In order to simply express divergent political perceptions about how the role of politics and the state works, how power should be dispersed, and indeed whether it is possible for democracy to deliver liberalism, Lukes' labels of Liberal, Reformist and Radical are adopted.[17] This is not to deny Potter's reference to the dangers of simplification but in recognition that differences are made clear between perspectives than within them.[18]

The development of the education system developed from what Finer calls social "predicaments" – issues that require a common rule for all, even those who do not agree with it, in order to steer the community.[19] Government activity thus imposes a unitary perspective where conflict and complexity exists. Policy making involves three stages, namely the initiation stage, the processing stage and the implementation stage. The initiation stage is particularly important to the proponents of the Liberal perspective because they see it as resulting from open competition between rival groups.[20] The government's role is thus to passively interact with interest groups in order to better represent the views of the people.[21]

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[17]LUKE, S. Essays in social theory. London: Macmillan. p.127. 1977.

[18]Potter suggests that the liberal perspective can be seen to include conventional pluralism; neo-pluralism; the New Right and the radical perspective; conventional Marxism; structural Marxism. POTTER, D. Competing theories of the state. In Politics, legitimacy and the state. Block Four. Milton Keyens: Open University Press. p 172. 1986.

[19]FINER, S. Comparative government. London: Allen. 1970.

[20]Dahl describes power as follows; "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do." A proponent of pluralist theory he believes that power in industrialised societies is dispersed amongst many competing agents - pluralists do not hold that power is equally dispersed rather that sources of power are fragmented and thus non-cumulative. Dahl's work looks at key issues as a way to identify the exercise of power he concludes that any dissatisfied group can exert power to influence the system. DAHL, R. The concept of power. Behavioural Science, 2. p 203. 1957.

[21]This approach departs from classical liberal theory - widespread participation and spontaneous order as a demonstration of popular sovereignty. We will return to this later, at this point however it is important to note that this approach developed from the modernist movement which held that society could be steered and improved. Jones argues that this transformed the political forum, which became

Individuals collectively, or individually, pursue their own interests and the state simply mediates any competing pressures.[22]

Adopting the Liberal perspective, the power of state institutions over individuals is legitimised because individuals release their individual power to authority with the result that conflict is resolved by the application of abstract impersonal rules. All individuals' are then personally free but subject to control in their social and work obligations through the application of those abstract rules.[23] Organisational systems and structures, therefore, become important as custodians of those rules and serve to reinforce the legitimacy of those rules.

Central to the liberal approach is an individual's capability to alter the social system latterly including through pressure group membership.[24] Also more recently

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based on a centralised nation state, increased bureaucratic administration, systematic forms of surveillance and democratic political party systems alongside cultural changes that emphasised scientific and technical knowledge. JONES, P. Post-modernism. Social Science Teacher, 21.3. Summer. p 20-22. 1992.

[22]In classical liberal social order, universal rules of just conduct serve to protect an individual's domain of action whilst enabling a spontaneous order of social interaction – government's task is to enforce the application of the rules. However, the emphasis on technical and expert knowledge meant that those interest groups could exert pressure from inside the state machine because they had to be consulted - as well as exert pressure externally through public campaigning.

[23] Max Weber (1864-1920) criticised the classical liberals for their inability to address the growing influence and socio-political power of the administrative machinery in industrialised economies. Setting out to show the limitations of Marx's work, he argued that authority was necessary to ensure equitable transaction processes. He identified three types of authority, namely charismatic, traditional and rational legal and postulated that that the characteristic of the modern state was one based on rational-legal authority. The exercise of charismatic power he argued relies on B admiring A's characteristics and wishing to emulate them - a power source he saw as transitory with a tendency towards being institutionalised. Traditional authority had a tendency to maintain stability because it is based on historical beliefs and power relationships. Traditional or charismatic authority, he argued, could limit individual freedom by separating the individual from control over the means of production and limit knowledge through job specification thus resulting in rule obedience - either enforced by status or given freely by the individual as a form of absolute trust. The bureaucratic system based on rational-legal authority was superior, he argued, because it relies on abstract rules and individual acquiescence to authority's right to implement those rules – obedience comes about because of the impersonal order. He was also concerned with the extent to which bureaucracy enabled democracy. Where abstract rules are absent, he concluded, and replaced by the application of the bureaucratic rule this could limit the information gathered by the individual and cause compliance from the individual. Bureaucracies, Weber thus argues, are a necessary though not sufficient, condition for efficiency. WEBER, M. The Protestant work ethic and the spirit of capitalism. ANDRESKI, S. ed. Max Weber on capitalism, bureaucracy and religion a selection of texts. London: Allen and Unwin. p 324. 1965.

[24]Indeed Beer argues that government now needed support from the pressure groups. They could now

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elections have been highlighted as the dominant competitive forum.[25] The processing stage of policy making is seen as one of mutual adjustment as part of the consultative process individuals and groups have to accommodate the interests of others.[26] Mutual adjustment becomes more locally marked if the policy to be enacted offers any opportunities for interpretation and thereby gives power to local discretion.

To a certain extent the reformist view accepts much of the liberal view; the proponents of this view also believe in popular sovereignty but they make one clear distinction; competition to influence policy making is perceived as unequal. Individuals, reformists argue, may not act in their own interests because of the way power is exerted in the socialisation processes. Alongside this, they argue some individuals are unable to understand their rights they are thus less able to make effective decisions or to influence government in their favour; as a result the role of professionals and experts has become significant because they are deemed to act on behalf of the uninformed.

The reformists thus view the role of government in society quite differently.[27] In this view Cheal suggests, the state and its apparatus serve to maintain law and order as well as to steer societies betterment, to ensure fairness and alter social inequalities by state and welfare intervention.[28] Such intervention Ham and Hill suggest is typified

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bargain with government, and a more collectivist approach began to dominate policy making. The inclusion of competing groups separates liberal individualism from pluralism –BEER, S. Modern British Politics. London: Faber and Faber. 1965.

[25]Downs argues that the bargaining power of pressure groups ensures that political parties to be more concerned with pressure group interest in order to maximise their interests support at elections. DOWNS, A. Inside bureaucracy. Boston: Little Brown. 1967.

[26]The inclusion of the distinctive nature of some groups was another revision. Indeed Dahl particularly refers to governments awareness of business needs in order to ensure economic growth; this leads to the possibility that coercion can lie beneath consensus. Democracy is dependent on the removal of the division caused by ownership he argues in favour of participative decision making - a reversal of the original liberal argument that it ensured fair interest group interaction. The reformist perspective and the liberal perspective are linked by the concept of imperfect democracy, which developed in order to explain their model of power as society developed. DAHL, R. A preface to economic democracy. Cambridge: Polity Press. 1985.

[27]Giddens describes this perception of power as an approach designed "to influence for the better the human condition." This in turn led to problem diagnosis and cures. GIDDENS, A. Social theory and modern sociology. p 17-26. op.cit.

[28] Cheal makes the point that to challenge tradition, the individual had to be able to act rationally.

by the development of the state educational system.[29]

The radical theorists, in contrast, view power as held in the hands of the few. They concentrate on the historical development of society, in particular recognising the power that social structure can have to constrain and direct society. Individual freedom these theorists argue is moulded by macro structures.

Indeed the pursuit of profit in a capitalist economy Bravermann argues ensures that ultimate power in the system belongs to the owners of capital;[30] the production process thus determines the social process. The economic power of the capitalist class shifts policy making in line with its own interests and ensures its continuance, the state structure is thus permeated by the interests of the capitalist;[31] the role of the state is thus to foster capitalism and not to question its appropriateness;[32] nor is it concerned with popular sovereignty.[33] The process of inequality is totalising Bravermann argues, transforming society into a "universal market place,"

CHEAL, D. Family and the state of theory. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf. 1991.

[29]Indeed proponents of the corporatist thesis argue that the role of the state had to change in order to react to international pressures. In the 1970s the state, in tandem with major interests groups, drove rather than mediated capital accumulation. This collective approach enabled the state to manage the key economic actors and balance national and consumer need. The election of Mrs Thatcher in 1979 heralded a return to central control. Whilst competition between elites was a possibility some elitist theorists pointed to the states dominant power over institutions as an example of a ruling class. Ham and Hill p 31-47. op. cit.

[30]The radicals argue that equity cannot exist within the capitalist structure because the production system creates players with competing needs where resolution is achieved through exertion of unequal power. BRAVERMANN, H. Labour and monopoly capitalism,. Monthly Review Press. 1974.

[31]Weber and Marx believe individuals to be naturally autonomous actors but Marx highlighted class relationships which he argued led ultimately to conflict whereas Weber identified political authority and rational law as a means to bring about equity. Paradoxically Weber identified that individuals' had the potential to exhibit irrationality particularly where action was associated with ethical stands, substantive rationality. The process of rational thought as a social form is a key principle in Weber's work whereas Marx asserts it is the means of production, capitalism; thus Weber perceives the separation of the worker from the means of production as an application of rationalism but Marx identifies this separation as central to the use of power. ANDRESKI, S. op. cit.

[32]The state thus supports industrial capitalism by enriching the monopoly power of the capitalist classes by generating their economic surplus. Labour time becomes an input to create an output, therefore an instrument of capital.

[33]In industrial capitalism ownership of the means of production determines the social dimensions of class, status and power - the hierarchy of class ensures inequality within the system. MARX, K. and ENGELS, F. Collected works. Lawrence and Wischaft, vol. 30, p 1861-6. 1988.

legitimising that unequal production relationship.[34]   •

Adopting this perspective political activity is thus at best peripheral to the power of the structure of society. Indeed individual action is seen as limited by the socialisation process resulting from class dominance - bureaucracies are also seen as instruments of class domination because they institutionalise the mechanism for transmitting that set of social relationship. Elite power thus determines what is considered legitimate "right;" whilst at the same time it ensures that alternatives become inadmissible and never discussed as viable alternatives. In this situation Ham and Hill suggest, policy implementation can involve action or inaction.[35]

The state education system is not identified as a radical re-think of social processes but as a means to achieve social control. The only route for individual liberty within this perspective is by coalition of class-consciousness, a fraternity acting to change the capitalist mode of distribution.[36]

The Liberal, Reformist and Radical perspectives remain as explanations of the use of power in society each offers different political explanations as to why individuals may accept the authority of the state to change social relationships. Each is based on different assumptions about the exercise of power thus the role of the state and an individuals capacity to collectively or individually influence the policy process.

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[34]"The introduction of free competition is therefore the public declaration that henceforward the members of the society are only unequal in so far as their capital is unequal, that capital has become the decisive power and therefore the capitalists, the bourgeoisie, have become the first class in society......proclaimed itself to be the first class in the political sphere...by establishing the representative system, which rest upon the bourgeois... equality before the law and the legal recognition of free competition."[34] BRAVERMANN, H. op. cit.

[35] HAM, C. and HILL, M. The policy process in the modern capitalist state. London: Wheatsheaf Books, 1987.

[36] Weber, in contrast, argues that class identity is not dependent on property ownership alone but is highly relative and variable; class stratification includes individual ability, educational advantage and unique skills. Class and status are not mutually dependent thus an individual he argues can alter his/her status - expert knowledge and officialdom become the basis of the power of capitalism and dependent upon it. Class identification contains similarities but is not unitarist: historical change cannot, therefore, be achieved through "class consciousness." ANDRESKI, S. p 425. op. cit.

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Lukes made a significant contribution to this debate by separating the discourse about the use of power into three understandable dimensions; namely, open conflict which is based on an adaptation of the classical Liberal tradition which now recognises the intermediary groups as representing popular sovereignty, and the Reformist and Radical views which recognise structured power inequality namely covert power exercised through non-decision making and latent conflict where the covert mobilisation of power alters an individual's preferences in order that conflict be hidden.[37] Lukes argues that what happens outside the range of the observable arena of political behaviour is also of concern in the study of the exercise of power.

The disaggregation of power caused by the growth in the state apparatus, coupled with the growth of professionalisation, gives some credence to the belief that the state is distanced from the control of capital. The state's power to implement policies is affected by the organised support it receives from key groups and the policy instruments available to them. However there is no reason to assume that the apparent disaggregation of power naturally defuses elite power - indeed

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[37]Lukes defines the Liberal approach as a one-dimensional view of power because it concentrates on observable behaviour in decision-making. He argues that this approach fails to address the structure of power in which these decisions are made and hence ignores the possibility that the mobilisation of bias could enable an elite to exert its power through control of the decision agenda - thus fails to address the less visible ways in which power can be used. The two-dimensional view of power includes some reference to non-decision making, by concentrating on potential as well as observable conflict and recognises that power can be used to covertly control public agenda issues. However, he argues, because of the concentration on specific issues it adopts a personalised approach thus fails to address the complexities of institutional power and the inactivity of leaders. In order to understand the exercise of power he suggests a three-dimensional view, which would include investigation of the inactivity of leaders and the exercise of institutional power in order to study political inactivity. Lukes believes that this approach is important to the study of the exercise of power because an individual may be unaware that power is being exercised over him and secondly that in a complex society cause and effect are unclear. In the second case he argues that the interrelationship between intention by A and action by B discounts an automatic demonstration of control - it may simply be a demonstration of A affecting B who retains control to act. He thus suggests that where open conflict does not occur a more useful approach would be to justify a counterfactual - that B would not have acted in the way that he did alongside specifying how A prevented or acted to prevent B acting in the way he would have wished to explain why individuals may not act in their own interests. This view of power enables investigation of latent power - where unarticulated and non-individualised ideologies permeate social consciousness to such an extent that B is unaware that power is being exercised over him but B's scope of decision-making becomes limited - " by shaping their perception, cognition and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things." p. 24. LUKES, S. Three distinctive views of power compared. In HILL, M. ed. The policy process: a reader. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf. p 50- 58. 1993.

disaggregation of power may provide the very route for its continuance.

Dunleavy suggests that it is in the capitalists' interests for the state to exert some discretion in meeting needs of other classes, espousing caring capitalism to bring about compliance - as long as capitalism survives in the long run;[38] Sweezy succinctly expresses this by stating that: "the marriage of capitalism and democracy was strictly one of convenience which could be dissolved by the dominant partner at any time it felt its interests threatened."[39] In other words democracy can be used to serve capitalist interests as long capitalism remains identified as the best economic system. Should the rules of capitalism ever become questioned democracy becomes a threat to capitalism.[40]

Adopting this perspective, state intervention in the education system can be identified as a way of neutering class conflict. Developing this argument, Coates suggests that a government's ability to support the interests of the owners of capital in modern times is dependent on economic prosperity and growth because this helps to hide the difference between the classes.[41] Even in a recession, the radicalists argue, the power of the masses is neutralised by the dependence on unemployment benefits.[42]

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[38]The state is identified as a unified organisation where any diffusion of power is in order to diffuse the power of the working classes. DUNLEAVY, P. Alternative theories of liberal democratic politics: the pluralist Marxist debate in the 1980s. In POTTER, D. ed. Society and the social sciences: an introduction. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1981.

[39]SWEEZY, P. Capitalism and democracy. Monthly Review. June . p 27-32. 1980.

[40]Poulantazs argues that modern societies are typified by intensified state control. The state executive controls social development by increased bureaucratisation, separation of power where each faction pursues different objectives effectively diffusing law enforcement, the dominance of two players in the democratic process which has effectively placed executive authority in the hands of a political central block, legitimisation being manipulated by the media and the interdependency of institutions which increases the power of the executive. He argues that the executive supports capitalist production and pursues adaptive strategies to prevent class conflicts. This goes some way to explain the development of the welfare state from the radical perspective at the same time as it explains the rise of the power of the executive and the demise of democracy. Poulantzas thus argues that representative politics no longer has effective control. POULANTZAS, N. State, power, socialism. London: New Left Books. In Hill, M. ed. The policy process a reader. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf. p 69-85. 1993.

[41]COATES, D. Politicians and the sorcerer: the problems of governing with capitalism in crisis. In POTTER, D. et al. op. cit.

[42]BRADSHAW, P. The making of public policy. In Politics, legitimacy and the state. Block Four.

Indeed Hall suggests that the issues of class have fragmented to such an extent, fuelled by the growth in professionalisation of the work task, that no clear class

identity remains.[43] Class stratification Parkin argues has become so complex that the working class no longer has a common reality on which to base a revolution.[44] This has led some theorists to suggest that the radical's philosophical position fails to describe modern times.

The distinction between the exercise of legitimate or illegitimate power by government thus becomes increasingly difficult to identify because of the economic conditions and the structures and authority that exist.[45] Indeed protagonists from the radical perspective would argue that traditional ways of doing things might serve this very purpose.

Nevertheless as state intervention has developed and become institutionalised it has become progressively more difficult for central government to control its policy implementation process. Exploring a government's ability to implement goals, particularly in difficult economic conditions and against opposition from powerful interest groups, will tell us much about whether the state itself is a source of power.[46] Indeed Dyson argues that independent institutions of the state are desirable and

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Open University Press. 1986.

[43]Hall argues that class-consciousness does not explain the many forms of social stratification. Indeed he suggests an individual can no longer be conceived as an autonomous self because he/she is composed of multiple identities created by the different roles the individual has to play in society. HALL, S. In CLARK, H. and others. Organisations and identities: text and readings in organisational behaviour. London: Chapman and Hall. p 49-60. 1994.

[44] PARKIN, F. Marxism and class theory: a bourgeoisie critique. London: Tavistock Publications. 1979.

[45]Indeed Bachrah and Barataz suggest that an elite can covertly suppress revolutionary change by influencing the choice of issues that are open to debate. BACHRACH, P. and BARATAZ, S. Power and poverty: theory and practices. New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Lukes takes this a step further and suggests that the possibility exists for the values and attitudes of the majority to be moulded by the ideology of the few. LUKES, S. op. cit.

[46]Indeed Skocpol argues that the Liberal and Radical views have treated the state as if it were moulded by society. He suggests that the state may be an autonomous actor in which case civil servants have significant influence over policy making even where they are reliant on interest group support. It is thus the interrelationship between the state and the context in which it operates that determines its strength. SKOCPOL, T. Bringing the state back in. Hill, M. ed. The policy process a reader. p 86-100. op. cit.

intended outcomes of reform, encapsulating the vision of the role of the state in Western Europe.[47] Representing the establishment of the common good some institutions do disassociate themselves from political intervention - central govrnments administrative apparatus thus has the potential to be a driver for change and it is desirable that it should be so.

Critics of state intervention, however, argue that this very disassociation has caused a decline in democratic control because in reality professionals and technocrats' have more power to decide than elected representatives;[48] they are free to change or alter the rules independent of the elected government's, and thereby the polity's, wishes.[49]

The 1980s became a watershed for the development of government interventionism. The debate, led by Mrs Thatcher, did not attack the right to welfare services but focused on the inability of the state and its machinery to deliver an efficient and effective service.[50] The New Right thus challenged the legitimisation of Reformism –

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[47]Dyson says that "State is a highly generalising, integrating and legitimating concept that identifies the leading values of the political community with reference to which authority is to be exercised; emphasises the distinctive character and the unity of the "public power;" finds its embodiment in one or more institutions and one or more public purposes which thereby acquire a special ethos and prestige and an association with the public interest or general welfare; and produces a socio-cultural awareness of [and sometimes dissociation from] unique and superior nature of state itself." DYSON, K. The state tradition in Western Europe. Oxford: Martin Robertson. p 206.1980.

[48]Indeed Clegg and Dunkerley argue that public will tend to expand their demands on resources in order to increase quality. Crisis is inevitable where spending in order to maintain legitimation exceeds accumulation. The government is then faced with increasing taxation in order to maintain the level of provision or cutting back on welfare expenses. Following the Marxist tradition they view individuals as controlled by structure thus ultimately unable to influence government because the structure of domination limits the extent of legitimate power. CLEGG, S and DUNKERLEY, D. Organisations, class and control. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1980.

[49]Indeed Hayeck, a proponent of decentralisation and de-authorisation, describes democracy and liberalism differently. Liberalism, he argues, is concerned with the extent of governmental power whereas democracy is concerned with who holds the power. Using the opposite of liberalism and democracy, totalitarianism and authoritarianism, he argues that it is possible for a democratic government to be totalitarian and an authoritarian government to act on liberal principles- thus, he argues, the pursuit of unlimited power of the majority has become anti-liberal. The aim of economic power should never be to achieve particular results for particular individuals he argues because this relies on a unitarist perspective that is absent in any complex economy. Planning cannot hope to replicate the way markets deal with complexity. In his model bureaucratic organisation is a problem. Social justice inhibits liberty and must be replaced by a moral order - justice attributed to individual conduct. HAYECK, F. The constitution of liberty. London: Routledge and Kegsan Paul. 1960.

[50]Public ownership is an international trend. Mrs Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl in Germany followed President Reagan's approach in the United States, which is to regulate these industries in the private

they argued that the legitimate power relationships encompassed in the 1945 vision had become redundant.[51]

As proponents of the liberal perspective they argued that the system had to return, as Friedman succinctly expresses it, to a society where "freedom as the ultimate goal and the individual as the ultimate entity in the society."[52] Government intervention in order to bring about equal opportunity had failed, they argued- it had to stop.[53] Indeed central to "New Right" philosophy is the belief that nationalisation and welfarism are the causes of the decline in Britain.[54]

Given this political vision it was inevitable that the system of state education would problemitised; alongside this the role of the intermediate institutions and the professionals' right to choose was bound to be similarly affected.[55] In the 1980s the Thatcher Government proceeded to increase its authority over local government and interest groups, in particular the TUC and CBI.[56] Some argued that rather than a changed approach to democratic politics for the new millennium this looked like a

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domain. Concerns were expressed that government spending effectively crowded out private enterprise. Rules and regulations were also seen as contributing to increasing diseconomies of empire.
[51]Niskanen argues that the managers in public monopolies are free from the constraints of profit making - this leads he suggests to a tendency for bureaucrats to pursue organisational growth in order to fulfil their own needs and wants. He argues that monopoly power leads to a loss of social benefit. Using the same argument Tullock argued for the competitive arena to be brought into state run bureaucracies in order to force them to produce more efficiently. One way he suggested was to contract government services out, the other was to bring in competition within the bureaucracies by having devolved responsibility and budgets. NISKANEN, W. Bureaucracy and representative government. New York: Aldine-Atherton. 1971. TULLOCK, G. The economic theory in bureaucracy. In HILL, M. p. 110-120, op. cit.
[52]FREIDMAN, M. Capitalism and freedom. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1962.
[53]The key issue for the proponents of New Right philosophy is that the political arena is driven by the need to compete to satisfy interest groups, which in turn increases the states role as the giver of concessions. AUSTER, R. and SILVER, M. The state as a firm: economic forces in political development. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1979.
[54]The attack on socialism is not new indeed as early as 1915 Michels argued that expert power can be used to control non-professionals; as a result, power in democratic parties has a tendency to be held by the few. MICHELS, R. Political parties. In, Ham C. and Hill, M. op. cit.
[55]Ham and Hill suggest that research examining the power of the state at the local level has not culminated in a general rule- the power relationship therefore remains unclear. Ham, C. and Hill, M. p. 42. op. cit. Yet the New Right choose to back the assumptions of the urban power thesis.
[56]During the 1960s and 1970s the CBI and TUC had become the two representatives of the two sides of industry. The DES represented the professional educationalists' at the national level and the Local Education Authorities represented local needs.

retrenchment to the classical liberal tradition.[57] Our task is thus to investigate why educational goals are changing and who has power to do the changing, in order to test whether the power to decide lies in the hands of the few.

It is at the implementation stage of national policy making that the power of the government to exert its will is tested - particularly if that policy is radical. An investigation of policy implementation at the institutional level will thus provide some insight into the government's power to steer society - the management of organisational change is an expression of the policy-action relationship.

Policy Implementation

Pressman and Wildavsky suggest that "implementation may be viewed as a process of interaction between the setting of goals and actors geared to achieving them."[58] With many interests at play it is not surprising to find that policies are rarely clear-cut entities. Where a policy is resourced and its mandate clear conflict is at a minimum.[59] Poor policy definition on the other hand provides the opportunity for

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[57]The rhetoric was about the return to popular sovereignty. In the Hayek tradition classical liberal tradition had been swapped for a concentration on the unlimited powers of the majority. Popular sovereignty had been eroded, so the argument went, by the process of democracy that had mistakenly concentrated on unitarism – common purpose. A unitarist perspective was felt to be inappropriate in a complex society which included many and varied purposes. The movement was led by the economic theory created by Adam Smith, who rejected the pursuit of common purpose in favour of universal rules of just conduct and spontaneous order. Smith favoured a system governed by law, abstract rules, which he argued protected individuals and their values through prohibition – laws provide boundaries around economic activity. He argued that in order to provide individuals with the freedom to act, government's task should be to ensure the process of law not to structure activity and command response in order to pursue concrete ends. Smith argued that individuals pursuing their self-interest culminated in an increased production possibility frontier – because in so doing they created new jobs and opportunities. He therefore argued that free markets led to better resource allocation. The New Right thus began to put policies in place to re-establish popular sovereignty. Indeed Mrs Thatcher choose Sir Berry Burns, a follower of the economist Milton Freidman, to be Chief Economic Advisor to the Treasury. Milton Friedman argues that markets clear fairly quickly so that if government does need to intervene it is only in the short term. Following the traditional view of liberalism the role of government focused on the control of natural monopolies and public goods rather than the ownership of them. HAYECK op. cit.
[58] PRESSMAN and WILDAVSKY In HILL, M. p 38. op. cit.
[59] HARGROVE, E. The search for implementation theory. In ZECKHAUSER, R. and LEEBAERT, D. ed. What role for government ? Lessons from policy research. London: Duke Press, Policy Studies. 1983.

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interpretation, where resistance can flourish.[60]

At the implementation stage of policy making in the education sector several levels of governmental power come together, all of whom have legitimate power to act and different objectives, creating an interactive field of tensions and altering the policy context[61] At the organisational level the operational stage of policy becomes a complex chain of activity any gaps in this chain providing ever more opportunities to increase implementation deficit.[62]

Resolving implementation deficit at the organisational level is a difficult problem for government particularly if resistance involves professionals - because they can exercise discretion in interpreting the rules of society even though exertion of their power creates passive receivers.[63] Ethical decisions have always been identified as representing a law of conscience as distinct from the law of the land.[64]

In reality only subdued resistance has been met in public service bureaucracies as

[60]BARRETT, S. and FUDGE, C. Policy and action: essays on the implementation of public policy. London: Metheun and Co. Ltd. 1981.

[61]Pressman and Wildavsky argue that policy implementation relies on strong linkages between all actors in the policy implementation chain. Any non-conformance can be cumulative, ultimately leading to poor policy transmission. PRESSMAN, J. and WILDAVSKY, A. Implementation. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1973.

[62]BACHRACH, P. The theory of democratic elitism. London: University of London Press, p 44. 1969.
    BARRETT, S. and FUDGE, C. op. cit.
    BISHOP, J. Briefing for implementation. In Barett, S. ed. Policy and Action, essays on the implementation of public policy. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd. 1981

[63]Meaning for Weber involves a fusion between "actually existing" meaning and "ideal type meaning." Andreski suggests that the ability which an individual has to associate meaning to an act determines the difference for Weber between meaningful action and simple reactive behaviour. Where the individual has observational (which Weber calls "actually existing" meaning) as well as explanatory understanding (which Weber calls "ideal type") the individual can act proactively and alter the context of meaning. ANDRESKI, S. p 88. op. cit. Professional behaviour contains both a high degree of freedom of will, personally rational, and a maximum of predictability and understandability for the general public, abstract rationality, hence the freedom of will exerted by the professionals is seen as socially acceptable and thus legitimised. For Weber subjectivity occurs where the individual actor responds to her own stimuli, created by observable actual patterns of conduct, but also to the ideals on which society is based but fails to describe how this process takes place and why unusual behaviour becomes labelled as deviant . HENDERSON, A. and PARSONS, T. ed. Theory of social and economic order Weber 1864-1920. Glencoe: Free Press. p 13-29. 1947.

[64]The outcome of the Ploughshares case demonstrates this

they have become privatised.[65] Nevertheless the Government were concerned about the possibility of policy resistance. To implement its policies the Government had to appeal to the electorate in order to legitimise its right to alter control traditionally held by the educationalists.

The continuance of professional tradition centred on an undisputed truth – that the social benefits of the welfare system outweighed the social costs.[66] The discourse of the 1980s led by the New Right treated intervention and its professionals to a healthy dose of scepticism. Mrs Thatcher's approach to change management was confrontational. This work investigates whether such an approach will be enough to alter traditional conditioning and whether those systems will be so transformed that the conditional influences will be similarly changed.

Organisations however are inter-active systems not easy to change or influence.[67] At the micro level the Government's problem became that of how to bring about change within the further education colleges so that their strategic direction mirrored policy intention. However, current educational practices had developed in response to individuals and interest group interaction and been popular over a period of time. In a democratic society open debate should consider if there are better ways of doing things. Indeed Giddens suggests that modernising the state could be ethically desirable and indeed necessary to ensure the legitimacy of government.[68]

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[65]Those acting bureaucracies, the new right argued, were maximising their own interests against the interests of the organisation or society. A corollary to this was that resistance to the removal of these excesses would be opposed.

[66]The legitimate right to circumvent the bureaucratic rule relies on a social set of beliefs; these maintain that professionals, when going about their business, act altruistically rather than individualistically. At the same time, a growth in the knowledge base has led to the assumption that only specialised practitioners can fully understand issues about their discipline. Whilst professionals have expert knowledge, and therefore power, it is believed that their knowledge is applied in the interest of community; their actions are assumed to be value free. The instrument of professional discretion permits the practitioner to interpret the rule to best suit the client's needs. Paradoxically, a homogenous group of actors, who share unique characteristics, has the potential to be a threat to the individual freedom of others because the actors can exploit their joint power. ANDRESKI, S. p 392, op.cit.

[67] LINDBLOM, C. The science of muddling through. Public Administration Review. p 79-88. 1959.

[68]Indeed Giddens argues that a democracy with greater transparency, which includes rethinking the welfare state, is needed in order to put right the limitations of liberal democracy. The process of democracy should become a process of open controversial dialogue rather than an exercise of power.

To implement its policies the Government set out to ensure that the colleges became dominated by market principles - it needed to transform the facts so that the professionals' traditional reasoning and discourse became illegitimate.[69]

The Government's attempt to control the policy implementation process within the further education colleges thus can be viewed as a direct challenge to the right of the professionals to choose and determine their own vocabulary. The introduction of a market forum into further education colleges suggests that both consumers and producers face a new moral environment. This research thus tests the power of the Government over the professionals by establishing whether the professionals' language themes changed.[70] If there is a causal link between thought, knowledge and action, control of the discourse would then change professional behaviour. Knowledge would thus be created by discourse - social changes simply a process of redefining the way in which that control is instituted.

On the other hand if the acquisition of knowledge is pursued through competing accounts of reality then it objectivity, the ability to reason, consider and improve, becomes relative as meaning becomes subordinated to social trends.[71] Knowledge thus becomes illusory and changeable and individuals simply exist in a vacuum of their present.[72] Should this be the case Lyotard and Coyle suggest that universal theories would need to be subjected to a healthy scepticism.[73]

GIDDENS, A. In defence of sociology: essays, interpretations and rejoinder. p 234-251. op. cit.
[69]Foucault's work denies the existence of objective truth and is therefore the antithesis to modernity He says "Scientific knowledge is not powerful because it is true: it is true because it is powerful." FOUCAULT, M. Politics philosophy and culture. In KRITZMAN, L. ed. London: Routledge. 1990.
[70]Solidarity is explicit in language though a communal language is not a sufficient condition of community "it is only with the emergence of a consciousness of difference from a third person that speaks a different language that the fact that the two persons speak the same language, and in that respect share a common situation, can lead them to a feeling of community and to modes of social organisation consciously based on the sharing of a common language." HENDERSON, A. and PARSONS, T. eds. Theory of social and economic order Weber 1864-1920. Glencoe: Free Press. p 136. 1947.
[71]GIDDENS, A. Social theory and modern sociology. Polity Press in association with Blackwell. 1987.
[72]BLOOR, D. In Brown, S.C. ed. Objectivity and cultural divergence. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1988.
[73]LYOTARD, J. F. in COYLE, K. Postmodernism. Bulletin of the Marx Memorial Library. Winter The Marx Memorial Library. Spring, p 9-19. 1992.

The issue for investigation is simply to discover who determines the new era and/or how it is determined. To understand the Conservative Government's attempts to change further education institutions and the resultant compliance with or resistance to it in order to unravel the "chameleonic flux" of policy implementation.[74]

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[74]As Lukes suggests, through applying the third dimension of power we can investigate political inactivity so that we can attempt to explain that which did not arise in the political arena. LUKES, S. op. cit.

CHAPTER THREE: ORGANISATIONS, PEOPLE AND PRACTICE.

In the 1980s the New Right expressed considerable concerns about the growth of discretionary powers, particularly those given to professionals operating within state institutions. Mrs Thatcher's social reform called for the transfer of power in order to tighten public accountability and control.[1] This attacked the professionals' right to privileges.[2]

To bring about change where professionals are concerned was bound to be difficult because of the power held either through expert knowledge or through their job specification, which created a legitimate right to circumvent the bureaucratic rule.[3] The right to discretion relies on a social set of beliefs, which maintains that professionals' actions are value free.[4] The instrument of professional discretion permits the practitioner to interpret the rule to best suit the client's needs.[5] However,

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[1]Ham and Hill state that "a general rule in the analysis of power is that an actor with low 'compliance observability' is relatively autonomous. If it is difficult or costly to determine how an actor behaves and the actor knows this, then there is less compulsion to comply." HAM, C. and HILL, M. The policy process in the modern capitalist state. London: Wheatsheaf Books, p. 298, 1987.

[2]Wilding argues that the existence of professionals demonstrates a measure of abdication of responsibility of government. Professional status is based on the nature of the task and therefore the expertise to carry it out, as well as the manner and spirit in which the tasks are carried out - both aspects, he argues, have come in for criticism. Where professionals have challenged government they have been accused of failing in their duty, responsibility, and are accused of campaigning on their own behalf. WILDING, P. Professional power and social welfare. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1982.

[3]Specialised knowledge alters the normal relationship between the consumer and the producer because the non-specialist has to rely on the skills of the expert. Consumer dependence is at its greatest where the practitioner defines his\her needs, more particularly, where that practitioner can exercise their discretion in decision making and avoid the bureaucratic rule. The growth of expertise can thus be associated with a decline in the power of the individual. GREENWOOD, R. Attributes of a profession. In WILDING, P. op.cit.

[4] With a symptom-oriented approach they argue that they are not involved with causes thus they are apolitical. In so doing, however, Wilding argues that they support the system that causes the problems thus trample on people's rights; their neutrality is thus an illusion. WILDING, P. p. 99-108. op. cit.

[5] Lipsky argues that professionals determine policy because they are involved in the hands-on task and determine who benefits. Accountability becomes a problem, he argues because they have control over consumers whilst at the same time they are relatively free from organisational control because they have the power to interpret the rules. In order to deal with increasing demand and increasing constraints, he suggests, they tend towards satisficing the task as they see it rather than maximum efficiency and effectiveness - this causes a drift away from organisational goals and from treating the public fairly - the application of informal rules which may not match the intended rules. He concludes that there is a need for a new approach to professional accountability, which should include client evaluation. LIPSKY, M. Street-level breaucracy: dilemmas of the individual in public services.

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a homogenous group of actors with unique characteristics can exploit their joint power.[6]

On the other hand, Goode suggests that professionals do not form a homogeneous group. Further he suggests that professionalism can be graded simply by investigating the attributes of their task.[7] Professional attributes, role option, discretion, and status create a set of rules that are particular to an individual profession and not generally transferable.[8]

A code of ethics serves to define the relationship between the professional and the consumer, including written as well as unwritten rules.[9] It represents an implicit contract with society designed to reduce exploitation by the professional of the consumer.[10] Foucault suggests that ethical codes are significantly different from morality, which is based on imposed, socially defined, rules. Ethical awareness is dependent, he argues, on individual responsibility and critical awareness of the relationship between society's means and ends.[11] Independence of the accepted norm

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Russell Sage Foundation. 1980.

[6]ANDRESKI, S. Max Weber on capitalism, bureacracy and religion a selection of texts. London: Allen and Unwin, p. 392, 1968.

[7]At the upper end of the continuum a professional's task exhibits a high degree of generalised and specialised knowledge. This involves a body of abstract knowledge, principles that can be generalised thus a considerable length of training to qualify, primary orientation to the community interest based on the needs of the client, a high degree of self-control through an enforceable code of ethics and a system of rewards that is primarily a set of symbols which provide professional identity GOODE, W. Professions and non-professions. In VOLLMER, H. and MILLS, D. ed Professionalisation London: Prentice Hall, 1966.

[8]GREENWOOD, R. Attributes of a Profession in. In WILDING, P. op. cit.

[9]A clear code of ethics creates barriers to entry, such as length of training, enabling the profession to gain public support for the maintenance of those barriers. Caplow suggests dedication to a code of ethics can be at the expense of the client. CAPLOW , A. The sociology of work. 1964. In JOHNSON, T. Professions and power. Macmillan Press Ltd, 4th ed. 1981.

[10]BERNSTEIN, B. In Social relationships and language: some aspects of the work of Basil Bernstein. Open University Press, 1973.

[11]Foucualt argues that truth is historically specific, relative and a product of discourse achieved through a process of normalisation rather than domination. Pastoral power, he argues, has become a fundamental regulatory technique of the normalisation process, which manipulates consciousness. However, he believes that individuals are the vehicles of power, all power relations being reversible and unstable. Power has a counter-factual, resistance; freedom and constraint are interdependent and resistance will occur when the system of constraint leaves the individual little liberty. Whilst he contends that specialisation limits discourse to specific issues and sectors he argues that an ethical stance arises in reaction to the outcome of the rules and values learnt through the normalisation process - it thus involves critical self-awareness which challenges practical consciousness. Hence in

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of behaviour and primary allegiance to a professional code of behaviour differentiates professionals from other social actors. On the other hand, Larson suggests that a professional's code of ethics can be myopic, creating limited responsibility in the wider remit of social interaction.[12]

As the consumer-producer relationship has become institutionalised it has become more common for professionals to practise within a state bureaucracy. Indeed, the welfare state has mediated that professional-client relationship. However, role conflict can occur where a professional works in a bureaucracy because he/she has to balance his/her professional ethics with the needs of the organisation.[13] The authority structure in a bureaucratic organisation can clash with the authority of the professional to act. Where adopting the bureaucratic rule violates the norms of a professional group Titmus suggests it may rebel - thus professionals have the potential to act as an antecedent to change.[14]

In the case being investigated here the professionals had an unwritten ethical code. In order to discover its components twenty randomly selected lecturers were asked to list issues that they believed encapsulated their code of practice. They pointed to law, which defined their task as parenting - they also saw their task as providing a caring community and exercising their discretion in defining the content and method of delivery of their task.[15] All components of Goode's professional attributes.

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his opinion an ethical movement is the vehicle for resisting normalisation and offers the possibility of government without intervention. FOUCAULT, M. Politics, philosophy and culture. In KRITZMAN L. E ed London: Routledge, 1990.

[12] Larson suggests that professional ideology creates tunnel vision because specialist knowledge ignores a critical vision of society as a whole. Indeed judged only by professionals they have no self-critical awareness. LARSON, M. S. The rise of professionalism. In WILDING, P. op. cit.

[13]HENDERSON, A. and PARSONS, T. ed. Theory of social and economic order: Weber 1864-1920. New York: Free Press. p. 136, 1947.

[14]TITMUS, R. M. 1971. Goals of welfare state. In WILDING, P. op.cit.

[15] They also included being a role model, the giver of knowledge and experience, creator of a learning environment. Under the heading of caring they included honesty and commitment. The NAT Charter for Professionalism (p. 8) suggests that professionalism had been reduced by the Pay and Conditions Act 1987 which changed practice by the introduction of routinisation; however, this included the concept of "reasonableness" implying professional action. The consultation for values in education and the community in 1996 that " we value truth, human rights, the law, justice and collective endeavour for the common good of society (p. 2.) We value each person as a unique being of intrinsic worth, with potential...(p.4.)" This prescribes the duty of the individual towards others and their duty

Successful change management clearly relies on the legitimate right of management/government to manage - resistance rejects or at least questions this legitimacy. In order to implement its further education policy the Government needed to inform and communicate[16] - it was thus reliant upon the linkages that existed between and within the colleges.[17]

Professional Organisations

Mintzberg suggests that organisational styles come about, and indeed survive, because they are best suited to particular relationships. Top-down control is inappropriate in professional organisations, Mintzberg contends, because professionals' work independently exercising discretion in serving their clients – power is necessarily decentralised. He therefore suggests that professional organisations are networks of dependent evolving interrelationships that enable the management of a complex individualised service where administration is standardised and rule-bound.[18]

In a professional educational organisation administration services the operating core – mainly advising on financial decisions and procedures. Professionals control administrative decisions through academic and administrative committees. The technostructure is determined to a large extent by external professional bodies,

towards him or her.

[16] NIXON, J. The importance of communication in the implementation of government policy at the local level. Policy and Politics. Vol 8, no. 2, 1980.

[17] PRESSMAN and WILDAVSKY. In HILL, M. ed. New agendas in the study of the policy process. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.

[18] He identifies five key co-ordinating mechanisms, namely mutual adjustment where co-ordination is an outcome of the communication process, direct supervision and standardisation of work, outputs and skills. He separates an organisation into five component parts, namely the operating core where the basic work is carried out, the strategic apex where strategies and goals are created, the middle line managers who enable information to flow up and down the organisation, the technostructure who determine standards throughout the organisation and the support staff. As scale and complexity increases direct supervision and standardisation, he argues, would normally increase. It is the recognition of the relationships that exist between organisational attributes and their synthesis he argues that leads to organisational success. He identifies the professional bureaucracy as co-ordinated by standardisation of skills. MINTZBERG, H. Mintzberg on management. New York: The Free Press. 1989.

practice tends to be customised to a certain extent. Initiative tends to come from the individual professional formed as they go about their task creating a disassociation between professional issue resolution and management decision making. Strategic decisions are strongly influenced by collegiate influences. This process creates an organisation where change occurs at the individual level and is stable at the organisational level, thus, Mintzberg suggests, such an organisation often looks disorganised and ineffectual.[19]

Indeed March and Olsen suggest that public education organisations are best described as 'organised anarchies and characterised by poorly defined preferences, trial and error procedures and fluid involvement; as a result, they argue, the decision process is typified by the uncoupling of problems and choices.[20] Mrs Thatchers call to accountability was bound to change this.

Developing the theme of dual responsibility within education institutions Goffee and Scase suggest that Government's concentration on accountability and careful resourcing served to increase the power of administrators – thus decreasing the power previously held by the professional bodies in the technostructure. Increasing the possibility of professional resistance the operating cores workloads increased - some argue causing depersonalisation of the professional-client relationship. [21]

Benveniste suggests that any potential conflict between the managerial and

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[19] MINTZBERG, H. The rise and fall of strategic planning. Prentice Hall 1994.

[20] Traditional management theory uses bargaining and the price system to solve decision making in the absence of consensus. In organised anarchies ambiguity and goal incongruence are endemic, the decision structure has low administrative power and decisions and choices are uncouple; thus, Cohen et al argue, standard management techniques collapse. They found that decision types included resolution, oversight, where choices were determined by another related decision and flight, where the problem was simply put off, and concluded that problem solving was not the most common decision style unless flight was restricted. Workload was a key variable, increasing decisions made by flight and oversight. COHEN, M., MARCH, J. and OLSEN, J. A garbage can model of organisational choice. Administrative Science Quarterly. 17 (1), March, 1972.

[21] At the same time as resources have become scarce responsibility has been decentralised from the state to operating units. This has led Goffee and Scase to suggest the development of increased financial and operational control at the middle line– different power technostructures. GOFFEE, R. and SCASE, R. Corporate realities: the dynamics of large and small organisations. London: Routledge. 1995.

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professional tasks is controlled partly because the professionals contribute to business decisions but also through ritual.[22] The problem for professionals in state run enterprises, however, became that of how to maintain individual intellectual freedom. Indeed, Foucault suggests that an endemic problem in developed economies is not simply exploitation but is the control of subjectivity "at the very heart of the power relationship, and constantly provoking it, are the recalcitrance of the will and the intransigence of freedom." A constant struggle for freedom of will is thus a condition of a developed economy and its organisational structures.[23] How that paradox is managed thus becomes a very significant factor.[24]

Given professional discretion the problem for Government was the method of implementing its policy - which had to alter professional control. The management of change thus became an important variable in the policy implementation process.

Management Approaches Past and Present.

Management theory has no ultimate truth about the best way to manage - there is no definitive solution as to how decisions can be made successful the aim here, therefore, is not to suggest an "ideal" management style but to categorise the Governments preferred approach.

Management theory encompasses a plethora of explanations for the management of continuity and change, some of which appear to confuse the myth of management

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[22]Dual-governance models have professional and administrative responsibilities split in the strategic apex and the middle line. They are characterised by professional consensus and motivation but include some decisions made by administration without professional input. Benveniste suggests that the strength of these organisations is the consensus decision making and institutionalised participation. However, rituals, which develop as part of institutionalisation, create slow decision-making and conflict is rarely overtly demonstrated. BENVENISTE, G. Professionalising the organisation: reducing bureaucracy to enhance effectiveness. California: Jossey-Bass, 1987.
[23]FOUCAULT, M. After word: the subject and "power". In DREYFUS, H. and RAINBOW, P. Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics: with an after thought by Michael Foucault. Sussex: The Harvester Press. 1982.
[24]MINTZBERG, H. Mintzberg on management. New York: The Free Press, 1989
  STACEY, R. R, Strategic management and organisational dynamics. London: Pitman, 1993.
  SENGEE, P. The learning organisation. Management Journal , October, 1996.

with the reality. This is not helped by the fact that there is no universal definition of strategic management; it can therefore be one specific level of strategic management with competitive strategy and operational strategies operate at different levels within the organisation or all encompassing.[25] It is however, typified by the notion of a clear mission, a vision of the future, a direction for growth and a means of achieving those objectives. Strategy making departs from functional management in that it is concerned both with continuity and change - the strategy process involves analysis, choice and implementation whilst a significant part of strategic decision making concentrates on the firm's capability and resource implications. In order to change further education colleges the Government had to bring each college's strategic direction more in line with its policy objectives.

The way in which control is applied in order to attain an organisations strategic objectives appears to be based on beliefs about the link between organisational goals and individual behaviour. There are basically two contrasting approaches, namely tight control or loose control. An uncertainty tolerance zone is used here as a way of identifying and linking sets of beliefs about control. One extreme of the uncertainty tolerance zone assumes certainty stability and rationality, it reinforces traditional ways of doing things. The other extreme of the uncertainty tolerance zone accepts uncertainty, instability and irrationality, and embraces change.

Uncertainty Tolerance Zone

Stable Change
Rational Theory

Dynamic Change
Non - Rational Theory

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[25] JOHNSON, G. and SCHOLES, K. 1989, Exploring corporate strategy. London: Prentice Hall, 1989.

How Are Decisions Made? The rational management approach.

At the left-hand side of the uncertainty tolerance zone an implicit assumption that change is fairly predictable can be identified in the prescription given for the control of change, namely planning for it. The scientific approach owes much to F. Taylor (1911), who believed that worker's were motivated only by material reward. Concentrating on the scientific analysis of the work task in order to determine efficient processes a manager, Taylor argued needed be a systematic planner – a worker needed to be trained to fit a pre-destined role.[26]

Fayol further developed Taylor's work suggesting five tasks of management, namely planning, control, command, co-ordination and organisation.[27] Organisational management thus needed a formal mechanistic system controlled through a chain of command - a hierarchical, rational, bureaucratic process.[28] The style of management becomes tight control and is discipline oriented in order to enforce the financial targets, which ensure output and profit. The business actor's objective becomes that of focusing on the task of profit maximisation to outplay his/her competitor; as a result he/she distances herself from moral obligation to society as a whole.[29] Each organisations acts as if at war – indeed Lakoff and Johnson have found this demonstrated in the language used, strategies as "indefensible," "attacked at every

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[26]Scientific management developed from the philosophical roots of economics; it emphasises planning, standardisation and management by exception – where management concentrates on the monitoring of deviations from the norm, tight control. Building on the work of Weber, who had emphasised the limitation of discretion through the institution of fair rules as a major advantage of bureaucratic organisations, the scientific approach supported the replacement of informal rules by standardisation of process and procedure – production processes were developed in order to reap economies of scale. The division of labour separated management from the production/service task. The manager's task became that of managing and planning strategic developments – workers thus become subordinated to managerial control and their rights to choice and discretion became very limited. TAYLOR, F. The principles of scientific management. New York. Harper, 1911.

[27]Fayol highlighted the similarity of the activities in organisations namely finance, security and management and those dealing with technical and commercial matters. A manager's ability to carry out their tasks, he argued, was dependent on close associations between authority, responsibility and fair discipline. Formal rules delivered by the division of labour, monitoring of tasks and impersonal relationships of participators were essential he believed to the maintenance of a manager's authority to act. FAYOL, H. Administration Industriale et Generale. Paris, 1916.

[28] BURN, T. and STALKER, G. The management of innovation. London: Tavistock. 1961

[29] FRIEDMAN, M. Capitalism and freedom. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

weak point," competitors' actions and the phrase "he'll wipe you out."[30]

With all action labelled as impersonal and rational, emotional responses became identified by managers as a part of their better nature distanced from their work task. Work styles become estranged from emotion and identified as rational processes based on rational decisions.

Perceptions of change phenomena as controllable, coupled with a belief in the principle of scientific management as universal, led the rational management theorists to develop a cure - a management model which included a set of scientific principles and rules for ideal administration. These myths about management have became folk law - the manager is "believed" to be a systematic reflective planner and pretends that decisions are made impersonally. The evidence of ambiguity and incongruent goals in society, which implied that organisations must contain a nexus of values, remained outside the model of explanation.[31]

Whilst bureaucratic structures are useful in predictable situations it began to be recognised that this was not a general rule which could be applied to all change phenomena. Indeed, Burns and Stalker suggest that where technological and market factors change rapidly, task specification, a central component of bureaucracy, breaks down - this suggested a need for changed management styles.[32]

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[30] LAKOFF, G. and JOHNSON, M. Metaphors we live by. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

[31] Indeed in the 1990s managers have become more influential than the disparate shareholders as a consequence of the separation of ownership and control. Baumol argues this culminates in "satisficing" behaviour rather than the pursuit of efficiency - individual managers pursue their own interests providing they take account of shareholders' minimum needs. BERLE, A. and MEAN, G. The modern corporation and private property. op.cit. and BAUMOL, W. Sales maximisation model. In HARDWICK, P. et al. An introduction to modern economics. London: Longman, 1982.

[32] Burns and Stalker, contingency theorists, hold that both organisational structure and leadership and managerial style needed to be flexible. Organisational interaction should be vertical and horizontal, communication based on consultation and advice giving replacing hierarchical control with consultation processes, less status on knowledge and more on the informal flows of information The management approach is diagnostic applying different techniques in various situations. BURNS, T. and STALKER, G. M. The management of innovation. London: Tavistock 1961.

Building on bureaucratic structure inadequacy Gouldner found that whilst adherence to rules was useful for decreasing the visibility of power and interpersonal tensions, they also produced unintended and often informal consequences dysfunctional to the organisation.[33] Alongside this Merton discovered that following rules which they had not created could cause employees to lose the ability to think independently.[34] Theorists began to think that bureaucratic organisation processes had inherent problems that limited creativity the lifeblood of organisational survival.

The non- rational management approach

A key issue for non-rational management theorists is that it is the ability to respond to increasing information demand that is important for organisational survival. Moving along the change tolerance zone, assumptions about organisation behaviour developed from the social psychology tradition, a critique by Mayo of scientific management. He suggested that the informal part of the organisation had a major impact on organisational behaviour.[35] In order to maximise the potential of the human resources in the organisation this led to a humanistic approach to management and control – techniques based on an employees individual growth potential.[36]

Researchers set out to establish what managers actually did each day in an attempt to discover, and thus separate, the myth from the reality of management. Indeed

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[33]Gouldner calls the unintended consequences of intended action "vicious or virtuous circles" these he argues occur because the individual minimises, rather than maximises, behaviour in response to the rule. GOULDNER, A. Patterns of industrial bureaucracy. New York: Free Press, 1964.

[34]MERTON R. K. Bureaucratic structure and personality. In Social theory and social structure. New York: Free Press, 1957,

[35] In 1924 Mayo tested the scientific management approach which assumed that workers, output varied with improved working conditions. Contrary to his expectations, he found that workers' input was associated with many factors thus concluded that the behaviour of individuals responded to informal networks, group norms and standards. This led the research team to assert that morale, a sense of belonging, management style and job satisfaction were important contributors to better worker participation. MAYO, E. The human problems of an industrial civilisation. Boston: 1960.

[36]MASLOW, A. Motivation and personality. New York: Harper, 1959.

ARGYRIS, C. First and second order errors in managing strategic change: the role of organisational defensive routines. In PETTIGREW, A. The management of strategic change. Oxford: Blackwell, 1987. McGREGOR, D. The human side of enterprise. London: Mcgraw Hill, 1960.

Mintzberg found that managers were involved in 'face to face communication, horizontal and lateral transfers of information fragmentation and interruption and lack of repetition.'[37] Rather than a concentration on planning and organising he concluded that managers actually disliked reflective activities and preferred action – indeed when managers were forced to plan they abandoned formal procedures in favour of gossip, hearsay, speculation and intuition.

Planning thus began to be thought as appropriate only to measure future implications of short-term decisions. Coupled with this Loabsy found that where formal planning was linked to a system of penalty and rewards individuals weighed up the opportunities offered by a new idea against the risk of failure – reduction in innovation and flexibility was thus an unintended consequences of tight management control.[38]

Coupled with this the recognition that soft data was used as a tool for identifying decision variables in dynamic situations led Quinn to suggest that concentration on quantitative data had been at the expense of understanding the qualitative data implicit in decision making.[39] The non-rational approach to management thought relegated planning as simply one tool from many that managers needed in order to manage complex and dynamic relationships.

Furthermore, the understanding of informal and interpersonal relationships became significant to the decision-making process. Organisational decisions became viewed as emergent processes, as consequences of alliances.[40]

Moving along the change tolerance zone and building on the perception that

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[37]MINTZBERG, H. The nature of managerial work. London: Harper and Row. 1973.
[38]LOABSY, B. Long range formal planning in perspective. Journal of Management Studies. October, 1967.
[39]QUINN, J. Strategies for change: logical incrementalism. London: Irwin, 1980.
[40]Quinn identified informal alliances as "purposeful, effective, proactive management techniques for improving both the analytical and behavioural aspects of strategy formation." QUINN, J. Strategies for change: Logical incrementalism. op cit.

bureaucratic organisations were not the panacea of organisational structures, informal sub-systems began to be recognised as necessary complements to the formal analytical process. Strategy making began to be considered as an emergent process indeed Lindblom suggested that managers in organisations were simply 'muddling through.'[41] Strategic decisions were thus implicit consequences of the small decisions taken indeed Etzioni suggested they could be a random walk "leading nowhere."[42]

There appeared to be a dilemma between the need to control and the dynamic nature of the context within which control had to be applied - synergy between the external environmental variables and the internal formal and informal variables began to be considered important to success. Mintzberg argued that risk adverse behaviour and a cost focus damaged internal synergy[43]– creating a culture of diversity tolerance became the management gurus' aim.

Moving further along the change tolerance zone organisations began to be recognised as dynamic embracing disorder rather than order.[44] Indeed Glieck suggested that chaos theory challenged the stability, equilibrium theorists on the grounds that it "has a special ignorance about disorder...the discontinuous and erratic side."[45] The central tenet of chaos theory is that everything tends to disorder - it thus concentrates on investigating randomness and espouses the belief that that the tiniest

[41]Lindblom suggested that the decision-making process was reactive not proactive; actors were adapting to the multi-goal, rapidly changing, environment in which they found themselves. He argued that managers were risk adverse because of the control procedures inherent in rule-bound organisations; thus he stated they preferred 'nibbling' at change decisions rather than a 'good bite.' LINDBLOM, C. The science of muddling through. Public Administration Review. 25, 1968.

[42] ETZIONI, A. A comparative analysis of complex organisations. New York: Free Press, 1961.

[43]In order to avoid the detrimental impact of incrementalism on the organisation's internal synergy Mintzberg argued that re-configuration of structures, strategies and processes needed to be for quantum leaps only: to avoid the natural rule of consistency, organisations needed to be adaptive, constantly creating ever more successful configurations. In reality, however, the model implies that change is unusual inferring stability to be the norm. MINTZBERG, H. The case for configuration organisation: a quantum view. Prentice Hall, chap. 1. 1984.

[44]PETERS, T. Thriving on chaos: a handbook for a managerial revolution. London: Macmillan, 1989. STACEY, R. op. cit.

MOSS KANTER, R. The change masters. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983 .

[45]GLIECK, J. Chaos: making a new science. New York: Cardinal, Sphere Books, p. 30, 1987.

changes can create dramatic effects. The far right hand side of the uncertainty tolerance zone accepts disorder - that dynamic markets are a key variable in business decision making.

Adopting the chaos theory perspective Stacey argues that the need to control both continuity and change created the informal system in order sometimes to circumvent the formal system and avoiding its limitations.[46] Management approaches clearly needed to change in order to reflect the reality of the new market relationships and their resultant fields of tensions, including non-rational as well as rational phenomena. Peters suggests that flexibility as a management style and a love of change instead of treating change as something unusual typifies the new approaches in management.[47] They embrace flexibility through empowered, highly trained personnel who have a stake in the organisation's actions.[48]

Post-Fordism approaches Coyle suggested shifted from standardisation to embrace an infinite variety of products.[49] The team is now the focus of efficiency and effectiveness in the value chain and is identified as the route to added value.[50] A total quality concept of service abandons leadership and legitimate authority for facilitator

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[46]Stacey identifies the informal sub-system as the vehicle for change because individuals can circumvent formal power thus deal with dynamic environments. The informal sub system is sometimes focused on "plans/ tasks and sometimes on random action but frequently on the focus of political process and learning in ambiguous situations." Stacey suggests that managers need completely different skills to manage these informal and self-selecting sub-systems. The informal organisation provides "important psychological and social relief to individuals who to have to operate in a bureaucratic system or have to confront ambiguity and uncertainty. The consequence is that members are more motivated and psychologically able to operate more effectively" The informal organisation becomes a communication network where problems can be aired without repercussions. STACEY, R. op. cit.

[47]The historical development of management theory he argues created "two assumptions ....causing untold harm ..bigger is better, [and] labour is to be ever more narrowly specialised, or eliminated if possible." PETERS, T. A world turned upside down. The Academy of Management Executives, vol. 1, 3. 1991.

[48]Peters argues that high labour involvement with minimal hierarchy and rewards inclusive of quality and responsiveness are wholly consistent with fast-reacting organisation. PETERS, T. op. cit.

[49]Product design is focused on specific target groups, consumer value recognised as intrinsically linked to life style and aspiration. COYLE, K. Post-modernism. In CLARK, H. and others. Organisations and identities: text and readings in organisational behaviour. London: Chapman and Hall, 1994.

[50]Indeed Peters suggests that new management trend need to take on board the fact that "people [need to be seen] as more important...quality and responsiveness [should become] King. PETERS, T. op. cit.

skills in order to enable the management of anarchistic groups that express individual autonomy. [51]

In a dynamic market organisations need to be able to learn constantly from the world around them. However, Popper suggests that inductive reasoning has often restricted learning by favouring beliefs, even though the process of scientific enquiry requires disproof.[52] Khun suggests the important factor for the acquisition of knowledge is contradiction since enquiry becomes enhanced by the resultant dialectic.[53] The implication for management styles, Quinn argues, is that managers must avoid myopic thinking.[54] Effective decisions in dynamic markets require lateral consideration of choice possibilities even though they challenge the accepted rule - Sengee thus argues that anarchistic behaviour rather than consensus can be advantageous, and indeed necessary, to organisational survival.[55]

The new task in a dynamic world is to create an organisation that supports learning.[56] Stimulus-response behaviour creates learning from experience this creates

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[51]Brown and Scase argue that heavy competition from the Pacific Rim on high volume standardised products has pushed developed economies towards a concentration on profit maximisation through small-scale and low volume niche market industries driven by short product cycles led by increased disposable income. The change in market conditions, they argue, has pushed management strategies towards improved industrial relations where workers become integrated to corporate goals. The total quality model concentrates on the intrinsic components of customer value because human resources become an important variable in the process, particularly that of the service sector because they are recognised as influencing the value chain that leads to total quality as perceived by the customer. BROWN, P. and SCASE, R. ed. Poor work – disadvantage and the division of labour. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1991.

[52]POPPER, K. The rationality of scientific revolutions. In BROWN, S. and others. ed. Conceptions of Inquiry. London: Methuen and Co Ltd, 1981.

[53]KUHN, K. The sciences as puzzle solving traditions. In BROWN, S. and others. ed. Conceptions of inquiry. London: Methuen and Co Ltd, 1981.

[54]Narrow thinking is task oriented and rules bounded hence it prohibits thinking about the uncertain. QUINN, J. Strategies for change: Logical incrementalism. Irwin, 1980.

[55]Organisational learning in contrast relies on a synthesis between rational and non-rational phenomena this requires that error be tolerated. Sengee suggests that the transformation to learning organisations is dependent on individuals continually re-creating themselves and based on managers having personal mastery as well as being able to create and sustain shared vision and team building SENGEE, P. op. cit.

[56] The skills required for organisations to learn, Sengee suggests, are based on a personal commitment to learning, the proficiency to do the task, challenging the ingrained assumptions and generalisations of understanding, challenging the conceptual framework that makes the patterns within the system clear in order to bring about a synergy between the rest. SENGEE, P. The fifth discipline: the art and practise of the learning organisation. New York: Century Business. 1990.

normalisation processes where unorthodox behaviour becomes identified as dangerous and abnormal. Argyris suggests that in order to enable organisations to learn managers must facilitate active learning rather than reinforce reactive behaviour.[57] He argues that in general organisations are trapped into "single loop learning" where individuals assume the experience will help decision making in the future - the link between cause and effect is identified as linear implying regularity stability and consensus creating a culture of pursuing "right." This type of learning he argues forces managers to hide mistakes and coerce others to do the same – he thus suggests it is possible for organisations continually to pursue "right" whilst actually getting it wrong. Only double loop learning, Agyris argues, will enable the organisation to cope with change and pursue excellence- thus the tolerance of error in order to allow the organisation to learn from its mistakes is essential to the pursuit of excellence.[58] Conflict should be aired and the status quo challenged in light of new information.

The pursuit of organisational excellence – emotional intelligence

The key issue for the organisation to learn is the commitment of the individual to that organisation in order that total quality may be achieved – commitment includes competence and willingness the later being the foundation on which motivation theories are based.

In the new times it is recognised that the way individuals learn can add value to or detract value from the organisation. Work has become a dominant part of the socialisation process, it provides identity, meaning and acts as a form of social

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[57]Agyris suggests that an individuals learning curve ranges from immaturity to maturity the shift linked to experience. Professionals can be classified as mature as we have established that they express choice and evaluate situations independently of the rules. Where individuals are in the mature state of learning but are not allowed independence, Agyris argues, they will be unfulfilled and may display dysfunctional behaviour thus it is in an organisations interest to move individuals along their learning curve.

[58] In double loop learning Agyris suggests that actors openly discuss error and therefore are able to correct it. The environment has to be such that error is accepted and not punished. Double loop learning thus implies a revolutionary approach to control in organisations.

control - even so, Fox suggests that it is an individual's frame of reference which determines an individual's attitude to almost everything and influences that individual's behaviour.[59]

The division of labour in bureaucratic hierarchical organisations has led some individuals to invest more time in their leisure activities where they can express their choice, their creativity, personal satisfaction and social integration.[60] Indeed Parker has suggested that an individual's leisure activities are conditioned by the level of involvement and the amount of autonomy and job satisfaction that individuals have at work[61] Meaning is thus dynamic.[62] Developing this theme Sui suggests that labour issues fail to adopt even semi-permanent dispositions.[63]

More recent work explains the paradox of performance amongst individuals by investigating the role of emotions in organisational behaviour – this is an under investigated aspect of organisational behaviour. Indeed the power and institutionalisation of rational thought drove performance to be linked to intelligence as genetically preconditioned. [64]

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[59]A frame of reference is an individual conceptual structure of generalisations or assumptions about the world in which the individual functions which gives meaning to action. FOX, A. Industrial sociology and industrial relations. Research Paper HMSO, 1965.

[60]BURNS, T. Leisure in industrial society. In SMITH, M. and others Leisure and society in Britain. London. Allen Lane, 1973.

[61]He suggests three patterns of the relationship between work and leisure. The extension pattern where the individual actor overlaps the responsibilities of home and work, the opposition pattern where the individual actor has a clear separation of home and work and indeed may transfer his/her central allegiance to leisure activities as a way of forgetting work and the neutrality pattern the individual actor is simply neutral to it, often in response to highly routine tasks; the individual's expectations do not include satisfaction at work therefore he/she will exchange work for leisure where the money is attractive Professionals are said to belong to the extension pattern of behaviour because their leisure activities are often work associated as their choice of career is closely matched to their key area of interest. Given that the split between leisure and work is less obvious in professional work it is reasonable to assume that professionals seek involvement and creativity within their professional role. PARKER, S. In THURTON, S. Behaviour in a business context. Chapman and Hall, 1991.

[62]The process of determining which rules apply in a situation involves the attribution of "meaning" to that situation this in part will in be a consequence of experience, expectations and value. THURTON, S. Behaviour in a business context. London: Chapman and Hall, 1991.

[63] SUI, R. The master manager. New York: Wiley, 1980.

[64]Early investigations of psychological behaviour measured stereo typical reactions to given stimuli.

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Rather than distancing mind from body it is postulated here that emotions create the frame which guides professional decision making. Goleman suggests that the abilities of individuals to manage themselves are intelligences that are learnt.[65] Indeed Ekman and Friesen have discovered that some people learn to manage their emotions better than others do.[66] Scientists now understand that there is a part of the brain that deals with emotion and determines action by balancing reason and emotion.[67] Perhaps more importantly it is now thought that people who have a high degree of emotional intelligence are more adept at life, because they embrace emotional life.

The roots of professional ethics can be found in the emotion of empathy. Indeed Hoffman[68] and Gardner[69] conclude that empathetic people are more likely to favour

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[65]Some emotions are biological, for example fear where the body and the brain prepares for flight other displays of emotion are culturally defined. Goleman argues that each individual has two components of mind that creates meaning, one that thinks and one that feels, in combination they create knowing. The important factor for individual development, he argues, becomes social interactive skills, understanding self and others. How that emotion is expressed is dependent on the level of personal intelligence. Goleman defines emotion as a feeling and it's distinctive thoughts, psychological and biological states, and a range of propensities to act. Emotional intelligence, he argues, is apparent in the measure of self-control, zeal and persistence that an individual demonstrates. A key social competence, he argues, is the ability an individual has to express their feelings. GOLEMAN, D. Emotional Intelligence: why it can matter more than IQ London: Bloomsbury Publishing Limited, 1996.

[66] Ekman and Friesen found that some displays of emotions can be socially controlled – they are learnt and displayed as a form social consensus learnt very early on in the socialisation process. Outside of social control individuals display their feelings differently. EKMAN, P. and FRIESEN, W. Unmasking the face. Englewood cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1975.

[67]Scientists have found that if the amygdala is removed animals lack fear and rage and an ability to co-operate or interact. They have concluded that the amygdala short-circuits the thinking brain, the neo-cortex. The amygdala springs into action whilst the thinking brain thinks of a plan, it triggers reactions before there is evidence. The neo-cortex, they now believe brings an analytical and more appropriate response to the emotional response, it modulates natural emotional reaction.

[68]Hoffman suggests that actions driven by impulse lack empathy and are exhibited but those who do not have self-control – they do not display will and character and cannot understand the needs of others. Empathy alters social rules by the use of discretion – the individual assesses the believed consequences of his/her action outside the immediate context; they thus act on behalf of others. HOFFMAN, L. Empathy, social cognition and moral action. In KURTINES, W. and GERWITZ, J. eds. Moral behaviour and development: advances in theory, research and applications. New York: John Wiley, 1984.

[69]Gardner is an advocate of the inclusion of a broader range of skills to measure intelligence. It is the breadth of intelligence possessed by some individuals he argues which enable them to achieve in life. Interpersonal intelligence, he defines as the ability to understand other people: what motivates them, how they work, how to work co-operatively with them and includes the capacity to discern and respond appropriately to the temperaments, motivations and desires of other people and the ability to discriminate among them and draw upon them to guide behaviour. Gardner, H. Multiple intelligences

action driven by principle. Some people become more adept at self-awareness and psychological insight and it is asserted here that professional organisations are made up of a majority of such people.[70] Indeed Finemann suggests that the Weberian notion of ideal bureaucracies is particularly redundant in professional organisations because professionals are paid for their skill in emotional management – feeling rules are implicit in their discipline the culture is shaped by the factors they consider as important.[71]

The Thatcherite "new" political correctness, market universalism, subordinates emotional understanding and processes - it is an expression of narcissism.[72] In contrast, Putman and Mumby suggest that rationality and technical efficiency should be embedded in a larger system of community in order that alternative discourses can be made.[73] The application of narcissism however is that the concept of common good is ridiculed; indeed Bottery argues that this has contributed to the

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go to school: the theory in practice. New York: Basic Books, 1993.

[70]Indeed Golemen suggests that emotional intelligence is not just about being morally attuned to re-adjust wrongs but about the ability to speak out against them. There is, he argues, no connection between specialist expertise and being seen as trustworthy. He suggests that there are three variables in organisational relationships, namely communication webs (who talks to whom), and expertise networks where others turn for advice, and trust networks. Trust networks are built where the individual displays the ability to understand the perspectives of others and the ability to be self-motivated and self-managed – all of these, he argues, are aspects of emotional intelligence. GOLEMAN, D. Emotional Intelligence: why it can matter more than IQ p.158, op. cit.

[71]Their task, he suggests, is to look caring, display understanding, to demonstrate benign detachment in order to defend against any personal displays of feelings. Professionals have to create a social defence system displayed in rituals which enables them to practise outside the moral anxieties which would otherwise overwhelm them. He thus argues that Taylor was able to distance emotion from production because contemporary factors needed the fix he offered. FINEMAN, S. Organisations as emotional arenas. In FINEMAN, S. ed. Emotions in organisations. London: Sage, 1993.

[72]Schwartz argues that political correctness works by denying the right to privacy and gains power over controversy through the introduction of shame. The failure to conform, he argues, creates a fear in the deviant individuals that something is wrong with them - this is an expression of the power of consensus and the metric of morality. Opposition is thus often mute – fearful and unable to admit his/her feelings, the deviant participates in the public ritual of consensus. He suggests that the only way to be redeemed in the psychology of shame and preserve the authority to resist political correctness is to participate in the politically correct movement and outwardly attack his/her unworthiness. SCHWARTZ, H. Narcissistic emotion and university administration: an analysis of "political correctness". In FINEMAN, S. ed. Emotions in organisations. London: Sage. 1993.

[73]They argue that emotional labour, where roles and tasks control emotional displays, becomes instrumental in the ability of an organisation to achieve its goals in that it serves to suppress disagreements, and eliminates the voices of the employees'. PUTMAN, L. MUMBY D. Organisations, emotion and the myth of rationality. In FINEMAN, S. ed Emotions in organisations. London: Sage, 1993.

"pauperisation of moral concepts in the public sphere."[74]

Professionals and their ethics should be subject to challenge because changes in values and attitudes need to be addressed but those changes should also be subject to evaluation. Evaluation of the discourse between the professionals and the Government is used here as a way of investigating the chameleonic flux of policy implementation. Discourse is not always explicit for it is sometimes codified in metaphor which is deeply rooted in thought acting subliminally on cognitive processes thus has the capability to influence knowledge and memory.[75]

Dialectic, on the other hand, is the medium of peaceful rule breaking in communication.[76] The identification of educational organisations as arenas of emotional activity allows us to postulate two possible scenarios in the policy implementation process. If professional, discretion to act is reduced this will create repressed feelings,[77] the professional voice will be muted [78] and their discourse will reflect the discourse of the government. In model one government discourse, coupled with financial incentives, is powerful forcing policy compliance. Or professionals' discretionary power is sufficient for them to maintain their voice. In model two the power of government discourse, although coupled with financial incentives, is resisted by the power of the professionals creating a dialectical process - this creates

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[74] Pursuing personal interest at the cost of impersonal interests. BOTTERY, M. The ethics of Educational Management. London: Cassell,p. 93, 1992.

[75] DUNN, S. Root metaphor in the old and new industrial relations. British Journal of Industrial Relations, 28:1 March, 1991.

[76]Where understandable conversation between participants is non-existent discourse can take place but dialectic cannot because a common communication system is absent. In order to air conflict difference needs to be made explicit. SINCLAIR, J. and COULTURE, M. Towards an analysis of discourse. London: Oxford University Press, 1975.

[77]Fineman succinctly expresses this when he states that "Defence mechanisms include the elaborate justification on one's intentions (rationalisation) attributing one's own feelings to others (projection), adopting patterns of behaviour which were comforting in childhood (regression), channelling "unacceptable" urges into socially acceptable forms (submission) and changing a feeling into its opposite (reaction formation)." Repressed feelings are held in abeyance and can be expressed in resistance or unconscious, emotional subtexts. FINEMAN, S. Organisations as emotional arenas. In FINEMAN, S. ed Emotions in organisations. London: Sage, 1993.

[78]Waldron and Krone have concluded that organisational control of emotions can limit dialectic and thus eliminate employee voice. WALDRON, V. and KRONE, K. The experience and expression of emotion in the workplace: a study of a corrections organisation. Management Communications

a policy deficit. Indeed should the distance between the thesis and the antithesis widen the expectation is that its ferocity will increase.

The task is thus to investigate the power of belief bias in an arena previously considered sacrosanct by the professionals. In the final analysis it is postulated that if investigation reveals evidence of discourse skewing governmental power is strong aiding policy implementation – and the strategy of the further education colleges' will move in line with government intention.

In conclusion the understanding of organisational dynamics has not moved along the continuum in a logical way because in social science theories are rarely disproved and old beliefs still command some credibility. The theme developed here is that a correlation exists between change tolerance and control techniques. There is also a relationship between low change tolerance and the belief in the rational model and vice versa. Current management techniques however favour the non-rational approach - the re-identification of organisations as learning communities.

It has been argued that professional organisations developed as organised anarchies because of their particular needs for synergy. "State of the art" management theory suggests that the ability to manage any organisation successfully in the current market requires the following:

- formal and informal decision making processes so that formal procedures can enhance predictable decisions and informal procedures can release innovation;
- a flat structure to empower and quickly inform the participants;
- a facilitator management style that supports autonomous action of individuals to enable them to deal with contradiction and ambiguity;
- a trust culture in order that individuals can challenge normalisation processes and get on with the job.[79]

Quarterly, 4, p. 287. 1991.

[79] We use trust here as a measure of management's attitude to the individual's capacity to perform the

The particular instruments of the Conservatives' education policy are financial incentives, administrative control and regulation which lies at the left-hand side of the change tolerance zone – all these factors alter a professional's right to decide. The Government is thus attempting to gain control of professional discretion at the same time as state of the art management theorists are suggesting that discretion to act is an essential part of the ability of organisations to survive in a dynamic market, the context chosen by the Government for further education colleges. Furthermore, the denial of emotional contexts in decision-making, enhanced by financial measures of efficiency, may distance the colleges still further from the goal of effectiveness.

task – the discretion to act.

CHAPTER FOUR: SOME CONSIDERATIONS OF METHOD

This study investigates whether the elected government has the power to alter what is socially accepted as legitimate. An important purpose has been to relate the introduction of a welfare state, and the recent changes brought to bear, to political trends through language themes over a fifty year period. In view of the great complexity of the subject attention is focused on how far the values and priorities sought by the Conservative Government since the 1988 and 1992 Education Acts have been internalised, or resisted, in four further education colleges.

The intention is not to prove conclusively that changes in local practice would not have come about merely by virtue of the colleges' changed financial incentives because the language signals were changing simultaneously. However, if the research revealed that language did change, on the part of government either as a deliberate strategy or as part of its changing ideology and in the colleges, this would be some indication that the government has been successful in achieving at least surface acceptance of its policy at an institutional level. Moreover, the result would then at least be consistent with the thesis that language is an important tool of change.

In order to reflect contextual sensitivity the triangulation approach is adopted; data is collected from a number of informants and sources to present as balanced a study as is possible.[1] The research adopts a process of discovery where feedback is reflected in subsequent stages of the study.

The complexity of the subject drove the literature review to be eclectic. The first part reveals several different perspectives of governmental power. The emerging theme is that the legitimate right of government to reduce the discretionary power of professionals is tied up with whether those changes reflect an expression of governmental power or changing social relationships brought about by self-

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[1] A system used to crosscheck the existence of certain phenomena and individual accounts.
Educational Evaluation. Open University Course E811. Milton Keynes: Open University Educational Enterprises. 1988.

constitution.[2] Furthermore Lukes' suggestion that power has many dimensions some of which may not be obvious to the observer, provided the rationale for the investigation.[3] The issue for investigation was thus simply to discover who determines the new conditions and/or how they are determined. The task, therefore, became to investigate the power of belief bias in an arena previously considered sacrosanct by the professionals.

The next part of the study investigates different ways of managing policy implementation. This revealed that professionals are seen as unique actors who have historically been managed differently. It also revealed some factors thought useful to manage the current environment, namely, hierarchical decision making, matrix decision making, flat structures, facilitator leadership style and empowered work force. These are used as benchmarks later in the study. The review also reveals commonalties between traditional ways of managing professionals and current management thought and provided a way to evaluate the Government's management approach. Finally the literature review revealed that the ethical values of professionals have the potential to distance thought from unconscious paralinguistic awareness this was linked with emotional new work in this area on emotional intelligence; it was therefore possible to postulate that there was a potential for resistance.[4]

Since those working in further education had unwritten ethical codes in order to establish whether they could be defined as professionals twenty were randomly

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[2]Weber identified the problem of bureaucratic organisation as undermining the position of the individual through routinisation and the reduction of ideals to material interests. He identified resistance as an individual's struggle between social selection and personality, which he considered as independent as it has its roots in "self-legislation." Marx in contrast identified bureaucracy as a route for domination and thus the mobilisation of bias. Foucault identifies bureaucracy as responsible for control through normalisation and the totality of power-knowledge, developed during the period of socialism and protectionism. This leaves us with the problem of whether an autonomous agent can be the dominant type in modern society. Please refer to chapter two.

[3] Lukes suggests that there are many dimensions of power therefore any investigation of power should include inactivity alongside activity. Please refer to chapter two.

[4] Foucault argues that society's development is an expression of the struggle between the exercise of power and the fight for freedom. Ethical awareness is the diminishing of self in favour of the collective which is dynamic - it is thus the embodiment of reflexivity. FOUCAULT, M. Politics philosophy and culture. In KRITZMAN L. E. ed. op. cit.

selected and asked to list what they thought encapsulated those codes. These findings were then compared with Goodes professional attribute criteria [5].

Developing the theme of power over language as a tool for policy implementation relies heavily on the work of Bernstein and Foucault. Bernstein, building on Durkheim's work, addresses the ideological nature of the exercise of power inherent in language. His notion of language implies that social actors are a function of the language – he separated meaning into implicit and explicit components by identifying two types of order, namely task direction and rules of acceptable conduct, and thus argued that communication involved linguistics and semantics.[6] His sociolinguistic thesis attempted to show "how class structure affected the social distribution of privileged meanings and the interpretative procedures which generated them." Developing the constructs of a message system he was able to demonstrate that its power was dependent on its content selection alongside strong limiting boundaries. Knowledge, he thus suggested, was linked to authority and control.[7]

Foucault similarly addresses symbolism and speech but his main theme is the infinite nature of interpretation - and where it beaks down.[8] In contrast to Bernsteins' work Foucault concentrates on discontinuity and the procedures that construct the objects of

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[5]Please see chapter three. GOODE, W. Professions and non-professions.

[6]Durkheim identified two types of organisation namely organic and mechanistic. Social cohesion created by organic solidarity based on the interdependency of specialist division of labour was superior, he argued, to mechanical solidarity based on authoritarian rule. He stressed that work enhanced social relationships because it cured the self and communal need paradox. He identified interdependency of work fragmentation as instrumental to the negation of repression - social order thus had the potential to be the embodiment of moral behaviour transmitted by rites, rituals and myth created belief systems, social and psychological consciousness. He recognised that bureaucracies had the potential to inhibit expression of the greater good by binding the individual to the work task, thus limiting the expression of emotion, and that solidarity was threatened by rapid change and the specialised division of labour because these factors contributed to an individual's sense of normlessness. Durkheim's solution was to institutionalise associations with codes of ethics. DURKHEIM, E. On morality and society: selected readings. BELLAH, R. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1973.
[7]BERNSTEIN, B. Class, codes and control. Applied studies towards a sociology of language. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. vol 2. 1973.
[8] Dreyfus and Rabinow have suggested that Foucault's work can be identified as four distinct stages, namely Heideggerean, archaeological, genealogical and ethical. However, Foucault made clear that his purpose in writing was neither to provide a work with conceptual cohesion nor to dictate its meaning rather as a toolkit. DREYFUS, H. and RABINOW, P. Michel Foucault: beyond structualism

discourse. He suggests that by adopting a broad panoramic view the profusion of knowledge is revealed, free of individuals and their histories, permitting analysis of what contributed to people thinking differently. Study of such discourses, he suggests, should concentrate on words and themes in their original form and the way they alter.

Foucault argues that it is the taxonomic naming aspect of language that manipulates consciousness - it becomes a material force of its own causing subjects and agents to be constituted by the codes expressed. [9] He argues that metaphors are rooted in thought and thus provide an implicit conceptual understanding of linked events. The power of metaphor for Foucault is its power to influence knowledge.

In Foucauldian terms the study thus continues by adopting a panoramic approach and examining the discursive routes that have contributed to the development of the further education sector, in order to isolate the levers and drivers that have led to its constitution. The next step was to test the hypothesis that there had been a significant change in the value system within which further education policy has been expressed. The instrument adopted for this part of the research is content analysis - this technique relies on grouping data text into categories or themes. An important assumption of content analysis is that by deconstructing the content inferences about the sender, the message and the audience can be made.[10]

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and hermeneutics. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester. 1982.

[9]Specialisation in particular, he argues, limits discourse by regulatory strategies – demonstrated in the 'govermentalisation' of the state. He identified industrial organisation, which contained controls through methods and knowledge, as a culture that created 'docility-utility' consciousness - all knowledge, he argued, was embedded in power. Developing forms of alienation and arguing from socio-anthropological grounds, his goal was the liquidation of identity, which created referentiality, and the pursuit of anonymity, reflexivity. The rules of archaeology, his proposed method of investigation, ignores individuals and histories full of ideological a priori in favour of 'et cetera'; he thus rejects universalism and adopts a panoramic view, in order to explain how one epistemic approach, 'discursive practice,' could change in preference to another – the principle of reversal. Language defines identities and differences but for Foucault classification defines discourse possibilities – its epistemology. Discourse is treated as discontinuous, separated but not exclusive, juxtaposed practices - study must therefore begin with discourse and look for conditions of possibility; this is the principle of externality. Power is exerted through the boundaries of discourse possibility that alters consciousness. Changed discourses simply reflect changed power relations. MACEY, D. The lifes of Michael Foucault. New York: Pantheon Books. 1993.

[10]Adopting a Foucauldian approach this part of the work aims to analyse the construction of the discourse themes in order to explain how the texts were created and under what conditions. The themes are treated as explaining the construction of reality, demonstrating association not causation.

The starting assumption was that a distinctive language of market values existed. The first task was to identify keywords that encapsulated semantic validity as far as the further education sector was concerned. In order to achieve this fifteen employees were chosen randomly and asked to compile a list of words they would used to describe the current attributes of the further education sector. This revealed that at the orientation stage of the verbal planning procedure they functioned with two approaches to the role of education represented by two unique notions namely commercial institutions and caring institutions. These two codes are used throughout this work as tools to evaluate the discourse over time.[11]

A selection of government circulars, administrative memoranda and White Papers beginning in 1944, a watershed for further education, through to 1997 are used to represent government discourse over time, selection being conditioned by the need to represent each ten year period as fairly as possible. The first part of the research adopts a traditional qualitative historian's approach - documents are analysed to identify any consistent or changing themes against sequential history. This revealed several language themes, which are used to explain how people were able to think differently. In order to check and balance the historian's approach a selection of documents are further subjected to quantitative content analysis using the Oxford Concordance Programme (OCP). This provided a basic summation of the relative frequency of words in each document. So that trends and themes could be tested and this enabled the validity of the two coding themes to be tested. An added advantage was that the themes could be matched to political control and any discourse skewing could be isolated.

The thesis then returns to a more traditional social administration approach it by putting together a picture of the way in which the financial model subjects the colleges to change. Again state of the art discourse is used to isolate new trends, which are then compared with the drivers of the government's funding methodology in order to evaluate the colleges' ability to manage the market in which the Government has placed them.

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[11] The language themes are presented in chapter eight.

So far the thesis has been concerned with the attempts to change the colleges approach to education and whether there has indeed been a change. The next step investigates how those involved were affected. Since there are some four hundred colleges in the further education sector a case study approach was adopted - of the thirty contacted four colleges were selected for this purpose. Three of the colleges were mainstream and, before incorporation, were managed by the LEA, they are similar in size, competitive position and portfolio of courses. A private sector college was selected for comparison.

A pilot study revealed poor response rates to questionnaires and problems in understanding business language; as a result interviews became the better option even given the limitation that social constructs would alter the normal narrative structure of conversation.[12] A narrow focus was also considered a better mechanism for identifying a second dimension of communication that of paralinguistic discourse.[13] This posed a further difficulty in that the principal in the private colleges expressed concerns that most of her staff were hourly paid. It was thus agreed that her staff would answer the new questions as a questionaire. This posed a new problem in that the results would not be able to be used as a direct comparison. However, the research was still considered reliable in that it would produce similar results. This was particularly so as the penetrating question designed to evaluate any paralinguistic discourse was not intended to be addressed to the private college because it already functioned in a market environment the new context for the other colleges.

Given the sensitivity of the research the following conditions were agreed at the first meeting with the principals: all information would be treated as confidential; all respondents would be anonymous; the principals would see any questionnaires in advance and arrange access to members of staff; members of staff were to be given the option of participating in the research; the principals would have an opportunity to read

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[12]Any interview will change the context of conversation. HAMMERSLEY, M. and ATKINSON, P .Ethnograpy: principals in practice London: Tavistock. 1983.
[13] The non-verbal attributes in the signal store express subjective experience, which is beyond speech. BERNSTEIN, B. Class, Codes, and Control, Vol. 2: theoretical studies towards a sociology of language. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1973.

the final report. Although this increased the potential for the responses to be subject to political correctness this limitation was in itself seen to reflect the power of discourse.

The selection of interviewees was determined by the need to represent a vertical slice of the organisation in order that the findings could be extrapolated – they include the four principals together with three heads of department and three lecturers in each college.

The interviews with the four principals commence in 1991 and are repeated in 1996 in order that a comparison can be made.[14] In order to limit the general anecdotal nature of qualitative research the notes taken at the interviews were used to identify any common themes and linked assumptions. For ease of analysis the findings are presented under four specific headings adapted from Cameron's criteria for diagnosing corporate culture: namely, management style and focus; managers as change agents; competitive freedom; their the organisational decision-making process.[15] The interviewees' responses are then matched to the benchmarks to evaluate once again whether the principals are better or less able to manage the competitive environment in which they are now located. They are also evaluated by the use of the two language themes.

In 1996 three heads of department and three lecturers from each college, with at least ten years experience in the organisation, were interviewed in order to be able to compare and contrast perspectives of change as seen by the participants.[16] Again, the responses are evaluated using the two language themes and presented under three headings; namely, organisational behaviour, organisational style, and leadership style used to compare with the principal's perceptions of their own styles. Finally, in order to evaluate the emotional context the respondents were asked to reflect upon the process of change and their feelings about it. This revealed the absence of nostalgic

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[14]For ease of analysis the questions are included in chapter ten and for the remaining staff chapter 11.
[15] CAMERON, K. and WHETTON, D. An assessment of salient management skills. In QUINN, R. Beyond rational management: mastering the paradoxes and competing demands on hogh performance. p.142-8. London: Jossey-Bass. 1988.
[16]SILVERMANN, D. Interpreting qualitative data: methods for analysing talk, text and interaction. London: Sage. 1993.

reflection and a theme of demonisation and went some way to explain the evident lack of professional resistance. It also provided some evidence for considering that changed behaviour did not imply changed thinking.

A critical evaluation of the methodological approach is included in chapter twelve.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE FURTHER EDUCATION SECTOR

Despite its significant growth over the last fifty years the further education sector is very difficult to define and its identity has never been clear. It has been suggested that: "as used in official documents and statistics, it [further education] is something of a term of art."[1] In 1944 the term further education referred to all post-compulsory education, but, as the system developed, two distinct market sectors have evolved; these two sectors are now referred to as higher and further education.

Further education institutions include: agriculture and horticulture colleges; art, design and performing arts colleges; general further education and tertiary colleges; sixth form colleges; universities who have a significant market share of post-compulsory non-advanced education. This work concentrates on the general further education colleges who provide courses for 82% of post-compulsory full-time students and 96% of part-time students attending colleges funded by the FEFC.[2] Further education colleges are the most common location for off-the-job training.[3]

Courses in further education are divided into two categories of level, advanced and non-advanced; in the main, higher education delivers advanced courses whilst further education delivers non-advanced. Non-advanced further education is defined in the Annual Monitoring Survey as comprising all courses not defined as higher education up to and including A level and BTEC National. However, further education colleges have a history of providing some advanced further education alongside non-advanced education. Indeed, from 1992 it became common for further education colleges to provide franchise services to universities; thus a further education college's portfolio can include BTEC Higher National and the first years of Bachelor Degree courses.

A further education college's remit within its sector has never been clearly focused, tending to evolve rather than to be determined. A contributory factor has been that Britain, unlike most developed countries, has not had a written constitution; there has thus been no

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[1] MOE. 1959. 15-18: Central Advisory Council for Education, England. Crowther Report. London: HMSO. 1959/60.
[2] DFEE. 1998. Funding methodology- projections for 1998-9. Circular 97/04.
[3] DFEE. 1996. Training Statistics - statistical vol. DFEE.

systematic organisation between government, the levels of government, and the individual colleges.[4] Largely left to use their own discretion, further education colleges have developed by responding to local needs.

However, two forms of legislation do affect further education colleges these are Act of Parliament, primary legislation, and statutory instruments, secondary legislation. An Act of Parliament often results from a government decision that becomes formalised when the Bill receives the Royal Assent. Most of the legal requirements imposed on further education colleges are in the statutory instruments, the regulations.[5]

There are also two other formal communication channels from central government to the colleges, circulars and administrative memoranda; through this process the Secretary of State and the Department of Education and Science offer guidance which is not enforceable by law but tends to have considerable impact since non-compliance can bring about the imposition of sanctions via other regulations. Indeed, the growth in government activity since 1945 has blurred the division of administration and government to such an extent that Heclo and Wildavsky refer to civil servants and politicians jointly as "political administrators."[6]

Extra-governmental institutions as well as other interest groups can influence parliamentary procedure; Green Papers as well as White Papers are signals of the interests and approaches of the government of the day but also form a forum for discussion and alteration. Similarly, reports from Select Committees allow for differences of opinion, approaches and values to be aired.

The analysis of need for further education takes place at three levels - these are: national needs which are normally developed through central committees; regional needs, which are usually developed through the Regional Advisory Councils; local needs, which are normally LEA or college based. Early on in the development of the further education colleges there evolved a tradition of local autonomy and democracy. As the system of

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[4] O'HARA, R. The legal structure of further and higher education. In WAITT, I. ed. College administration. London: Longman and NATFHE. 1988.
[5] Statutory instruments describe an Act in detail and are enforceable by law.

further education developed a complex power net of influencing agents surrounded the further education colleges' which included: parents and the learners; a plethora of bureaucratic agencies within the educational field;[7] employers; examination bodies who have statutory control over courses and curricula; and the government of the day. With different and opposing objectives on policy and practice the colleges became chameleonic actors.

In 1979, the Conservative administration increased its interest in further education and began to link them more directly to market need; it thus launched itself into an arena previously held sacrosanct by the professional educationalists. Since then, radical changes have altered the way the further education colleges carry out their business. In order to tell the story about what influenced the development of further education colleges over the last fifty years, and to test the Government's right to bring about change, we need to look back through the formal and informal channels that helped determine them.

Influencing Agents: a philosophical inheritance

The culture and style of further education colleges and their position in the hierarchy of the system have much to do with the way in which popular education developed in the UK. The system developed within the context of Christian faith a doctrine that has a promise of equal opportunity in the belief of the brother-hood of man.[8] From early times control by authority was thought essential to ensure that ignorant learners would reach deeper spiritual depths, the higher academic plane.[9] From the second century onwards an individual's political life was deemed subordinate to that of the spiritual life.[10] At the same time, civil government became identified as a divine institution.[11] Therefore, in its early

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[6]HELCO, H. and WILDAVSKY, A. The private government of public money. London: Macmillan. 1974.
[7]The changing face of further education. FEU. part two. 1985.
[8]Paul in the Galations states "There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female: for all ye are one man in Jesus Christ". Galations Chapter 3 v 28.
[9]Augustine writes "Two great roads lead to wisdom, authority and reason. One is for the ignorant, the other for the educated. Although reason is the greater authority comes first for ignorance precedes education." It was not enough to know what was right, it was important to have the right habits.
[10]Christ's teaching is captured here: "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things which are God's" St Mark, Chapter 12 v. 17.
[11]Often quoted as the first important words of political thought: St. Paul wrote in the Epistle to the Romans: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers for there is no power but of God: the powers

beginnings the state existed to ensure and defend justice and it set rules which the population was expected to obey.

By the 1600s a system of education had evolved; Francis Bacon in particular was critical of its distance from reality, particularly for some classes in the population which can be seen in the following:

> "These four causes concurring, the admiration of ancient authors, the hate of schoolmen, the exact study of languages, and the efficacy of preaching, did bring in an affectionate study of eloquence and copy of speech, which then began to flourish...men began to hunt more after words than matter; and more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence....than after the weight of the matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgement.......Then grew the learning of the schoolmen to be utterly despised as barbarous. But the excess of this is so justly contemptible..........For the wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuff, and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh its web, then it is endless, and brings forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit."[12]

Very early on in the development of the education system the educational needs of the gentleman were met whilst the working man rejected that system on the grounds of practical uselessness. Despite this, by the late eighteenth century there was a network of charity schools providing education for the poor, which emulated that of the gentleman. To become "educated" however was not a popular path for the majority of the population.

The text also demonstrates Bacon's frustration with the discipline of education so firmly rooted in the past. Classical education was now common, the curriculum tended to be based on a study of classical authors and languages so that the learner could demonstrate

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that are to be ordained by God" Romans, Chapter 13 v.1. The magistrate thus became identified as God's servant.

[12]BACON, F. Advancement of learning. Book 1. 1605. In JARMAN, L. Landmarks of education: English education as part of the European tradition. London : John Murray. 1966.

the acquisition of knowledge and express himself in writing and speech. Indeed Milton claimed that examinations added nothing to the pursuit of knowledge simply consisting of attacking or defending abstract theses.[13] The tradition of classical learning based on the demonstration of acquired knowledge has proved slow to change.

By the middle of the eighteenth century owners of large estates had both political and social power. The Church developed close associations with the estate owners, providing careers for their poorer younger sons, thus the voice of the Church was influenced by their power. The Industrial Revolution witnessed the demise of feudal social order and generated unprecedented social policy needs. Although idealists had pursued popular education the industrial revolution created an increasing demand for skilled working men making it necessary to organise a system of education for the general population.

From the eighteenth century onwards, the rights of the individual expressed by government replaced the power of the monarch. Rousseau,[14] Locke[15] and later Bentham[16] emphasised the importance of social improvement through education for economic advancement. The development of popular education was also influenced by the context of laissez-faire; within this paradigm the ignorance of the working man was identified as a consequence of natural laws and any changes deemed dangerous. In contrast, many voluntary societies espoused a doctrine of progress through enlightenment. Given the philosophical Christian context, the need for a national system of popular education became expressed as a social motive: raising awareness of the masses to their opportunities would serve ultimately to reduce injustice and corruption.

The emerging system of public education thus inherited a culture of voluntary learning based on a system of payment by results. The Anglican tradition significantly influenced

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[13]MILTON. J. Private correspondence and academic exercises. Translated by Phyllis Tillyard, p 67-73. 1932

[14]Writing before the Industrial Revolution Rousseau envisaged the idea of the free individual in a free state. Rousseau was against instruction and in favour of learning by experience, which he argued, should precede reason for true understanding. ROUSSEAU. In JARMAN, T.L. Landmarks in the History of Education. London: John Murray Ltd. 1966.

[15]Locke regarded the human mind as a blank altered by experience thus for him knowledge was an outcome of experience and reflection. LOCKE, J. Essay concerning human understanding, 1690. In JARMAN, T. L Landmarks in the History of Education. London : John Murray Ltd. 1966.

the context because part-time provision for the poor, though small, had been provided largely through Sunday Schools. Alongside this, property owners' power dominated via patronage, the provision of evening classes or factory schools.[17] It was thus argued that the system of public education transmitted the status quo because it represented the interests of the upper classes: which in turn biased the curriculum towards the classics.[18]

Demand for a national system of education continued to grow, finally culminating in the Education Act 1870, however, the introduction of elementary public education seems to have been driven by economic needs rather than social imperatives.[19] Indeed, a principle of compulsory attendance underpinned the Elementary Education Act 1870, which created the culture of government intervention.

After 1870, investment in education increasingly came from the state through indirect taxation. Further education acts in 1876 and 1880 made elementary education compulsory up to the age of twelve. Funded by government grants and local education rates expansion was rapid. Radical changes to the curriculum included a wider variation of subjects and sports.[20] In 1895, the educational system was restructured to include a central Board of Education and local authorities were the responsibility to provide secondary education.[21] The Education Act 1921 made parents involvement in their child's education a legal obligation. Alongside this, interest groups pushed for the increase in popular education one such was the Workers Educational Association, created in 1903, it provided non-vocational learning. Technical education was slow to develop.

Influencing Agents: the hierarchy of occupation.

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[16]Jeremy Bentham founded the doctrine of Utilitarianism. According to this view training could increase intellectual capability thus a corrupt government could not have power over an enlightened people. Education would thus diminish injustice.
[17]BLAUG, M. The economics of education in English classical political economy: A re-examination. In SKINNER, A. and WILSON, T. Essays on Adam Smith. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p. 595. 1975.
[18]HARRIS, J. Private lives, public spirit: Britain 1870-1994. London: Penguin. 1993.
[19]Education Act 1970.
[20] Report of the royal commission on the elementary education acts. Cross Report. 1888.
[21] Report on the Royal Commission on Secondary Education. Bryce Report. 1895.

Throughout the 1900s the growth in industrialisation created a growth in professionalisation. Qualifications had always been required for the elite professions however gentlemen had been brought up to abstract from reality as industrialisation gained momentum the number of publicly educated industrialists increased significantly.[22]

Along side this, a hierarchy of profession desirability emerged; finance careers gained kudos because accountants did not get their hands dirty their professions became regarded as high status "gentlemen's" careers. Pure engineering became low status simply because it implied a hands on approach; technical engineering gained a slightly higher status. Selling and marketing became viewed as low status occupations because of their closeness to the vulgarities of commercialism and profit.[23]

Traditional class consciousness thus became newly expressed in a hierarchy of occupation: the social context thus drove the education system to supply a hierarchy of specialism which placed liberal, classical, studies above the study of science which had practical implications. Coupled with this the scientific revolution contributed to the belief that intelligence could be measured; this legitimised the division of the educational system and occupation. Reflecting this, in 1945, schools were divided into intellectual capabilities that matched occupational choice. Though policy making continued government interest focused on the compulsory system seriously affecting the post-compulsory sector provision for lower status occupations. Paradoxically, increasing industrialisation created a growing demand for training in those areas. The gap in educational provision epitomised the social division between "good" professions and trade.

A system of apprenticeships had grown with the needs of manufacturing but this tended to be job specific. Paradoxically, technical knowledge was advancing fast; by 1852 the Germans, a major competitor, had established technical schools to meet those changing demands. In response to growing global competition, the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 finally empowered local authorities to impose a levy to establish technical education. Despite this, provision for technical education appears to have grown haphazardly.

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[22]WEINER, M. English culture and the decline of the industrial spirit. London: Penguin Books. 1992.
[23]WEINER, M. English culture and the decline of the industrial spirit. op. cit.

Initially the government had no control over the voluntary system of technical education, which was provided mainly by the City and Guilds Institute, founded in 1880, and by evening institutes. The growing demand for technical expertise and adult education led to an increase in the number of independent universities, although it was 1889 before the Treasury provided any grants for the growth of this sector. Without regulation, evening institutes and day release programmes providing practical and commercial education expanded.

In 1899, the Government finally took control and created a member of the Government as president of a new Board of Education; legislation, however, did not change and government could only fund elementary education. With a Conservative administration the 1902 Education Act heralded a re-organisation of the education system and ensured public provision of secondary education, local education authorities now had responsibility for provision, they took over the evening institutes, and grants were paid directly them. Dual responsibility for education provision remained split between the LEA and the voluntary organisations. Even so, the opportunity now existed for a child, independent of income, to climb the intellectual ladder; social class and income continued, however, to limit that opportunity.

In 1906, with a Labour administration in charge, the Imperial College of Science and Technology was established in the University of London; although this could have changed the image of technical training it was not until 1922 that the Institute of Mechanical Engineers and the Board of Education established certificated awards in advanced technical expertise. Technical education remained distanced from political interest.

Market failure in the provision of technical qualifications continued. There was a popular cultural aspiration bias against it and rapid industrialisation caused ad hoc growth thus no cohesive pattern existed to attract participants; government ultimately had to intervene.

Educational reforms mirrored the belief that if popular education increased, injustice would decrease; in other words, knowledge was power. Other reforms were also taking place indeed in the 1930s Sir William Beveridge led a discourse on a programme of social

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security. In 1942, driven by broad public demand, he was asked to survey the existing social insurance and allied services. Against a background of rising unemployment, and public hatred for the old poor laws,[24] the possibility of maintaining employees during a period of unemployment became part of the political agenda; essentially each individual now had the right to a basic income independent of the scale of need.[25] Beveridge proposed one organisation, the Ministry of Social Security, to administer benefits financed by a flat rate imposed on the insured with levels of benefits as a right. This killed support for the poor based on punishment and broke with traditional insurance established through mutual-benefit societies.

Both the Beveridge Report and the education reconstruction programme assumed that a public health service would be established; with government protection a national system of health was established in 1948. The vision of the social revolution included a complete package of welfare. It is in this context that the challenge to an elite's right to educational advantage became part of the political and social agenda and culminated in the 1944 Education Act.

The Reconstruction Programme

During 1943 plans began to be made to recast the system of education; these decisions were taken by a national government led by Winston Churchill with a Conservative minister in charge of education. The intention was that after full-time compulsory schooling ended young people would continue under "educational influences" until the age of 18.[26]

A White Paper in 1943 [27] made it clear that more students could attain greater levels of achievement and that existing provision was so inadequate that it failed to meet the needs

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[24]The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars had created an approach by government centred on keeping workers under control. The system relied on establishing those who were eligible in a context where it was believed that the natural tendency was for the lazy to be poor. The system thus became penal.
[25]Social Insurance and Allied Services. Report by Sir William Beveridge, presented to Parliament by command of Her Majesty, Nov. 1942. Cmnd. 6406. London: The Macmillan Co. 1942.
[26]MOE. 1943. Education Reconstruction. Cmnd 6458. paragraph 3. London: HMSO.
[27]Education Reconstruction. op. cit.

of the majority of young people. The provision of technical education was considered particularly poor.

The intention of the reconstruction programme was that all young people would attend secondary education. Those from the age of fifteen to eighteen not in full-time education were to attend a college part-time, for one day a week. The already established youth service was seen as playing an important part, there was also to be increased opportunities for adult education; further education colleges looked the likely candidates to fulfil that need.[28] The recasting of the system, however, was intended to achieve much more than this; it was couched in egalitarian terms - "the Government's purpose...is to ensure a fuller measure of education and opportunity for young people and to provide means for all of developing the various talents with which they are endowed and so enriching the inheritance of the country whose citizens they are.... It is just as important to achieve diversity as it is to ensure equality of educational opportunity."[29] The intention of the reconstruction programme was to alter Britain's social relations.

Alongside the changes in the national education service, a system of inspection and registration of schools and new financial and administrative arrangements for the voluntary schools was also to be put in place.

The 1944 Act considerably increased the responsibilities and power of central government where the education service was concerned. In retrospect, it is difficult to be sure what finally brought about these radical changes. It is clear that the post war climate contained a popular demand for radical reform, which would go some way to provide equal opportunity. On the other hand, as early as 1918 the Labour Party pledge included developing educational opportunities and working class pioneers had demanded access to educational provision as a main instrument of social change.[30]

It is also a matter of record that the growth in support for the Labour Party had effectively driven voting powers to become redistributed amongst a wider population. Signs of

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[28] The Youth Service was brought in just after the war started in order to extend recreational training so that young people could use their leisure wisely.

[29] Education Reconstruction. p3. op. cit.

[30] WEBB, S. Labour and the new social order. Adopted by the Labour Party conference in 1918.

political convergence emerged as the Conservative Party made attempts to attract these voters at the same time as the Labour Party, after the failure of the General Strike in the 1930s, had to make some efforts to retain their disillusioned voters. The redistribution of voting powers thus served to make policy popularity a significant player in public policy making, causing the Conservative Party to make some moves to pacify the broader electorate and Labour to become better known for supporting an individual's rights at work.

Beer suggests that such was the level of political convergence the rhetoric of elections began to change: "General elections consisted less of pitched battles between opposing groups. As class and ideological contours faded, groups appeared as more prominent features of the political scene."[31]

As politics converged to deliver what pleased the post-war electorate interest groups began to have a significant impact on the formation of the education system; perhaps because of this the system of private education provision was never demolished certainly private provision continued to thrive alongside the growing development of public provision based on egalitarian principles.

Whilst popular education could be justified by all political ideologies, the wide scale government intervention programme, which developed in the minds of policy makers in the 1940s fitted more comfortably with Labour Party ideology than Conservative political ideology.[32] The monetarists in particular were against state intervention, believing it to crowd out private investment they thus preferred solutions driven by the market. In July 1945 a Labour Government took office with Clement Atlee as Prime Minister.

The outstanding feature of the Education Act 1944 was that all children passed on to some form of secondary education. Contributing to the direction that the reforms would take were several earlier important reports, namely the Hadow report,[33] the Spens report[34] and

[31]BEER, S. Modern British politics: a study of parties and pressure groups. London. p. 113. 1965.
[32]Whilst popular education was a central tenet of social revolution it provided at the same time the growth in skills needed to meet market demand.
[33]Board of Education. The education of the adolescent: report of the consultative committee. London: HMSO. 1927.

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the Norwood report.[35] Together these reports established the principle of an education system consisting of two stages, elementary and secondary.

The Hadow Report suggested that the secondary school system be designed to fit different student types, the system of reform in 1944 thus consisted of testing students at the end of the first stage. The grammar school, which already existed in the system, offered an academic curriculum. The secondary modern school offered a general education and was targeted at the majority of students. The technical schools also provided a general education but with an industrial bias; indeed the Spens Report particularly refers to the need for a generous provision of technical schools because of the poor record of participation in this area compared to the industrial demand.

Perhaps more importantly, the Spens Report highlighted the need for parity of status between each of the sectors to ensure participation. Paradoxically, public schools remained - indeed the Fleming Report suggested a system of free places within those schools this served to legitimise retention of the public schools.[36]

The Education Act 1944 thus put in place a statutory system organised in three progressive stages, primary, secondary and further education it also raised the period of compulsory education, financed by indirect taxes, to fifteen with provision to increase it to sixteen. All fee paying ceased in the local authority schools and the establishment of the new system was made the duty of the local authority. Whilst the intention of the Act was that those who choose to leave school aged fifteen were to have free compulsory part-time education in "young people's" colleges which was to consist of, or be equivalent to, one day in the working week, the Act did not make education for these young people compulsory.

Of course, the size and complexity of the expansion programme had major financial implications for government and implied a growth in bureaucracy to manage it. Given the initial teething problems, local authorities were given considerable discretion to act,

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[34]Board of Education. Report of the consultative committee on secondary education. London: HMSO. 1938.
[35]Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools. Norwood Report. London: HMSO. 1943.
[36]The public schools and the general educational system. Flemming Report. London: HMSO. 1944.

particularly where further education was concerned, so that progression towards the vision of the 1944 Act could reflect local needs.

As the further education sector grew so did the recognition that there were two distinct categories of level in further education and government became more concerned with the advanced sector than the non-advanced. Without clear direction, the development of the non-advanced sector began to be affected by the power plays of stakeholders other than the Government

Influencing Agents: Post-1944

With a change from a National Government to a Labour administration in 1945, the speed of growth in further education was staggering - by 1947 there were 680 establishments, double the number of 1938. Similarly, the number of full-time students had increased by 130% and the number of part-time day students had trebled;[37] this was partly associated with the employers' willingness to release young people for study during working hours. Women returning from national service increased the demand for what was called "the domestic front" instruction, namely domestic science. Representing the social climate of the times, provision for women in drama, music and public affairs continued to be provided by the voluntary sector.[38] Increased demand for education put upward pressure on provision for accommodation and teaching staff.

The need for increased technical and commercial abilities continued to be stated as key to increased economic performance; to attain that increase in participation in technical professions, however, has proved to be a very difficult task and has much to do with how the compulsory education sector developed.

Influencing Agents: socially defined "cleverness" and its impact on the development of further education colleges.

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[37]Further Education, 1946-1947 Major Establishments(other than Arts), Ministry of Education.
[38]The National Federation of Women's Institutes and the National Union of Townswomen's Guilds.

Even given the demands made by the industrial revolution the cultural bias against practical achievement seemed to permeate the educational system; popular aspirations continued to encompass an anti-industrial bias.[39] The aim of the 1944 Act appeared to challenge this historical culture, to attempt to provide equal opportunity and parity of talent difference but to achieve this the educational system had also to challenge the social context which was biased towards upper class values. However, that very social context had influenced knowledge in such a way that terms such as "bright" and "clever" were no longer value-free; they had become metaphors to describe someone who was "academically" strong, not practical.

Participation in a grammar school education offered a route to social privilege and material wealth and there was increasing competition for places. Secondary schools and technical schools were seen as less prestigious than grammar schools. The achievement of parity between the schools was further limited by the selection procedure biased towards the purely academic learner. Despite the early warnings of Bacon and Milton, and against the spirit of the 1944 Act, the educational system continues to benefit those who are defined by society as "clever." This disregards, or at least places second, the needs of the majority of learners.

This alienation process has had a particular impact on those "other" learners because assessment techniques assumed learning as a process of abstract thinking. Principles, rules and exceptions were taught and academic capability demonstrated through testing the application of those rules and exceptions. Functional context theorist's argue that this measurement of cognitive development ignores learners who learn by doing thus they identify the learning forum as well as the selection criteria as biased. "Other" learners faced with tests based on abstract principles are more likely to fail; they thus become branded as "failures," paradoxically reinforcing the legitimacy of the "bright" to better life styles.

The system of education thus serves to reinforce the cultural bias, which in turn isolates, and can disillusion potential FCT learners. Indeed, mainly the middle and upper working classes have used the meritocratic educational route, a central tenet of welfare state

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[39]WEINER, M. English culture and the decline of the industrial spirit. London: Penguin Books. 1992.

provision.[40] Developing the cognitive process with these "other" learners implies the need for a different educational system; where the learning process is keyed into their individual experience, because they learn so that they can apply it.[41] There are, of course, many reasons why individuals reject school, or become apathetic to the traditional authoritarian classroom learning mechanism, other than lack of ability. Indeed from 1944, there is a growing number of references suggesting that provision for these individuals has been unsatisfactory;[42] parity between different types of achievement, a vision of the 1944 Act, therefore remains a dream.

Influencing Agents: The Department of Education and Science[43]

In 1895 the Bryce Report had pointed to the lack of coherence of the secondary school system, made worse by the power plays of three significant agencies, the Education Department, the Science and Art Department and the Charity Commissions.[44] In 1899 radical reforms amalgamated the agencies under the Board of Education and in the 1902 Education Act national education became administered by county councils and county borough councils. The Education Act 1944 replaced the Board of Education with the Ministry of Education, which became responsible for policy and practice; thus the reforms provided increased central authority over the system. In 1964 the Ministry of Education amalgamated with the Ministry of Science forming the Department of Education and Science. The minister, a member of the cabinet, became the Secretary of State for Education appointed by the government of the day.

The DES's remit was to allocate resources, establish policy and evaluate the quality of provision in schools and further and higher education. Three branches of the DES dealt specifically with further education. One division influenced the formation of the Local Education Authorities policy on higher education in liaison with the Council for National

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[40]HARRIS, J. Private lives, public spirit: Britain 1870-1994. Penguin. 1993.
[41]Functional Context Theory maintains that the biological make-up of human beings and the context in which they function determines what will be learned, how it will be learned, and how the learning will be used (transfer).STICHT, T. Functional Context Education. Basic Skills. Dec/Jan. 1996/7.
[42] Crowther Report 1959 and Schools Governing Council 1972
[43]The description of the DES and its role relies heavily on the College Administration Handbook. Ed M. LOCKE and others. London: Longman. 1980.
[44]Royal Commission on Secondary Education 1894-85.

Academic Awards,[45] and consulted with the National Advisory Body for Public Sector Higher Education.[46] The second branch included non-advanced further education was responsible for links between education and industry particularly engineering training for sixteen-nineteen year olds; later the DES also worked in tandem with the Manpower Services Commission. It was also responsible for the development and policy of the youth service. The third division was responsible for the examining and validating of awarding bodies; it thus maintained close contact with the British Education Council.[47] It also influenced curricula matters and liaised with the Further Education Unit[48] and the Further Education Staff College.[49] It was also concerned with policy for adult and continuing education, general student advisory services and financial support; its remit thus covered advanced and non-advanced further education.

The development of the further education sector, particularly that associated with non-advanced education, was subject to a field of tensions which included needs as seen by the DES, essentially educationalists, and by the MSC who had a practical work bias.

The relationship between the DES and the LEA, representing local government, was said to be a partnership. Indeed the college administrative handbook describes this relationship: "Whereby the (local) authorities do not enjoy total freedom of action but are more than the agents of the Secretary of State."[50] A "partnership" concept implies a working relationship that engenders respect for each other's views. During the 1980s the speed of legislative changes, driven by the then Conservative administration gained momentum marking the

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[45]Established in 1964 its purpose was to validate higher education courses and to award degrees and diplomas. It operated through a system of subject boards; these included teacher representation. In 1984 the Conservative Government commissioned an inquiry to evaluate its effectiveness and efficiency. The committee recommended that some public sector institutions be able to award their own degrees.
[46]The National Advisory Board was introduced in 1981 by the Conservative Government to oversee the advanced further education finance pool. In 1985 fundamental changes to the distribution of funding led NAB to advocate a reduction in unit costs to ensure increased access.
[47]The Business and Technical Education Council was formed in 1983 by the amalgamation of the Business Education Council and the Technician Education Council. The chair of the Council and up to 25 members are appointed by the Secretary of State. Its remit is to establish qualifications and validate the process and outcome of courses.
[48]The Further Education Curriculum review was set up by the DES in 1977. In 1983 it became a limited company and was re-named the Further Education Unit; in 1986 finally became independent. Much of its work reviews and evaluates curricula and is research based.
[49]The staff college is funded by local authorities and provides courses, conferences and constancy services.
[50]O'HARA, R. The legal structure of further and higher education. In College Administration Waitt I et al ed. p 33. London:Longman and NATFHE. 1980.

demise of the partnership arrangement. At the same time, the DES appeared to be losing influence to the MSC, particularly where further non-advanced education was concerned.

Influencing Agents: The Local Education Authority

From 1944 the Secretary of State had a duty to encourage participation in popular education and to ensure that the LEA complied with the national policy[51] and could exert power over the LEA should it be remiss in its duty;[52] in practice this power has rarely been exerted. The LEA has no remit to act unless Parliament legislates but where legislation is not specific it can interpret the law as it sees it thus resist the implementation of Government policies.[53]

Whilst the codification of the relationship between parties involved in further education provision is unclear in law case law has established that although the Secretary of State is the final arbitrator those decisions made about popular education can be challenged in the courts.[54] Similarly, LEA discretion can be challenged in the courts.[55]

Whilst the LEA had a duty to make adequate provision for the education service from 1944, and where asked to submit a scheme to the Secretary of State for the development of

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[51]Education Act 1944, section 1: to promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose, and to secure the effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive education service in every area.

[52]Section 77 of the 1944 Act enabled the Secretary of State to ask Her Majesty's Inspectorate to inspect premises. Section 93 enabled the Secretary of State to commission enquires. Section 99 enabled the Secretary of State to declare an LEA or governing body remiss in their statutory duty.

[53]The Education Act 1976, which required LEAs to commence comprehensive education, was simply delayed by some LEAs until the next election in the hopes that it would then be repealed.

[54]In 1976 in the Metropolitan Borough of Thameside the Conservative council reversed the decision by the Labour council to introduce comprehensive education. The Labour Secretary of State directed. the Conservative council to proceed. The elected Conservative council of Thameside challenged this directive and won. The House of Lords rejected the Secretary of State's appeal. Whilst it was upheld that the Secretary was given discretion under section 68 of the 1944 Act to judge what was reasonable action in the field of education this did not exclude judicial review of the Secretary of State's view of unreasonable action. O'HARA R. op. cit.

[55]In Meade v. London Borough of Haringay 1979 the LEA closed schools because of industrial action by school caretakers and ancillary staff on the grounds that to keep them open would exacerbate industrial action. A group of parents asked the Secretary of State to challenge this decision, a right given to her under Section 99 of the Act. The Secretary of State concluded that no breach of duty had occurred. A judicial review of this decision held that by using the complaints procedure available to them the parents did not preclude their right to challenge the decision in the courts. OHARA R. op. cit.

this service, variations in the service provided by LEAs were common;[56] the legal requirement for "adequate" provision in the Act was differently interpreted. Such was the level of discretion given to the LEAs that no county colleges were established even though it was clearly indicated in the Act that they were needed for the development of the further education non-advanced sector.[57]

Nevertheless, from 1944 the LEA had a duty to provide full and part time education and leisure activities for those over the school leaving age indeed schemes had to include: "full-time vocational courses, for those wishing to take up employment or to advance their career, part-time courses day and evening for those in work and courses of all kinds to meet leisure needs."[58] Initially, priority for further education was given to those whose training had been interrupted by the war; full-time participation by mature students was thus established and remains in further education colleges today.[59]

In 1946 a system for the co-ordination of further education provision was established which consisted of nine Regional Advisory Councils. They reported directly to the Secretary of State and their task was to reduce repetition by providing and monitoring a national service; however, their powers have been consistently eroded.

The structure of local government in England and Wales until 1985 derived from the 1972 Act, which replaced the legislation from the 1944 Act.[60] The 1972 Act reorganised local government and the education function. The counties were subdivided into district councils, most of who were in turn sub-divided into parish councils. The tiers of local government was fuzzy, particularly those between county and district councils who jointly funded some services; tension began to emerge between the needs at local level and the needs at regional level.

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[56]Section 41: to secure the provision for their area of adequate facilities for further education. Further education encompassed full and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age and leisure time occupations (organised training and recreational activities.
[57]Section 43 identified the creation and maintenance of county colleges to ensure compliance with Section 42 of the Act.
[58]MOE. 1944. Further Education. No. 8. London: HMSO.
[59]MOE. 1948. Technical colleges and other further education establishments arrangements for the deferment of students in the calendar year 1984. Administrative Memoranda, 274/48.
[60]Local Government Act 1972.

Sadly, the lack of corresponding geographical boundaries for the Regional Advisory Councils and those of the Local Education Authorities created power bargaining between them; ultimately, this served to devalue the credibility of the Regional Advisory Councils as education advisors. The education system involved some hundred and five local educational authorities committee, whose appointments had to be approved by the Secretary of State, these comprised two thirds elected council members and a third specialists in education.[61]

Although local authorities were required to appoint a Chief Education Officer no job specification was provided; as a result the Chief Education Officer's role evolved through local definition. In general, the Chief Education Officer managed the Education Department and delegated power to Deputy Education Officers and further downwards to Senior Assistant Education Officers. In general, a Senior Assistant Education Officer was responsible for further education. In general teaching experience was considered an important attribute.

Some of the power to influence the provision of education was further delegated from the LEA to education committees; indeed the 1973 Act stated that LEAs had to consider reports from the education committees before decisions were made. These committees tended to have teacher representatives as well as representatives from business as co-opted members.[62] The education committee often delegated to sub-committees there was no consistency in the level of delegation which varied from one LEA to another.; central government had no control over the number or composition of these sub-committees.

The process of decision making involved a complicated relationship between the sub-committees which reported to the committee, which in turn reported to the council, the local education authority. Policy, and its effect on practice, tended to be the remit of the sub-committees; these decisions had to be approved by the full committee which in turn looked for approval from the full council; in this way the decision-making process was consultative and driven bottom-up. These arrangements varied at the local level. It was

[61] The 1944 Education Act had specified that the LEA had to include people with experience in education. Circular 8/73 further specified this into two-thirds elected members and one quarter to one third of co-opted members.

common for approval to be merely formal; as a result power to alter policy tended to be at the sub-committee level which in effect was free from central government control; this tended to lead to a disjointed and incrementalist approach to provision and practice driven by local influencing agents.

By 1958 it was said that the LEA had become the controlling agency in educational provision.[63] It began to be in the LEAs' interest to resist any hierarchical division of education provision at the national level because power would then be redirected to regional colleges and reduce the status of its local colleges.

In 1972, the Bains Report suggested that there was a need to have a management structure that could direct strategy, set objectives and monitor progress.[64] Most local authorities at this time created a corporate planning process. At the same time, LEAs employed inspectors and advisors to monitor quality; these teams also evolved in a locally differentiated manner. Tensions soon emerged between those operating at the strategic level, who tended to be administrators, and those at the management operations level, the sub-committees which contained the educationalists; a process of consultation was commonly used as a way of reducing those tensions.

Alongside this, other local authority departments could also affect education policy and practice, the most influential of which became the finance department. Similarly, the further education service was also affected by policy decisions made by the local authority with respect to sixteen-nineteen year olds, community programmes and adult education provision.[65]

The Local Government Act 1985 abolished the Greater London Council and the metropolitan counties and power was devolved to the counties. Signals began to emerge which suggested that the power of the LEA was to be further reduced.

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[62]The Local Government Act 1972 allowed those teaching in educational institutions to have the status of co-opted membership.

[63]MOE. 1959. The further education regulations. Circular 351. London: HMSO.

[64]The New Local Authorities: Management and Structure. London: HMSO. 1972.

[65]The provision of these services was left to the discretion of the local authority. Some services became the responsibility of the Recreation and Leisure Department rather than the Education Department. As adult education became differentiated further education colleges, previous providers of these services, became more financially vulnerable.

Influencing Agents: Manpower Services Commission

The Employment and Training Act 1973 established the foundations for The Manpower Services Commission, which came into being in 1974 to run the public employment and training service. The MSC is a government quango ultimately accountable to the Secretary of State for employment. After the election of Mrs Thatcher in 1979 there was a distinct shift of power in education matters away from the DES to the DOE, more particularly the MSC.

In line with the Government's approach, the MSC focused on education as work-related. It had two main tasks namely vocational education and training and employment and enterprise; its remit therefore covered the young learner, life- long learning and programmes to help the unemployed. The subsequent Youth Training Scheme,[66] the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative[67] and the Skills Training Agency[68] not only challenged the power of the LEA to influence educational practice, it also affected the custom and practice of further education colleges thus challenging professional autonomy.

The committee is appointed by the Secretary of State it comprises nine members three from the Trade Union Congress, three from the Confederation of British Industry, two from local associations and one representing the interests of those professionals in education. Fifty-eight area offices whose boundaries coincided with those of the Area Manpower Boards provide the upward consultative process.

Despite the paucity of educationalists in the decision making process the effect of the MSC on the further education colleges has been immense. It became increasingly responsible for funding short-term non-advanced education, in response colleges created short-term programmes which increasingly relied on part time staff, with short-term contracts - the colleges could not risk long term investment in staff. It also created

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[66]The Youth Training Scheme provided education and training with work experience for 16-18 year olds whether employed or unemployed. There are four outcomes: competence in a job or range of occupational skills; competence in a range of transferable schemes aimed to provide broad vocational core skills; ability to transfer skills and knowledge to new situations; personal effectiveness. Essentially the employers bear some costs as do training providers and the Government.

[67]The Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative focused on 14-18 year olds. Its aim was to bring about change toward a more practical curriculum and widen access to technology.

[68]The Skills Training Agency provides full cost recovery training courses.

competition for the colleges by introducing of work-based schemes and skills centres. The long-term financial security of the colleges became more subject to risk and to the whims of the market.

In 1985 the MSC launched the Responsive College Project, an attempt to stimulate changed behaviour in colleges by indirect funding. The Replan Initiative increased the development of the adult guidance service with the intention of increasing awareness of opportunities for further education.[69] The approach attempts to empower the student within the education market it involves the creation of individual learning plans specific to the needs of the student.[70]

By the late 1980s, alongside the increase in youth unemployment, the MSC had become a significant player as an influencing agent of the further education colleges. At the same time, it had begun to disenfranchise the LEAs' influence on the further education colleges. The increasing influence of a work-related bias towards educational advancement in a system formerly driven by educationalists created growing concern and controversy.

Influencing Agents: HM Inspectorate

After the 1944 Act the Secretary of State was required to ensure that inspections of the education system took place.[71] The inspectorate's remit was simply to evaluate the condition of the service and report to the Secretary of State. Once again, the Act did not define the remit of the inspectorate there was thus no clear national pattern of events. In general, the relationship between the colleges and the HMI was more one of a partnership towards improving service than a judgement on the service provided.

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[69]"The process of enabling individuals to evaluate their own development, identify learning needs, and choose the most appropriate ways to meet them in light of their personal circumstances; then to pursue and complete a learning programme, review their achievement, and identify their future goals" COOPER, C. Meeting the needs: educational guidance within HE. Educational Guidance News. Spring. 1990.

[70]The learning outcomes of guidance are: self-awareness, what an individual is like and what they want; opportunity awareness, what options are open to them; decision-making skills, how to go about making sensible decisions: transition skill, be aware and prepare for changes that need to be made. COOPER, C. Meeting the needs: educational guidance within HE. Educational Guidance News. Spring. 1990.

[71]Education Act 1944, Section 77.

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In 1983, in response to the Conservative Government's policy statement, HMI's remit became to monitor quality at the organisational level and report on provision at the local authority level.[72] The team of inspectors along and the terms of inspection increased in importance mainly because its reports now culminated in a system of grades made public.

Recently, further education colleges principals have began to respond to the grades given by the HMI. Indeed several principals referred to negotiation over recent grades..

Influencing Agents: government financing

Since the reconstruction programme in 1944 central government has had considerable power to influence further education; most of the funding derives directly or indirectly from three departments, the Treasury, the DES and the DOE. Non-advanced further education was the statutory duty of the LEA and was funded locally; the LEAs' income for the provision of education was reliant upon central government grants, with rates the only large independent source of income.

From 1974, the Manpower Services Commission partly financed work related non-advanced further education.[73] A national pooling system established in 1959 financed advanced further education.[74] However, responsibility for maintaining all institutions remained the responsibility of the LEA, which had considerable discretion in providing non-advanced further education.

The different ways of funding advanced and non-advanced further education led to confusion both for the institutions, providing both services, and for the local and national authorities who had problems differentiating these services thus allocating resources.

Prior to 1988, the normal procedure for financing took place in an informal context based on trust. Generally, the LEA had autonomy on how to spend the grants hence central government had no ultimate power to target an area. Funding was often a simple matter of

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[72]The Work of the HM Inspectorate in England and Wales. DES and the Welsh Office. 1983.
[73]Established under the Employment and Training Act 1973 its remit was to run the public employment and training service. By 1986 it funded 25% of work related non-advanced further education.

making the claims made equate with the sum supplied. On the other hand, negotiation between central and local government was a common part of the decision making process.[75]

Along the same informal lines, the local authority did not have a statutory duty to check spending incurred by the further education college; for this reason, prior to 1988 financial regulations were based on the concepts of trust and stewardship. Custom and practice gave the college principals considerable autonomy.

In 1987, the Conservative Government fundamentally changed the funding of higher education.[76] All polytechnics and those colleges offering a high proportion of advanced education were taken away from LEA control and funded through the Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council; these institutions also became independent corporate bodies. Buildings and assets were taken away from the LEA and given to the newly formed Polytechnics and Colleges Assets Board.

As already indicated, some of those colleges now funded under the new system provided non-advanced education; similarly, some of those colleges not covered by the new legislation offered advanced education. Agreements had to be reached between the LEA and the supplier organisations and between the PCFC and the further education colleges. In line with Conservative ideology, these agreements were funded by contract, implying the possibility of competition for the work. An increasing bid for central control was apparent at the same as the competitive arena for further education colleges was increased.

From the 1990s the PCFC conducted its own statistical surveys. In 1993, the classification by funding changed again and the incorporated colleges in the further education sector became funded by the Further Education Funding Council (FEFC), a government quango; further education colleges now had to bid for funding. The university sector came under the funding regime of the University Funding Council and the PCFC transferred to the Higher Education Funding Council (HEFCE).

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[74]The General Grants Regulations (Pooling Arrangements) established the advanced further education pool which merged with the Teacher Training pool in 1975.
[75]The Statutory Framework of Further Education. Coombe Lodge Report. Vol. 9 No. 8.1988.
[76]DES. 1987. Higher education: meeting the challenge. Cmnd 114. London: HMSO. April.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s there was a significant shift of financing agents towards the centre and away from the LEA. At the same time, government funding responsibility was out-sourced to quangos over which professional educators and the public voice had no control; the Government thus had an effective mouthpiece with limited public association with interventionism.

Influencing Agents: teachers in further education

Many teachers in further education belong to trade unions that represent their members' interests in collective bargaining normally conducted through consultation and negotiation. NATFHE is the largest union, which represents lecturers; they also act as a professional body representing members' views on educational policy.

As professionals, lecturers were able to exert considerable discretion over what and how they taught. On the other hand, the needs of local industry had demanded a technical approach as a result teachers in further education were often technically competent but not teacher trained.[77] This trend has continued - indeed at one point the introduction of a training requirement in this sector was seen as undesirable since it would reduce applicants,[78] when demand was growing.[79]

The arrangements for negotiating pay and conditions for teachers were established in The Remuneration of Teachers Act 1965. Initially, decisions were made jointly by the LEA and the teachers' associations; there were no statutory arrangements the relationship being that of a gentleman's agreement based on trust and collective responsibility. By 1974 representatives from the Council of Local Education Authorities, which included seats determined by the Secretary of State, met with the teachers' associations for decision making; they jointly issued recommendations based on mutual consent which ultimately became national agreements.

The Remuneration of Teachers Act 1965 placed the determination of salaries and allowances as a statutory duty of the Burnham Further Education Committee, which also

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[77]The Crowther Report. paragraph 504. op. cit.
[78]DES. 1966. Training of Teachers for Further Education. Circular 21. London: HMSO.

held the rights and responsibility for bargaining. The Grading of Courses Committee produced the Burham Further Education Document.[80] This document linked salaries and promotion opportunities to the level of work taught creating a system of pay levels and a hierarchy of courses. The BFED document reduced LEA autonomy where salary and conditions were concerned. In 1975, regulations placed responsibility on LEAs' to provide "suitable" provision where further education was concerned;[81] the LEAs exerted exert considerable discretion in interpreting the regulations. In 1979, by joint agreement orchestrated by the DES, the National Joint Committee replaced the Burham Education Committee.[82] In 1981, the NJC published "the Silver Book," an attempt to codify the previous gentleman's agreement.[83] However, remuneration matters still remained the statutory duty of the Burham Committee, despite this, the NJC increased its scope of control.

In 1982, new regulations placed a duty on the LEA to ensure that the size and the composition of the teaching body reflected the needs of the courses;[84] it further stipulated that teachers' qualifications should reflect the needs of the courses.

In 1987, the Conservative Government repealed the 1965 Act and replaced it with the Teachers Pay and Conditions Act 1987; this separated lecturers from teachers whose bargaining rights were abolished. Essentially, by establishing free bargaining it removed the bargaining process for further education lecturers outside statutory regulation, thus effectively reducing the union role from that of negotiation to that of consultation.[85] This transition has not been smooth and some colleges have been involved in considerable

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[79]Training of Teachers, 1966. op. cit.
[80]By 1979 this had become classified into four major areas: Taught courses or research programmes, or both, leading to a degree; courses leading to a post-graduate level requiring a first degree; courses above Ordinary National Certificate leading to degrees; courses above the Ordinary Level of the General Certificate of Education leading to the Ordinary National Certificate and courses other than those described above. College Administration. LOCKE, M et al, eds. NATFHE and Longman, 1980. p179
[81]Education(further education)regulations. SI 1975/1054. HMSO. 1975.
[82]The Association of County Councils, The Association of Metropolitan Authorities, The Welsh Joint Education Committee, National Association of Further and Higher Teachers Education, the Association of Agricultural Education Staffs, & the Association of Principals of Colleges all contributed to a joint agreement to set up the National Joint Council established in 1979.
[83]The scheme of conditions of service. 1981.
[84]Education (teachers) regulations. SI 1982/106 HMSO. 1982.
[85]The Teachers Pay and Conditions Act 1987.

disagreement. At the same time, the Government set in motion teaching quality monitoring.[86]

The Burham Further Education Document continued to influence this sector because its power resulted from statutory instruments endorsed by Parliament, however, there began to emerge considerable pressure to convert to alternatives. Linked to the work of the MSC, The National Vocational Qualification framework introduced in 1986 operated on a different codification of courses.[87] This in turn put pressure on the categorisation of teachers' pay despite rising local disagreement pay scales began to merge.

When the further education colleges' became incorporated in 1993 the LEAs, who had been the employers, were replaced by the governing bodies of the incorporated colleges. This transition of power was met differently by different colleges. Coupled with this, was a move towards fixed-term contracts alongside the increasing use of short-term self-employed agency staff; for many colleges there was a bitter battle over pay and conditions.

Currently, the House of Commons Select Committee on Education and Employment is conducting an enquiry into further education at which the lecturers' union NATFHE has been invited to give evidence. This invitation has been interpreted by the union to mean that a more supportive style of management may be forthcoming. At the same time, the need for the union and its workers to modernise has become part of the agenda.[88]

Influencing Agents: The Audit Commission

The Audit Commission had a remit to promote economy, efficiency and effectiveness. Previously the student:staff ratio had measured efficiency. In 1972 target bands were established and efficiency measured in the move towards those bands.[89] In 1985 the Audit Commission produced a report which focused on the management of further and higher

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[86]Higher Education: meeting the challenge. op cit.
[87]The findings of this report recommended the introduction of a new vocational council. The new framework had four levels: basic; standard; advanced; higher. Education and training for young people. DES/DOE/DTI. 1985 Cmnd 9482. London: HMSO.
[88] "My priorities will be ......to modernise NATFHE without jettisoning the principles on which it was built." NATFHE general secretary, Paul Mackney. The Lecturer. Feb. 1998.
[89]In 1972 the DES established norms of student: staff ratios given certain conditions. They instituted an Annual Monitoring Survey to monitor the move towards the achievement of the bands.

education colleges and the use of resources;[90] this audit included 165 centres from 550 polytechnics and colleges of further education.

In line with government market thinking the findings from the audit focused on: improved marketing, image; the need for additional demand generated by improving links with local schools; monitoring of attendance, retention, non-retention. Its pointed to the need to increase availability of colleges to forty-eight weeks a year; a student/staff ratio of 12:1; the avoidance of overgrading of staff; the control of lecturers out of class time, in particular the limit of remission to 4%; avoiding over teaching; tight controls over non-teaching costs. Finally, it suggested that current working practices be agreed more conducive to giving value for money. The findings of the audit implied that there was considerable wastage in the further education system; growth in the sector could therefore be achieved without the additional use of resources. This implied that significant changes were about to occur in the policy and practice of further education colleges.

The 1985 audit failed to make any distinction between higher and further educational needs and objectives despite the fact that the two institutions have little in common, do not have the same teaching practices nor do cater for the same clients.

Influencing Agents: the further education colleges

Since they lack a clear remit, the colleges have evolved to provide a very wide portfolio of containing both academic and leisure courses. A significant part of a college's course portfolio offers participants an "alternative" to the traditional academic route, namely training courses. Further education colleges also offer participants a "second chance" to attain academic qualifications. In addition, a college's culture is guided by health, safety and employment law which lay down procedures which affect the management of the colleges. Similarly further education colleges' practice has to reflect the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and the Race Relations Act 1976.

The Burnham Further Education Committee had provided a formula for measuring the size of a college based on the number of students separated into courses; the system of

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[90]Obtaining better value from further education. HMSO Audit Commission. 1985.

grading of courses could thus determine the proportion of staffing ranges, which in turn created a staffing structure. Perhaps more importantly, the staffing structure could be influenced by dictates from the LEA, which was not obliged to follow the recommendations of the Burnham Committee, with the result that the internal structure of each college tended to be decided locally. The principal's negotiating skills were thus very important to the staffing of the college. The number of staff and their classification also affected the salaries of the principal, vice principal and heads of department.

The 1980s marked a period in which the framework and principles of the established system of further education, based on trust, stewardship and discretion, came under fire; this gained momentum with the re-election of the Conservative Government in 1979. The then Secretary of State, Kenneth Baker, introduced radical changes to further education in the public sector.[91] Regulations were enacted to clarify the roles of the participating parties and laws introduced to change the policy and practice towards further education colleges.

There began to emerge a plethora of changes to further education each targeted at different products in the colleges' portfolios. In 1982, the DES created the Industrial and Commercial Updating Programme for those clients in work. In 1984, the MSC increased its responsibility in vocational education and the debate about non-advanced education focused on the need to meet industrial need more effectively;[92] it began to target skill updating, adult unemployment, long-term unemployment and unemployment for the under twenty-five's. Each MSC targeted area pulled the colleges in different directions. The influence of the DES and the LEAs began to decline.

Influencing Agents: further education and its clients

Clearly there is a relationship between a learner's experience in the primary and secondary education sector and the ability to benefit from further education. To some extent, a learner's participation in further education is dependent on the education policies and

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[91]DES. 1987. Higher education: meeting the challenge. Cmnd 114. London: HMSO.
[92]After the White Paper Training for Jobs 1984 the Commission began to purchase more work related non advanced education from LEAs. It thus began to have increased influence over the colleges' product portfolios.

practice that have taken place in the backwardly integrated education sectors, infant, junior and secondary schools.

Further education colleges are distinct from school and universities in that their customers have significantly different requirements; filling the gap of provision, between school and university further education takes most of its clients from the "failures" and low achievers of the academic system and low status occupations. The rejects of the traditional educational system thus become the further education colleges' bread and butter.

There are three major categories of potential customers for further education colleges the: traditional academic; rejecter/returnee; apathetic/returnee.[93] The rejecter/returnee and apathetic/returnee have increasingly become important to the further education colleges as the demand for qualifications, and unemployment, has increased. The further education colleges have increasingly had to cater for mature student intake, often on a part time basis, mainly focused on training, who often have a history of poor academic success. At the same time, these colleges provide courses for the sixteen-year-old who has failed or rejects the traditional route to academic qualifications, namely school and university. So strong is the ethos of providing a second chance, in response to demand, in the colleges that participation in leisure courses is identified, not simply as the development of a skill in itself, but also as a key to breaking down fears about education and failure created in the past.

Coupled with this, further education colleges' also provided adult education that was based more on the concept of a learning society, of a community, than education; this effectively served to reduce its status in any list of central or local government priority. As financial imperatives gained power pressure increased for adult education courses to become self-financing; some argued that charging for these services was eroding the principle of equal opportunity.

In the new context of the 1990s further education colleges now have to compete for clients nationally and will in the further have to compete internationally.

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[93]European Community Working Document. Transition of Young People from Education to Working Life. Brussels. 1985.

Influencing Agents: global competition

Since the 1970s, there has been an increasing trend for a significant proportion of the worlds' skilled and unskilled people to be from the developing economies whilst at the same time the highest paid jobs are to be found within the developed economies. Whilst in most countries the population is ageing, this is less so in the developing economies where Korea, Argentina and the Philippines enrol a growing population in colleges. If this trend continues Johnson argues that by the year 2000 the developed economies run the risk of providing only a small proportion of the world high school enrolees; as it is the UK provides the lowest proportion of further educated individuals in the developed economies[94] and continues to fall behind its competitors in acquiring skills/qualifications[95] with only 30% participating in advanced education.[96] In contrast South Korea and France are setting higher university participation targets for the end of the century.

Alongside this a trend towards small families in developed economies will drive the demand for skills to become globally competitive, increasing demographic mobility; Britain is destined to be a poor player in this global picture unless radical changes take place. Alongside this, it is likely that demographic mobility will lead to training standardisation where currently Britain would not be able to be a key player; this in part is due to the attitude in this country to training.

Influencing Agents: the UK and its attitude to training.

Since 1943, the need for increased participation in further education has been recognised as significant to economic success yet in 1979 40% of working school leavers had no training at all, whilst another 20% were receiving training which was limited to eight weeks or less.[97] In 1980, the Training in Britain Survey found that whilst 80% of employees were involved in training, only 30% of organisations had a training budget and only 24% a training plan.[98]

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[94]JOHNSON, W. Global workforce 2000. Harvard Business Review. April. 1991.
[95]The Twenty-First Report 1900. Independent. 2.6. 1991.
[96]The Twenty-First Report. Vocational training and re-training. Select Committee of the European Community. 1990.
[97]MSC. 1981. A new training initiative: an agenda for action. London: HMSO.
[98]Training in Britain survey. London: HMSO. 1980.

References are still made to the need to end the second-class status of vocational qualifications, which has been a repeated victim of spending cuts.[99] Indeed the Kennedy Report in 1997 concludes that the case for widening participation continues; funding must be forthcoming for those underrepresented learners of eighteen and over coupled with a government strategy to correct the failures of the market to provide.[100]

Influencing Agents: major competitors and alternative systems.

When formulating an education and training programme in a climate of financial limitation choices have to be made. A report commissioned by the National Economic Council in 1984 to analyse vocational and training policies in Germany, Japan and the USA is said to have influenced the Conservative Government's chosen approach.[101] The findings of the report highlight the culturally specific links between national competitiveness and a country's education and training policies; the main variable is identified as the relationship between the state, the enterprises and the individual. [102]

In Germany in 1980, the report states, employers met about 80% of vocational training expenses.[103] In contrast, in the United States, where the culture is result oriented, individuals pay for training because they recognise the potential for increased earnings.[104] The Japanese culture, which the report differentiates from the other two on the grounds that education in Japanese terms involves not only academic expertise but also socialisation to the work ethic, is typified by a prominence of the long term dimension, strength of the national perspective, search for consensus solutions, preference for group

[99]DES. 1984. Training for Jobs. Cmnd 9135. London: HMSO.
[100]FEFC. Widening Participation Committee: Pathways to success. FEFC, Feb. 1997.
[101]Competence and Completion: Training and Education in the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States and Japan. National Economic Council. 1984.
[102]Competence and Completion: Training and Education in the Federal republic of Germany, the United States and Japan. op. cit.
[103]In the German system the Chambers of Industry and Commerce and the Chambers of Craft have the delegated responsibility for the supervision and promotion of training whilst the Laender have the responsibility for the educational content. At the age of sixteen students enter either the dual system or full-time vocational schools. The dual system comprises on the job training and day release.
[104]In 1981 73% of young people between the age of 16-24 were involved in a course of education. Private accrediting agencies and associations oversees the training system. Trade schools attract 9% of post sixteen year olds. Trade schools are often organised by particular industries as part of the internal labour market and this is used as a mechanism to ensure retention. In 1982 the Job Training Act was introduced to provide training for the economically disadvantaged.

activities and aims for perfection in employment;[105] only provides for gaps that occur in the training programmes of companies.

Clearly, the role of the government, and who pays for training in each of the cultures is seen differently. Germany and Japan clearly link school and work and therefore the individual and society; currently these two economies are doing well. The influence of the American system on Conservative Government policy can be seen in the repeated use of "agencies" and the evident link with individualism through the emphasis placed on the reduction of the welfare state. This preference seems much more to do with a match of political ideology than with training and education achievement.

Influencing Agents: The European Community

If the UK participates fully in the European Community this will have a major impact on policy achievement for the future. The Community's action programme for the development of continuing vocational training states that every European Community worker must have access to vocational training through his or her working life and that public authorities, firms or industry must set up training systems.[106] The member states were expected to implement a common framework of general principles by 1992.[107]

Indeed, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights already include the UK in international legal obligations which refer to a right to vocational training which has never been established in UK law and indeed has been avoided because of its implications for cost.

Clearly any government in power will to some extent be bound by the member states' common framework in vocational training. In 1990, the principles of the European Community Programme for the development of vocational training are: to encourage

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[105]In Japan the training system has two frameworks. The Ministry of Education directs vocational education. The Ministry of Labour develops the vocational training plan. The main aim of the plan is "the propagation and promotion of vocational training on the basis of the fundamental idea of lifetime training."[105] In 1984 94% of students continued education post leaving age. One in four go to university.
[106]Community Action Programme. FORCE, May. 1990.
[107]The Twenty-First Report. Vocational training and re-training. Select Committee of the European Community. 1990

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greater investment in continuing vocational training; to support innovation in training management, methods and facilities; to promote the strategic planning and design of schemes which take explicit account of the consequences of the completion of the internal market; to contribute to the greater effectiveness of training mechanisms and their capacity to respond to changes in the Community labour market.[108] The report further refers to: "the existence of a skills gap in the United Kingdom which is well documented. The CBI task force found that the United Kingdom's workforce is "under educated, under-trained and under qualified". Nearly half of Britain's employees have no qualification to GCE O level. In France 35 per cent of school leavers reach university entrance standard, as do 30 per cent of school leavers in Germany, compared with 15 per cent in the United Kingdom."[109]

The report is said to have had a major influence on the Conservative Government's chosen approach. To achieve economic growth the UK needs policies that target the "under educated, under-trained and under qualified.' The obligation for the UK government to develop such policies can be seen in the following: "The right to vocational training is recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights[110] and the European Social Charter[111] The latter two of these impose binding international legal obligations on contracting parties, including the United Kingdom. The European Social Charter requires States Parties to provide or promote as necessary technical and vocational training for all persons.... The Community Social Charter declared that 'every worker of the European Community must be able to have access to vocational training and to receive such training throughout his working life."[112]

Alone among Community Member States the United Kingdom did not sign this charter. It is clear that a level of acrimony exists between the other member states and the UK because the Conservative Government decided to opt out of the Social Charter despite their concerns that we still lag behind our competitors.[113] In the community council document it is made quite clear that the achievement of an increase in participation rates in

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[108]The Twenty-first report. 1990. p. 1. op. cit.
[109]The Twenty-first report. 1990. paragraph 30. op. cit.
[110]The Twenty-first report. 1990. paragraph 40. op. cit.
[111] The European social charter. Cmnd 2643. Member States of the Council of Europe Oct. 1961.
[112]The Twenty-first report. 1990. paragraph 40. op. cit.
[113]The re-organisation of further education. 1988. Hansard.

education and training in the UK requires radical policies: "Many witnesses indicated that exhortation alone was unlikely to be adequate to achieve the major change in cultural attitude towards training which was needed in the United Kingdom."[114]

This makes it clear that policies, which change attitudes in the UK towards education and training, are needed to remedy poor skills development. In 1990 the Conservative Government launched a vocational training initiative.

Influencing Agents: National Council Vocational Qualifications

The National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ) a Conservative Government quango was appointed to undertake reforms in the field of vocational qualifications in order to replace the "hotchpotch" of examining bodies;[115] its remit was to create standards to improve monitoring. The task of the NCVQ thus included re-organising the approved independent bodies that made accredited awards in the occupational sector.

The NCVQ does not have statuary powers but funding can be with held if the college's course portfolio excludes NVQs. An NVQ is a competence-based qualification defined as the ability to complete a task; a completed NVQ thus consists of many small task achievements and didactic teaching becomes less important. Coupled with this, an NVQ system can be conducted in company, and does not have to take place in an educational institution. The foundation for a GNVQ, which includes broad occupational areas, was added in September 1994.

Controlled by a central body, the curriculum became more centralised and thus more controllable; power shifted away from academics as delivery of course and curricula altered to meet the requirement of the process of NVQ, and professional bodies had less input into the included criteria.

Whilst the funding associated with NVQ courses has been instrumental to their introduction in further education colleges, employers have been slow to embrace the new

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[114]The Twenty-First Report. 1990. paragraph 32. op. cit.
[115]DFEE. 1991.Education and Training for the 21st Century. May. London: HMSO.

changes; indeed in 1991, Alistaire Graham, director of the Industrial Society, said that they have failed to make their mark on industry.[116] This view was reinforced by the HMI report in 1991 which found that employers continued to be apathetic and ignorant about NVQs.[117] Professional concerns were raised that quality had been sacrificed for quick implementation and the NCVQ reinforced procedures for maintaining quality in the delivery and assessment of qualifications.[118] So far NVQs have failed to bring about attitudinal change to training and education, thus training remains a problem in the UK.

All those issues and agents presented contributed to the field of tensions for further education colleges and influenced their ad hoc development. The next chapter traces their development through policy making.

[116]DEAN, C. Firms unexcited by evolution. Times Educational Supplement. 7.6.1991.
[117]DFEE. 1991. National Vocational Qualifications. HMI.
[118]Vocational work feels the quality. Times Education Supplement. 7. 6. 1991.

CHAPTER SIX: THE EDUCATION REFORM ACT 1944 – VISION OR MISSION

The implementation of policy is rarely dependent on cost alone since it also tends to be bound up with society and its values. The task of this chapter is to discover which factors influenced the debate about further education such that the political consensus portrayed in the 1944 Education Act failed to maintain its momentum.

The discourse about education in 1944 had raised many issues one of which was the poor interest and participation in education and training associated with technical skills. The Percy Report on advanced technical education in 1945 led to the development of Regional Advisory Councils whose task was to improve the consultative process with industry, in order to develop the profile of technical education;[1] it was the first of many attempts to change existing social relations based on voluntary participation in training that followed.

The late 1940s was a period of social revolution. In a climate of reform Aneurin Bevan presented a paper to the British Medical Association in 1946 suggesting the establishment of a national health service;[2] this was established in 1948. In the same period, against the background of a shortage of steel, which was seen to limit economic development, the steel industry became nationalised.

At the same time, sociologists began to link an individual's life experience with their ability to take advantage of the opportunities presented to them thus the need to establish equal opportunity became significant. With rising demands on the public purse the establishment of compulsory education took precedence, shifting further education needs to the periphery. Paradoxically, the need for provision for these "other" learners grew. Indeed, as early as 1949 we find the first reference of many to the need to temper the reforms in order to reduce costs.[3] Largely free of government intervention, the further education sector continued its development by meeting demand in an adhoc way.

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[1]MOE. 1945. Higher technological education. The Percy Report. HMSO.
[2]FOOT, M. Aneurin Bevin 1945-1960. London: Davis Poynter. 1970.
[3]MOE. 1949. Expenditure on local education authorities. Circular 210.

The 1950s enjoyed a period of economic boom during which it was easy to fulfil electoral promises and the system of education expanded; later this was not the case but demand for provision continued to grow. Winston Churchill who regained power as Prime Minister, but this time as a leader of the Conservative Party, replaced the Labour Government led by Clement Attlee who had held office during 1945-51.

Premature school leaving remained a problem and increasingly it became clear that an alternative route, which included a much broader subject base, was needed to increase participation rates.[4] A post-war baby boom ultimately led to even greater demands on the public purse as the trend towards staying on after compulsory education increased; this in turn created a shortage of teachers particularly in science subjects. At the same time, the university sector was growing and the selection criteria for entry to university rose to stave off demand. The 1944 reforms could not have anticipated these new social trends.

Such was the growth in the need for skills, that in 1955 the Education Minister stated that "the pace at which the new discoveries of science could be turned into account depended largely on whether this country succeeded in creating a sufficient supply of young men with the necessary qualification."[5] The report further expressed concerns that the current growth in participation of the academic route to qualifications, which was referred to as the "time-honoured route," would still leave a shortfall as far as the needs of the economy were concerned. Once again, the need to develop an "alternative and much broader route" to attain qualifications arrived on the agenda. It was by this time clear that these changes needed to be radical. The report refers to the fact that "very bold plans are called for."[6] Work began to be published which suggested that economic and social factors were limiting working-class children in reaching their potential.[7]

The general election in 1955 significantly changed the political context: the Conservative Party again took office and Anthony Eden replaced Winston Churchill as Prime Minister.

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[4]MOE. 1954. The English Advisory Council's Report on premature school leaving. HMSO.
[5]MOE. 1955. Advisory Council on Scientific Policy. Report on the recruitment of scientists and engineers by the engineering industry. Cmnd. 9703. HMSO.
[6] MOE. 1955. Report on the recruitment of scientists and engineers by the engineering industry op. cit.

A central premise of the welfare movement had been to transform some privately owned institutions into ones driven by public service; indeed Bevan had supported the movement towards public ownership in order that the community would own those institutions that drove the economy. After the election in 1955 a shift away from interventionism began, which led Maclure to reflect that the National Health Service would never had been established had it been subjected to the mood of the late 1950s.[8]

Of course by 1956 the economic climate was dynamic. Nasser suddenly nationalised the Suez canal and hostile Britain led a discourse on the internationalisation of the waterways. At the same time, technological advance was moving at breakneck speed and sputniks in space became a reality. The interdependency of nations was becoming part of the business agenda; Britain's poor competitive position remained.

Indeed, in 1958 Cotgrove reflected that far from breaking with the status quo, which had previously relied on an educated and administrative elite, the educational reforms of 1944 had in fact been hindered by it.[9] In other words, technical and commercial education became victims of class relations as the battle for industrial competence lost to that for classical education - thus the bold plans for technical training to have parity with universities were continually put off and eventually lost to compromise.[10] Indeed, by 1955, against a background of policy direction favouring the universities, the National Council of Education, Industry and Commerce's vision of a Royal College for Technologists changed to a request for a central awarding body.[11]

At the same time, popular demand for full-time and day-release courses increased and by 1955 the further education sector was made up of many establishments supplying the needs of some 2,152,868 students.[12] There was growth in part-time student participation

[8]MACLURE, S. Education re-formed. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1988.
[9]COTGROVE, S. Technical Education and social change. London: Allen and Unwin. 1958.
[10]MOE. 1945. Higher technological education op. cit. Was set up to look at ways of increasing prestige of scientific and technical training.
[11]MOE. 1950. National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce. The Future development of higher technological education. HMSO.
[12]MOE. 1955. Report on the recruitment of scientists and engineers by the engineering industry. table 54a. op. cit.

and talks of policy plans for technical education in association with industry.[13] Yet the participation rates in education and training still had not reached an appropriate level; coupled with this, failure rates were high.

The economy continued to be dependent on manufacturing and demands for skills to support it grew. The National Council for Technological Awards, suggested by the Percy Report, was created to raise the profile of this area of expertise - the National Council for Academic Awards superseded this in 1964. This led to a review of secondary and technical colleges in 1956 as well as a five-year plan for its future development;[14] this in turn led to an expansion in further education colleges. Participation in advanced courses needed to increase by fifty per cent to meet demand and day-release needed to double despite the fact that firms had been encouraged to write off training costs to expenses.

LEAs were asked to be more generous in awarding grants to technical students and to make technical scholarships more available to the unemployed. Non-advanced education and training needs became further divided into three types: technologists, technicians and craftsmen, where each category of worker was identified as having different educational and learning needs.

As demand for technicians and craftsman continued to increase more day classes were suggested as a way of resolving participation problems; these included a general lack of employer support, unsociable shift working patterns and poor home conditions. Having been encouraged to stay at home after the war women began to be identified as a potential pool of technical labour. Alongside the demand for manufacturing skills grew a demand for business skills. Local and regional colleges now absorbed business studies, which had been previously provided in colleges of commerce.

In 1956, in order to provide a more rational pattern of provision, further education began to be divided into segments, namely local colleges, area colleges, regional colleges and

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[13]MOE. 1955. Report on the recruitment of scientists and engineers by the engineering industry. paragraph 1,3. op. cit.
[14]MOE. 1956. Technical Education. Cmnd 9703. HMSO.

colleges of advanced technology, where each category provided for a specific learning capability ranging from non-advanced to advanced work.[15] At this time some of the regional colleges became Colleges of Advanced Technology. A pattern of provision was now emerging in further education; regional colleges tended to deliver advanced full-time and sandwich courses, area colleges offered some advanced courses on a part-time basis and local colleges tended to offer non-advanced part-time courses. Circular 305/56[16] however failed to draw a clear distinction between advanced and non-advanced courses, which contributed to a lack of product focus that is apparent today.

Local colleges were designated to provide non-advanced work, area colleges were designated to provide non-advanced full-time and block-release courses but were also allowed to develop advanced part-time courses. Regional colleges were mainly focused on advanced full-time and block-release courses but were also given a remit to provide diplomas in technology. Colleges of advanced technology were specifically introduced to raise the profile of science and technology professions, a need that had been identified in the 1944 Act;[17] their focus was to be full-time and block-release advanced work. Sadly, colleges of technology did not become the icons of industrial education and training development- they became independent bodies funded by direct grant in 1961 and they converted to university status in 1967.

Training organisations continued to develop plans for a broader education that would meet the needs of "other" learners; regulations began to be drawn up. By 1959, the legislative process for further education began to emerge and governing bodies of colleges had to be representative of external interests, professional and commercial as well as local government.[18]

The number of teachers being trained expanded to meet increased provision; the teacher-training course increased from two to three years. However, it was not until the 1970s that it became compulsory for graduates to be professionally trained teachers.

[15]MOE. 1956. Circular 305/56.
[16]MOE. 1956. Circular 305/56. op. cit.
[17]Technical Education. Cmnd 9703. HMSO. 1956.

Amid concerns that the poor trend in training had not been reversed, the Carr Report in 1958 recommended that industrial training remain the remit of industry.[19] The Industrial Training Council was set up and the Crowther Report suggested that its remit be expanded to provide an alternative route for young people to gain qualifications and training.[20]

Whilst advanced courses were increasing faster than expected lower level technical courses were not. In response to the findings of the Crowther Report the debate turned to the average and less than average child's achievement where it was argued that there were dormant reserves of ability. Along these lines, the Crowther Report was fundamental to the development of equal opportunities because it raised people's awareness of the fact that only one in eight of sixteen-eighteen year olds participated in further education; the report argued this wasted talent was of crucial import to economic development. It was the first report that looked for sociological links in the trends amongst young people; it considered the home environment as fundamental to participation in further education and suggested that students discontinued study when they felt that the course was above the needs of the job - boys in particular were influenced by the number of evenings the course involved. Another contributing factor was the loss of bonus when attending college, similar problems were also identified in apprenticeship schemes.[21] It was clear that the system and policy for non-advanced education and training was not working. Educational discourse continued to focus on social justice.

The report, emulating to some extent the recommendations of the 1943 reconstruction programme, suggested the introduction of a network of county colleges providing compulsory education one day a week for young learners at work. The Conservative Government, with Harold Macmillan as Prime Minister, accepted the results of the report but took no immediate action; consequently the development plan for county colleges alongside the vision of compulsory part-time attendance for young people slowly became a lost cause.

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[18]MOE. 1959. Circular 7/59.op. cit.
[19]Ministry of Labour and National Service. 1958. Training for skill: recruitment and training of young workers in industry. National Joint Advisory Council. London: HMSO.
[20]MOE. 1959. 15-18 report of the Central Advisory Council for Education. Crowther Report. London: HMSO.

The following statement from the advisory council on the Crowther Report makes the changed needs clear: "If we were confined to one comment and one recommendation about English further education it would be this. At every stage, and on every level, the need is for more time, for less pressure on both staff and students."[22]

An important outcome of the 1960s was the re-emergence of government interventionism. Driven by a growing concern about underprivilege and national manpower needs, it marked a period of considerable growth in further education alongside radical and rapid economic change. The baby bulge were now adolescents: more young people were staying on at school, juvenile delinquency was increasing and young people in work were becoming much more affluent.

In response to the changing social and industrial conditions the Albemarle Report was commissioned to review the contribution the youth service made in helping these young people become part of the community;[23] reflecting the changing financial imperatives and political context they were also asked to address the best value for money spent. The report pointed to the need for more grants to train these young people. Once again, the need for an alternative route for young people who wanted to continue education, but not in the traditional academic arena, was on the agenda. The late 1960s and early 1970s thus became a watershed for the youth service, which was criticised for failing to meet the new needs of the young people. The Youth Service Development Council was set up to advise the Government on a ten-year development programme and a building programme was initiated.

Alongside this, the Crowther Report had also recommended that more places be made for higher education to cope with the maturing baby boom; Harold Macmillan had been asked to set up a committee of enquiry.[24] The Government, setting in motion a theme of

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[21]MOE. 1958. Training for skill. op. cit.
[22]MOE: 1963. National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce. Report of the special committee on the Crowther Report. London: HMSO. In ARGLES, M. South Kensington to Robbins. p 112. Longmans. 1964.
[23]Report of the Departmental Committee in the Youth Service in England and Wales. Albemarle Report. 1960. London: HMSO.
[24]Committee Paper. Committee of Enquiry 16-18 year olds. London: HMSO. 1963

expansion accepted the recommendations from the committee of enquiry; growth in education institutions and students dominated the 1960s. Paradoxically, student unrest at the end of the 1960s, driven by lack of resources, also helped to make the public question the benefits of education. Government priority increasingly began to be focused on primary schools and resources were re-directed to reduce class size to solve the problems of underachievement; social circumstances remained a major contributor.

In 1961 a White Paper again focused on non-advanced education and training adding a new classification of worker the operative, who could operate machinery and plant.[25] Once again, lack of time was seen as a key cause of low participation rates in further education for the sixteen-eighteen age group and early leaving was again found to be associated with poor home conditions[26] coupled with the low status of technical qualifications.[27] Once again, a grand plan was envisaged to reverse this trend; the aim was to increase participation in technical non-advanced further education from twelve per cent in 1959, to fifty per cent by 1979.

A White Paper addressing technical opportunities suggested that the term "technician" had recently become acknowledged as a separate category in engineering; there was thus a desperate need for courses to meet the needs of the increasing number of people following this type of career.[28] Most local colleges began to develop recreational and non-advanced courses in line with these requests, at the same time taking on board the Crowther Report which had suggested that these courses be based on breadth rather than subject depth and have a practical orientation.

Despite the problems of attracting "other" learners, the 1960s was a period during which a broader spectrum of society benefited from further education. Indeed Bottomore suggests that economic growth, which increased disposable income, served to alter class relations.[29] Student involvement in policy making within the further education colleges derived from

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[25]MOE. 1961.White Paper. Better opportunities in technical education. Cmnd 6458. London: HMSO.
[26]MOE.1963. Early leaving. Central Advisory Council for Education (England). HMSO.
[27]Technology and the sixth form boy. Oxford University: Department of Education. 1963.
[28] MOE. 1961. White Paper. Better opportunities in technical education. Cmnd 1254. London: HMSO.
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the Robbins Report,[30] as did the suggestion that there should be greater academic and financial autonomy for the colleges. In October 1964, after twelve years of Conservative administration Harold Wilson became Prime Minister. In December 1964 the then Secretary of State for Education and Science, Michael Stewart, announced a review of the internal government of colleges of education.

During this period public schools flourished with twenty-five per cent of all sixth forms increasing participation in science or mathematics.[31] University places continued to grow. The Robbins Report in 1963 on higher education led to the re-deployment of those regional colleges that had not become colleges of advanced technology - they now became polytechnics.[32] Carrying on the work of the Conservatives, who had started to develop a policy for higher education, the Labour Government in 1964 created the binary system; and more polytechnics were born.[33] Once again in an attempt to create parity between technical and academic qualifications, their remit was to provide advanced further education with a vocational orientation, thus deliberately increasing and widening access. They began to deliver unconventional courses, which served at the same time to alter the conventional hierarchy of university popularity.[34]

Regional colleges were now expected to supply advanced work and local colleges to provide elementary work. Funding further education colleges therefore became even more complicated; now further education establishments became identified by the proportion of advanced work that they did. The problem of low level achievement and participation, in technology and at the lower levels of attainment, remained. Much of the growth of further education in the 1960s, however, resulted from the five-year plan for technical education that had been developed in 1956.[35]

[29]BOTTOMORE, T. Class structure in western Europe. In SCOTFORD, M. and others ed. Contemporary Europe: class, status and power. London. Pitman. 1971.
[30] Higher Education. Report of the committee appointed by the Prime Minister. Robbins Report. Cmnd 2154. London: HMSO. 1963.
[31]Sir Robin Williams. Whose Public schools? London: Bow Group, 1957.
[32] Higher education. 1963. op. cit.
[33]A plan for polytechnics and other colleges. Cmnd. 3006.1966
[34]GOSDEN, P. The education system since 1944. Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1983.
[35]ARGLES, M. South Kensington to Robbins: an account of English technical and scientific education since 1851. London: Longmans. 1964.

Alongside this, recruitment drives for business studies students increased where provision was provided largely by local and regional colleges.[36] Management courses also came into vogue.[37] Universities, preferring specialist disciplines, remained on the whole reluctant to embrace the generalist approach needed for management teaching thus the need was met by polytechnics and further education colleges. Day-release and block-release courses flourished but the shortfall in participation in industry and commerce courses as a whole continued. The Government asked the industrial training boards to pay greater attention to release from employment for training.

In 1963 the Newson Report again pointed to the failure of policy to reach the average and less than average student;[38] it highlighted the resource disadvantages suffered by those children, over half the young population, who completed their education in secondary schools. The report reinforced what was now a growing concern, that social factors served to deprive poor children of equal educational opportunities. The report recommended, alongside a shift of resources to meet the needs of these students, a major re-organisation of the curriculum; the process of selection was identified as being responsible for disguising the wastage of human potential. The report suggested: "a fundamental change in the whole educational situation.....If [the schools] do their job well the colleges of further education will have to meet rapidly increasing demands for courses by older school leavers."[39]

Alongside this, the LEAs were advised, in response to the Hennicker-Heaton Report to develop targets for growth in participation rates coupled with a building programme to meet those needs.[40] This report had a familiar theme - that twice as many employees

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[36]This report highlighted the need for a national approach to ensure provision and suggested a hierarchy of qualifications, block release and sandwich courses.
MOE. 1959. Report of the advisory committee on Further Education for commerce. Ministry of Education: National Advisory Council for Education for Industry. London: HMSO.
[37]This report suggested that professional organisations should include some management courses and that management qualifications should have credibility in their own right. MOE. 1947. Education for management. Report of a special committee. London: HMSO.
[38]MOE. 1963. Central Advisory Council for Education. Half our future. London: HMSO.
[39]MOE. 1963. Half our future. p 8, paragraph 23. op. cit.
[40]MOE. 1964. Day release. London: HMSO.

should attend day classes at college as did currently thus it had major implications for growth in the further education sector.

Despite the clear signals that something radical had to happen to change training trends to this day participation remains voluntary. The Industrial Training Act of 1964, however, was a recognition that despite the recommendations of the Carr Report responsibility for training could not be left to industry: government had to intervene. The Act created the Industrial · Training Boards, which were financed by a levy on industry; it looked as if the participation trends would be reversed; its remit was to address the failure of student and employer participation.

Although the mood of the 1960s was affected by the assertion that human potential was being wasted the Crowther Report had recommended that the much-needed programme of growth could be phased and in so doing, despite its revolutionary message, it supplied government with a rationale for placing the needs of secondary provision before that of further education.[41] The outcome was a staged programme which in turn created a new set of problems.[42] "This does not simply mean that we are abandoning virtually half a generation to the present inadequacies of the post-secondary modern school system: it means the strong probability that the "head of steam" generated by Newsom will fizzle out, since the demand for further education which it stimulates will not be met."[43]

At the same time, the Robbins Report began a discourse about the up-grading of teacher training colleges and leading technical colleges to hold university status along-side the devolution of policy-making to the institutional level; the report thus recommended that the governors should have detailed control of colleges' finances.[44]

By 1964, uptake in day-release courses was further hindered by a reputation for poor success rates and only twenty-eight per cent of fifteen-seventeen year olds, excluding

[41]MOE. 1959. 15-18 year olds. vol. 1. p188-189, paragraph 242-294, op. cit.
[42]MOE. 1963. Organisation of further education courses. Circular 3.
[43]DOWNES, D. and FLOWER, F. Educating for uncertainty. Fabian tract 364. 1965.
[44]MOE. 1963. Higher education. Report of the committee appointed by the Prime Minister. Cmnd. 2154. London: HMSO

those of lower ability, participated.[45] The Henniker-Heaton Report, which endorsed many of the findings of the Crowther Report, suggested that day-release should double but no real expansion took place.[46] Indeed, this is not surprising since in the report it states that the general view of the Minister was that the right to day-release could not be granted without affecting more urgent educational developments; it was clear that in the government mind this was not a priority. Clearly, the pressure on resources was beginning to be stretched to the limit.

At the same time, the introduction of the Industrial Training Act 1964 which was later followed by The Employment and Training Act 1973 which in turn led to the development of the Manpower Services Commission, heralded the demise of training as the sole responsibility of the employers. The pressure on the public purse continued to grow. The Labour Government began to make plans for ending selective education replacing it with a "comprehensive" system which effectively would remove the barriers between grammar and secondary schools and do away with selection procedures.[47]

By 1966 further education provision had grown dramatically. It included: establishments maintained by the LEA whose expenditure was met by local rates and general grants made by the Ministry of Housing and local government; direct grant establishments' assisted by departmental grants; independent establishments. Some colleges were financed jointly with industry to provide technical studies, for example the National College for Heating, Ventilating, Refrigeration and Fan Engineering. Regional colleges provided a substantial amount of advanced full-time and sandwich courses. Agricultural colleges had been transferred to the Ministry of Employment from the Ministry of Fisheries and Food in 1964. Colleges of art and farm institutes provided non-advanced courses. Technical colleges, colleges of commerce and evening institutes provided a wide range of evening courses including leisure.

[45]MOE. 1964. Day release. Henniker-Heaton Report. app. A, table 1(a), p36. London: HMSO.
[46]MOE. 1947. op. cit.
[47]MOE. 1962 & 1966. Circular 10/62 and Circular 10/66.

At the same time, the UK's competitors continued to improve at an increased rate. As a trend towards a static population began to emerge the UK remained dependent on exports; increases in standards of living thus implied the need for higher productivity per person. Government concerns focused on the need to increase technical and managerial skills to achieve that increased productivity. The failure to raise the profile of technology and commercial training alongside the problems of early leaving remained and affected the take up of lower status careers. Indeed, in a report of career choice for sixth form boys it was found that boys tended to enter higher technological education only when they were rejected for pure science.[48]

Despite this, there were now 8,398 grant maintained or assisted further education establishments with 3,091,022 students involved in courses, fifty-three per cent of whom were female. Ninety-four per cent attended part-time courses including day-release; block -release and evening modes.[49] Of the total number of students registered on courses forty-six per cent were over twenty-one years of age, whilst twenty- two per cent of the students were fifteen to seventeen year olds.[50] Further education now included: national colleges jointly financed by the Department of Industry; regional colleges; colleges of Art; agricultural colleges; farm institutes; evening institutes and others.

In the independent sector there were eighty-nine establishments that catered for half a per cent of the total number of students. Of these forty-six per cent were women. Only nineteen per cent of courses in the independent sector were part time.[51]

The Weaver Report, arguing against the recommendation of the Robbins Report that college governors should have the responsibility for control of the finances, recommended that colleges should manage themselves; this report was fundamental to the codification of the relationship between the LEA, the governing body, the principal and the academic

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[48]Oxford Department of Education. Technology and the sixth form boy. 1963. In ARGLES, M South Kensington to Robbins: an account of English technical and scientific education since 1851 London. Longmans. 1964
[49]Annual Monitoring Survey. Table 1. 1966.
[50]Annual Monitoring Survey. Table 3. 1966.
[51]Annual Monitoring Survey. Table 1. 1966.

board within colleges.[52] The power and relationships between those involved in further education colleges' decision making began to be defined initially focused on colleges of education.[53] In February 1967, however, the Secretary of State promised to introduce a Bill to codify the instruments of government for the governing bodies of further education colleges.[54] The Education Act (No. 2) 1968 provided the statutory force for their implementation.[55]

1969 began with the introduction of a three-year building programme and many LEAs exspansion programmes included comprehensive education. The Haslegrave Committee Report once again pointed to the need to develop a system and validation process for technical and business course awards.[56] This led not only to the development of the Technical Education Council in 1973 but also to the establishment of the Business Education Council in 1974. The Open University, providing part-time courses by distance learning, received its charter in response to a report that had been commissioned in 1962. Distance learning became a significant option for working students.

During this period, even though the Government's ad hoc approach left a vacuum, the industrial need for better-qualified workers created demand and further education colleges saw a significant growth in part-time courses which in turn affected its identity. Its growth from 1956, however, was without a specific form or content and the balance of power to decide constantly shifted between central and local government.[57] During this time the Government's role evolved as one of a monitor.

In 1969 the first black paper was published. This set out to destroy the common consensus about progressive education and the further development of a comprehensive education

[52]DES. 1966. Report of the study group of the government of colleges of education. MOE/DES. London: HMSO.
[53]The instrument of government established the governing body and the composition of that governing body. The articles of government determine the conduct of the college. They outline the function of the LEA, the governing body, the principal and the academic board.
[54]DES. 1967. Circular 2/67. The government of colleges of education. Feb.
[55]The Education Act (No. 2) 1968
[56]HASLEGROVE, H. L. Technician courses and examinations, National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce. London: HMSO, 1969.
[57]MOE. 1956. White paper. Technical Education. Cmnd 9703. London: HMSO.

system that had largely come about in response to the Plowden Report. In consequence, the bi-partite system had been increasingly criticised for alienating eleven plus failures and making them second class citizens.

The publication of the first Black Paper had an astonishing impact; Mr Short, the then Secretary of State described it as the "one of the blackest days for education in the past 100 years." The Black Papers provided the forum for the growth of concerns about progressive education - they argued that the new trends in education were harmful to working class children. The first paper concentrated on the growing militancy of students and argued that the progressive approach, based on learning as a natural inclination involving discovery rather than a response to reward, and its assumptions were unfounded and causing anarchy.[58] This debate attracted considerable media interest.

In October 1969 the second Black Paper was published. This criticised the empirical research on which the growth in progressive education and the rationale for a comprehensive system of education had been based and concluded that it did not substantiate the claims made by the progressives. The paper supported a return to systematic instruction, based on testing, in order to measure student needs.[59] Again the response from the media was considerable. Black Paper three continued the derision of progressive approaches to learning. It attacked the comprehensive principle of equal opportunity as a utopian political ideal and argued that education should not be used as a tool for politics. It argued that selection was essential to competition between comprehensive schools and grammar schools that upheld tradition and would maintain a levelling-up philosophy.[60]

The three black papers provided the basis for a counter-revolution that rejected equality in favour of quality of education. The egalitarians were criticised for lowering standards, a

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[58]COX, C. and DYSON, A. ed. The Black Papers on Education. London: Davis-Poynter Limited. p. 9-12. 1971.
[59]COX, C. and DYSON, A. p. 24-25. op. cit.
[60]COX, C. and DYSON, A. p. 27-33. op. cit.

context where no one failed, based on the sentimentality of social justice and fairness.[61] The purpose and process of education became a matter for debate in the 1970s.

The quality of courses provided in the non-advanced arena had continued to improve but the numbers participating in those courses continued to decline. Indeed, during the period 1971-1977 there was a twenty per cent decrease in those participating in day release and block release courses.

In June 1970 the labour administration was dissolved and Edward Heath became Prime Minister. By this time the educational system had become large and bureaucratic. In further education colleges there were 351,217 students on full-time courses 46,734 on sandwich course and 743, 343 on part-time day courses.[62] Participation in adult education establishments was also rising. Outward concern about the pressure on resources began to emerge.[63]

The 1970s saw a period of decline reminiscent of that in 1939, which the proponents of the welfare state thought they had resolved. Rising prices, inflation, high levels of unemployment and redundancy were coupled with a rapid skill miss-match not helped by poor school performance. Alongside this, the number of immigrant children with English as their second language had doubled; with regional deprivation already a problem some schools inability to resolve the problems increased.

The education system now comprised three dominant power players: the Department of Education and Science; the Local Education Authorities; the National Union of Teachers being the largest union though informally regulated. Each of the player's muscle appears to have been limited by the need to ensure that public opinion remained favourable. As the reality of rising unemployment began to bite the Manpower Services Commission began to have an impact on the further education colleges.

[61] MAUDE, A, The egalitarian threat. In COX, C. and DYSON, A. p. 37-40. op. cit.
[62]National Statistics Summary Tables 1975 pages 10-14.
[63]DES. 1972. Education: a framework for expansion Cmnd 5174.

The growth of bureaucratisation also contributed to the set of social relations now in the education arena and the DES began to dominate the education debate eroding the previous comfortable partnership arrangement.[64] The Industrial Relations Act of 1971 provided clear signals that changes, particularly where the TUC was concerned, was on the Government's agenda. The Weaver Report had laid the foundations for devolution reforms having recommended that institutional autonomy be retained. The potential for a battle for power increased.

In an attempt to simplify the roles and relationships within the colleges Circular 7/70 made clear that the LEA had financial responsibility for the colleges but that it was the governors' responsibility to determine the character of the college. The financial estimates were to be prepared by the principal for submission by the governors to the LEA.

The county council plans for social and economic development included the development of further education but once again its implementation was impeded by financial imperatives because of the onset of the recession.[65] Colleges were now divided into three categories by the amount of advanced work that they did known as, A, B and C.[66] Category A's academic board was clearly defined, but the academic board of category C, which constituted a large proportion of further education colleges was left simply to "have appropriate consultative procedures."[67] Left alone once again all colleges now had an academic board but the constitution could be unique to each organisation.[68] Indeed, whilst the Weaver reforms had stipulated that each college's chief administrative officer would be clerk to the governing body, only forty per cent achieved such institutional autonomy in further education colleges, the post being held by the chief educational officer.[69]

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[64]BALL, S. Politics and policy making in education. London: Routledge, 1990.

[65]Town and Country Planning Act 1971.

[66]Category A colleges were to have a substantial level of advanced work. Category B colleges had only a certain amount of advanced work whereas category C colleges were without any significant amount of advanced work.

[67]The academic board was to consist of a principal, vice-principal, heads of department, the chief administrative officer, the librarian and not less than six staff and student members. The governors had overall responsibility although the board was responsible for planning, co-ordination and development of the academic work of the college in this sense it was legislative.

[68]DES. 1970. Government and conduct of establishments of further education. Circular 7/70.

[69]PARKES, D. College government- a valediction. The Further Education Staff College, vol. 16, no. 12. 1983.

By 1972 such was the power of the entrenched established system that the White Paper on integrating technology into learning considered it "unrealistic" to make recommendations which implied the replacement of all the various institutions by a monolithic organisation.[70] In other words, restructuring was not to be on the agenda hence the report's recommendations for the development of technology as pivotal relied on a central organisation with loose control over the contributing agents perhaps this is why radical change in the way technology has been used has been slow.

In 1972 cost, rather than educational content, became part of the policy agenda. The White Paper "Education a framework for expansion" having identified five growing aspects of the service states, " this poses difficult decisions about the allocation of resources.... within those available"; thus despite justifications for spending on all five areas, choices would have to be made where "the further education system has a vital contribution to make in ensuring that the country has a work force capable of meeting....the changing demands of industry and commerce."

Student numbers were now falling in infant and junior schools the report therefore suggested a ten-year development plan. At the same time, in order to cope with the growing number of post-compulsory students further education colleges were expected to expand the scope and number of courses they provided particularly part-time study. This increase in provision had to be within reasonable reach of those students' homes. The intended expansion in the 1972 White Paper was again frustrated by cuts in public expenditure caused by the economic crisis. Small colleges began to amalgamate or be absorbed by larger ones.

In the compulsory sector teacher training had expanded to meet the need for academically and professionally trained personnel. The expansion, however, was not carefully planned but the result of low qualifying forecasts for "A" level in the mid-1960s. The excess of qualified students had to be fed into the technical and education colleges - fuelling at the same time an increased   demand   for   teachers   partly   offset   by   the   increase   in   mature

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[70]DES. 1972. Central arrangements for promoting educational technology in the United Kingdom. HMSO.

students entering the teaching profession.[72] The James Report pointed to the need to expand this development to include in service teacher training for non-graduate further education teachers commensurate with the compulsory sector[73]; at the same time, the report suggested that further education colleges were well placed to deliver teacher training courses and suggested that colleges of education could develop better working relationships with colleges of further education. In the event teacher-training colleges amalgamated, merged or joined higher education colleges.

Once again the idea that further education colleges should have greater powers in their own financial decision making was raised. There was by this time some dissatisfaction with the quality and indeed the status of teacher training. The Conservative Government justified tempering the demands because of the falling birth rate this resulted in spending cuts so that little action actually occurred. On top of this, the Government began to recommend the amalgamation of colleges,[74] heralding the death of expansionist policies. The UK's poor competitive position remained.

Manufacturing industries began to decline indeed the number of employees in those industries fell by three million during the period 1971-1988. At the same time service industries grew and participation increased by three and a half million. This led to a decline in semi and unskilled manual jobs and a shift towards technical, professional and managerial jobs.[75]

In the school year 1972-73 the statutory school leaving age was increased to sixteen. The social value of the education system continued to be deemed important indeed a White Paper in 1972 defined a teacher's task to include ensuring social and moral awareness.[76]

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[71]DES. 1972. Education: a framework for expansion. op. cit.
[72]The Robbins Report had suggested that the estimates for the growth in higher education might be low. Robbins had estimate 8.6% growth by 1968 this was already 9.6%. The planning paper published by the DES was also basing their work on the Robbins projections. Advisory council for adult and continuing education. A strategy for basic education of adults. ACACE. 1979.
[73]DES. 1972. Teacher education and training.James Report. London: HMSO.
[74]DES. 1972. Education: a framework for expansion. op. cit.
[75]Brown, P. and SCASE, R. Poor work disadvantage and the division of labour. Bristol: Open University Press. p.6. 1991.
[76]Education: A framework for expansion op. cit.

At the same time, it was beginning to be recognised that because of the rise in the school leaving age to sixteen teachers now had to teach the disinterested, as well as the hostile, learner. The introduction of the CSE examination enabled schools to develop courses for these children more in line with their needs and abilities, with the result that uptake in CSE increased by eighty-three per cent during the period 1973-76.

The Employment and Training Act 1973 amended the 1964 Act and made some companies exempt from paying the levy imposed by the Industrial Training Boards and its power began to be eroded. The recommendations of the Halsegrave Committee Report, that bodies be established to validate the development of technical courses, finally culminated in the Technical Education Council being established in 1973, followed in 1974 by the Business Education Council which concentrated on business courses. These two bodies accredited a growing number of vocational courses. The Manpower Services Commission was established and ultimately became responsible for the employment and training service, effectively replacing the Department of Employment.

At the same time, the Russell Committee reported on the development of adult education, pointing to the large number of people who benefited from this service, particularly those who were not literate and numerate; the report proposed a plan of expansion for adult education which was seen as an alternative system of provision for wasted talent.[77] These courses tended to be recreational and non-advanced delivered mainly in adult education colleges, although some local colleges provided this service. The LEA financially supported them in the belief that anything undertaken by the individual that was mildly educational was a good thing for society in general. The report expressed concerns that increasing fees, which had occurred as the LEAs begun to face a reduction in their budgets, could discourage participation.

The youth service programme had undergone fundamental changes against much controversy. Its new image was supported by the incoming 1974 Labour Government led by Wilson and later James Callaghan, but the youth development plan recommended by

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[77]DES. 1973. Adult education: plan for development. Russell Report. London: HMSO.

the Aldermarle Report was coming to an end. Harold Wilson, the then Prime Minister, inherited from the Heath administration in a three-day working week, wide spread industrial unrest and increasing international competition. The Labour Party tried to resolve the industrial crisis by introducing social contracts, which essentially substituted wage bargaining for political power. The world recession began to deepen and youth unemployment began to rise.

A discussion paper about employed sixteen and eighteen year olds, prepared by the Training Services Agency at the request of the MSC, suggested that although the number of young people available for work had fallen considerably during the period of 1961-1971 so also had the number of jobs available, despite the fact that many young people now stayed on at school. Apprenticeships were increasingly popular for boys but the number of apprenticeships on offer had fallen during the recession. Apprenticeships were gender biased, girls entering hair dressing for example. The trend, however, the report said was clear there would be a decline in the number of sixteen-seventeen year olds entering the work force in the 1990s. Alongside this, participation in day-release or block-release courses increased only by two and a half per cent since 1961; the prospects of training for the majority of young people therefore had not changed. Indeed literacy and numeracy remained a problem amongst the low achievers and there thus appeared to be a need to identify the incidence of under-achievement in schools, as well as to increase career awareness and second chance training for young adults.[78] During this period one lecturer commented that it was common for any course suggested by them to run if at the same time it got young people off the street.

The Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education, whose establishment had been recommended by the Russell Committee, became the Unit for Development of Adult Continuing Education. The growth of adult education, however, continued to be a victim of the cuts in the LEAs' budget and by now clearly rated low on the hierarchy of educational needs. Despite this the Adult Literacy Resource Agency was formed in 1975

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[78]MSC. 1975. Vocational preparation for young people. A discussion paper. Training Services Agency. May.

which became the Adult Literacy Resource Agency in 1978. Nevertheless, in a climate of cautious use of resources adult education faired badly.

In 1976, with James Callaghan as Prime Minister, the economic crisis continued to worsen and deficits accumulated. The International Monetary Fund took control of public spending, which ultimately resulted in cuts in education spending. Given the economic context a new cycle of reform emerged, epitomised by the Great Debate.[79] This new discourse suggested that the education system had not delivered the vision of the 1944 Act and was in crisis. Developing the theme about the right to work rather than the right to equality James Callaghan's speech in particular drew attention to the lack of relevance that education had to industrial needs; he criticised teachers' for their lack of experience of industry and failure to promote it which he argued contributed to students being unable to relate school curricula to work. Furthermore, he criticised industry for demanding high academic attainments, which were not really required to do the job: "The goals of our education from nursery school through to adult education are clear enough. They are to equip children to the best of their ability for a lively, constructive place in society and also to do a job of work. Not one or the other but both." [80]

The DES in their memorandum to the Prime Minister criticised the Schools Council's inability to tackle objectively the problems within the curriculum.[81] The system of education was criticised for not emphasising education for work and the curriculum for failing to meet those practical needs. The late 1970s thus became a watershed for the established education system, which had been built on the premise that education was more than "skills for the job." In response to this, many of the course initiatives that developed post 1976 contained experiential learning, cross curricula work, new teaching styles, new approaches to assessment and more links with industry.[82]

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[79]Speech by the Rt. Hon. James Callaghan, MP at a foundation stone laying ceremony at Ruskin College, Oxford. 18th Oct. 1976.
[80]Speech by the Rt. Hon. James Callaghan, MP. op. cit.
[81]Extracts from the Yellow Book. Times Educational Supplement. 15th Oct. 1976.
[82]HITCHCOCK, G. Education and Training 14-18: a survey of major initiatives. Harlow: Longman. 1988.

The political left argued that the education system had not only failed to address the basic tenets of inequality and class, it had reinforced it. The symbolic order of the education process was seen to reinforce social controls and stability alienating and limiting the social mobility of the very students it set out to educate.[83] Those from the political right had began what Ball calls "a discourse of derision"[84] through the publication of the Black Papers which had denigrated progressive and comprehensive education and highlighted the failure of the education system to change the UK's industrial competitiveness.[85] This discourse attracted a good deal of public attention and divided the professionals. Coupled with this, the Plowden Report which had been instrumental during the development of progressive education was now criticised for basing its measures of improvement in reading on 1948 when standards affected by the war were low, thus it was argued that the report had served to disguise very low levels of achievement.[86]

The Education Act 1976 was intended principally to enforce the Labour administration's policy on comprehensive education; heralded as an agent of social mobility. The Act reinforced a set of ideological beliefs in egalitarianism, which to some extent relied on socialism, as such was bound to be challenged by the opposition government. LEAs resistance heralded the demise of the cosy relationship between the LEAs and central government, tensions varied from area to area.

The national development of further education colleges was now in crisis hindered by the lack of a constitution and because no national forum for debate existed; central and local government spending was largely determined through negotiation. The Parliamentary Select Committee recommended an open, informal, public discussion about changes to the education system;[87] it also recommended the establishment of an independent body to provide an unbiased overview of education policy. At the same time, the MSC began to

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[83]BERNSTEIN, B. Class codes and control: theoretical strides towards a sociology of language, vol. 1. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1974.

[84]BALL, S. Politics and policy making in education. London, Routledge. 1990.

[85]McCullock, G. Education reconstruction: the 1944 education act and the 21st century. London: Woburn Press. 1944.

[86]GARDNER, K. Crisis in the classroom. 1968.

[87]DES. 1976. Tenth Report for the expenditure committee 1975-6 policy making in the DES. July. London: HMSO

flex its muscle through its work on youth employment. Against a background of rising unemployment for young people the MSC became a main focus of non-advanced further education development

In 1977 the Government issued a statement on the vocational preparation of young people advocating the unification of training and further education. The Training Services Agency and the Industrial Training Boards now worked jointly to advise the LEA on development plans, however, the Training Services Agency were "the central point through which developments in the training world" would be channelled into the education sector; the Industrial Training Boards thus became subordinate to the Training Services Agency.[88] Unemployed young people were encouraged to study for three days a week without losing benefit.[89]

The MSC began to have a significant impact on further education colleges when they introduced the Youth Opportunities Programme an initiative which placed young unemployed people from the age of sixteen -eighteen on a one year learning programme which included work experience and vocational training. No school leaver could now remain unemployed without the offer of a place on a YOPs course.[90]

At the same time the Warnock Report, set up by Mrs Thatcher the then Secretary of State for Education in 1973 to consider the needs of physically and mentally challenged children, was published in May 1978. The disabled worker had become increasingly excluded from the work force as factory work increased.[91] The report recommended that the number of sixteen-year-olds with special needs attending full-time courses in further education colleges should be increased. Furthermore, it suggested that a variety of courses,

[88]DES. 1977. Administrative Memoranda, 12/77. Links between the training and further education service. p 116.
[89]DES. 1977. Administrative Memoranda, 4/77. Further education for unemployed young people. p. 84.
[90]This scheme was based on the recommendations of the White Paper Young People and Work published in 1977. It was comprised of year course with a combined system of work experience and vocational education
[91]OLIVER, M. Disability and participation in the work force. In BROWN.P. et al. 1991. op. cit.

more closely linked to the world of work, should be developed by the colleges to meet the needs of those who had low educational and social competence.[92]

Accepting the recommendations of the Warnock Report the colleges began to increase day and block release courses available to special needs students alongside courses designed to help school leavers achieve basic skills. Against an onslaught of financial cuts, which had in turn increased fees, participation in adult education began to fall.

Alongside this, a national survey published in 1979 highlighted the fact that the secondary education system was still dominated by examinations; able students' curriculum thus remained narrow at the same time the less able had even less choice.[93] It seemed that traditional education was still dominant and non-advanced learners still faired poorly. Indeed, in 1979 the Labour Government's Secretary of State said: "The disappointment about non-advanced further education [is that] a systematic nation-wide scheme of part-time attendance at college for all those under eighteen who are not in school is the only major objective of the 1944 Act that has proved unattainable. Any compulsory system was, and in the new period of restraint is likely to remain, too costly."[94] Indeed the vision of a separate college for these learners has never materialised; instead, they remain caught in a system that has ultimately failed to represent their needs.

The corparatist approach that had typified the 1970s demonstrated in collaborative agreements between capital, labour and the state came under fire the state it was now argued destroyed individual freedom rather than ensured it.[95] The theme of the welfare state in crisis became galvanised into a discourse of derision following the election of Mrs Thatcher in 1979, against a background of increasing unemployment coupled with increasing poverty. Mrs Thatcher issued a circular removing the pressure on LEAs to submit plans for comprehensive education and began to put in place action to repeal the Comprehensive Act - she began to shift resources away from comprehensive schools towards pre-school and primary education. Not surprisingly, the 1976 Act on

[92]James Report. paragraph 10.33. op. cit..
[93]Aspects of secondary education in England. Dec 1979. London: HMSO
[94]DES.1979. Sir William Pile. p 231 . George Allen and Unwin.

comprehensive education was repealed in 1979 and the onslaught on the appropriateness of progressive education gained momentum.

By now it was clear that central government needed clear powers over the LEAs if it wanted to achieve its policy aims; with LEAs trying to avoid central control the relationship between local and central government appeared to be in crisis. The development of further education remained caught in a power net. Further education colleges evolved as conglomerates with a wide portfolio of courses, with no clear identity or level of provision.

The period of education reform that followed after Mrs Thatcher's election as Prime Minister was unprecedented perhaps because she had worked as Secretary of State for education. The Government attacked the established educational institutions and their values on the grounds of inadequacy. Coupled with this, the Government's stance on accountability as a measure of quality gained momentum and the derision of the LEA increased.[96]

The Conservative Government pursuing accountability began to put in place the means to evaluate and monitor the systems delivery. Now the further education colleges had to be efficient and geared to fulfil economic goals.[97] During the 1980s, the radical education reforms were focused on schools and a national curriculum was implemented whilst at the same time schools were removed from LEA control. Alongside this, the Government began to change the legislative framework for further and higher education.

At this time Britain had one of the lowest growth rates among the developed economies. New problems emerging amongst adolescents included rising unemployment, inequality

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[95]CROZIER, B. The minimum state. London: Hutchinson. 1979.

[96]In the 1944 Education Act (section 41) it was stated that the LEAs have a duty to provide for further education for full time and part time courses, for persons over school leaving age. The provision for 16-19 year olds had become mandatory in secondary schools, but provision was decided locally for further education. See the Warnock Report. Special educational needs: report of the committee of inquiry into the education of handicapped children and young people. Cmnd 7212 , London: HMSO. The LEAs were identified as being remiss in their duty to secure mandatory provision in the further education sector.

[97]DES. 1977. Educating our children-four subjects for debate. London: HMSO.

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and alienation from school.[98] At this point, further education colleges faced severe financial restraint: "some modest expansion of non-advanced education" and legislation now entitled the Secretary of State to limit the amount of funding paid into the advanced further education pool.[99]

International competition drove the traditional industries such as textiles, footwear, shipbuilding, steel and metal manufacturing into decline. Labour costs became the major focus of management who tried to emulate the success of Japanese flexible firms.[100]

The Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education recommended that the sectors of further, adult and higher be combined in order to reduce class and status divisions.[101] They criticised the government for not stimulating demand and allowing intervention to be driven by crisis management. They recommended that a strategic plan be created by the DES for basic adult education along with the creation of a national development board. Concerns on all sides seemed to point to the need for a plan of action for educational provision for the non-advanced and adult education - the forgotten sectors.

The Adult Literacy Unit, which became the Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit, remained unable to gain any real position in the hierarchy of needs. Higher education funding began to be driven by efficiency, which had now become a central tenet of the Conservative Government's mandate for change. In further education colleges the Government began to bring about changes in college governance, the curriculum, the nature of the college and the way in which curricula was defined.[102]

In response to the Warnock report plans began to enact a new legislative framework and a White Paper was published in 1981.[103] The intention that further education colleges' should focus on technical and vocational provision failed to materialise indeed the Schools

[98]Davies, D. Policies for youth in the 1980s. Sept. 1978.
[99]Local Government Planning and Land Act 1980, Section 63.
[100]ASHTON, D. and MAGUIRE, M. Patterns and experiences of unemployment. In Brown,P. p.41. op. cit..
[101]ACACE. p. 21-28. op. cit.
[102]College government in the 1980s. Coombe Lodge Report. vol. 16 no. 12. 1983.
[103] White Paper Special needs in education. Cmnd 7996. London: HMSO. August. 1980.

and Further Education Regulations 1981 exacerbated the growing convergence between the provision of further education colleges' and schools.[104] Isolating components of general education from vocational education, both including elements of basic education, became increasingly difficult. In March 1981, the Government issued official guidance for the establishment of a core curriculum in schools though this had a limited effect on further education work it did alter the part of the colleges portfolio associated with GCE [105]

The MSC continued to develop its work on training against a background of rising criticism for the poor level of training that students' actually received from the Youth Opportunities Programme. The White Paper "A New Training Initiatives" suggested that three main objectives be pursued: training or employment experience for all up to the age of eighteen; a skills training programme; and the establishment of an adult training programme.[106] Against a background of public spending cutback the Government's response was to suggest that an alternative route to achieving the objectives be found.[107]

The Holland Report, completed in 1977, had recommended that a more coherent programme of training and work experience needed to be developed for low achievers, many of whom would be deficient in literacy and numeracy skills;[108] this need was re-emphasised in a DES circular which pointed out that these young learners tended to respond better when their courses were more closely related to the world of work.[109] The report recommended that, because of the acute needs existing schemes should be extended in preference to any new experiments; the Youth Opportunities Programme thus re-emerged as The Youth Training Scheme.[110] This new initiative increased activity for the MSC in the sixteen-eighteen year old market who claimed a new broad approach to

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[104] Education Act. 1980
[105] DES. 1981. A framework for the school curriculum. March. London: HMSO.
[106] MSC. 1981. A new training initiative: an agenda for action. Dec. London: HMSO.
[107] DES. 1981. A new training initiative: a programme for action. Cmnd 8455.
[108] DES.1977. Young people and work. Holland Report. May. London: HMSO.
[109] DES. 1977. Unemployed young people: the contribution of the education service. Circular 10/77.
[110] DES. 1982. The youth training scheme: implications for the education service. paragraph 8. Circular 6.

vocational education and training for young employed or unemployed people where qualifications could be accumulated by a system of credits.[111]

Once again, the intention of the new initiatives was to provide young people with transferable skills and enable then to deal with the dynamic nature of the business world. Similarly, the Labour Party had also begun to consider education provision for sixteen-nineteen year olds indeed Shirley Williams issued two consultative papers in 1979; however, this was interrupted by the May election. Aping the Conservative Government's stance on public sector reduction, the 1980s scheme was employer-based and financed with some support from the Government. Encouraging other training providers increased the competitive forum for the colleges. Alongside this, the MSC reduced the colleges' autonomy as well as that of the examining bodies by introducing a Training Standards Advisory Service whose remit was to monitor the quality of the service and award approval for training centres.

The relationship between the LEA and the MSC became increasingly strained. Indeed, there was no strategic fit between the two. There was lack of understanding on both sides: the MSC associated education with work whilst the DES regarded education as an alternative to work. The MSC, with a flat structure, was able to make decisions quickly, whereas the LEA, with a tall hierarchical structure, could not. The LEA complained that the MSC made decisions without consideration of the consequences and the MSC said the LEA was slow to react.

By now the social benefit system had evolved in a way that positively rewarded those who did not participate in education, particularly those unemployed with supplementary benefits; indeed those unemployed were expected to seek work, almost as a punishment, rather than to educate themselves. On the other hand, the size and variation of courses taken up by post- sixteen non-advanced learners continued to grow against all odds; this is a consistent remarkable feature over time. College systems also became much influenced

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[111]The programme was delivered either as a one year for 17 year olds or two year for 16 year olds. Individual training agreements were made in a context of nationally agreed standards of training.

by the introduction of rolling contracts for courses that served to increase their financial risk.

School leavers alongside many highly skilled workers were now finding it almost impossible to find work. Those jobs that were available tended to be part-time jobs mostly suitable for women.[112] In response, what became known as the "21 hour rule" was applied to unemployment benefit; young people could now benefit from entering further education.[113] Growth in the provision of further education, however, was to be accommodated by rationalisation, increasing student numbers did not imply increased funding.[114]

The Employment and Training Act in 1981 reduced the number of industrial training boards reducing their influence in favour of other non-statutory training organisations. The Government, in league with the MSC, continued its drive to influence curriculum in a manner more in line with business needs. Furthermore, several reports added credence to the growing belief that a vocationally biased content delivery might be more appropriate for some students.[115] The Government, in consultation with the MSC created new training plans to develop more vocationally relevant courses in full-time education and a new youth training scheme to succeed the Youth Opportunities Programme.[116] It was made clear to the further education colleges that the MSC now had responsibility for ensuring delivery of these programmes.

By now it was increasingly obvious to the Government that youth unemployment was a far from a temporary phenomenon. It began to consider a national approach to encourage young people and non-working adults to attend full-time education or undertake work experience alongside attendance at college. It was clear that many young people were becoming alienated from the world of work and its aspirations, in some communities, particularly in the north of England, this was very marked; alongside this was the

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[112]ASHTON, D. et al. p.46. op. cit.
[113]DES. 1982. Further education for unemployed young people. paragraph 1 Administrative Memorandum 2.
[114]The youth training scheme: implications for the education service. paragraph 8. op. cit.
[115]The Further Education Unit, A basis for choice, FEU. 1978.

possibility of civil unrest as the polarisation of the rich and poor increased. Furthermore, research suggested that children of unemployed parents achieved less educationally[117] and were more likely to be unemployed themselves.[118]

The further education colleges began to change in response to the introduction of qualifications based on the accumulation of credits; this drove the learning experience into distinct pockets of competence. This shift away from centrally organised curricula challenged the professionals' autonomy to choose what and how to teach. The introduction of the modular system altered the delivery pattern and the teaching practices within the further education colleges. In response to rolling contracts teaching terms and academic years no longer determined the start or finish times of courses. Sadly, once again there are no centrally organised criteria; rather modular systems tend to reflect the local needs of schools and colleges. Critics point to the lack of cohesion in the curriculum and the lack of in-depth knowledge achieved.[119] Despite this, modular systems are now common across the educational system.

The Conservative Government, which had been less than supportive, reviewed the youth service in 1982. The subsequent Thompson Report recommended that the LEAs remain responsible for the youth service and that it should continue to be funded by a combination of voluntary and statuary provision; however, it also recommended that the DES should be responsible for co-ordinating this process.[120]

The powers of the LEA and the DES began to overlap, as did the powers of the governing body and the LEA. College governors found themselves in a difficult position, caught between the financial power of the LEA and the academic power of the academic board. Ultimately the autonomy of the colleges, despite being established through their articles of government, was undermined by financial control from the LEA. In turn, the LEA were

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[116]DES. 1981. Circular 12/81. A new training initiative: a programme for action. Cmnd 8455.
[117]ASTON, D. and MAGUIRE, M. Young adults in the labour market. Research Paper No. 55. London: DOE. 1986.
[118]PAYNE, J. Does unemployment run in families: some findings some findings from the the General Household survey. Sociology, vol.21, no. 2. 1987
[119]HITCHCOCK, G. op cit.
[120]Experience and participation Cmnd 8686. London: HMSO. Oct 1982.

unhappy with responsibility for the actions of the colleges which they could not control. Alongside this, the dual funding responsibility between the LEA and the DES, which had never been comfortable, was further complicated by higher education funding increasingly being centralised. The power of the LEAs began to diminish and they began to fight their corner.

The LEAs retained responsibility for planning and providing further education colleges employing both academic and administrative staff; they also provided in-service training. The principals had responsibility for developing the curriculum within their colleges alongside determining the materials and equipment needed; they thus began to manage large budgets and resources. The academic board of a college became responsible for overseeing policy determination with the principals and heads of department. Since hierarchical power within the colleges was placed at the academic board level the governing body acted mainly as a monitor of the college process. Purchasers drove the institution and the complex structure of the colleges reflected the needs of those demands and the incrementalist approach to change that had now become central to the way the further education colleges' development continued unharmed.

In 1982 the MSC launched the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative for fourteen-eighteen year olds. This gave more power to the MSC and was a radical departure from established practice; it was the first time any department other than the DES had been given the power to directly influence the education of young people. The aims of TVEI were familiar, to attract more fourteen-eighteen year olds into qualifications or skills development and to better equip them for employment was jointly funded by the MSC and the participating LEAs. The LEAs now had to submit programmes to the MSC for approval, thus its control over local schemes reduced. Pressure for accommodation in further education colleges' grew, however, the LEAs were reminded that they should use spare resources resulting from a general fall in student numbers.[121] At the same time some attempts were made to increase industry's confidence in the changes to the curriculum.[122]

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[121]DES. 1982. Circular 6/82. The youth training scheme: implications for the education service.
[122]MSC. 1985. TVEI Unit, Supporting TVEI.

The DES published a policy statement about post-sixteen qualifications, making the point that courses currently available for the non-advanced students did not meet those students' needs. Coupled with this, the hotchpotch of examining bodies served to confuse the consumer; clearly this situation had to be remedied.[123]

The evidence of unemployment was growing alongside the number of disillusioned young people whose needs had not been met by the compulsory education sector. The debate in the UK focused on whether this type of unemployment was caused by market forces - structural or cyclical events. Whatever the reason voluntary training collapsed and the Government turned to rapid expansion of state run training programmes to fill the gap. Some saw the introduction of TVEI as a total reversal of the comprehensive ideal and expressed their fears that once again young people would be divided along the old lines, vocational and academic. Concerns are still voiced as to whether the curriculum for non-advanced learners should simply be about training for the labour market. On the other hand, some argued that in reality these young people ultimately suffered if faced with a purely academic curriculum. The political implications of the role of the MSC, however, was clear it was a Government mouthpiece.

A report on the poor levels of maths over the whole range of ability attained in Britain compared to Germany added to the growing dissatisfaction with the welfare state and its failure to alter Britain's competitive position.[124] Indeed Prais suggested that Britain's poor achievement in mathematics occurred because the system lacked the narrow focus of study and central control over curriculum, which existed in Germany, causing the British system to vary from area to area. Germany became a main focus of comparison - in particular, the young peoples training and socialisation to work programme was linked to business success.[125]

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[123]DES.1982. 17+: a new qualification. London: HMSO.

[124] Prof. Sig Prais concluded that German pupils in the bottom range of ability achieved levels of performance comparable with the whole range of ability in England and Wales. The bottom 40% of pupils were thus well below that of one of Britain's major competitors. PRAIS, S. and WAGNER, K. Schooling standards in Britain and Germany. National Institute of Economic and Social Research. 1983.

[125]PRAIS, S. Productivity and industrial structure. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1981.

One-sixth of the population in the UK was now living in poverty with the result that claims on supplementary benefit rose considerably. Any commitment to equal opportunity seemed merely to be some form of tokenism.

In 1983 the TEC and BEC became The Business and Technician Education Council, a limited company and a registered educational charity. BTEC's remit was "to advance the quality and availability of a wide range of employment related education, to the mutual benefit of the students, their current and future employers, and the national interests."[126] The introduction of a voucher system enabling students to purchase their courses shifted power from the providers to the consumers but perhaps because there was a general election looming, this approach disappeared from the overt political agenda.[127]

The Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit established a case for adult education to continue but lost the battle.[128] The MSC began to flex its muscle and make a bid to lead the continuing education service. In 1984 the REPLAN initiative was announced by the DES, aimed at those involved in mid-career updating, countering the bid by the MSC for control.[129] At the same time, the DES published "Records of Achievement: a statement of policy" by 1990 all sixteen year olds were to be involved in creating records of their achievements placing emphasis on the process of progress, personal achievement and increased social skills, rather than the acquisition of knowledge.[130] At the same time, aping the Government's beliefs in individualism, this approach shifted power away from the professionals and the examination boards towards the customer allowing them to debate and influence decision making.

Profiling became a central feature of the Certificate Pre-Vocational Education and TVEI schemes opening new ways of assessment. A short-term focus came into vogue - indeed

[126]The Business and Technical Education Council. 1983.

[127]Writers in free-market economics had over a long period of time made it clear that there was a need for government to separate funding from provision. It was assumed that choice was better be in the hands of the consumer rather than the producer.

[128]Adult literacy and basic skills: a continuing partnership. London: ALBSU. 1983.

[129]REPLAN was part of the DES Professional Industrial and Commercial Updating programme designed to expand the student's skills for work.

[130]DES. 1984. Records of achievement: a statement of policy. London: HMSO.

the Hargreaves Report highlighted the advantage of modular systems as short term targeting tools.[131]

A pilot CPVE scheme had developed in response to the Mansell Report in 1978; in 1983 the DES invited BTEC to set up a joint board and CPVE was launched in 1985; this offered post-sixteen full-time students joint attendance at school and college for one year with an a integrated training and education programme. In reality non-advanced courses were associated to job needs ultimately the curriculum continued to be separated along class lines.

The introduction of the CPVE by the DES and TVEI by the MSC demonstrated their battle for supremacy; colleges and schools were simply left trying to deliver on both, which inevitably pulled the organisations in different directions. The two initiatives impacted on curriculum and teaching styles within the further education colleges, increasing the onslaught on professional autonomy; experiential, negotiated learning and student profiling based on " relevance, differentiation, and balance" drove the courses away from specialist lines.[132] Alongside this, the inclusion of compulsory work experience put pressure on the schools and colleges to find work experience placements; with employers largely disinterested one lecturer described many students as "spending their work experience photocopying and making tea."

In 1984 the Government, recognising the shift in teacher support in the public mind, and flushed with success over actually being able to institute the national curriculum in schools, began to look seriously at A levels. The welfare state, the Government argued, had become producer-dominated.[133] At the same time, the rift between central and local government became very public when the extreme leftwing local authorities refused to cut expenditure; Maclure argues that this served to influence public opinion out of all

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[131]HARGREAVES, D. Improving secondary schools: report of the committee on the curriculum and organisation of secondary schools. ILEA. 1984.
[132]Secretary of State for Education, Sir Keith Joseph called for an education system to take into account the principles of breadth, relevance, differentiation and balance. Nottingham, Jan. 1984.
[133]They took on the Government and lost; new contracts followed with the introduction of the Teachers Pay and Conditions Act 1987.

proportion and provided legitimacy to the assertion that the producers had power. It also legitimised the need for the Secretary of State for Education to play a leading role.[134]

By 1985 there were 64,096 full time equivalent students attending courses. Small colleges had merged into 489 large maintained colleges, of which 31 were voluntary and direct grant colleges.[135] Further education was re-classified into seven categories: polytechnics and major colleges having fifty per cent of students in advanced work or over five hundred full-time equivalent students involved in advanced work; intermediate colleges which comprised ten per cent or more advanced students; minor colleges; art and design colleges; agricultural colleges; monotechnic colleges classified by subject specialism rather than average full-time equivalent student numbers. The type of work was categorised as laboratory/workshop, art and design, or classroom based.[136]

In 1985 the Government commissioned an audit of further and higher education aping the Government's derision of the welfare state the Audit Commission's findings pointed to slack and wastage in the system.[137] Despite the fact that the audit combined further and higher education, two distinct education sectors with very little in common, accountability, efficiency and effectiveness became part of the further education colleges' new agenda.[138] Alongside this, the report intimated that monitoring of professional tasks would increase. The radical move to erode professional autonomy was at last made explicit.

In 1985 The Further Education Act received the Royal Assent. This Act increased the competitive forum for the colleges, which now could engage in commercial activities; LEAs were also able to lend money to companies to facilitate teaching activities.[139] The Government was clearly signalling that colleges should look to other forms of funding than the public purse. Entrepreneurial behaviour became part of a further education

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[134]MACLURE, S. Education re-formed. 3rd ed. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1988.
[135]Annual Monitoring Survey. Table G1. 1986.
[136]Annual Monitoring Survey. 1985.
[137]Obtaining better value from education. London: HMSO. Audit Commission. 1985.
[138]DFEE. 1991. Education and Training for the 21st Century. May. London: HMSO.
[139]DES. 1985. The Further Education Act 1985: commercial activities in further education. paragraph 7.1. Circular 6.

college's agenda. In 1986 colleges were further re-classified as polytechnics, large colleges, small colleges or tertiary colleges.[140]

The MSC had by now became the vehicle for Government policy, at the same time neutering the LEAs. The MSC who had a direct line to central government also now had the resources to influence the direction of educational developments. In turn, the LEA began to experience reduced control from lack of resources.

Reactions to the introduction of the MSC in what was traditionally a DES decision zone varied. Some shared the views of Shirley Williams: "the DES is powerless....the Cabinet, impatient to get things done, has used the one weapon to hand, the centrally funded MSC, in consequence the MSC has invaded or taken over very large areas of education and training. It is not accountable to local authorities or even education ministers, and is resented by them." [141]

The General Certificate of Secondary Education was launched, replacing the GCE and CSE examinations and thus resolving a growing debate about the need for a single system of examining at sixteen-plus. Some saw this as a victory for those who supported the comprehensive system, although on the other hand it could also be seen as a way to improve standards, thus supporting the right wing perspective; in the event the introduction of GCSE gained support from both sides.

The increasing emphasis on independent learning, especially amongst young learners, was not without its problems; it relied on a mature approach to learning unlikely in low ability students for whom the initiative was introduced. Given this it is not surprising to find that failure rates continued to be a problem, as did the low status of training programmes. At the same time, the changing context of unemployment created a need for a flexible workforce. In an attempt to lessen any delay in training, the 21-hour rule allowing

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[140]Annual Monitoring Survey. 1986.
[141]WILLIAMS, Shirley. The Times, March 25, 1986.

unemployed young people to work with no loss of benefit was amended to allow training from the MSC to contribute towards the qualifying period for benefit.[142]

By 1987 all LEAs were involved in TVEI because the Government, via the MSC, was investing cash to ensure its development. If there was a battle for power the MSC was winning. Critics argued that the curriculum for these young people should not be driven simply by training for the labour market but by now it was clear that Government were pursuing education as a process for job training. At the same time, the economic climate was one of downturn; in reality there were few jobs for these young people to go.[143] Falling student numbers added to the credibility of a rationalisation programme.[144]

The Education Act 1986[145] principally focused on the government of schools; pursuing the Conservative's stance on accountability it increased the publics right to minutes of colleges governors' meetings.[146] Paradoxically, it ensured that student representatives on governing bodies would have to leave any meetings where staffing was being discussed thus effectively reducing customer awareness.[147] Pursuing the Government's need to control this area of activity, the Act suggested a code of practice for meetings.[148]

In 1986 yet another White Paper on training and education saw the pilot scheme of TVEI launched into a national initiative but financed by lower levels of funding.[149] Once again, the need for an improved provision programme for technical and vocational education was seen as vital to ensuring growth in participation rates in this area. Once again, following the Government's intention to reduce the welfare state, responsibility to bring about this change was placed on the individual and the employers.

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[142]DES. 1984. Administrative memoranda 3/84. Further education for unemployed people under the "21 hour rule."
[143] HITCHCOCK, G. op cit.
[144]DES. 1987. Providing for quality: the pattern of organisation to age 19. Circular 3.
[145]Education Act (No. 2) 1986.
[146]Education Act (no. 2) section 62. 1986.
[147]Education Act (no. 2) section 61. 1986.
[148]This placed a duty on those participating in the government of colleges to secure, freedom of speech as given in law for members, students, employees and visiting speakers. Education Act (no. 2) section 43. 1986.
[149]DES. 1986. Working together-education and training Cmnd 9823. July. London: HMSO.

A review conducted by the MSC and the DES on vocational training led to another radical development; a National Council for Vocational Qualifications replaced the plethora of examining bodies.[150] By 1987, these qualifications had four levels: basic, standard, advanced and higher. Clearly the plan was that NVQs would replace degrees in the university sector. Continuing the work based on standards of competence, and defined by industry led boards, the influence of the professional lecturer became subject to increasing threat. At the same time, the competitive forums for further education colleges continued to increase - they now competed with each other and with schools where resources varied.

By now, however, the legitimacy of the MSC to make decisions was being questioned; the view was expressed that it had not properly investigated the skills base of the fourteen to twenty-four year old for whom it was responsible thus it was operating with poor market intelligence. The MSC accused the further education colleges of not meeting market needs: provision for technology and robotics was identified as particularly poor. By now some of the LEAs were furious; because the rate support grant, its most important form of independent funding, was diminishing and money was being re-directed by the Government to the MSC, its power was being deliberately eroded even though it was a publicly elected local voice. The MSC argued that further education colleges had to become more market oriented in reality they meant as dictated by them.

Radically different methods of financial responsibility by government emerged in 1987 when the Conservative Government announced that those establishments providing a high proportion of advanced further education would become independent corporate bodies funded by a newly established Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council.

The era of democratic teacher participation and control of curriculum and examinations ended. The School Curriculum Development Committee and the Secondary Examinations Council, neither of which included teacher representatives replaced the old Schools Council. At the same time, the cut in the rate support grant from sixty per cent in 1979 to forty-seven per cent in 1987 further eroded the financial muscle of the LEAs.

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[150]MSC/DES. 1986. Review of vocational qualification in England and Wales: a report by the working

The 1988 Education Act finally neutered the power of the LEAs.[151] It was quickly followed by the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act, which placed further education colleges in the private sector, reinforcing the Conservatives Government's clear political agenda;[152] further education became a casualty of the New Right political ideology which challenged the perceived wisdom of educationalists testing public perceptions about the purpose of education. Conservative rhetoric during the 1980s had claimed the existence of diseconomies of scale and empire within state enterprises; a central tenet of the debate in the early 1990s was therefore that of decentralisation thus reduced government interventionism. Paradoxically, the Secretary of State increased central powers over local discretion.

Coupled with this, the MSC had become hierarchical and directive with wide-ranging activities that placed it in politically sensitive territory. The LEAs having responded to the changing rules by government now found that they had less funding under the YTS scheme than they had for YOP schemes.[153]

The Education Reform Act 1988 was the most important law making to take place in education since the 1944 Act. Continuing the Conservative Government's attempt to control the education sector the 1988 Education Reform Act increased the intervention powers of the Secretary of State whilst at the same time altering the basic power structure of the education system; as a result the duties of the LEAs became more specific and less autonomous whilst schools and governing bodies had greater autonomy. Central government now had powers over the curriculum, combined with a formal system to enforce it. At the same time, part three of the Education Reform Act 1988 restructured former inner London councils. The LEA retained responsibility for the further education development plan.

group. London: HMSO.
[151]Education Reform Act 1988: Local Management of Further and Higher Education Colleges Planning and Delegation Schemes and Articles of Government.
[152]Further and Higher Education Act. 1992.
[153]College government in the 1980s. Further Education Staff College, vol. 16, no. 12. 1983.

All was far from plain sailing in the further education colleges and tensions between the principals and the Government began to develop. Some college principals' argued that the data used as the basis for the development of government policy documents, for example "Obtaining Better Value from Further Education,"[154] was not fairly representative.[155] They began to put pressure on the Government to represent their interests more fairly.

Quality assurance, established through competition, was at the core of the Act; it was argued that the 1944 Act had ultimately failed to deliver the much-needed homogenous service and that equal opportunity therefore had not been achieved. Diversity and choice replaced equal opportunity as a central tenet of educational provision. At the same time, this provided the opportunity for an enterprise culture to replace the traditional one based on collectivism; as a result public faith in the assumption that any level of education was inherently a good thing continued to be challenged; from now on education had to be measured by its output and the relationship that output had to economic development. The New Right thus made a previous illegitimate discourse legitimate.

The aim of the Government's revision programme was to provide standard measures so that customers could compare services.[156] In 1988 the standard divisors, used by colleges to calculate their income, changed so that they were now based on a national average of full-time students per week, causing local differences and local needs to be excluded.[157]

Concerns began to be voiced that colleges were not being treated fairly; there were inconsistencies, particularly around the funding of high resource use courses and the changes in the statistics added to the growing general melee. Finally it was recommended by the Joint Efficiency Study, a combination of DES and local authority, that the Annual Monitoring Survey be revised in the 1988/9 survey.

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[154]Obtaining Better Value from Further Education. Audit Commission. London: HMSO. June. 1995.
[155]Principals complained that the national average, calculated from sample size of 29% in 1980/81, was too small. The number of surveyed colleges was subsequently increased to 99% of advanced and 70% of non-advanced work during the period 1984/85.
[156]The standard divisors are now used to convert part time students to full time equivalents. Standard divisors vary according to course group, level of education and type of establishment.
[157]In previous years the convergence of part-time students to full-time equivalents had been based on the average weekly hours of each college's own full-time students. Annual Monitoring Survey 1988/89.

In response to the 1988 Act and the Further and Higher Education Act 1992 a new independent further education sector was established creating a network of semi-autonomous institutions: the colleges found themselves operating in a quasi market. The stated aim of the 1992 Act had a familiar ring, to ensure equal status between academic and vocational qualifications. The current Secretary of State, Mr Kenneth Clark, pointed to further education as having: "a vital role in providing education and training...have never been given the attention that their importance in educational policy should justify."[158] Further education colleges now became a main focus for the implementation of the Government's education and training policies.

Part 2 of the 1992 Act served to increase the competitive forum in which further education colleges functioned; they now found themselves funded by an annual budget together with a sum calculated on the student numbers enrolled. Coupled with this, the new statistical methodology for funding was focused on performance indicators.[159] For the first time budgets, efficiency and the college's course portfolio were linked. Perhaps more importantly, a process had been put into place where one college could now be compared to another. Indeed, the Act stated that as corporate entities the colleges could go out of business - they could be sued and governors could be removed if affairs were "mismanaged."[160] In 1991 the introduction of a charter for further education drove colleges to set their own performance targets;[161] the targets selected to measure performance, however, were no longer determined by the professionals. Measuring achievement became standard practice and comparability of college performance was heralded as benefiting consumer sovereignty by supplying choice.[162]

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[158]HANSARD. Prime Minister, House of Commons Statement 21.3.91

[159]The Annual Monitoring Survey, 1992/3 page iv, defines the terms as follows. **Average Class Size**: the year's total of student timetable hours divided by the year's total of staff timetable hours. **Average Lecturer Timetable Hours**: The year's total of staff timetable hours divided by staff full-time equivalent numbers multiplied by the standard number of weeks in the academic year. **Average Student Timetable Hours**: the year's total of student timetable hours divided by student full-time equivalent numbers multiplied by the standard number of weeks in the academic year. **Student Staff ratios**: student full time equivalent numbers divided by staff full-time equivalent numbers. Gross and net SSRs exclude academic staff not working in direct support of teaching (exclusions and abatements)

[160]Further and Higher Education Act 1992, sections 15-16.

[161]DFEE. 1993. The charter for further education. London: HMSO.

[162]FEFC. 1994. Measuring achievement. Nov. Circular 94131.

In 1993/4 the now incorporated colleges became funded by the Further Education Funding Council (FEFC), a government quango; further education thus became distanced from government grant financing and had to bid for funding. The further education sector became re-classified as geographical categories: greater London; metropolitan boroughs: English counties. The university sector now came under the funding regime of the Higher Education Funding Council (HEFCE). Survival had become the dominant aim of the colleges.

Following the Conservatives stance on accountability, national targets for education and training were introduced for the year 2000 where sixty per cent of young people by the age of twenty-one were to achieve two A levels, GNVQ or NVQ level three, eighty-five per cent of nineteen year olds' were to achieve five GCSEs at grade C or above, intermediate GNVQ or NVQ level two and seventy-five per cent of those aged nineteen were to achieve NVQ level two competence in core skills communication, numeracy and information technology; thirty-five per cent of young people were expected achieve NVQ level three by the age of twenty-one. As the further education colleges provided most of the courses at the level required they were destined to become embroiled in achieving these targets. At the same time, the Government merged the Departments for Education and Employment, further reinforcing the link between the two in the public mind, and value for money became part of the discourse of public accountability.[163]

In 1995 the Government asked Sir Ron Dearing to conduct a review of sixteen-nineteen year olds' qualifications. The report was conducted in a context where the Conservative Government's targets for education and training for the year 2000 demanded securing increased participation rates, reducing failure and wastage rates, as well as increasing achievement without compromising standards. It was a pre-determined context that considerably bounded future choices, without a remit to consider other approaches, to which the incoming Labour Government had promised to pay particular regard.[164]

[163]DFEE. Competitiveness: forging ahead. Cmnd. 2867. London: HMSO.
[164]DFEE. 1995. Review of the 16-19 qualifications framework. Interim report: the issues for consideration, Sir Ron Dearing. paragraph 4.4.

The Dearing Report suggested that the achievement of the national targets for the year 2000 implied a substantial increase in take up and pass rates; furthermore, it suggested that since participation in A levels had increased from eleven per cent in 1964 to a third in 1994, participation at this level could be close to its maximum thus further increases would have to come from vocational qualifications. At the same time, the report suggested that there was an implied time lag of ten years before the NVQ qualifications would be understood and trusted by society at large. Once again there were no clear market signals which suggested that these targets would be met

The final report refers to "a new approach to youth training with a re-launch with a new national identity"; hardly new, it focused on a national framework for qualifications with three main pathways developing further the NVQ framework.[165] The report further suggested that an increase in apprenticeships, not intended for the unemployed, based on NVQ qualifications suitable for the level of work, could be delivered in partnership with further education colleges. Those of lower attainment were to be offered education that would make them employable. Furthermore, this report suggested that national records of achievement should be re-launched and A levels maintained with some changes to develop the broad remit of the AS level

Under the heading of "removing barriers to achievement," where one might expect a discourse about ensuring equal opportunity, the report refers to the paucity of high quality up-dated information and recommends that present arrangements be reviewed.[166] Furthermore, the report refers to the need for career guidance, this served to reduce the discourse about equal opportunity to one of market information in line with the Conservatives' stance on market needs.

In a context of growing concern about accountability in public life the Nolan Committee published its second report, the second chapter of which concentrated on higher and

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[165]A level and GCSE focused on subject and discipline. Applied GNVQ designed to develop knowledge and understanding and skills associated to broad areas of employment. Vocational training focused on the qualification necessary for a trade or profession. Review of the 16-19 qualifications framework. section 16. P 137. op. cit.

[166]Review of the 16-19 qualifications framework. section 183. p 151. op. cit.

further education.[167] The report made clear that the resources for students in both higher and further education colleges had not kept pace with the increase in numbers and in consequence further education colleges were now under considerable financial and administrative pressure.[168]

Whilst accepting that further education colleges' governance should be rooted in local governance (the view of the Holland Report), the Nolan Report states that freedom from the LEA had served to produce clear lines of accountability, namely the FEFC to the Secretary of State to Parliament through the national Audit Office to the Public Accounts Committee, even so more consistency across national provision was needed.[169] Paradoxically, the report states that the views of the Local Authority, as the only elected body, must remain significant. Furthermore, the national lines of accountability where identified as causal to policy being distanced from the community even-though colleges published more information about themselves in the spirit of more openness.

Interestingly the report continues: "One of the weaknesses of central finance for local bodies is their tendency to be driven into wholly centralised control by the important need to safeguard public money;"[170] this in turn, the report states weakens local responsibility and accountability whilst giving local bodies autonomy. Consequently, the report states strong frameworks, rules and procedures have to be in place to protect local accountability. The report refers to a Public Affairs Forum as a possible way of resolving the new relationship between local agents.[171]

That colleges should have an independent review process was identified as essential: "as normal good practice that the procedure has to be combined with a statement, made

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[167]Standards in public life. The Second Report of the Committee on Standards in Public Life. Presented to Parliament by command of Her Majesty, May 1996, CMND. 3270/1. London: HMSO.
[168]By this time 70% of further education colleges income was derived from the FEFC and 14% from other funds including the European Union.
[169]Along with the principles of openness and transparency further education colleges are now required by regulation to make agendas, minutes and papers available to the public.
[170]Standards in public life. parargraph 374. op. cit.
[171]The Nolan Report refers to Kirklees Metropolitan District where a forum may discuss a topic which affects the Council and one other agency involved in public service in a public meeting culminating in a report. paragraph 376. op. cit.

publicly available, of the service standards which the user can expect from the body concerned, and against which failure to perform can be measured."[172]

In 1996 the DES set up a Further Education Staff Development Forum; its remit was to act as a lead body for the further education sector and it began work to develop a national standard.

In 1997 the Kennedy Report on widening participation, in line with the Dearing Report, suggested further education as the core for development towards the national targets.[173] In direct contrast to the Conservative Government's stance, and perhaps anticipating a Labour administration, it suggested that the market principle alone would not widen participation quickly enough for society's needs; the report therefore suggested a funded combined national and local framework to stimulate demand. However, aping market speak, the system was to comprise of strategic partnerships between contributing agencies, again reinforcing the shift away from government interventionism. The White Paper "Learning to Compete" in 1996 had responded the report states, to some of the concerns of the committee involved in widening participation. Modern Apprenticeships had been introduced the aim to attract sixteen-seventeen year olds into work-based training in order to achieve an NVQ level three – the intention was to expand this to the eighteen – nineteen age group.[174] Therefore, the report focused in the first instance on post-eighteen. Addressing the needs for those over eighteen and underrepresented, the report refers to the requirement for a new learning pathway for those who would be eligible for full fee remission, the unemployed and those on state benefits, and those who have not achieved academically. Within a context of "no free lunch" those colleges who wish to provide this service have to be able to demonstrate their capability to the FEFC which has identified the key elements of success.[175]

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[171]The Nolan Report refers to Kirklees Metropolitan District where a forum may discuss a topic which affects the Council and one other agency involved in public service in a public meeting culminating in a report. paragraph 376. op. cit.
[172]The Nolan Report. paragraph 384. op. cit.
[173]FEFC. 1997. Pathways to success. Widening Participation Committee. Kennedy Report. FEFC.
[174]Learning to compete. London: HMSO Dec 1996.
[175]Identify and reach under-represented groups in the area without them needing to enter the institution, help the learner to make informed choices, provide opportunities to enter at a basic level, and monitor progress. Widening Participation Committee. p 8. op. cit.

In May 1996 New Labour took power in an economic background of high employment in comparison to other leading economies[176] coupled with the total social security budget at thirteen per cent of GDP; Britain simultaneously now had the highest number of people living in poverty at the same time as it had high labour market participation thus poverty could no longer be only associated to unemployment.[177] In particular there was growing evidence of a divide between young people who entered jobs which demanded an extended period of education and the rest who remained subject to semi-skilled jobs, "blind alley" jobs or no jobs.[178] In effect the only thing that had changed was the increasing size of young people caught in this trap.

Very quickly it became clear that New Labour, hugging the political centre which had served to get it elected, intended to restructure the welfare state. In line with much of old Labour speak there was to be a windfall-profits tax to finance work and training for unemployed young people. Disincentives to work were to be reviewed and the social security system updated to remove gender bias. The Government's economic and social strategy, however, was unclear.

In June 1997 the Secretary of State for Education and Employment established the National Advisory Group for Continuing Education and Life-Long Learning: its task was to publish its first report on life-long learning in November 1997.[179] The report, which accepts that cultural obstacles to change are common, suggests that the Government must carefully plan and lead the changes with "enthusiasm, vision and with commitment" in order to win over the many stakeholders and conduct a widespread publicity campaign.[180] Furthermore, the report refers to the need for a culture of lifelong learning to permeate society because it acts as a resource in a dynamic world where global forces exert increasing influence:[181] "Achieving this will entail profound changes in our culture and our

[176]USA, Japan, Canada, Germany, France, Italy.
[177]HUTTON, W. Lack of welfare state causes poverty. Guardian 21.12.97.
[178]BROWN, P. et al. Poor Work disadvantage and the division of labour. p 91. op. cit.
[179]Learning for the twenty-first century. First report of the national Advisory Group for Continuing Education and Lifelong Learning. Professor R.H. FRYER. NAGCELL1. Nov. 1997.
[180]Learning for the twenty-first century. p 90. op. cit.
[181]Lifelong learning implies the implementation of a system that is guided by the same core principles across all stages, elements and levels of learning. The vision is built on equity, variety and diversity.

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approach to the world of work.....It will mean a switch of emphasis in our assumptions, in people's aspirations, in funding and provision. We need to change our whole approach to achievement and its measurement and even the very language and vocabularies used to describe learning opportunities."[182] The New Deal initiative is identified in the report as crucial to the enabling of a reversal of rising social inequalities which have culminated in alienation and hostility to education institutions by those very people who need lifelong learning experiences. The report points to many research findings that suggest that social class continues to determine whether individuals can take advantage of opportunities and attainment. Hence the report refers to the need to establish new national targets to reflect wider participation and achievements.

The report also suggests that educational institutions will simply become the providers as the learners learn to manage their own learning. Despite the fact that the report refers to support for learners to learn how to manage themselves, some lecturers managing learning at the coal-face have begun to express concerns that non-advanced learners may again suffer from lack of consideration for their learning needs, which they argue have to nurtured.

Aping Conservative ideology, New Labour talk of the need to reduce the dependency culture, replacing it with a philosophy based on "help them to help themselves." The Prime Minister, Tony Blair along with the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, and the Social Security Secretary, Harriet Harman, depict social security as a failing system which has long needed to be reviewed in favour of spending on education and health.[183] At the same time, leaked documents have made public a split in the Cabinet on welfare reforms and David Blunkett, the Education Secretary, has spoken against cuts in disability allowance heralding what may turn into a bitter battle about welfare reforms. Nevertheless the Welfare to Work Programme was launched on January 5th 1998.

Alongside this, the New Deal which focused on eighteen-twenty-four year olds attracted larger than predicted numbers of students taking the education strand of the new initiative;

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[182]Learning for the twenty-first century. p. 13. paragraph 2.11. op.cit.

this also includes participation in employment, environmental or voluntary work. In the academic year 1996/97 the FEFC estimated that some 280,00 students in colleges were on courses whilst unemployed against the government estimation of 80,000.[184] The colleges have expressed concerns that these candidates will have to leave their courses to find work and have therefore begun to press for New Dealers to be able to choose between full-time college or work. The Government announced that £700 million would be available for the development of this initiative; the further education colleges can bid in order to provide the education and training strands of the New Deal - currently the pathfinder areas have a strong college presence. The New Deal is scheduled to go nation wide from April 1st. Alongside this expectations are that it will be extended over the age of twenty-five from June.[185]

The FEFC indicated that in the year 1999/2000 London colleges would receive a one-off payment to help to keep them financially afloat. Other colleges have expressed their displeasure that London colleges should be singled out in this way. The FEFC has agreed to hold a national review of institutional and geographical differences. It has also promised to put more money in to provide more courses for sixteen-nineteen year olds some of which is from the "Kennedy money" targeted to broaden participation in deprived areas.[186] By now, however, colleges are nothing if not cautious, recognising that nothing is for ever; any funding is only short term.

The skills mismatch has worsened over the last five years at the same time as the number of employers requiring increasing skills in the average employee has remained static suggesting that the required changes in skills has not taken place. The employment sectors with "hard to fill" vacancies are: manufacturing; mining, utilities and construction; distribution and consumer services; finance and business services, transport public and other.[187] We still await the National Skills Agenda promised by the Education and

[183]MACASKIL, E. Benefit row splits government. Guardian, 22 December . 1997.
[184]FEFC Annual Statistics 1996/97.
[185]First students enrol in £700 million New Deal. FE Now. 43: Feb. p 1.1998.
[186]FEFC to bail out London - for now. FE, Now. Issue 43. Feb. 1998.
[187]HANCOCK, J. The Search for skills. FE, Now. 43: Feb. p. 21.1998

Employment Secretary David Blunkett in November 1998. Even so, colleges are currently unlikely to be able to provide state-of-the-art equipment to fulfil the changing needs.

As further education colleges begin to move even more centre stage NATFHE's General Secretary, Paul Mackney, has suggested that the trend of short-term contracts created by Conservative legislation, should be reversed and efforts made to re-install respect for lecturers in order to maintain quality.[188] It is rumoured that the Select Committee on Further Education will make some comments about teaching quality and increase in standards, perhaps leading to a national training organisation for further education as well as providing opportunities to update industrial experience.[189]

Reflection

The diversity of provision that further education colleges supply along with the number of their influencing agents has made tracking of historical data very difficult which in turn has created difficulties in telling the story about the development of further education colleges. Coupled with this, telling the story using a retrospective approach tends to make changes and decisions appears rational; the emotions of the moment often tend not to be recorded. There is a need, therefore, to apply some caution in interpreting the results. Nevertheless this process has been useful in that the development of further education colleges can at least be identified as a separate entity.

The need for increased attainment in education and training, in order to increase the UK's competitive edge, has featured as a significant national issue since the latter part of the Industrial Revolution. At the same time, it has long been recognised that there is a need for an educational route, other than the academic one, to foster greater participation in education and training. Alongside this, it is clear that the interaction between employees and employers has been insufficient to generate the level of participation in education and training required to meet national needs; in any case skills miss-match has become a permanent feature of industrialised economies.

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[188]MACKNEY, P. FE must unite forces to fight for a better deal. FE, Now. 43: Feb. p.10. 1998.

In 1944, those involved in reconstructing the education system had a vision of equal opportunity; this was to be achieved through the establishment of parity of difference between different systems of achievement. We have been able to identify the consistent failure of government to achieve that parity of difference indeed it would seem that it never became a central concern of government; the attainment of equality in the education system was dependent on a wider social reconstruction programme which did not materialise. Taylor-Goody suggests that the kind of controversy we have observed, such as selection procedures identified as a route to preserve high standards[190] because they provide options for different aptitudes[191] and at the same time identified as divisive restricting opportunity[192] and wasting some of the nation's ability,[193] will emerge where the ideal of equal opportunity is matched with the reality of a working world that includes unequal labour markets, class, and gender inequalities.[194]

We have found that the vision of parity of difference was eroded by societies attitude to selection procedures, which reflected old upper class values, benefited a minority of learners. Further, we have found that the average worker very early on in the history of education rejected these traditional learning mechanisms. Significant changes to the participation rates in education and training have thus been hindered by an education system based on a hierarchy that values pure academic achievement above any other. Although the growth of professionalisation has to some extent altered the balance training still has a low status in society at large. Indeed, there is no evidence to suggest that any serious attempt has been made to achieve parity over the study period. What we have been able to observe over the period of time is the application of crisis management by government despite many reports that justify something much better. With no real

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[189]DUTTON, S. Raising FEs teaching standard. FE Now. 43: Feb. p 6. 1998.
[190]COX, C. and DYSON, A. The black papers in education. London: Davis Poynter. 1971.
[191]NORWOOD, C. 1943. Report of the committee of secondary schools examination council in MACLURE, S. Educational documents. London: Methuen, op. cit.
[192]DONNISON, D. 1970 Extract from second report of the public schools in MACLURE. S. Educational documents. London: Methuen. 1986.
[193]ROBBINS, Lord. 1963. Report of the committee on higher education. In MACLURE, S. Educational documents. London: Methuen. op. cit.
[194]TAYLOR-GOODY, P. Education national success and individual opportunity. In Social policy towards 2000 squaring the welfare circle. GEORGE, V. and MILLER, S. eds. London: Routledge. 1994.

challenge made by government to change traditional prejudices further education colleges have emerged as second class systems exemplifying those inequalities.

Over the period of time, further education colleges have consistently been left out of main stream legislation and have graduated along an evolutionary chain driven by the growing power of the influencing agents around them. They have continued to operate in an amoebic and chameleonic way changing with demand. Acting autonomously, they have developed a complex course portfolio that meets both local and national needs. Despite the lack of cohesive central government support, further education colleges have played an important role in providing a route for social mobility; the further education colleges have continued to provide a service and some people have continued to better themselves, one might say despite everything.

Prior to the 1985 Act further education colleges operated in a difficult and diverse power net of complex relationships and it became difficult for the government to alter policy and control implementation;[195] with successive governments managing crisis and adopting a short-term perspective the need to target funding became paramount. Indeed Harris suggests that the professional politician gains credibility by action.[196] She argues that the changes to the education system both in 1944 and in 1988 are simply tools of action used by the politicians to raise their profile; in 1944 the coalition government needed to demonstrate that changes were in the pipeline and in 1988 Mrs Thatcher needed to regain public interest after a long period of Conservative rule.[197] It has to be conceded that the need for increased participation in further education was not new and this would explain why further education colleges suddenly leapt into the lime light in the 1980s.

On the other hand, the social reforms of the 1940s had their roots in socialism, which was deemed to have failed in the 1970s. Perhaps the Conservative Party felt that the time was right for it to express its political ideology, which had been effectively watered down since the 1900s. In other words, whilst socialism was appearing to work the Conservative Party

[195]PARKES, D. The changing face of FE. Further Education Unit. DEC. 1982.
[196]HARRIS, J. Private lives, public spirit: Britain 1870-1994. London: Penguin. 1993.
[197]GLENNERSTER, H. British social policy since 1945/1995. London: Blackwell. 1995.

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could not attempt to alter the public mind but when socialist ideas appeared to be going wrong it was able to launch a legitimate alternative discourse.

Although we cannot be sure of the reasons behind the changes in the system of education change was inevitable from the 1970s when the Conservatives began a discourse of derision based on the failure of the welfare state, which ultimately legitimised their stance on the reduction and rationalisation of the welfare state, and Labour introduced the discourse of inadequacy. Morris and Greggs have coined the term "wasted years" to describe the 1970s and early 1980s.[198] Certainly the 1970s were a watershed for the ideals of equal opportunity a battle could have taken place and did not. However, we have found that the reasons lie further back in time and seem to be associated with the failure to win workers rights during the general strike, this caused radical change to be swapped for incremental change in order to have popular appeal; this allowed tradition and in particular traditional attitudes to education to continue to play a significant part in the changes that followed, serving in some way to prevent equal opportunity becoming a government mission.

The incrementalist approach to change also served to justify the failure to implement the 1944 Act on the grounds of increasing financial strain and slowly but surely social justice became deemed unaffordable. How we justify this to future generations remains to be seen; these "other" learners needs have been neglected even by those institutions set up to serve them. The ability to attract functional context learners and those who have priorities other than academic and career oriented ones implies turning the world upside down. Indeed Bennett et al suggest that since employers do not reward low-level vocational qualifications young people have been behaving rationally in not participating in training; indeed they suggest that vocational study will only achieve parity with academic qualifications when employers reward them to the same extent.[199] It is clear that competitive advantage, so much needed for global competition, is reliant on the skill levels of the younger generation, which the market has been unable to provide.

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[199]BENNETT, R. and GLENNERSTER, H. and NEVISON, D. Investing in skill: expected returns to vocational studies. Education economics, vol. 3. no. 2, Journals Oxford Ltd. 1995.

Through this investigation of documentation we have been able to identify a trend, which gained momentum post 1988, towards a more organised compact system of further education provision. Indeed, Lee suggests that critics have concluded that this period saw the introduction of the "workfare" principle to youth employment, the substitution of wage for security benefits in return for work. He contends, however, that surrogate work began under a Labour administration with the introduction of the YOP schemes.[200] Although the principle may be the same, the new initiatives post 1988 have significantly changed the administrative practices and relationships between central and local government which in turn have significantly altered the way further education colleges do business both internally and externally and have brought them it more in line with market orientations.

In order to legitimise the process of making a serious bid for change, particularly at the national level, the Conservative Government had to be able to express their ideology in a way that was capable of challenging the dominant set of beliefs. This new ideological perspective had also to render illegitimate the decentralised autonomy of the professional operating in that sector, to do this they used the simple language of the market, competition coupled with financial muscle. Commensurate with this, Conservative policies increased consumer sovereignty altering value to value for money. To date New Labour appears to endorse rather than challenge these tools of change. Hugging the political centre New Labour appear to be more in tune with incremental change than revolution. As a result the social revolution needed to ensure parity of difference is in danger of remaining a vision rather than a mission.

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[200]LEE, D. Poor work and poor institutions: training and the youth labour market. In Brown, P. and SCASE, R. Poor work disadvantage and the division of labour. Bristol: Open University Press. 1991.

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CHAPTER SEVEN: QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SELECTED GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTATION
1944 -1997.

This chapter compares and contrasts the language themes used in government circulars, administrative memoranda, White Papers and reports related to further education during 1944-1997 in order to investigate whether those themes have changed over time. The documents are analysed using a retrospective thematic analysis.

Circulars, administrative memoranda, White Papers and reports transmit government intention in accessible language; thus a selection of these are used to represent the attitudes and approaches of government to further education over time. Whilst circulars and administrative memoranda are not enforceable in law they are part of a government's administrative and communication process for the further education sector. They include reference to implementation of policy including procedures; in addition, they sometimes advise or invite discussion. They thus constitute the formal communication channels between the Secretary of State, on behalf of the Government, and the local authorities and further education colleges. White Papers and reports, similarly, are used as a way of identifying the changing contexts over the study period.

The documents for analysis have been selected in order to represent each sequential ten-year period. The language themes used in the documentation will be assessed using both qualitative and quantitative approaches to identify any differences between messages and communication over the study period. In this chapter a qualitative approach to content analysis is taken where the general tone and content of the documents are evaluated against sequential history. This provides the opportunity for comparison over the study period of the general educational "themes." In the next chapter quantitative analysis will be used to isolate any trends in the use of particular words and themes.

Our starting assumption is that a language for the "market" paradigm exists. At the same time, we recognise that communication through language is not simple because it involves a complex combination of linked assumptions, symbols and myth; the possibility of

finding objective or absolute truth is therefore rejected and we turn to an alternative root for understanding communication, namely the analysis of metaphor. Metaphors are used in communication as a shorthand route to knowledge because they provide what Black[1] refers to as "conceptual archetypes" a way for us to understand reality by the extrapolation of one experience in terms of another.[2] For example, from 1979 onwards the Conservative Government reduced the complexity of human interaction by looking at the functioning of our economy as if it were a market.

A free market does not exist in reality - it is a "conceptual archetype." In a free market prices are determined purely by supply and demand thus government intervention is at a minimum. The metaphor "market" assumes that there is a common understanding of value, namely price; exchange is thus easy with no cost accrued. In reality value is often very hard to determine, particularly where a service is concerned. Indeed, the development of the welfare state was built on the belief that market failure could occur and government intervention was justified on the grounds that economic development was dependent on some goods and services being free (paid out of direct taxation) or provided at a socially acceptable level and price. The re-emergence of the market metaphor "free market" in the 1980s contained, therefore, a direct challenge to the continued development of the welfare state and government intervention.

Metaphor is used as a shorthand route for communication its use thus circumvents the need to articulate those beliefs encapsulated within it. Where a root metaphor is strong the given context serves as sentence substitutes, transmitting generally accepted norms of knowledge and understanding - a self-certifying right as a description of reality.[3] These beliefs become insulated from disproof because the assumptions on which the metaphor is based are never re-investigated. Consequently, current and future thought and knowledge become bounded. A change in a root metaphor is powerful in that it can mark the beginning of a self-fulfilling prophecy thus it is important to investigate, and make

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[1]BLACK, M. Models and metaphors. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press. 1962.
[2]Black defines Root metaphors as systematic collections of ideas that enable description, by analytical extension, of ideas, which do not literally apply.
[3]TURNER, V. Dramas, fields and metaphor: symbolic action in human society. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.1974.

explicit, changes that take place.

In order to change further education colleges more in line with its ideology the Conservative Government had to change the driver of further education colleges. Its ability to do this was dependent on the power of the root metaphor "market" to effect a change in the context of decision making within those colleges. The market metaphor encapsulates all the assumptions of materialism;[4] that is the commercialisation of human interaction. Where market language becomes dominant, therefore, not only could further education colleges become organised to supply the market and meet the demand, they could also internalise the central tenet of materialism, namely profit, as their major driver thus changing the measurement of educational value.

The rhetoric of the Conservative Government post-1980s created an image of the new education policy as revolutionary. It is important to confront this claim and discover whether the changes made by this Government are in fact revolutionary. If they are, then it will be possible to identify a "new" set of ideas and assumptions emerging from analysis of the documentation. If on the other hand, the changes represent a re-emergence of Victorian values namely economic liberation, individualism, self-help and private paternalism we would expect to find evidence of those values.

The Changing Face of Government Intervention

Prior to the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction 1943 the system of education and training available to the general population was unregulated and of poor quality.[5] In 1997, in stark contrast, there is an established system of compulsory full-time education up to the age of sixteen: there is also provision for post sixteen full-time and part-time education.

In order to promote growth in educational advancement the Education Act 1921 increased

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[4]Interest in and desire for money rather than spiritual or ethical value.
[5]MACLURE, S. Educational documents: England and Wales 1816 to the present day. London: Chapman and Hall.1965.

a parent's legal obligations to include a child's educational achievement: "It shall be the duty of the parent of every child between the age of 5 and 14...to cause that child to receive efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic."[6] However, by the 1940s we find: "this looks back to the times when all that was demanded or provided was a strictly "elementary" education in the three R's designed to secure a minimum of literacy."[7]

Indeed, by 1948 compulsory education up to the age of fourteen was felt inadequate to bring about the needed increase in the masses' abilities needed to support the growth in industrialisation: "It is now generally accepted that fourteen is too early, in the conditions of modern life, for full time schooling to cease, as it does at present for some ninety per cent of the population."[8] The central theme that runs through much of the education legislation for further education is thus based on the assumption that there is a correlation between an individual's educational advancement and a country's economic growth. This assumption can be found clearly expressed in 1943: "upon the education of the people of this country the fate of this country depends,"[9] and in:

> "Its place of pre-eminence in world manufacture and world markets has long been fading. More and more in the future will it be necessary to rely on the capacity, adaptability and the quality, of our industrial and commercial personnel..."[10]

The White Paper 1943 encapsulated the general feeling of the times, that Government had to intervene to create and control an educational system;[11] because the free market had failed to deliver the required increase in trained personnel. The need for revolutionary

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[6]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 11. Cmnd 6458. HMI.
[7]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 11. op. cit.
[8]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 11. op. cit.
[9]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 1. op. cit.
[10]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 68. op. cit.
[11]Cross Report, 1888. Report of the Royal Commission on the Elementary Education Acts. Led to radical modification of the curriculum. As a result a wider variety of subjects were included in the curriculum; physical exercise and sports also became part of school life.
Bryce Report 1895. Report on the Royal Commission on Secondary Education. Recommended that there should be a central authority for education. This led to the formation of a Board of Education. Furthermore it was suggested that local authorities should provide secondary education where the market did not.

changes in the approach to education and training for the masses coupled with a centralised, controlled system to provide them became part of the social agenda. The justification for the need for such revolutionary change is given in the White Paper 1943: "Education for the majority of children offers at present an example of underexposure, underdevelopment and insufficient fixing" wasting human potential.[12] The early 1940s thus marked a distinctive period for education policy where government intervention in an individual's education up to the age of eighteen was seen as crucial to achieving the much-needed increased participation rates in education and training nationally.

"When the period of full-time compulsory schooling ends the young person will continue under educational influences up to the age of 18 either by remaining in full-time attendance at a secondary school, or by part-time day attendance at a young people's college. ...the benefit of medical inspection and treatment will be available without charge. Opportunities for technical and adult education will be increased."[13]

The Coalition Government thus took responsibility for changing the social context to bring it more in line with the needs of the economy. The attitude to change was paternalistic; it acted as a super-parent caring for the physical as well as mental development of the individual:

"The continued supervision of the health of young people after their full-time schooling has ceased, and the encouragement and the provision of opportunity to develop their capacities and their interests, are alike essential if the best is to be made of the nation's youth. There is a common agreement that had the provisions for day continuation schools of the Act of 1918 been operated, many of the problems of the adolescent would largely have been solved."[14]

This identifies education as a mechanism for altering the socialisation process and post-

[12]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 66. op. cit.
[13]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 3. op. cit.
[14]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 3. op. cit.

compulsory education as a way to control or "socialise" young people. Whilst the compulsory sector, up to the age of sixteen, continued to develop in structure and style, training for the average student post-sixteen remained a problem. Indeed, in 1991 we find reference to the difficulties with which government has to deal today:

> "Vocational qualifications in this country have been undervalued and underused. Young people and adults need a clear framework of qualifications to measure their success in education and training."[15]

This suggests that although much had been achieved since the 1944 Act, a hierarchy within the system had emerged by 1991 that influenced participation in vocational qualifications. In order to reverse this process the vision of the 1944 Act included this statement: "The new system must not start under the handicap of poor and inconvenient premises, which are dispiriting to the staff, command little respect from the students, and carry no prestige with the public."[16] At its inception it was recognised that the development of further education, for the non-advanced sector, relied on changing social understanding of its role and purpose.

In the 1944 reconstruction much was made of the importance of setting up "a continuous process conducted in successive stages."[17] The intention was to provide a system that enabled individuals to continue education throughout their lifetime.[18] Added to this there would be provision for compulsory part-time education: "All young persons from 15-18 will be required to attend an appropriate centre part-time, unless they are in full-time attendance at school, or otherwise under suitable part-time instruction."[19] "Suitable instruction" referred to the small-established apprentice programmes. Despite the grand plan, a learner's rights to part-time education have never been secured a fact that can be seen from the following in the 1990s:

> "Full-time students are entitled to a place in a school or college [and] are entitled

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[15]DFEE. 1993. The Further and Higher Education Act 1992. p. 3. Circular 1/93.
[16]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 75. op. cit.
[17]MOE. 1943. Education Reconstruction. paragraph 2. op. cit.
[18]It is interesting to note that the popular advertising slogan for the 1990s in colleges and universities has a familiar ring: "lifelong learning." Curiously this approach is also reminiscent of the basis of the training programme in Japan.
[19]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 68. op. cit.

to free tuition. [if you are]16-18 and want to study part-time , or 19 or over....you can apply for a college place but you may have to pay fees."[20]

Indeed a shift of responsibility to pay, from government to the individual, can be identified in this client group. At first glance, this looks like the re-emergence of a key aspect of Victorian values, but a greater in-depth analysis needs to take place before such an assertion can be made.

By the 1940s government intervention was seen as key to growth in participation in education and training carried out through a structured bureaucratic system in order to blend the meeting and competing needs of industry, commerce and colleges. This was built on a criticism of the old system, which can be seen in the following:

> "The provision of facilities for vocational training will by itself not be enough. The country cannot afford to rest content with a system under which the technical education of its potential skilled workers, industrial leaders, or commercial executives is left so largely to the initiative of the young employees. The vocational training that has come into being has not come in response to any demand from industry or commerce, but has depended upon the enterprise and tenacity of individual students anxious to equip themselves more fully to advance in Life.[21] No doubt this system, if it can be called a system, has brought forward many young men and women of high intelligence and sturdy character. But a much closer collaboration between industry and commerce and the education service is essential if the country is to develop a national system and to secure...the needs of the future.... The subdivision of labour...tend[s] to diminish the value of training afforded by the normal course of employment....It will be a combination of experience in the factory, farm or office and attendance...at the institute that it will be possible to establish the belief that it is quality, and not cheapness, of labour that is sought."[22]

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[20]DFEE. 1993. The charter for further education. part 1. p. 9. London: HMSO.
[21]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 1. op. cit.
[22]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 2. op. cit.

The market mechanism stands accused of creating a division of labour leading to poor participation rates and quality in vocational education and training.[23] These market legacies are clearly identified as unhelpful, and as contributory to, the lack of growth and development of participation in further education as well as economic growth. "To establish the belief that it is quality, and not cheapness, of labour that is sought" implies social revolution alongside increased provision. "Cheap" labour at the cost of "quality" labour needed to be reversed suggesting radical social reconstruction. The term "quality" labour implied more than "on - the- job" skills and included a standard of general education, hence the plan was that: "it will be a combination of experience in the factory, farm or office and attendance...at the institute."[24] The approach to education and training it would seem was based on a long-term perspective where the vision was that education and training be re-identified as a merit good.[25]

An approach to education and training was therefore embedded in the 1943 reconstruction programme which identified participation in it as desirable, not simply because it increased the productivity of labour but because it was inherently a good thing. Furthermore, employees and employers could not be left to determine consumption of education and training - they needed to be encouraged to participate, with the result that government adopted a paternalistic theme in its action.

Given firstly the competitive position of the UK in relation to its major competitors and secondly the paucity of the existing system, further education also became identified as a public good.[26] It thus became part of a discourse of the vision of growing welfare state

[23] In a free market labour is treated as any other input to create an output thus the price of labour changes with demand for it. Furthermore, the need of employers to protect profit suggests a downward pressure on the price of inputs. Employers who are focused on profit are therefore unlikely to invest in training programmes as these will eat in to their short-term profit; thus the free market leads the employers to focus on low wages, few training programmes and a short-term management perspective. In terms of the individual, participation in training programmes relies on delayed gratification, paying now for increased prospects in the future; it was evident that the market signals were such that few were prepared to participate in delayed gratification.
[24] MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 2. op. cit.
[25] A commodity which society identifies as intrinsically good or bad and adopts methods to stimulate or discourage.
[26] An important property of a public good is that consumption of it by one individual does not reduce the amount available for consumption of it by others, e.g. street lighting. Consumption of the public good cannot be restricted- individual suppliers are not attracted to supply, therefore communal supply is the preferred option. Quasi-public goods are supplied by the state out of taxation because their quality or quantity of supply would be inadequate if left to the private sector.

provision. Clearly, the aim of the 1944 Act was to provide the foundations for an education system which was planned, controlled and, given the social context, bureaucratic:[27] thus supported equal opportunity by establishing rules applied to all. The envisaged system would also be linked to social development as can be seen in the following: "It shall be the duty of the LEA for every area to contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of the community."[28] Coupled with the lifelong learning concept, this determined, at least in principle, co-operation between the suppliers of education and training; institutional interdependency developed as part of the educational agenda.

The Government did not, of course, start with a clean slate - they had also to make some attempts to ensure that those whose education had been disrupted by the war could continue to have priority: "The government expects that in admission to courses priority over men born in 1929 or later will be given to older students who have been prevented from completing their training by the war."[29] Alongside this provision the Minister of Education and the local education authorities began to work together to develop the system of education but by 1949 the Government already had some concerns about the need for "the strictest economy being exercised in the administration of education."[30] The vision encapsulated in the 1944 Act implied an increasing demand for financial support by the government: implementation of the vision at its inception was bound to be fraught with financial difficulties.

By the late 1950s the local education authority had become the controlling agency:

"In general the Minister hopes that local education authorities will do all in their power to achieve the closest relationship between the colleges, the schools and

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amount available for consumption of it by others, e.g. street lighting. Consumption of the public good cannot be restricted- individual suppliers are not attracted to supply, therefore communal supply is the preferred option. Quasi-public goods are supplied by the state out of taxation because their quality or quantity of supply would be inadequate if left to the private sector.

[27]Bureaucratic procedures are used to ensure that where transactions take place, the rules for participation are both fair and clear to the participants.

[28]Education Act 1944. p 157.

[29]MOE. 1948. Technical colleges and other further education establishments arrangements for the deferment of students in the calendar year 1948. Administrative memoranda No. 274.

[30]MOE. 1949. Recognition of schools and other educational establishments as efficient. p. 1. Administrative memoranda No. 327.

local industry and commerce... co-operation is necessary for the development of further education."[31]

The LEAs' remit thus included a liaison role. Continuing this theme of co-operation and interdependency, the governing bodies of further education colleges were "to have a governing body containing substantial representation of industry, commerce and other appropriate interests."[32] This trend has continued.[33] In 1959 we find reference to the composition of the governing body:

> "In the Minister's view, the governing body .... should largely consist of people.... who have current experience of problems of industry and commerce relevant to the work in the establishment and have an interest in further education. To this end, substantial direct representation of employers and unions in industry and commerce is normally essential and the Minister suggests that such representations should account for not less than one third of the total."[34]

Further education was thus linked to local needs and to education as dictated by the needs for industry and commerce. The intention of this approach was that a closer relationship between the economic imperative at the local level and the portfolio of courses delivered by the colleges would emerge. Given the increased demand for technical competence the Government supported growth in technical education: "the additional cost will be greater if, as the Government hope, ...publication.....will lead to a greater appreciation on the part of pupils, parents and industry of the value of continued education...It is already, however, the policy of Government and local education authorities that every encouragement should be given to boys and girls to stay at school and to avail themselves of the opportunities for further education."[35] Once again we find reference to social resistors which prevent growth in participation in education and training beyond compulsory education; "greater appreciation" needs to take place to alter "value of

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[31]MOE. 1958. Public relations in further education. paragraph 8. Circular 343.
[32]MOE. 1959. The further education regulations. paragraph 3. Circular 351.
[33] In Circular 351, 7/1959, 7/1970.
[34] MOE. 1959. Governing bodies for major establishments of further education. paragraph 6. Circular 7.
[35]MOE.1964. Better opportunities in technical education. . paragraph 18. London: HMSO

continued education" in the public mind. In contrast, however, this is identified as more to do with poor informing, "publication," rather than social revolution.

Despite the obvious need for government intervention, however, government support tended to favour compulsory and full-time education: "The general view...was that the right to day release could not be granted without holding back the prospects for other urgent educational developments."[36] Education needs thus began to have a preferential order and government interest in further education, particularly part-time and non-advanced, began to cool. The rhetoric of the Newsom Committee, however, spoke a different language: it included "national targets" and spoke of "roughly doubling the current numbers [of students under-taking day release courses]" using the language of need, alongside that of economic imperatives, it suggested that the way in which resources were allocated needed to change in order to provide equal opportunity:

> "The point is, could many people, with the right educational help, achieve still more? If they could, then in human justice and in economic self-interest we ought, as a country, to provide that help. Any substantial recommendations affecting provision for half the population are bound to cost money. Are we prepared to foot the bill? We are conscious that, although there is a strong body of public opinion urging public expenditure on education as a vital investment, the emphasis at present is almost invariably on the higher education of the most gifted. And with the prospect of a steady, long-term increase in the child population, the cost even of maintaining the existing services is mounting so rapidly that the competition for educational priorities is acute. We therefore think it essential to state at the outset the economic argument for investment in our pupils. Briefly, it is that the future pattern of employment in this country will require a much larger pool of talent than is at present available; and that at least a substantial proportion of "average and "below average" pupils are sufficiently educable to supply that additional talent. The need is not only for more skilled workers to fill existing jobs, but also for a generally better educated and

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[36]MOE.1964. Day release. p. 7. London: HMSO.

intelligently adaptable labour force to meet new demands."[37]

The system that had developed by the 1960s is thus criticised for not providing the equal opportunity or diversity and parity of talent, envisaged in the 1944 Act; clearly the system still reflected the needs of an elite, which the Act had attempted to remove. The language of equal opportunity is clear in the use of the term "human justice." This is blended with the economic imperative in "economic self-interest," "competition" and "new demands." It would seem that social revolution had ceased to be a main thrust of the argument for post-compulsory provision; it was now tempered with, and supported by, economic validation. With resources skewed towards compulsory and full-time attendance at higher education institutions continued to be matched with a social dimension which began to increase in influence; this can be seen in the following:

> "We had difficulty with our terms of reference. "Average" and "below average" are full of pitfalls. The words themselves are useful enough, as ways of trying to identify in broad terms two large groups of pupils; but unluckily they often carry emotional overtones: the idea of "below average ability" easily suggests below average people, as though the boys and girls described are being regarded as generally inferior and in some ways less worth educating than their "above average" brothers and sisters."[38]

Clearly, the education and social system had merged in such a way that a hierarchy of provision had emerged; reflecting this, the Government ceased to divide their attentions in order to ensure that educational diversity, envisaged in the 1944 Act, was maintained and non-advanced further education began to slip from the Government's mind. Indeed, by 1972 Government's concerns about further non-advanced education began to focus on efficient use of resources rather than effectiveness:

> "In particular [the Government] have examined five of its [education service] aspects which require close attention at the present time....Each of these poses

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[37]MOE.1963. Half our future: a report for the central advisory council for England and Wales. paragraphs 9 and 10. London: HMSO.

difficult decisions about the allocation of resources,,,,. It is therefore on matters of scale, organisation and cost rather than educational content that attention is mainly focused in this White Paper. In the 1960s the major determinant of rising educational expenditure was the increasing number of young people using the education system......In the 1970s these pressures will not be so intense.... Choices of a new kind can therefore be made."[39]

The inference is that the vision of the 1944 Act needs to change to reflect changing imperatives. At the same time, the above transmits the message that choice, even where need is apparent, is an appropriate stance for government to take. The responsibility of government thus changed from paternalism to realism; this signalled the end of the expansionist period but also altered the responsibility of government, which was replaced by target selection:

> "The total resources available will always be limited. Everything cannot be done in full at once. Each programme is in a very real sense in competition for its share of resources with other programmes, both within and outside the education service."[40]

Alongside the introduction of a government's task of selecting from competing needs, the introduction of public utilities as competing agents can also be seen in the above. The phrase "competition for its share" suggests that government be distanced from the way in which funds are allocated - each agent is now responsible for fighting for their allocations.

> "[Given that higher education establishments must achieve economies of scale] this will set a limit to the number of further education colleges that can expect to provide advanced full-time sandwich courses, but leaves room for expansion of such provision for those colleges that already make it. The same factor makes it

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[38]MOE. 1963. Half our future. p. 5. op. cit.
[39]DES, 1972. Education: a framework for expansion. p.1. Cmnd 5174.
[40]des. 1972. Education: a framework for expansion. p 2. op. cit.

extremely difficult to see how a small or isolated college of education can hope to make on its own the wider contribution to higher education it would like to make."[41]

The plan was not so much about rationalisation as amalgamation – expansion was still on the Government's agenda: "The substantial expansion of higher education....to meet the Government's plans the other colleges of further education... will also need to expand...Alongside the expansion of full-time and sandwich courses, the Government will expect to see provision also of the widest possible range of opportunities for part-time study."[42] The inference is that amalgamation of colleges will be a reality in the future. In the same year the James Report suggested a growth in teacher training. In the same year, however,

"A large number of further education teachers enter the profession after a number of years of further education, training and experience in industry and commerce.....
There is no formal requirement that further education teachers should be trained or hold qualified teacher status."[43]

The report recommended that "teachers who work in further education should have opportunities to take suitable part-time courses of education and training." The pressure on government expenditure thus continued to grow, alongside rising public expectations, in order to provide quality across the whole system of education. The reconstruction programme put in place in 1944 now had a momentum of its own; the needs snowballed. Coupled with this, there was a growth in the number of young unemployed people and a new issue emerged: the need to provide a route to re-skilling and education for those receiving state benefit:

"Ministers have publicly expressed the hope that young people reaching school leaving age who cannot find employment should seriously consider continuing their education, where the resources are available for them to do so. ....young

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[41]DES. 1972. Education: a framework for expansion. p 42. op. cit..
[42]DES. 1972. Education: a framework for expansion. p 41. op. cit.
[43]DES. 1972. Committee of inquiry into teacher training. p. 70. The James Report

people may attend further education courses for up to three days a week, or the equivalent in half days, without losing their entitlement to supplementary benefits, so long as they remain available for employment."[45]

Clearly, the intention was that participation in further education was only to keep these people busy "so long as they remain available for employment", giving a clear message about the Government's priority for these clients. Participation in further education for this client group was not to be seen as an alternative to work. At the same time, the power to decide began to shift away from the DES:

"The Training Services Agency and the Industrial Training Boards will give the Local Education Authorities as much notice as possible of relevant plans for local developments. Where there may be resource and staffing implications for Authorities, they will be consulted before any decisions are reached with colleges. The aim will be to strengthen links at this level as much as possible. The Agency and Industrial Training Boards will also keep Regional Advisory Councils informed of their operational requirements and consult them as necessary, in accordance with agreed regional procedures."[46]

The Agency, which reported to the MSC, need only give the LEA, "as much notice as possible." Consultation with the LEA relates only to the "implications" for "resource and staffing implications" the right to decide the direction of development thus becomes skewed towards that desired by the Agency. Although acting "in accordance with agreed procedures" the institutional interdependency relationship is altered. Indeed, a discussion paper prepared by the Agency refers to a five-year plan based on an approach that involves

"The training of young entrants to the workforce as a priority area of special national importance. It pointed to the large number of young people who receive little or no training and argued the case for improving training for young people

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[44]The James Report. p 13. op. cit
[45]DES. 1977. Further education for young unemployed people.paragraph 1. Administrative memorandum 4/77.
[46]DES. 1977. Links between the training and further education services. Paragraph 6. Administrative Memorandum 12/77.

on four grounds: an increasing need for skill and adaptability for employment; the inequity of opportunities being missed by young people because of where they live or the state of the economy when they start work; the importance of initial training and job experience in shaping attitudes to work; and the present imbalance of public funds devoted to young people entering work and those who continue in full-time education."[47]

Although the above uses the language of equality in the phrase "the inequity of opportunities", the solution is divisive: these students are to receive training, skills for the task in hand, rather than education which provides the opportunity of job switch. At the same time, socialisation to the work ethic continues as a theme and purpose for the development of the system of education and training:

"We hold that education has certain long-term goals, that it has a general point or purpose, which can be definitely, though generally stated. The goals are twofold, different from each other, but by no means incompatible. They are first, to enlarge a child's knowledge, experience and imaginative understanding, and thus his awareness of moral values and capacity for enjoyment; and secondly, to enable him to enter the world after formal education is over as an active participant in society and a responsible contributor to it, capable of achieving as much independence as possible....The criterion by which to judge the quality of educational provision is the extent to which it leads a pupil towards the twin goals which we have described."[48]

The advantages of education now seemed to be applied only to some types of client, namely those in compulsory or advanced education, while for the rest the economic imperative began to dominate and government discourse began to concentrate on education for work. The education service began to be dominated by new training initiatives, driven by the MSC, which argued that the education service "needed to assess

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[47]MSC. 1975. Vocational preparation for young people. p 19. Training Services Agency.
[48]DES. 1978. Review of educational provision for children and young people with special needs. The Warnock Report. paragraph 1.4- 1.6. London: HMSO.

the nature and scale of the new demands made upon it [which needed to focus on full-time programmes] integrated training, education and work experience."[49] In other words, the education system had failed in its task.

At the same time, government continued to focus on further education for unemployed young people as a stop-gap: "Successive Secretaries of State have sought to encourage the making available of such opportunities [which allow unemployed young people to undertake part-time education up to 21 hours a week] without loss of benefit."[50] These young people's educational needs now firmly lay at the bottom of the pile of competing needs; socialisation and training, rather than education, became the focus of government for these clients.

In 1982 the Youth Training Scheme was launched to attract unemployed young people into training. The intention of this initiative was to attain "a large increase in the places made available within the education system."[51] The focus of funding for these initiatives is clear:

> "The Secretary of State recognises that there is pressure on FE accommodation in some areas, and that LEAs will need to examine carefully the accommodation available to them, having regard to the Government's advice on falling rolls and surplus places."[52]

Increased participation in further education was to be achieved through restructuring the existing system. The theme of rationalisation, rather than expansion, became the common discourse. The Government's desire for growth in this area did not imply financial backing as in the earlier period. The focus on efficiency begins to emerge.

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[49]DES, 1982. The Youth Training Scheme: implications for the education service. p 18. Circular No. 6/82.
[50] DES. 1982. Further education for unemployed young people. paragraph 1.Administrative Memorandum 2/82.
[51] DES. 1982. The youth training scheme: implications for the education service. paragraph 8. Circular 6.
[52]The Youth Training Scheme: implications for the education service.paragraph 8. op. cit.

In the late 1980s, further education colleges: became dislocated from government interventionism and exposed to "commercial activities....The central purpose of the Act [The Further Education Act 1985] is to encourage the profitable application of the resources of FE establishments to a wide range of commercial activities."[53] The market process was set in motion, which in turn disassociated government not only from financial but also social responsibility. The language of the market, namely "profit", was now included as a rationale for activity in educational institutions. The language of the market became very overt, colleges were to pay attention to "apply the open-market value rule" which "requires that all suppliers...must not be less than their open-market value [and] is intended to ensure that authorities compete on equal terms with providers of similar goods and services in the private sector."[54]

Demand for further education began to grow because in reality jobs, particularly for young people, remained in short supply. With its remit focused on education and training the MSC began to be a dominant player as far as the further education colleges were concerned:

> "An increasing amount of places in further education is taken up by various MSC courses, which are outside the direct control of the college and the LEA concerned. The impact of the Youth Training Scheme on further education locally is difficult to determine....most recently, part of the further education element within the rate support grant to LEAs is being passed directly to the MSC, inevitably increasing the Commission's influence over local establishments."[55]

The Government, through its quango the MSC, began to adopt central control over the further education sector, effectively eroding local influence. In the 1990s the Government developed a tight financial control style with a market theme:[56] "with effect from 1 April

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[53]DES. 1985. The Further Education Act: commercial activities in further education. paragraph 7.1. Circular 6/85.
[54]DES. 1985. Circular 6/85. paragraph 8.1. op. cit.
[55]DES. 1985. Audit commission. Obtaining better value from further education. p 5.London: HMSO.
[56]A tight financial control style is one where the centre sets tight financial targets which the business units

1993, a new further education sector will be established [which] will consist mostly of institutions currently maintained by local authorities which have been incorporated as further education corporations."[57] The FEFC, another government quango, took over the financing of the further education sector and power shifted away from the LEA: "LEAs will also have the power to secure the provision of further education the FEFC has the duty to secure provision."[58] Developing its market theme, the Government continued to distance itself from direct intervention in the non-advanced further education sector; privatisation of public utilities became a dominant aim.

The focus of government thus shifted from a critique of the market, from which interventionism grew as key to the establishment of participation of young people in further education, to the abandonment of government intervention in favour of provision dictated by the market. Equal opportunity, a focus of government in the 1940s remained a good thing but only for some - in the case of further education the theme of the 1990s became institutional liberation and efficiency. To reduce government intervention power had to be shifted way from traditional influencing agents. In order to distance themselves, the Government adopted a tight financial control style, delivered through a quango, thus increasing central government control at arms length. To implement their policies the Government focused on centralisation whilst their rhetoric, paradoxically, focused on liberalisation. Coupled with this, government attitude shifted from paternalism to individualism.

Production Orientation: the Conservative Government's management perspective

The vision of the reconstruction in program in 1944 included a very wide definition of a college's role in society:

> "The hours of compulsory attendance would by no means represent the sum total of the contribution which the college would make to the life and training of young people. It should offer all the facilities necessary to promote, outside the

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have to reach. The centre also takes responsibility for making the decisions which are then imposed on the business units. Goold and Campbell. Strategies and Styles. op. cit.

[57] The Further and Higher Education Act 1992. paragraph 16.

actual hours of instruction, all kinds of activities, recreative and cultural. The college would be in itself a youth centre taking its place in the extended Youth Service. It will thus perform what is the real function of an education service – to provide a live environment in which, by the pursuit of a variety of interests and activities, both boys and girls alike may bring to fruition the character and capacities with which they are severally endowed."[59]

The vision, therefore, included a wide interpretation of education that included the development of each individual's "character and capacities", the development of academic as well as recreational abilities. The role of the college is clearly perceived as one that has a close relationship with the local community, particularly its youth and their needs. The intention to provide for diversity of talent in young people is also very clear in the phrase "variety of interests and activities." "It should offer all the facilities to promote all kinds of activities" suggests that government embraced this development as part of its social responsibility. The compulsory component of education, independent of the level of skill for which it was designed was indicated in this statement:

> "For all alike some basic elements should be included in their training. Provision must be made for their physical well-being through physical training and remedial exercises and instruction in health and hygiene......Other essential elements will be training in clarity of expression and in the understanding of the written and of the spoken word, together with some education in the broad meaning of citizenship – to give some understanding of the working of the government and the responsibilities of citizens and some interest of the world around them....The remaining hours may well be devoted to a variety of subjects according to an individuals needs and capacities."[60]

The intention was that training should comprise only a small part the vision of education for these young people – and that a general education, vital for transferable skills should

[58]The Further and Higher Education Act 1992. paragraph 5.
[59]MOE. 1943. Education Reconstruction. paragraph 76. op. cit.
[60]MOE. 1943. Education Reconstruction. paragraph 73. op. cit.

also be included. There is, therefore, a vision of social improvement included in the above statement. Alongside this, parity of difference is clearly demonstrated in "according to an individual's needs and capacities." A paternalistic attitude is also clear in "some education in the broad meaning of citizenship", suggesting an attempt to establish equal opportunity through an individual's understanding of his or her democratic rights.

The vision of the 1944 Act, however, did not come to fruition. What emerged was a system that progressively distanced itself from the component of general and recreational education in favour of the simple model of training. Parity of difference, in terms of equal provision for all, had failed to develop - indeed the Crowther Report states that - "it could hardly be claimed that there is country-wide provision for each level. Even if a boy has been fortunate enough to find an employer who will give him day-release, he still needs to find, within reasonable travelling distance, a course exactly suited to his requirements."[61] Coupled with this, the report refers to lack of participation in non-advanced education arising from the fact that:

> "further education has grown up as the hand-maiden of employment. For the overwhelming majority of boys and girls in further education, the choice of job (or at least the choice of type of employment) comes first, and the entry into further education courses follows as a consequence, either as a condition of employment (as with most part-time day release) or as a means of obtaining the qualifications for specific employment (as with the girl's full-time commercial courses) or as a means of obtaining promotion in employment.....virtually everything that exists in it has come into existence as the conscious answer to a demand rising from industry or from the individual workers."[62]

The vision of general education for day-release students had simply become work task oriented focusing on the student as the supply to meet the demand; the development of an individual's "character" and been reduced to the development of skills. A college's role had become reactive rather than proactive as intended in the vision of the 1944 Act. A

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[61]The Crowther report. paragraph 487. op. cit..
[62]The Crowther Report. paragraph 488. op. cit.

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salient feature of the system was that: "the structure of industry and the attitude of employers determine the issue....The college can invite and advise; it cannot compel. The individual worker may desire release but he cannot demand it."[63] A college's role was thus determined by the employers; the employers had the power where day-release was concerned so that as a result the colleges' failed to become the leaders of intellectual and social development and the mechanism by which equal opportunity and parity of difference would be established.

Indeed, by the mid-1960s we find that "there is a general agreement on the need for more time for study in part-time further education courses......There is not, however, any single way of achieving this objective; several different approaches are possible, and the needs will vary with different types of student."[64] It is clear that in the government mind the provision for these students, who did not have the right to further education, was already bounded by its prioritisation process which effectively entitled this type of student to less.

With the colleges' portfolios beginning to be dominated by the needs of industry education began to become an input-output model; production models and further education were linked. It was in 1977 that the Conservative Government's intention to attain central control over decision making by using industrial performance measures for targeting became evident in its plan

> "to measure, in terms of selected aspects of performance, the effectiveness of the education system as a whole....Better information on standards should improve the quality of rationally-based discussions of educational issues. Its provision should assist those making policy decisions at central and local government level and also teachers...At the local level it could help to indicate...particular needs for extra measures."[65]

In 1983 we find the inspectorate recommending that local government auditors use the following guidelines for measuring efficiency in further education colleges:

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[63]The Crowther Report. paragraph 498. op. cit.
[64]MOE. 1963. Organisation of further education courses. . paragraph 5. Circular 3/63
[65]DES. 1977. Educating our children-four subjects for debate. London: HMSO.

"Efficiency is measured by the relation of inputs to outputs. The approach assumes that college inputs are represented by: lecturers contact hours with students, widely interpreted; attendance hours of all academic staff, technicians, professional, administrative and clerical staff; and that college outputs are indicated by; student hours(registered and taught). Effectiveness concerns the achievement of policy aims and objectives and the outcomes of further education in terms of: successful completion of studies and/or examination; successful application of skills and knowledge in employment; individual self-fulfilment; meeting local and national education and training needs." [66]

The new language themes thus became those of effective use of public money and internal control as vital to quality provision. The more complex model of social, institutional and individual influencing agents in educational achievement is swapped for a more simple model based on management control; monitoring actual events against estimated outcomes. Indeed, we find that "though the maintenance of adequate and reliable records is subordinate to the main objectives of further and higher education, proper management control and accountability is not possible without them."[67] Effectiveness thus becomes associated with performance to specification. "Quality" and "effectiveness" were to be targeted to increase "standards." The Government's task was thus to design a system that measured education institutions' performance. Indeed, by 1985 the language themes in the audit of the further and higher education sector refers specifically to "the use of resources," rather than effectiveness, the Commission's key discourse thus being that of efficiency and its handbook thus being aptly entitled "Economy, efficiency and effectiveness". Effectiveness did not, however, imply social revolution but now meant something different.

"Effectiveness concerns the achievement of policy aims and objectives and the outcomes of further education in terms of: successful completion of studies and/ or examinations; successful application of skills and knowledge in employment;

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[66]DES. 1983. Audit Inspectorate: guide to resource efficiency. paragraph 1.3 and 1.4.London: HMSO.
[67]DES. 1983. Audit Inspectorate: guide to resource efficiency. paragraph 1,13. op. cit.

individual self-fulfilment; meeting local and national educational and training needs."[69]

The legitimating discourse of public accountability was reinforced by the Conservatives' management model efficiency measured by the relation of inputs to outputs. The language themes included in the 1985 Audit represent much of the political rhetoric of the times: the institutions were not managed properly; there was slack in the system; they were not efficient. The report refers to the need to "tailor teaching resources more closely to demand," suggesting a wastage which is further confirmed with the following references to "aiming for an overall student/staff ratio of at least 11:1 eventually 12:1 ensuring that actual class contact hours for lecturers are within nationally agreed ranges."[70] Measures of efficiency thus began to be used to target

> "Avoiding over-grading of staff; controlling lecturers out of class time; negotiations over lecturers' terms and conditions should provide the opportunity for agreeing changes in current working practices which are not conducive to value for money."[71]

The implication is that the professionals need to be pulled into line and made to halt their excesses; put differently, the implication is that they, along with the traditional institutions, had exercised illegitimate power. The managerial perspective suggested in the language of the audit has a production orientation which is apparent in the use of the terms "resources", "monitoring", "demand", "controlling" these suggest a vision based on an input/output industrial model.[72] It is interesting to note the following statement from the report:

> "The commission and its auditors have been concerned to avoid making educational or policy judgements, for example about the value of one course rather than another or the trade-off between costs incurred and levels of service. Value

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[68] Audit Commission. 1985. Obtaining better value from education. p. 40. Audit Commission: HMSO.
[69] Audit Commission. 1985.Obtaining better value from education. p. 7.op. cit.
[70] Audit Commission. 1985.Obtaining better value from education. p. 3-5. op. cit.
[71] Audit Commission. 1985.Obtaining better value from education. p 3-5. op. cit.
[72] Audit Commission. 1985.Obtaining better value from education. p 3-5. op. cit.

for money is not synonymous with economy..."[73]

Yet educational judgements are clearly transmitted through the language "avoiding over-teaching" which implies that the existing system wastes resources. "Change in current working practices" assumes that existing systems are not effective; increased student/staff ratio implies not individual teaching but large group teaching. The non-discourse embedded in the audit increased pressure on colleges to be more efficient in the market and set the foundations for the changing of working practices within the institutions.

Despite the fact that teaching methods are referred to as the "remit of the HMI" it is clear that the preferred approach to internal monitoring is based on a production method. Academic staff are clearly seen as inputs to create outputs; hence the focus on attendance hours which clearly challenges their right to professional autonomy. Student attendance hours are linked to outcomes, epitomising the notion that the inputs to the outputs are known and inferring that it is not the system that is wrong but the process. Clearly the assumptions behind the audit findings were destined to affect the teaching approaches in the colleges.

Significantly, we find "BS5750 and Total Quality Management" included in "Education and Training for the 21st Century" as appropriate models for proof of quality.[74] Again, the impact of these changes within colleges lies in the language used and the approach taken to the effectiveness and efficiency measures applied to the education product that are far from value free. Take, for example, the definition of quality provided by the British Standards Institution which defines quality as "fitness for purpose" -this definition relies on a product's conformance to a pre-determined specification; the use of this approach to measurement of quality thus assumes that there is a standard. In order that conformance to specification can be ensured there is a pre-requirement that a pre-specified set of procedures for making the product exists; achievement of quality is therefore proved by the evidence of documentation. The BSI approach to measurement presupposes that it is possible to ensure the outputs by controlling the inputs. The assumptions behind the use of

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[73]Audit Commission. 1985.Obtaining better value from education. p. 6. op. cit.
[74]DFEE, 1991. Education and Training for the 21st Century. May. p 3. London: HMSO.

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this type of approach to quality measurement thus assume that the inputs to the education service are known and the outcomes can be pre-determined. Only if this situation exists does it become possible to define the process through which quality can be achieved. To put it differently, in order to use this approach educational outcomes are assumed pre-determined

Total Quality Management is slightly different from the former vision of quality. TQM embodies the notion of improvement based on the principle that achievement of quality depends on the shared commitment and participation of individual workers. In TQM quality management is one part of the process.

The application of BS5750 and TQM approaches to further education colleges implies that comparison can be made between products and an individual's educational achievement. However, effective educational outcomes are individually determined. Learning is a multi-dimensional process in which the determinants vary and where the complete science is unknown. What we do know is that the learning process is individual, reflective, change-oriented and flexible.[75] Indeed, success may not be so closely related to what is delivered as it is to the way in which the student receives it. It could thus be argued that it is inappropriate to use measurements for success in further education colleges that rely on knowing the determinants. In other words, success cannot be measured solely by an outcome, for example examination results.

Furthermore, the use of these production-oriented approaches to the management of the education service includes the assumption that a shared understanding of the form of commitment, action and approach which should be used to ensure success in learning by learners. To put this a different way, the link between cause and effect is clear. Despite the problem of isolating cause and effect in the education industry the Government has chosen to use a rational approach for measurement of quality and to apply it to a clearly non-rationally defined good. Whether TQM or QM is used professional judgement becomes subordinated to administration; control mechanisms rely on administrative procedures - a

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[75]Quality Matters. FEU. June. 1991

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paper chase.   .

In 1993, following the trend towards industrial models, the Government introduced
performance measures in "The Charter for Further Education" which:

> "sets targets which the colleges have to achieve...I therefore expect colleges to
> develop their own detailed charter....monitor the colleges' performance against the
> commitments in this charter and their own. Colleges can apply for a Charter Mark
> for excellence in delivering public services." [76]

The development of the production oriented resource utilisation approach is most clearly seen
in those colleges' performance indicators adopted in 1994:

> "Achievement of funding target, an indicator of college effectiveness: student
> enrolment trends, an indicator of college responsiveness; student continuation, an
> indicator of programme effectiveness; learning goals and qualifications, an indicator
> of student achievements; attainment of or equivalent, an indicator of contribution to
> national targets; average level of funding, an indicator of value for money." [77]

Further education colleges have thus become involved in an enormous re-evaluation of their
administrative process, driven by the need to comply with a production-oriented quality audit
process. A college's effectiveness is now measured by the use of a production model that is
reliant on conformance to standard judged by performance indicators. From 1994 onwards
these indicators are published to enable the public to compare one college against another,
further introducing the competitive approach. The new language used is that of
commercialism, the new environment that of the competitive market. However, there are
clear indications that the Government feels these changes will not be enough:

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[76]DFEE. 1993. The Charter for Further Education. p.1. London: HMSO.
[77]FEFC. Nov, 1994. Measuring achievement. p 3-3. Circular 94131.

"Internal reorganisation will not be enough to 'prevent a decline in educational effectiveness and disproportionate increases in cost."[78]

The above statement is of course value-laden, an association between "educational effectiveness" and "cost" being made as if it is unquestionable. On the contrary, it can be argued that fewer children in a class may not be cost-effective, but could be more educationally effective. This anomaly is ignored and quality of education in the 1987 Paper is defined within the market paradigm only. The emerging discourse clearly defines success as: "value for money."[79]

In 1988 the LEAs' role becomes further re-defined to include: "effectively, efficiently and economically" to meet student demand. The Education Grants and Awards Act 1988 states that:

"The aim of the grant is to encourage LEAs to re-deploy a limited amount of expenditure into activities which appear to the Secretary of State to be of particular importance. The programmes are subject to statutory consultation with the local authority associations...Councils...will be invited to bid for such grants."[80]

Consultation is only referred to here as a "statutory" duty, the message of minimum government involvement in consultation rather than maximum support being quite clear. This further embellishes the discourse of derision of the welfare state. The introduction of "bidding" for grants is consistent with competition, the language of the market. The LEAs' power was further eroded in the Further and Higher Education Act 1992:

"The previous arrangements for inspection of further and higher education establishments...are repealed as from April 1993....responsibility for securing quality assessment for colleges....will rest with the Further Education Funding

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[78]DES. 1987. Providing for quality: the pattern of organisation to age 19. paragraph 2. Circular 3.
[79]DES. 1987. Providing for quality. paragraph 17. op. cit.
[80]DES, 1988. The transfer of responsibility for education in Inner London. Circular 6/88. P. 69.

Council[81].......Co-operation in inspection arrangements and securing consistency of standards across the sectors will be important. To this end the Secretary of State has asked the FEFC to liaise with the local authority associations and with the OFSTED ....[who will make] suitable arrangements for assessments and securing of consistency of standards."[82]

The shift of power towards the FEFC further confirms the Government's "hands off" approach to provision in this sector. Thus it is reasonable to argue that further education is no longer classified as a public good by the Conservative Government but as any other good in the market.

The discourse based on a production orientation appears in the supposedly independent interim report led by Sir Ron Dearing concerning 16-19 year olds, which also considers lifelong learners. Referring to the increase in target numbers for achievement in this age group he sets the parameters as follows:

"......the central issue in post-16 education and training will be to develop the fitness for purpose, excellence, and cost-effectiveness of these qualifications."[83]

The discourse for change is thus conditioned by the language of the market and the production industry. The report further refers to "a consensus for change"[84] but this will take place only within the conditioned parameters. "Cost-effectiveness" sets the parameters for the discourse to be conditioned and driven by the needs of efficiency. "Fitness for purpose" implies a production approach to the measurement of "excellence" based on the assumption that the inputs, which create the outputs, are known; it is a limited discourse controlled by the values inherent in the Conservative Government's policy for change. The term "educational effectiveness" thus becomes redefined in commercial terms.

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[81]Further and Higher Education Act 1992. p. 19.
[82]Further and Higher Education Act 1992. p. 20.
[83]DES. 1996. Review of the 16-19 qualifications framework. Interim report: the issues for consideration, Sir Ron Dearing. July 1995. . section 4.4. London: HMSO
[84]DFEE. 1996. Review of the 16-19 qualifications framework. section 5.1. op. cit

Within the market paradigm the quality of the educational good becomes measured as conformance to standards, a factual description which is value and judgement free: this is a direct contrast to the 1940s. In the model envisaged in the 1940s quality for the individual implied the establishment of human and democratic rights through increased equal opportunity where the education system was identified as the tool to bring about those changes; the vision was that colleges would play a proactive role in bringing about social reconstruction. The education system was therefore built on a socially integrated view of value - within this model it was possible for education to lack commercial value but serve a social purpose. The language of the current education debate based on commercial language assumes simple and narrow measures of success within colleges, so that the value of education is only identified within a commercial context. Value now exists as fitness for purpose completely distanced from ethical values and purposes. Reacting to demand, colleges thus become servants of the commercial world; hence they can only play a reactive role in society.

Learners Differently Labelled: students to customers

In order to gain legitimacy, it was necessary for the Government to apply the language theme of the market to more than simply the traditional state-controlled system: to gain momentum it also had to have an impact on those that participated in the service, the learners. In 1991 John Major, the then Prime Minister, launched the Citizen's Charter Initiative; the Student Charter followed. A charter is a formal document granting, or demanding from the state, certain rights or liberties. Charters use the language theme of rights and power as can be seen in the following:

> "The Citizen's Charter is about giving more power to the citizen. It is a testament to our belief in people's right to be informed and to choose for themselves. I want the Citizen's Charter to be one of the central themes of public life in the 1990s. Then we will have services in which the citizen can have confidence, and in

which all those who work in them can have pride."[85]

The paternalistic approach of the 1940s has been changed to that of individualism in the 1990s, more "power" being given to the "citizen" in order that he or she are "informed" and able "to choose for themselves." The four aims are to: "work for a better quality in every public service; give people more choice; make sure that everyone is told what kind of service they can expect to receive; make sure that people know what to do if something goes wrong."[86] The charter thus shifts responsibility in determining quality from the government to consumer sovereignty. At the same time, there is an attempt to narrow a customer's expectation gap; service becomes a matter of matching output to the stated objectives, in other words quality becomes altered given the price paid, and needs are thus distanced from the public mind. Success then becomes a matter of achieving the stated objectives rather than social improvement.

The new Charter for Further Education 1993 demonstrates a stronger link to the market with its focus on individual client/student rights, namely consumer sovereignty:

> "In some areas - for example, the time taken to respond to enquiries, or to pay grants - the Charter sets targets which all colleges, local authorities and others involved in further education are expected to meet. But achieving high standards is, above all, a responsibility of the colleges themselves, because they know their customers best."[87]

Standards in educational achievement are now about dealing with "customers" in reasonable response times. Government is also distanced from direct intervention and high standards are the "responsibility of the colleges." The language themes are more about expectation rather than obligation:

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[85]The Citizen's Charter a guide: raising the standard. A message from the Prime Minister. July 1991. P 1. London: HMSO.
[86]The Citizen's Charter a guide. p 1. op. cit.
[87]DFEE. 1993. The charter for further education: introduction by the Secretary of State for Education, John Patten. p. 1. London: HMSO.

"If you want to become a full-time or part-time student you have the right to expect: reliable and impartial advice about the choices available, given at the right time; clear and accurate information about - courses, qualifications, facilities, and entry requirements - how courses will be taught and assessed, and how your learning will be managed colleges' policies and arrangements for students with learning difficulties or disabilities- accommodation if you have to live away from home - how well colleges are doing, including published reports on the quality of what they provide. You can also expect: to have your application for a place handled fairly and efficiently - to be shown where you would be taught and the facilities available for students - to be told about the fees and other charges a college makes, and any financial help that is available. Once you are accepted as a student you have the right to expect; prompt payments of grants and access fund payments if you are eligible - high quality teaching and effective management of your learning, subject to independent inspection - regular information on your progress and achievements - access to reliable and unbiased careers advice and other guidance on counselling."[88]

Individual "rights" express what must occur but what is included as a right really only refers to practical considerations: the more efficient functioning of the internal organisation. Here citizens' rights are more about informing them of the parameters than about changing social relations. The greater issue of equal opportunity is removed from the agenda. The charter provided the criteria on which customers could make a legitimate complaint; in the same way as buying any other product, a learner could complain about the service outlined in the college charter, where the service was not fit for the purpose.[89]

The process for students to become re-identified as customers depended on their being able, in market terms, individually to purchase the good. In 1991 the Government introduced training credits: "Every 16 and 17 year old leaving full-time education to be offered a training credit."[90] The intention was that by 1996 training credits would act as

[88]DFEE. 1993. The Charter for Further Education. 1993. op. cit.
[89]The Charter for Further Education. London. p.3. op. cit.
[90]DES. 1991. Education and training in the 21st century. May 1991. London: HMSO.

cash so that the students could take their money to the college of their choice. In the newly emerging social context a student thus becomes a purchaser, confirming the re-identification of a student as a customer, a status more in line with market orientation. In real terms students are not customers since they cannot purchase a qualification. They only purchase the opportunity to achieve the qualification. They are in the unique situation of being purchasers without the right to own the good. In spite of this, individual college charters had to define the level of service each college aimed to provide to its customers. As a result, students, now informed consumers, could identify routes for complaint based on fitness for purpose- that assumes that criteria exist for the recognition of faulty goods or defective service. The underlying discourse was that of a certain type of public accountability, consumer sovereignty, this approach can be clearly identified as a common approach to public utilities as recommended by the Nolan Committee:

> "We consider that the provision of independent adjudication of customer complaints is now fully established as normal good practice, and that the procedure has to be combined with a statement, publicly available, of the service standards which the user can expect from the body concerned, and against which failure to perform can be measured."[91]

The theme of the marketisation of the further education colleges relied on students becoming customers in order that they would exercise their choice and thus introduce competition between colleges; this was a part of a much wider scheme to reduce government intervention to that of governance.

A Continuing Discourse: further education - who pays?

One of the significant issues we find in the documentation over the study period is the emphasis on who pays for further education, which contrasts starkly with the intentions expressed in the White Paper of 1943 that reconstruction should be financed collectively for part-time as well as full-time provision up to the age of eighteen. The vision of

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[91]Second report of the committee on standards in public life. Cm 3270/1 paragraph 384. London: HMSO.1996.

improvement to educational facilities was aimed at "enabling poor students to proceed to the Universities." After 1988 a theme emerges based on the central tenets of commercialism - namely, the market and the individual where resource allocation is organised in response to demand and supply by price.

A cost focus in the further education sector, however, is not new. The impact of the Educational Reconstruction Programme 1944 was neutralised, at its inception, by the caveat "the rates at which it will be possible to proceed will depend...on the financial resources available..."[92] As early as 1949 we can identify the influence of economic performance on the development of further education:

> "The economic difficulties of the country have called for a close review of government expenditure...........schemes for further education, including plans for County Colleges, not yet completed should be proceeded with and submitted in due course. [Efficiencies were expected] in the administration of education."[93]

Further education very quickly became re-identified as a quasi-public good; schemes for further education have continued to be dogged by the availability of financial resources. Indeed, government expenditure on further education has been constantly reviewed. In 1952 the first of many memoranda refers to "the possibility of increasing the income from students' fees as a means of achieving a reduction of expenditure from public funds for the provision of further education."[94] The earlier approach to payment is, however, quite distinct from the approach taken from 1979 onwards. Charges were evaluated on the potential an individual had to pay as is made clear by the following: "whilst still ensuring that no one is debarred from a course of further education by reason of ability to pay [remissions are only to be given to those] where there is real hardship." Reference is also made to the need for a division between vocational and recreational courses; the latter could be self-supporting. We thus we find the colleges' course portfolios being differentiated by government support or lack of it. Over time recreational courses become

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[92]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 6. op. cit.
[93]MOE. 1949. Expenditure on local authorities. paragraph 1. Circular 210.
[94]MOE. 1952. Further education-income from fees. paragraph 1 Administrative Memorandum. 410.

re-identified as a luxury good. By 1956 the trend away from government support increases:

"Some fees are outstandingly low......The Minister thinks that many students ,
particularly older students attending part-time courses or classes in non-vocational
courses, can reasonably expect to make a bigger contribution than they do at
present. This applies especially to the majority- the 1,000,000 students aged 21 or
over who attend evening classes."[96]

The theme of further education provision as a drain on financial resources begins to emerge.
The inference is that some students should be paying, and can afford to pay, a significant
contribution to their education because they are in work - independent of the level of income.
It is clear that need is associated with no income. This trend towards part-time students being
full fee-payers has continued. Further education has thus evolved as an "also ran" product,
not central to the welfare agenda. It has always had to respond to increasing pressure on
funding - indeed in 1956 we find that:

"The maintenance of this policy depends, however, on the strictest economy being
exercised in the administration of education...... expenditure can be reduced without
the imposition of restrictions which would prejudice educational effectiveness or
impair, save by some slowing down in some directions, the progress and
development that are in hand."[97] "The Minister called the attention of local
education authorities to the possibility of increasing the income from students' fees
as a means of achieving a reduction from public funds for the provision of further
education." [98]

In order that the system of education should develop LEAs were asked to limit provision
through choice. "Slowing down" suggests the intention that payment should be short-lived

[95]MOE. 1952. Further education-income from fees. paragraph 2. op cit.
[96]MOE. 1956. Fees for further education. paragraph 2. Circular 307.
[97]MOE.1949. Expenditure of local authorities. . paragraph 3. Circular 210
[98]MOE. 1952. Further education - income from fees. p.4. op. cit.

but the trend towards self- sufficiency for the colleges has continued:

> "The Minister has recently reviewed the fees charges for further education by authorities...The authorities estimate that in the financial year 1956/57 their expenditure on further education will be £32.6(m)... The estimated income from further education, most of which comes from fees, will be about £2.5(m). At present, therefore, income from fees represents only one-fifteenth of what the authorities spend on further education."[99]

In 1969/70 the gross expenditure by local authorities on further education was re-evaluated[100]:

> 'From September 1971 fees from non-vocational and vocational courses for those already in employment [to be charged] so as to achieve an additional £5m of income from this source in a full year."[101]

Government thus continued to rely on student contributions from these client groups. The theme of responsibility for training based on a learner's ability to pay became an essential part of the established system, thus progressively limiting equal opportunity by the ability to pay. By 1972 there is increasing evidence of pressure on resources.

> "The Government has been reviewing the directions in which the services are growing: its objectives and priorities. In particular they have examined five of its aspects that need close attention at the present time: nursery education, school buildings, staffing standards in schools, teacher training and higher education. Each of these poses difficult decisions about the allocation of resources if, within those available, a balanced programme of advance across all five is to be achieved."[102]

[99]MOE. 1956. Fees for further education. paragraph 1. Circular 307.
[100]DES. 1970. New policies for public spending. Cmnd 4515.
[101]DES. 1971. Tuition fees in further education. p 12. Circular 4/71.

[102]DES. 1972. Education: a framework for expansion. Cmnd 5174. paragraph 2. London: HMSO.

It is interesting to note that further education is not mentioned as a separate category here. However, "resources" are now to be allocated on the rationale of "balance," not need; the phrase "difficult decisions" suggests inadequate funds for the tasks. Indeed, by 1984 the responsibility to pay is shifted away from government to employers.

> "..investment in training needs to be attractive financially. That means keeping training costs down...providing that industry and commerce play their part....It is for them [the employers] to make the investment in training people to do the work that they require...central and local government, at the expense of the taxpayer to ensure that general and vocational education are provided....exercised largely through the Manpower Services Commission.. ..trainees themselves need to accept that the total costs of training must be taken into account in determining their pay.."[103]

The implication is that the government's role is one of ensuring provision but not supplying investment thus the Conservative Government's political agenda becomes an important part of the context of educational reform. Employers are identified as the key driving force: " investment in training....must be attractive financially", in other words pay must be kept down in order that employers participate whereas trainees must simply accept the status-quo "trainees themselves need to accept....costs of training....determining their pay." This implies that the problem really rests with the employees who have higher expectations than is reasonable; clearly this is not an economic discourse but is a discourse of political dogma.

In 1981 there emerged another complication, namely the rising numbers of unemployed young people. The 21-hour rule was introduced to attract non-working young people into education without losing their unemployment benefit. However, the Conservative Government has reinterpreted "need" by redefining the rules:

> "First it is made clear that it is necessary to count towards the 21 hours only time

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[103]DES. 1984. Training for Jobs. Cmnd 9135. . paragraph 2. London: HMSO.

spent receiving instruction or tuition. No account should be taken of time spent on meal breaks or unsupervised study, whether at the establishment or elsewhere."[104]

The suggestion of time wasting both by the learners and the institution is clear. In 1984 we see this restated:

"The 21 hour rule is not designed to enable those committed to an education course to claim benefit and those who take advantage of it must satisfy appropriate conditions, including the need to be available for work."[105]

An important part of the discourse of derision of the welfare state became the inference of benefit abuse. The 1985 Further Education Act simply continued the trend of enabling colleges to further supplement their income: "The central aim of the Act is to encourage the profitable application of the resources of further education establishments to a wide range of commercial activities."[106] But the language theme is that of commercialism - "profitable" outcomes should now drive the colleges' decision-making process. This implies that the environment should be competitive:

"The Act enabled LEAs to lend money at competitive rates to companies involved in college and work links.[therefore]...supplies...must be made at not less than their open market value."[107]

Now market price becomes significant and the relationship between colleges and industry is changed- partnerships between colleges and industry become reduced to contracts:

".....permits LEAs through their further education establishments to sell goods and services which arise as by-products of educational activities... requires LEAs

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[104]DES. 1982. Further education for unemployed young people. paragraph 1. Administrative Memorandum 2/82.
[105]DES. 1984. Further education for unemployed people under the "21 hours rule." paragraph 1. Administrative Memorandum 3/84.
[106]DES. 1985. The Further Education Act 1985: commercial activities in further education. paragraph 7.1.
Circular 6.

to keep a separate revenue account of their FE establishments' activities ... to be maintained as far as possible along commercial lines, with full attributable costs......and best endeavours used to secure a surplus on each year's trading."[108]

Profit based on "full attributable costs" defines the boundaries of the contracts. "Trading" further reinforces the market metaphor. In a circular in 1985 we can identify competitive pricing being introduced as the main driver for increased funding.

"The central purpose of the Act is to encourage the profitable application of the resources of FE establishments to a wide range of commercial activities"[109] which will be priced on "the open-market value rule." [110]

Accordingly, the value of further education becomes re-interpreted and presented in commercial terms as the market price. Perhaps more importantly, the new context opens the colleges to the whims of demand and supply:

"The whole effect is to put the LEA as nearly as possible into the same position as a private-sector business; able to respond flexibly to changing market conditions, but subject to the overall test of profitability of the business as a whole."[111]

Whilst there is increasing evidence of pressure to allocate resources carefully, the commercial discourse post-1979 has a significant impact on the discourse within colleges. Driven by the Conservative Government since 1979, the product portfolios of the colleges are differentiated they now contain quasi-public goods, merit goods, normal goods and luxury goods. This has changed the discourse of further education provision from one of fulfilling a wide remit of need to that about a differentiated product portfolio. The value of the colleges' portfolios is therefore changed to a discourse about risk management. This

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[107]The Further Education Act 1985. paragraph 8.1 op. cit.
[108]Education Reform Act 1988.
[109]The Further Education Act 1985: commercial activities in further education. paragraph 7.1 op. cit..
[110]The Further Education Act 1985. paragraph 8.5. op. cit.
[111]The Further Education Act 1985. paragraph 8.2.op. cit.

forces the colleges to operate in a quasi market in which they are subjected to the language of the market as if they were providing a normal good. They are also subjected to the central theme of the market, namely price and profit. On the other hand, they are significantly controlled by central government, an unenviable operating position which can be seen in the following:

> "There has been little change from previous years in the factors which colleges and external institutions perceive as potential risks to the achievement of their strategic plans. The main factors identified by colleges are competition from schools and other colleges and changes in local authority policies on discretionary awards and transport. Over 40% of colleges indicated that restrictions in the availability of Council funding would limit their ability to achieve their plans."[112]

The development of the provision of further education thus continues to be held back by restrictions in funding, which sadly for this sector is business as usual.

The Changing Value of Further Education

There are some interesting insights into a college's role in society in 1943 that are distinct from the 1980s' commercial emphasis. In contrast to the latter, the stated intention of the reconstruction programme 1944 was to establish a system of equal opportunity to provide "a truly democratic system of public education." Reflecting the paternalistic social context of the time the culture of further education was to focus on the "aptitude" of the candidate, "not on the results of competitive tests."[113]

> "The continued supervision of the health of young people, after their full time schooling has ceased, and the encouragement and provision of opportunity to develop their capabilities and their interests are alike essential if the best is to be

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[112]FEFC. 1997. Analysis of institutions strategic planning information for the period 1998-9. paragraph 15. London: FEFC.
[113]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 3.op. cit.

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made of the nation's youth. There is common agreement that had the provisions for day continuation schools of the 1918 Act been operated, many of the problems of the adolescent would largely have been solved."[114]

In the above, government involvement in education provision is seen as crucial to solving society's wider problems through control. Participation in education is perceived as a means of socialisation, educating the individual as part of a society:

> "The young persons concerned will be involved in a wide variety of occupations-some training for one of the skilled crafts or employment for which definite training is necessary: some in employment in which no higher degree of skill or training is required, and some others in non- progressive occupations, commonly called "blind alley", which do not lead to adult employment."[115] "When basic requirements have been met, the remaining hours may well be devoted to a variety of subjects according to the individual's needs and capacities. ...In appropriate cases the time may be used for technical or vocational education related to their employment. For others there will be a variety of courses including handicrafts and the domestic arts, designed to stimulate their interests, keep their minds alert and create within themselves resources of satisfaction and self-development. In the case of those whose early employment is of the "blind alley" type, attention would be given to the further training that will assist them to transfer to more permanent work."[116]

Thus we can identify the roots that have created the form and content of the portfolio of courses established in the further education colleges: for some, education is anything that "keeps their minds alert" and creates "satisfaction and self development." Education is very clearly identified as a route to self-actualisation, a much wider remit than a purely academic one.[117] There is recognition that some client groups have a wide diversity of

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[114]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 65.op. cit.
[115]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 72.op. cit.
[116]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 74.op. cit.
[117]Self-actualisation is seen as a key driver for individual motivation when basic needs have been met. Individuals motivation is key to organisations achieving quality outputs because it can increase the level of good will. Work motivation strategies are advocated by human resource managers as solutions to worker alienation.

requirements, which need to be met. Those of the "blind alley" type, underachievers, would be encouraged to advance themselves. This further confirms the theme of equality of opportunity and government intervention to ensure it. The solution to the problem is very much in keeping with the paternalistic approach of the times. It included "handicrafts" and "domestic arts," ensure that individuals, in particular women, could serve society by contributing to an increase in the health of the nation.

In the 1980s, in contrast, we again see a reference to the poor competitive position of the UK but there is a different focus on how to solve the issue; investment in education and return are now linked. The focus is on:

> "Resource utilisation...Though the maintenance of adequate and reliable records is subordinate to the main objectives of further and higher education, proper management control and accountability is not possible without them."[118]

The aims of the reconstruction programme which began in the 1980s use the concept of quality of service:

> "We are determined to achieve better standards throughout the education service....but we still lag behind our competitors in the participation of our school leavers in further education and training and their achievement of useful qualifications."[119]

In the 1980s therefore, we can identify the bias "useful" qualifications as those that contribute to work orientation. Education and training become more directly linked to job specification, and this reduces the opportunity to develop transferable skills; equal opportunity is thus denigrated. In other words, self- actualisation, the central tenet of the right to a wider education, is reduced to a discourse about that which is occupationally useful. Quality of further education is thus re-interpreted to mean that which matches the

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of good will. Work motivation strategies are advocated by human resource managers as solutions to worker alienation.

[118]DES. 1983. Guide to resource efficiency. Audit Inspectorate. Feb. p 4. London: HMSO.

needs of the market. How it is measured, the standard, further reduces educational value to a very narrow interpretation; this narrowing of the term "education and training" has become part of the political agenda. The discourse is now driven by "educational effectiveness" and "value for money in 16-19 provision."[120] In 1988, we find the legislation for further education biased towards a narrow interpretation of education, work orientation:

> "I believe that further education colleges have a vital role in providing education and training for both school leavers and adults....Through links with business they are well placed to provide the knowledge and skills needed in the work place."[121]

In 1959 the vision of the development of the state education system was identified as a mechanism for students to "find their way about the adult world;" understand "a standard of moral values;" "continue to develop their leisure activities;" and lastly to appreciate "an educational task in the narrower sense."[122] Work orientation was therefore identified as only one part of an individual's total learning activity, which was biased towards an individual's understanding of, and contribution to, society. Information assimilation was seen as an important part of self-actualisation, so that the education process had a dual role. On the one hand, it was a process of informing a learner about his or her role in society; on the other hand, paradoxically, it was about providing the route towards the breaking down of those very traditions.

Whilst we find reference to common behaviour through adolescence as being "to fall into line," at the same time we find, "there is the chance that it may take the socially desirable form of non-conformity." This demonstrates the recognition of anarchistic behaviour, free thinking, as a benefit to society. Yet we also find that "they need a code of both morals and of behaviour, indeed of etiquette."[123] 1959 saw the colleges as a vehicle for reinforcing

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[119] The Further Education Act 1985: commercial activities in further education. paragraph 8.5. Circular 6

[120] DES. 1987. Providing for quality: the pattern of organisation to age 19. paragraph 17. Circular 3.

[121] The re-organisation of further education 1988. Hansard.

[122] The Crowther Report. paragraph 274. op. cit.

[123] The Crowther Report. paragraph 268. op. cit.

tradition and the role of the state can thus be identified as a "super caring" parent:

"It remains true to say that, in the normal course, hundreds of thousands of boys and girls are left without the supervision and help that they need during the most critical years in the formation of character and the training of body and mind."[124]

Caring by the state involved moral as well as educational responsibility; further education could therefore provide a "youth service" as well as adult education which also includes "..cultural ..liberal...vocational ...creative provision."[125] This reinforces the development of the whole person as socially desirable. The focus of the development of the educational system based on the concept of community began in the 1940s:

"It is only when the pupil or student reaches mature years that he will have served an apprenticeship in the affairs of life sufficient to enable him fully to fit himself for service to the community. It is thus within the wider sphere of adult education that an ultimate training in democratic citizenship must be sought."[126]

The language of commercialism, in contrast, suggests that the market is the best method by which to allocate resources; it heralds individualism as more important than collectivism. Thus another language theme emerges in the 1980s, that which denigrates the concepts of community and society. In contrast, in 1959[127] we can identify the education process as containing two interrelated "purposes" which link human rights to national investment:

"It is now considered to be the right of every boy and girl to be educated; and the right exists regardless of whether, in each individual case, there will be any return. From this point of view education is one of the social services of the welfare state.

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[124]The Crowther Report. paragraph 64. op. cit.
[125]The Crowther Report. paragraph 83-85. op. cit.
[126]MOE. 1943. Education Reconstruction. paragraph 85. op. cit.

to sustain economic productivity. From this point of view, education is a national investment."[128]

"Investment" implies delayed gratification; the implication was that the education process would, in the long term, provide what the economy needed. Nevertheless, education without direct commercial validity was seen as an attainment in its own right. Paradoxically, the commercial value of education and the establishment of human rights were identified as so interdependent that no division was made between them:

"Primacy must be given to the individual human rights of the individual boy or girl. But we do not believe that the pursuit of national efficiency can be ranked much lower- not least because without it the human rights themselves will not be secure."[129]

In 1959 we therefore see human rights identified as secure only when national efficiency is being pursued; herein lies the conundrum. Human rights, in particular equal opportunity, can only be pursued where the economy can provide the resources for ensuring them. Which, then, should drive education provision - commercial needs or government on behalf of learner choice? In spite of the vision of the 1943 Reconstruction Programme, by the 1960s further education colleges had developed as the "hand maidens" of industry, focused most directly on job orientation:

"For the overwhelming majority of boys and girls in further education, the choice of job....comes first, and entry into further education follows as a consequence . ...English further education cannot be understood without realising that virtually everything that exists in it has come into existence as the conscious answer to a demand rising from industry or from individual workers. Where something does not exist it is because there has been no effective demand for it." [130]

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[127]The Crowther Report. 1959. paragraph 81. op. cit.
[128]The Crowther Report. 1959. chapter 6, paragraph 83. op. cit.
[129]The Crowther Report. 1959. paragraph 86. op. cit
[130]The Crowther Report. 1959. paragraph 88. op. cit.

Despite the focus on human rights and meritocracy the courses provided in further education had developed as a response to major employer needs.[131] They now catered for a wide set of intellectual capabilities,[132] but there had been no "cohesive plan or mechanism"[133] for those who did not follow the traditional academic route - these learners remained a disadvantaged group. Participation in further education tended to be determined by the employer, not the individual [134] and reflected the 1950s' social context of gender discrimination.[135] Evidence of the gender-biased social context of the time is demonstrated in the caveat: "It must be remembered that girls largely look to leaving factory, shop or office to get married and set up homes of their own."[136]

Gender bias clearly had an impact on the type of education supplied for the majority of girls. The former demonstrates the strong influence on decision making of "acceptable" social constructs. Equal opportunity was only for some. It is worthy of note that "he, him, himself, his" is used 139 times in the Crowther Report "her, she, she'll" 10 times.

By the 1960s, we can identify a gap emerging between the intention of the 1944 Act, an educated socially aware population, and the outcome. The lack of equal opportunity for those participating in post-sixteen further education had become institutionalised. The language theme of further education as a quasi -public good became the dominant discourse.

Expressions such as "direction must be gradual", "as soon as practicable" and "important contribution to industrial efficiency" encapsulate the growing trend towards commercial considerations as dominant in this sector. The actual development of further education, in contrast to the desired outcome, had been driven from a supply side perspective. Yet, paradoxically, the social welfare context is still evident: "...that though employment may perhaps from time to time be somewhat less than it has been in recent years, there will be

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[131]The Crowther Report. 1959. paragraph 486. op. cit.
[132]The Crowther Report. 1959. paragraph 487. op. cit.
[133]The Crowther Report. 1959. paragraph 492. op.cit.
[134]The Crowther Report. 1959. paragraph 489. op. cit.
[135]The Crowther Report. 1959. paragraph 496.op. cit.

no relapse into the conditions twenty years before the wars."[137] The state had a duty to change economic trends. This duty was built on the new doctrine, the notion that "the nation can control its own economic development......cost of education is seen as a burden on the state but also as a method of creating economic development."[138]

Cost of education arrived on the policy agenda as a consideration. The new emerging discourse for long term investment became based on a cost and benefit analysis. Yet it is still possible to identify a reluctance to judge educational performance solely in commercial terms.

> "Children are not the 'supply' that meets any 'demand'.....they are individual human beings...concern of the schools should not be with the living that they will earn but the life they will lead."[139]

In the late 1950s the theme of community is thus still evident. Similarly, so too is the theme of self- actualisation: "There are indeed parts of everybody's education which have no economic value, and there is nobody whose education is entirely without it."[140] Although the emerging language theme denigrates the further education sector to that of a quasi public good, it remains a merit good. It is of benefit to society as a whole: "Until recently education has been statistically, and one may guess, generally regarded, as one of the social services - that is one of the burdens that the state lays on its taxpayers for the benefits of its citizens."[141] In 1963, however, we see that:

> "the National Advisory Council are in sympathy with the proposal in The Crowther Report for the development of sandwich courses for technicians, but consider that progress in this direction must be gradual...The Minister shares the view of the National Advisory Council about the desirability of increasing the normal hours of study...as soon as practicable... This will make an important

[136]The Crowther Report. 1959. paragraph 72.op. cit.
[137]The Crowther Report, 1959.paragraph 69. op. cit.
[138]The Crowther Report, 1959. paragraph 85. op.cit.
[139]The Crowther Report, 1959. paragraph 85. op. cit.
[140]The Crowther Report, 1959. paragraph 86. op. cit.

contribution to industrial efficiency as well as being of benefit to the students."[142]

Coupled with cautionary government spending the development of a theme of provision inadequacy also begins to emerge:

"Despite some splendid achievements in the schools, there is much unrealised talent especially among boys and girls whose potential is masked by inadequate powers of speech and the limitations of a home background. Unsuitable programmes and teaching methods may aggravate their difficulties, and frustration express itself in apathy or rebellion. The country cannot afford this wastage, humanely or economically speaking."[143]

The democratic theme is also apparent in:

"The point is, could many people, with the right educational help, achieve still more? If they could then in human justice and in economic self-interest, we ought, as a country to provide that help."[144]

The theme of equal opportunity within the context of democracy and paternalism can be seen clearly in the use of the term "human justice" and "provide that help." This is combined with a commercial context, "economic self-interest." The link between human rights and national investment made in the 1940s still remains. However, education products are now clearly differentiated: "The practical subjects have special value for the less able" - a close association is thus made between having practical interests and low ability:

"Vocational is a dangerous but indispensable word. It rightly means all that belongs to a man's calling. That itself is no doubt an old fashioned word, but at

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[141]The Crowther Report, 1959. paragraph 84. op. cit.
[142]MOE. 1963. Organisation of further education courses. paragraph 6. Circular 3.
[143] MOE. 1963. Half our future. chapter 1, p 3. op. cit.
[144]MOE. 1963, Half our future. chapter 1, p 9. op. cit.

least it suggests that there is more to a job than money."[145]

The suggestion that the academic route, which distances reality, is preferable can be seen in the expressions "at least it suggests" and "more to a job than money." "Calling" is refereed to as an "old fashioned word", which suggests that there are changing values. However, the use of the phrase "more to a job than money" is a direct challenge to materialism and indicates that this paradigm is already part of the social context. This theme can be identified in the following:

> "For historical reasons a distinction has come to be accepted between training and further education which is reflected in the institutional arrangements. Vocationally-oriented learning is, however, essentially a single process, though for many purposes it is convenient to regard training as being more concerned with learning job skills- i.e. how to do things – while vocationally- oriented further education is more concerned with general concepts involved – i.e. why things are done. It is also convenient to distinguish vocationally oriented further education from the further education, which is primarily an extension of general education, although both contribute to the fuller development of the individual."[146]

Vocational education thus became divided into different levels of achievement – training is clearly distanced from "the fuller development of the individual." Training was thus placed at the bottom end of the hierarchy of learning. Parity of difference, envisaged in the 1944 Act, has been dropped from the agenda. "To improve standards of achievement on the part of the pupils and students of all abilities, the quality and range of the curriculum and the effectiveness of its delivery and to secure the best possible return from the resources found for education."[147]

Some phrases in the 1988 Act are similar to that of the report in 1959: "To improve

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[145]MOE. 1963. Half our future. chapter 14, p. 319. op. cit.
[146]MSC. 1975. Vocational preparation for young people. . p.12. op. cit.
[147] DES. 1985. Better Schools. Cmnd 9469.

standards of achievement...of all abilities...the quality and range of curriculum."[148] However commercial language clearly differentiates the new focus from the old: "[the important factor is to ensure] the effectiveness of delivery and to secure the best possible return from the resources found for education."[149] Boundaries now exist around what is considered as possible, thus challenging the all-encompassing concept of equal opportunity. The inference is that education now has to compete with other demands for resources.

The language used in the Education Reform Act 1988 indicates that the Conservative Government has a particular vision of acceptable organisational behaviour. Let us take, for example, the term "good management;" the Government's preferences are clear: the linking of the words "good management" with "effective and efficient" use of resources favours a cost-driven approach.[150] Effectiveness of education then becomes re-evaluated in terms of cost only. In one paragraph the language used has transmitted a set of assumptions about the measurement of success and defined the ways in which this success can be measured; the shift away from equity as a measure in this context can be understood.

The focus on further education becomes not the process that the individual experiences but the outcome. Although it is stated that "it will be premature to advocate any one quality framework,"[151] the direction is clear. This new commercial focus for further education becomes evident here: "Young people need to be made fully aware of the importance of qualifications to their future prospects."[152]

Clearly it is assumed that there is a direct relationship between increased qualifications and individual advancement. Sixteen to nineteen-year-olds are identified as the group that has a high rate of course "wastage." Whilst wastage is used in the Crowther Report, here the word is used as in manufacturing production lines, suggesting a completely different

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[148]The Crowther Report. 1959. paragraph 86.op cit.
[149]DES. 1985. Better Schools. p.3. op. cit.
[150]Education Reform Act 1988. paragraph 1.15. Circular 9.
[151]DFEE. 1991. Education and training for the 21st century. vol. 2, p38.
[152]Education Reform Act 1988. paragraph 1.15. op. cit.

connotation. All that is needed is to get the production line performing to quality measures and the wastage will be removed. In the Crowther Report the inference is of the waste of human potential not that of wasted resources.

> "A proper programme of careers education and guidance....as part of a wider programme of personal and social education as a preparation for adult working life......so [they] have a clear picture of the responsibilities and obligations of adult life."[153]

Having differentiated the education market, moves began to target training so that "a more comprehensive and largely employment-based approach to the education and training needs of minimum-age school leavers could be developed."[154] This targeting approach can be identified in the Dearing Report:

> "As a nation, we must raise our levels of expectation for all and increase achievement at a faster rate than our competitors. The new national targets for education and training represent essential national needs. But at the same time we must ensure that these achievements are genuine improvements, and that standards are rigorously safeguarded."[155]

The use of the term "fair competition" may also imply the re-emergence of an ethical stance driven by different values. This can also be seen in Sir Ron Dearing's report of 1996:

> "Education about the world cannot avoid moral and spiritual issues and discussion of personal qualities such as honesty, integrity and consideration for others[156].......Life entails a continuous series of moral judgements and decisions. In work, the need to face ethical issues arises constantly. It is increasingly

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[153]DES. 1987. Providing for quality. paragraph 21. op. cit.
[154]DES. 1982. The youth training scheme: implications for the education service. paragraph 2. . Circular No. 6/82.
[155] The Dearing Report. paragraph 2.2. op. cit.
[156] DFEE. 1996. Review of 16-19 qualification. paragraph 13.1. op. cit.

recognised that companies as well as professions need to have a code of ethics. History is much concerned with human action, codes of values and the inter-play between those codes and actual behaviour. Literature is replete with ethical dilemmas and spiritual issues. Any researcher has to ensure that advocacy of a point of view not only does not compromise the dispassionate accumulation and presentation of evidence, but preferably grows from that evidence. Those on medicine and genetics are increasingly confronted with complex moral issues. New scientific developments do not simply give humans new powers, but pose new ethical problems." [157]

The phrase "it is increasingly recognised" suggests that ethical issues have not been dominant but are now re-appearing on the agenda. Science "posing new ethical problems" suggests that there is a different view of action than previously. There appears to be a re-emergence of the concept of society. There is the suggestion that industrial growth needs to be tempered by ethical value.

"An active policy [in schools] of awareness of responsibilities and rights can do much. Schools and colleges can and do transmit a common culture and common standards of citizenship. But the times we live in suggest there is merit in re-emphasising the need to address moral and spiritual issues and to build on the public and private virtues of citizenship and community." [158]

The use of the term "responsibilities" suggests that the old language theme is being used but here it is also linked with "rights", which suggests a new dimension. The new theme appears to be one built on individualism tempered by citizenship but where citizenship implies society; thus we may be observing a move away from individualism.

Alongside a differentiated market the value of education, for those involved in non-advanced further education, has changed from self-actualisation, which implied the growth in a meritocracy, to education and training as a means to increase national

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[157] DFEE. 1996. Review of 16-19 qualification. paragraph 13.2. op. cit.
[158] DFEE. 1996. Review of 16-19 qualification. paragraph 13.5. op. cit.

competitiveness. Educational ideals and economic realities are not mutually exclusive, and indeed have always been part of the further education agenda. However, the model chosen to measure effectiveness changes the focus of achievement. The model of efficiency impacts on the approach taken to change and quality within the further education colleges. Consequently, a government's choice affects the student's and college's experience, by driving teaching to achieve particular outcomes.

Closer association of education to employment removes power from the individual and places it with the employers; the achievement of equal opportunity, a central tenet of the 1944 Act, is thus circumvented and the status quo remains unchanged. Given the Conservative Government's political preference for the market paradigm it is not surprising to find that the efficiency study undertaken in 1987[159] has driven the majority of performance indicators within the colleges "to include efficiency and effectiveness but for equity to be only a minority interest."[160] The central tenet of the 1944 Act, equal educational opportunity, is rendered impotent because of the use of the language of commercialism. "Those who need support in the critical years of late adolescence get least;"[161] inequality continues.

The Breaking Down of the Established System; a theme of inadequacy.

The change to the statutory system introduced in 1944 also altered local education administration. The two separate local authorities, elementary and higher, were reviewed given the following three principles:

> "That all local authorities should be charged with all educational functions; that the population should not now be regarded as relevant to the question whether its council should be a Local Education Authority; [and lastly that] however Local Education Authorities may be constituted, there should be arrangement for

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[159]DES. 1987. Managing colleges efficiently. DES/WO.
[160]The equity indicators are age/sex/race, entitlements and disability.
[161]The Crowther Report. 1959. paragraph 263. op. cit.

preserving and stimulating local interest in education."[162]

The organisation of the system of education was thus placed in the hands of one provider but contained as a central tenet local democracy; central power and local power therefore each operated to reduce the power of the other. By the late 1950s the LEA had developed such that it determined the nature of supply:

> "It is for the [local] authority to determine the general educational character of the establishment and its place in the local education system. Subject to this, however, the Minister considers that the general oversight of the conduct of the establishment and its curriculum should be entrusted to the governors, the principal being responsible for day-to-day management and discipline."[163]

However, in adopting the theme of local democracy there was a division of responsibility at the local level between elected representatives and college representatives. The governors' task, in 1959, was to take an overview of their college's strategic direction, the principal having full responsibility for the management of operations of the college. By 1977 the governors' task of "general oversight" had changed to one of involvement in day to day activity but again, following the theme of local democracy, there was a coalition between "industry, the trade unions and commerce [who] should be involved in curriculum planning processes."[164]

Alongside this, we can identify a trend emerging towards increased commercial intervention and a decrease in academic intervention in a college's decision-making process. This trend is exemplified by the increase from a third of commercial representatives on the committee to fifty per cent in the 1988 Education Act where these governors were "to be, or to have been, engaged or employed in business, industry or any profession or in any other field relevant to the activities of the institution."[165] Government intention was clear discourse within further education institutions should increasingly

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[162]MOE. 1943. Educational Reconstruction. paragraph 114. op. cit.

[163] MOE. 1959. Governing bodies for major establishments of further education. paragraph 17. op. cit.

[164]DES. 1977. The composition of school governing bodies. Cmnd 7430. London : HMSO.

[165]Education Reform Act. 1988. section 152. op. cit.

be biased more directly towards commercial activity local democracy was thus hijacked by commercial interest.

This trend towards the market paradigm culminated in the radical removal of further education from the public sector, to the private sector but by now the LEA was seen to limit rather than encourage local needs:

> "[Further education colleges] are still subject to bureaucratic controls from local authorities. They lack the full freedom which we gave the polytechnics and higher education colleges in 1989 to respond to the demands of students and the labour market."[166]

The use of the term "freedom" implies the removal of state intervention; this and "respond to demand" are examples of the discourse of the market. Furthermore, proposing that a college be free to respond to demand suggests a short-term focus to education policy for the further education sector. In the 1990s we can identify a changed discourse, from one which no longer accepts the interdependency and co-operative nature of the education system to one which identifies the system as a barrier to local needs. Indeed, the discourse is an assault on the local education authorities and their power to control supply locally. The statement that colleges are "still subject to bureaucratic controls" carries a strong message suggesting that bureaucracy inhibits rather than serves the community and local democracy. Colleges are perceived by the government as caged, needing to be released from bureaucratic control; the message is that bureaucratic control is bad, rather than supportive as in the earlier period.

Coupled with this, the changed attitude towards the LEAs can be seen clearly in the following:

> "It is the Government's firm view, not only that these councils are capable of becoming effective LEAs, responsible in their own right for the full range of

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[165]Education Reform Act. 1988. section 152. op. cit.

[166]Statement on the reorganisation of further education. Hansard 1991.

service, but above all that this restructuring will provide a stable framework within which urgently needed improvements in the performance and accountability of the education service in inner London."[167]

An attack on the established system of provision is apparent. The phrase "capable of becoming effective" clearly implies that the LEAs are viewed as inadequate. The expression "need improvements in the performance and accountability" carries a strong message implying lack of accountability and poor performance. The cure, namely "restructuring" of the system in order that the LEAs become "responsible" for their actions; implies that previously they had not been. It is thus possible to isolate much of the Government's new policy discourse: measuring of performance; effectiveness; accountability. The following paragraph demonstrates the breaking down of the co-operative relationship between ILEA and central government at the time:

"The Secretary of State fully recognises the important role of ILEA throughout the transitional period and welcomes the constructive approach being taken to the transfer of responsibility, in particular, the Authority employees, most of whom will have a continuing role within the further education service in inner London..."[168]

The tone appears to imply that a "constructive approach" or co-operation is surprising as if a battle was taking place. If the discourse was one of war, the Government was winning; power was delegated from one ILEA to several councils[169]; coupled with this the transfer of responsibilities coincided with the Local Government Finance Act 1988[170] allowing each area to spend "at the level of their needs assessment...,"[171] as a method of reaching local needs. However, the power of the system based on co-operation and interdependency began to be eroded. This can be seen in the 1988 Act:

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[167]Education Reform Act 1988. section 1.1.
[168]Education Reform Act 1988. section 1.4.
[169]In Part III of the Education Reform Act 1988 provision was made for the councils of the Inner London Boroughs and the common council of the City of London to become the LEA from April 1990.
[170]DES, 1988. Transfer of responsibility. p.69. Circular 6/88.

[171]The transfer of responsibility for education in inner London. p. 69. op. cit.

"Under delegation college governing bodies will be responsible for the general direction of colleges[172]...Each governing body to submit to the LEA annual proposals. It will be for each college to determine its internal arrangements...to submit views and proposals...[to take on board] the importance of effective consultation between LEAs and colleges."[173]

Government continued its theme of increasing the governors' power, which was now skewed towards commercial interests, to decide; rather than having an overview they now became "responsible for the general direction of the colleges." The LEAs' role shifted from controller to that of monitors. In the Further and Higher Education Act 1992 the continued trend to diminish LEA control is clear:

"The new Further Education Funding Council will take over from the LEAs with effect from 1993 statutory duties in respect of the provision of full-time education for those aged 16-18. The Council will also take over duties in respect of part-time education for those over compulsory school age and full-time aged 19 and over...."[174]

Removing the LEAs as the direct funding agencies is further evidence of the battle to reduce the power that LEAs have to influence the development of education provision. However, the duty of the LEA to ensure adequate education and training provision remained: "The duty placed on LEAs by the Education Act 1944 is changed in its scope, not in its substance."[175] In 1943 the local education authorities were seen to have the potential to both "preserve [and] stimulate local interest in educational affairs."[176] LEAs now had responsibility but reduced power, a radical change from the role envisaged in the reconstruction programme of 1943. Local democracy was further eroded by central control via a government quango.

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[172]Education Act 1988 . section 2.1. 7.
[173]Education Act 1988. section 2.1. 8.
[174]DFEE. 1993. The Further and Higher Education Act. paragraph 2. Circular 1/93.
[175]The further and higher education Act 1992. paragraph 64. op. cit.
[176]MOE. 1943. Education Reconstruction . paragraph 118. op. cit.

Similarly, following the trend to disband the traditional system, an attack on the DES began. The emerging discourse of inadequacy implied that the use of illegitimate power was entrenched in the traditional system of provision. In 1971 we find the state education system described by the Central Office of Information as follows:

> "To secure for all children a happier childhood and a better start in life; to ensure a further measure of educational opportunity for young people and to provide means for all to develop the various talents with which they are endowed and so enriching the inheritance of the country whose citizens they are."[177]

The social motive of education is evident. There is also reference to the need for a wide definition of educational provision to provide for the diverse talents of the population. However, in the 1970s, against a background of unemployment, particularly for the sixteen-nineteen year old, a different perspective began to dominate: "a consequence of the cyclical nature of recruitment for long-term training is that in periods of economic downturn places are not available to some young people who would get them in a better year."[178] The Government thus began to be concerned about the rising number of disaffected young people and a new ideological educational perspective began to emerge; the theme of further education as a process for an individual to develop his or her potential for an industrial niche became central to the new debate; an education-industry link thus began to dominate curriculum initiatives. Even so, there were concerns that:

> "wastage among long-term trainees is heavy in some industries.... Wastage is also affected in ways not directly related to the quality or method of training. For example, the combination of two factors – that the length of apprenticeship is often greater than the time needed for adequate training and that higher wages may be paid to less skilled workers – prompts some to abandon their training prematurely...The attitude of both employees and young people to day release depends significantly on the kind of courses provided. Some employees....accept the value of release for general education and make good use of the facilities

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[177]Education in Britain. Central Office of Information: London. 1971
[178]MSC. 1975. Vocational preparation for young people. part 3. p. 9.

available; others are more doubtful and some indeed are critical of it. In general, employers' attitudes towards release for further education become more favourable the more the courses offered are vocationally-oriented." [179]

There were clear signals that the approach government needed to adopt was one of intervention. Concerns, however, seemed to focus on the disaffected youth rather than the employers:

"If young people are to choose jobs for which they are suited and to settle successfully into employment they need to be given adequate information and guidance about the possibilities open to them and to have acquired some understanding of what life at work will be like......It is becoming increasingly important to help young people to develop an awareness of the world of work and of the way wealth is produced and used by society. In recent years the social environment in a number of schools, with more emphasis on personal development and less on formal instruction, has been diverging from that encountered in most work situations, where the need to achieve results in conformity with desired standards and to do so within fixed time-limits calls for different patterns of behaviour." [180]

Despite the fact that there were very few jobs to go to we can identify the discourse of government focused on the attitude of young people to work, which is then associated with failure in schools to make that link. The DES was criticised for the lack of participative decision making:

"The DES does not encourage interest groups, or indeed the wide public, to participate in discussion of long-range planning of the overall purposes and shape of the education service..... DES planning....resource oriented, being concerned with primarily with options of scale, organisation and cost rather than

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[179]MSC. 1975. Vocational preparation for young people. p.10. op. cit.
[180]MSC. 1975. Vocational preparation for young people. part 4. p15. op. cit.

educational content."[181]

The inference was that the DES, who had monopoly power, was exerting that power illegitimately in order to pursue their particular aims at the cost of fulfilling changing educational needs in the economy. The dominance of the economic imperative and the attitude of the Government's mind is typified in 1977 where industrial objectives are "to be given priority over other policy aims, and that policy in other areas, including education, will need to be influenced by our industrial need."[182]

In 1976 the then Prime Minister, James Callaghan, gave a speech at Ruskin College. The controversial nature of his remarks led to what became known as the "The Great Debate," the theme of inadequacy. He stated that: "there is no virtue in [education] providing socially well-adjusted members of society, who are unemployed because they do not have the skills."[183] Consequently, the theme of a learners' education being linked to commercial considerations increased, although the old paradigm still had influence, as we can see in: "nor at the other extreme must they be technically effective robots."[184]

Despite this caveat, we see the emergence of a new approach to the success of education institutions based on new individual characteristics, namely the ability to contribute to industry. This trend has been continued by the Conservative Government, for example in the White Paper "Working together: education and training" in 1986:

> "The main purpose of the initiative [TVEI] has been 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......has reinforced moves towards the development of a broader and more relevant curriculum and closer collaboration between

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[181]DES, 1976. Tenth report of the Expenditure Committee: policy making in the DES. p 4. Cmnd 6678.
[182]DES. 1977. Education and management: a discussion paper. p 3. London: HMSO.
[183]Speech by the Rt. Hon. James Callaghan, MP at a foundation stone laying ceremony at Ruskin College, Oxford. 18th Oct. 1976.
[184]Speech by the Rt. Hon. James Callaghan, MP at a foundation stone laying ceremony at Ruskin College,

education and industry.." [185]

and in "Working together for a better future" published in 1987:

> "The broad and balanced curriculum, designed to allow each pupil to achieve his or
> her maximum potential in every area, is not only desirable in itself. More than that, it
> is the best preparation for a future in which the pace of economic and technological
> change will demand adaptability and versatility from all." [186]

"Broad and balanced" curriculum and "maximum potential" are terms very reminiscent of the 1944 Act; "will demand adaptability and versatility from all" reinforces the link with work. In common with much of the earlier initiatives, overseas competition is used as justification for education to be more closely linked with industry. The pressure has therefore increased for the emphasis in educating to shift from pure to applied knowledge.

The theme of inadequacy can thus be seen in the criticisms of the comprehensive system, brought in by the Labour Government in 1976. [187] Progressive education was also attacked:

> "In the name of 'equality of opportunity' the egalitarian seeks to destroy or
> transmogrify those schools which make special efforts to bring out the best in
> talented children...in his impatience the egalitarian takes the alternative course of
> levelling down the higher standards towards a uniform mediocrity...This leads him
> to decry the importance of academic standards and discipline...and indeed learning
> itself." [188]

The central tenet of welfare state education provision, "equal opportunity," is attacked here. Individualism is the theme of the attack, expressed as inherited ability. If this is interfered with, the suggestion is that ability could be reduced to "uniform mediocrity."

Oxford. 18th Oct. 1976.
[185] DES. 1986. Working together- education and training. p 9. op. cit.
[186] DES. 1986. Working together for a better future. p 3. op. cit.
[187] Education Act 1976.
[188] MAUDE, A. The egalitarian threat. in COX, C. and DYSON, A. eds. Fight for education. London:
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The implication is that new teaching methods developed to aid the less able were "levelling down" standards, not enabling more to pass.

The discourse in the 1970s was thus based on two themes, firstly the failure of the system to alter the economic situation and secondly the failure of the system to change dramatically the educational achievement of the masses in society. The value of education to the masses thus became unclear and economic imperatives gained ground. The theme of rationalisation began to emerge with a short-term perspective to investment: "To make schools and colleges as cost-effective as possible: this entails reducing the already large surplus capacity, which will be further increased by falling rolls."[189] In 1987 we find reference to the same need as that articulated in 1943:

> "One of the main aims...is to raise the attainment of young people (16-19), and their confidence in their own abilities, and thus to encourage more positive attitudes to continuing education and training post-16." [190]

The need to create "confidence," to enable the process of self-actualisation, is seen as vital to increasing participation in further education. In contrast to the earlier period, however, the 1988 Act introduced the language of competition. At the same time as meeting the needs of the students, colleges had to balance those needs with: "the question of viability and survival...."[191] Within the market paradigm "survival" implies competitive edge. "Viability" implies sustained demand. Student needs thus become re-identified as student demand which, within the market paradigm, is conditioned by price. The purpose of further education colleges is thus transformed from educational effectiveness to institutional efficiency, where a competitive price becomes essential to college survival. The welfare state discourse shifts from expansion to the need for rationalisation:

> "For the 16-19 age group there is a significant overlap between the type of

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Critical Quarterly Society.
[189] DES. 1987. Providing for quality: the pattern of organisation to age 19. p3. Circular 3.
[190] DES. 1987. Providing for quality: the pattern of organisation to age 19. p 6. op. cit.
[191] FEU. 1990. Challenges for Colleges: Developing a corporate approach to curriculum and strategic planning. Further Education Unit. p.1.

course...and in further education colleges....much remains to be done ...to improve educational quality in the most cost-effective manner. Educational, financial, social and practical considerations should all play a part....promoters should draw up rationalisation plans." [192]

Restructuring thus became part of the rationalisation discourse "to improve educational quality in the most cost-effective manner." The battle against existing practice had begun. This is significantly different from the approach taken to rationalisation in 1966. In the Pilkington Report 1964, with reference to class sizes:

"the Committee's conclusion is that there is very considerable reserve of resources which could be more fully used without any educational disadvantage, and that the effective utilisation of this reserve would be invaluable in helping the colleges meet the heavy demands in the next few years." [193]

The conciliatory tone "could be more fully used", "would be invaluable" suggests a democratic approach. The social context of co-operation between government, bureaucratic institutions and a shared vision of society is very clearly evident in the following:

"The Secretary of State welcomes in particular its positive approach and the emphasis which it places upon the importance of consultation and co-operation in achieving its objectives. He wishes to commend it warmly to all concerned as a major contribution to the problem of using the resources at their disposal to maximum advantage in the common interest." [194]

The term "commend it warmly" contains no threat - rather it implies a working relationship, that of a partnership. By 1987 the theme has changed to that of inadequacy:

[192]DES. 1987. Providing for quality. p 4. op. cit.
[193]MOE, 1966. Technical college resources: size of classes and approval of further education courses. paragraph 3. Circular 11.
[194]MOE. 1964. Technical college resources. op. cit. paragraph 10.

"New arrangements should offer an education better suited to the needs of the pupils and students of all abilities than would be offered taking account of the probable effects on existing arrangements of expected fall in student numbers.[195] The prime challenge....is to improve standards of achievement on the part of the pupils and students of all abilities, the quality and range of the curriculum and the effectiveness of its delivery and to secure the best possible return from the resources found for education[196]. ...[the new framework of courses is focused on] ... The need for educational effectiveness and value for money[197]....The Secretary of State expects to see a further improvement....of NAFE efficiency."[198]

The rationale for change is given as "falling numbers" but "education better suited to the needs of the student" continues the theme of inadequacy and suggests poorly used resources; the inference is that the professionals can be blamed for misuse. The benefit that learners could accrue as a direct result of reduction in class size is not part of the discourse. Put differently, such is the power of the metaphor "commercialisation" that other reasons for failure of the system to provide increased participation rates fail to arrive on the agenda as part of the discourse for change. It is implied that the system is inadequate and needs restructuring. The driver of re-structuring is no longer student need but "return from resources." "Value for money" becomes a key indicator for educational effectiveness. The language theme of efficiency is apparent where resources are now "found" for education; this implies an element of chance in funding rather than an established right, epitomising the attitude of the Conservative Government post-1980s to the rationalisation of the welfare state.

The approach to re-structuring has efficiency as the main driver. The theme of efficiency as a measure of value in the 1980s is in stark contrast to the value of education in the 1960s and 1970s. Value in the earlier period included the notion of social responsibility implying the existence of a society. Educating the masses thus had a wider remit, that of enabling the masses to contribute to society.

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[195]DES. 1987. Providing for quality: the pattern of organisation to age 19. 1987. paragraph 4. op. cit.
[196]DES. 1987. Providing for quality: the pattern of organisation to age 19. 1987. paragraph 1. op. cit.
[197]DES. 1987. Providing for quality: the pattern of organisation to age 19. 1987. paragraph 17. op. cit

The notion that increased participation in education and economic success are interdependent has become institutionalised: "Conservatives believe that high standards in education and training are the key to personal opportunity and national success."[199] The Labour Party states: "Good education is the best investment for Britain's future. All girls and boys, from every background must be able to discover their talents and fulfil their potential."[200] The Liberals comment: "British citizens are our best asset. Liberal Democrats will invest in people to enable every individual to fulfil their potential and in doing so build the nation's economic and social strength."[201]

At first glance, the 1990s look like a period of convergence of political disparity. However, Labour and the Liberal Party use the term "fulfil their potential" to describe the central driver to the educational system; in contrast, the Conservatives use "personal opportunity." The latter is individualistic and creates images of the survival of the fittest or, put differently, is an opportunity if you are good enough, whereas the terminology used by Labour and the Liberal's suggests equal opportunity based on merit. These are different solutions to solve the same problem, that of social change. It is in this context that Sir Ron Dearing was commissioned to conduct a review of sixteen - nineteen year olds' qualifications framework. The National Commission on Education proposed radical reorganisation; that A levels, GNVQ and NVQ qualifications be merged into a single framework. Whilst these findings were accepted by Scotland, Sir Ron Dearing gives his rationale for rejection as follows:

> "Acceptance of these proposals would mean a fundamental recasting of the present
> structure of qualifications. This is the course to be developed in Scotland. It has
> attractions in bringing coherence to the framework of qualifications and in removing
> the divide between the vocational and academic. A potential disadvantage lies in the
> risk that it may reduce the value that comes from having distinctive characteristics of
> the GNVQ being subordinated to the proven A- level

[198]DES. 1987. Providing for quality: the pattern of organisation to age 19. 1987. paragraph 28. op. cit
[199]The best future for Britain: Conservative Manifesto 1992. London: Conservative Central Office. 1992.
[200] Your good health: a white paper for a Labour government. London: Labour Party. 1992.
[201] Changing Britain for good: the Liberal Democrat Manifesto 1992. Dorchester: Liberal Democrat Publications.

approach. That would be to the detriment of students who have not responded well to academic learning and who are stimulated by a different approach. There might also be a risk that by integration of the NVQs, they would be distanced from employers and the Industry Training Organisations, Lead Bodies and Occupational Standards Council which have devised them."[202]

A risk aversion approach can be identified in the language theme "fundamental recasting", "danger", "distancing," and "risk." This approach is further backed by the apparent support for the established institutions. That the radical proposals suggested by the National Commission on Education might be "distanced from employers" suggests that employers have strong power and influence in the debate. At best, therefore, the approach to change proposed by the report will be incremental, a safe route. This is further confirmed in the statement

"Developments in Scotland could have a long-term bearing on policy elsewhere. For the immediate future, I set out ways of securing greater coherence, from which it would be possible to develop, if that seemed appropriate."[203]

The discourse thus contains the language of caution and a context of non-radicalism, hardly a good recipe for change. The theme of compromise can be seen further in the following:

"There are strongly held and contrasting views on the purposes of education and training post 16; on what it should consist of; on the best method of assessment; and on what a qualification means[204]......There are also major differences in assessment. Achievement in A levels is largely measured by examinations...GNVQ is based primarily on course work[205]......There are differences in the way A level and GNVQ describe what the candidate is

[202]DFEE. 1996. Review of the 16-19 qualifications framework. paragraph 5.7. op. cit.
[203]DFEE. 1996. Review of the 16-19 qualifications framework. paragraph 5.8. op. cit.
[204]DFEE. 1996. Review of the 16-19 qualifications framework. 5.10. op. cit.
[205]DFEE. 1996. Review of the 16-19 qualifications framework. 5.11. op. cit.

expected to know[206]....However, there is enough common ground on which to build greater coherence without losing the distinctiveness of each of the individual qualifications....Both qualifications include knowledge, understanding and skills, though the balance and emphasis varies."[207]

The debate about the breadth of education against that of the depth becomes re-identified as product "distinctiveness", an "emphasis" which needs "balance," with the result that the discourse becomes one of focus rather than one based on fundamental differences about the value of education. This theme finds its way into the discourse on participation:

> "In the consultation leading to the Interim Report, the need to motivate and lift achievement amongst the least successful has been recognised, but so has the difficulty of finding ways to do this. By the time a young person is 16 the difficulties are compounded. This points to initiatives before 16-19. A key element in any solution is engaging the learner's interest in some activity and thereby providing motivation and the prospect of achievement. What that 'breakthrough' area of activity may be is less important than securing involvement and building progressively on it."[208]

Thus the focus of increased participation should be "motivation" and "involvement;" in other words the established system has failed in its task to reach these individuals. "Engaging the learner's interest" implies that the matter is simply one of making learning interesting. The lack of aspiration, caused by social and economic factors, is not discussed. The problem thereby reduced to one of technique rather one that demands social revolution.

Further Education: a managed market

In the 1940s government intervention was purported to be essential in order to ensure an

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[206]DFEE. 1996. Review of the 16-19 qualifications framework. 5.12. op. cit.
[207]DFEE. 1996. Review of the 16-19 qualifications framework. 5.13. op. cit
[208]DFEE. 1996. Review of the 16-19 qualifications framework. 9.1. op. cit

increase in participation rates in education and training. From the mid-1980s, the Conservative Government, with Mrs Thatcher as Prime Minister, introduced radical changes to the further education sector. The language of the market dominated the rationale for development:

"For the nation and all who work in its businesses - both large and small - survival and success will depend on designing, making and selling goods and services that the customer wants at the time he wants and at a price he is prepared to pay; innovating to improve quality and efficiency; and maintaining an edge over all competition."[209]

In a developed economy a market is controlled by the individual's rights and responsibilities hence the external inspectorate plays a more significant role which can be identified in the following: "The sector's performance is revealed by the inspection grades awarded during college inspections."[210] Coupled with this, the Government continued control by a punishment system: "The funding penalty attaching to areas of work graded 4 or 5 by inspectors has encouraged colleges to address such deficiencies with speed."[211] Clearly the so-called "market" is very much managed by a financial paradigm delivered by a government quango but controlled by central government.

In 1995 the market themes of efficiency and (the newly defined) educational effectiveness are entrenched in policy. This can be seen in the terms and purposes of the review of sixteen-nineteen qualifications requested by the Secretary of State for education and employment and conducted by Sir Ron Dearing:

"[I was asked] to have particular regard to the need to ....increase participation and achievement in education and training and minimise wastage...[and to] secure maximum value for money."[212]

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[209]DES. 1986.Working together - education and training. p.1. op. cit.
[210]FEFC Annual Report 1995. paragraph 7.
[211]FEFC Annual Report 1995. paragraph 16.
[212]DFEE. 1996. Review of 16-19 year olds. Interim report background and introduction. p 2. op. cit.

In addition to the remit the Secretary of State for Education asked a number of questions:

> "Is there scope for measures to achieve greater coherence and breadth of study post-16 without compromising standards; and how can we strengthen our qualifications still further? Why is it that many students do not complete their courses? Can school and college resources be better used to enable young people to take full advantage of the ability to mix and match qualifications to suit their needs and abilities? Should we make sure that most able students are stretched and suitably rewards for excellence? And should we encourage core skills, which are already an essential part of GNVQs, as part of the programme of study for more 16-19 year olds?"[213]

However, if answers to these questions are bounded by a market mind-frame then only one avenue of answers is open to discourse; thus we have a managed discourse. Such is the strength of the language themes of commercialism that in 1996 Gillian Shepherd refers not to ensuring competition but to fair competition.

> "We have achieved a great deal over the last decade to create a climate of competition in the delivery of education and training in this country However, if this growth is to be sustained then the competition on which it is based must be fair"[214]

The assumption is that the battle to shift the public sector towards a commercial orientation has been won. Reiterating the finding of the White Paper 1996 "Competitiveness: creating the enterprise centre of Europe"[215] the Conservative Government has indicated that it intends to "secure greater convergence of funding arrangements,"[216] in order to provide "fair and effective competition between

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[213]DFEE. 1996. Review of 16-19 year olds. Interim report background and introduction. p. 1. op. cit.
[214]DFEE. 1996. Funding 16-19 education and training: towards convergence. Foreword by the Secretary of State for education and employment. London: HMSO.
[215]DFEE. 1996. Competitiveness: creating the enterprise centre of Europe. Cm3300
[216]DFEE. 1996. Funding 16-19 education and training. paragraph 4. op. cit.

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providers."[217] But in this case, the competition between the providers is orchestrated by government intervention and favours their mental models. Indeed, if central government is to carry out targeted policy the link between policy and action must be tight. It would seem that they are saying one thing and doing another.

Further Education: the need for a public relations exercise.

It has been recognised over the period of investigation that as further education has evolved it has been labelled as second class. This sector is in need of promotion to increase participation rates.[218] In 1959 we find:

> "The work of the further education service is handicapped by the ignorance and misunderstanding which are still too common despite all that has been done in the last few years to make it better known."[219]

The message is clear - much work still needs to be done to change society's attitude to the value of further education, and its position in the hierarchy of knowledge. But in the Audit 1985 the need for a radical change is reduced to the need for "better marketing."[220] The discourse has become one of compromise; the speed of change incremental. In 1995 we still find reference to social pressure favouring the academic route.

> "The prestige of A levels influences choice. Unless the standing of vocational qualifications can be strongly established, too many students are likely to disregard professional guidance and choose a pathway which may serve them poorly."

Despite the evidence of low uptake and low achievement the solution is identified as one of informing: "It is essential that parents, students and employers understand the

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[217]DFEE. 1996. Funding 16-19 education and training. paragraph 3. op. cit.
[218]MOE. 1959. The further education regulations. Circular 343.
    The Crowther Report, op. cit. 17 / 1964.
[219]MOE. 1964. The public relations of further education. Circular 17.
[220] Audit. 1985. Obtaining better value from further education. p. 9. op. cit.

framework of qualifications."[222] Social revolution has been changed for a discourse about information dissemination - that the problem is more to do with understanding the role of vocational qualifications, which in turn leads to low uptake. Yet in 1990 the report from the European Communities Committee includes the following statement:

> "The existence of a skills gap in the United Kingdom is well documented. The CBI task force found that the United Kingdoms workforce is 'under educated, under trained and under qualified' Nearly half of Britain's employees have no qualification to GCE O level. In France 35 per cent of school leavers reach university entrance standard, as do 30 per cent of school leavers in Germany, compared with 15 per cent in the United Kingdom."[223]

It is clear that to achieve economic growth there remains a need for policies that target the "under educated, under trained and under qualified." The obligation for the UK Government to develop such policies can be seen in the following:

> "The right to vocational training is recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights[224] and the European Social Charter[225] The latter two of these impose binding international legal obligations on contracting parties, including the United Kingdom. The European Social Charter requires state parties to provide or promote as necessary technical and vocational training for all persons.... The Community Social Charter declared that 'every worker of the European Community must be able to have access to vocational training and to receive such training throughout his working life.' This Charter was not signed by the United Kingdom, alone among Community Member States."[226]

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[221] DFEE. 1996. Review of the 16-19 qualifications framework: interim report. section 9.1. op. cit.
[222] DFEE. 1996. Review of the 16-19 qualifications framework: interim report. op. cit. paragraph 13.1.
[223] Vocational training and re-training. Twenty-first report. July 1990. Select Committee on the European Community. paragraph 30.
[224] Vocational training and re-training. Twenty-first report. July 1990. Select Committee on the European Communityparagraph 40. Cmnd 6702.
[225] The European social charter. Cmnd 2643. Member States of the Council of Europe Oct. 1961.
[226] Vocational training and re-training. Twenty-first report. paragraph 40. op. cit.

It is also clear in the above that a level of acrimony exists between the other member states and the UK because the Conservative Government had decided to opt out of the Social Charter. However the issues still needed to be resolved. The Committee continues:

> "Many witnesses indicated that exhortation alone was unlikely to be adequate to achieve the major change in cultural attitude towards training which was needed in the United Kingdom."[227]

The suggestion from our European colleagues is that radical policies are needed to change "cultural attitudes" towards education and training. In 1997 we find:

> "It will be essential for further education to develop a concerted approach at national and local levels to stimulate demand for learning. This means some visionary planning directed towards the better dissemination of information and the creation of positive images of further education."[228]

Thus we see expressed differently the objectives from 1944. It would seem that "positive images" or rather the lack of them has been what government over the period of time has failed to achieve. A policy based on incremental change has not yet been able to break free from the status quo: given the evidence it look unlikely that it ever will.

In conclusion much has been achieved in the provision of compulsory education up to the age of sixteen and similarly in full-time further and higher education. However, post-nineteen, re-training, second chance and continuous vocational advancement has failed to achieve the status of being clearly identified as a merit good, although to be fair, some provision has been made and financed. Resulting from the failure of the compulsory sector to turn around the achievements of the rejecter / returnee and the average or below average student, this sector represents a large part of the further education colleges' course portfolio, which serves the greater number of post-compulsory education students in the population. With or without a policy, therefore, this sector has a considerable impact on a

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[227] Vocational training and re-training. Twenty-first report. paragraph 31. op. cit.
[228] DES. 1997. Pathways to success. p.7. op. cit.

large sector of the population who lie outside the privileged category, university students.

From this investigation of documentation we have been able to isolate several themes in the discourse, namely: the theme of vision; the theme of inadequacy; the theme of rationalisation; the theme of the market; the theme of compromise.

A Theme of Vision. This gained momentum alongside the opportunity for radical social reconstruction that developed towards the end of the war. The theme of vision contains two themes. The first was the assumption that increased educational achievement of the masses would contribute directly or indirectly to economic development; this led to a language theme about the economic imperative of educating the population. The desire for increased intellectual advancement also had a political motive, namely social improvement - this was to be established by ensuring paths for an individual to achieve equal opportunity where consumption of education, in turn leading to increased intellectual capability, was identified as crucial in order that an individual could embrace opportunity. In 1944 the coalition government simply increased its commitment to the social motive because the market had failed to deliver. We have presented evidence of both language themes being used to justify government intervention. The State took over the role of parent, to ensure that opportunity would be available to all. Over time, however, the incrementalist approach to change that was used ensured that the system that emerged was about intellectually and morally training individuals to know their rights and carry out their duties - the language theme of compromise, rather than that of social revolution, began to dominate. In the 1880s the theme of equality was dropped in favour of the theme of quality. By the late 1990s the discourse had become dominated by the economic motive delivered through the metaphor market and the vision became reduced to a discourse about cost. The market metaphor altered the meaning of words like "value," "quality" and "need" and thus rendered impotent the vision of social improvement. In the late 1990s we find the theme of social improvement kicking back.

A Theme of Inadequacy. What initially began as a theme of inadequacy in the 1970s, the failure of the educational system to change the lot of half the young population, provided the basis for the theme of derision. There had been a failure in democracy so that this

theme attacked the professionals' right to decide as well as the usefulness of the established bureaucratic system and the role of government. With high public expenditure and low growth the economic climate added credence to the theme of inadequacy and provided the context that enabled the credibility and legitimisation of the democratic system to be challenged.[229] From the late 1970s onwards, therefore, the theme of derision provided legitimacy for government to become involved in restructuring the domain of social welfare that has continued into the late 1990s.[230]

A Theme of Rationalisation. This initially began as careful spending in the context of growth - efficiency was important because the increasing demands of the welfare state increased the demand on public finances. This must be a general dilemma embedded in public policy making. Indeed, George and Miller dub this "squaring the welfare circle."[231] With rising consumer expectations, government has to balance increasing demands for welfare at the same time as it responds to pressure to reduce the tax burden - which will become particularly acute when the economy is in downturn. In the final analysis, the vision of 1944 could not be realised and ultimately choices had to be made. Further education provision thus became peripheral to the main debate. In the 1980s, with a Conservative Government in power, and in a context of a decreasing young population, the discourse became that of cutback and a rationalisation programme became one of the tools to achieve it. The theme of rationalisation encompassed decisions about the right way to ensure efficiencies, based on a production industry, and this impacted on how effectiveness could be measured. The discourse about educational value became conditioned by the discourse about efficiency and resource utilisation, rationalisation.

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[229]Britain had one of the highest rates of public expenditure among OECD countries against a background of low economic growth,

[230]Politics and policy making in education. op cit. Ball uses the term "discourse of derision" to describe the discourse in the 1970s. This right wing discourse criticised the social imperative as a means to bring about change.

[231]The welfare circle is defined as public service provision. The welfare square is defined as public service finance. The authors argue that governments in all industrial societies face an increasing struggle, to meet the increasing demand for better quality welfare whilst at the same time meeting the demand for limiting taxation. The 1980s was a decade in which policy reflected an ideological commitment different from the early post-war period. The role of social welfare politics, policy and institutions became part of a new discourse. Squaring the welfare circle, George and Miller argue, describes the emergence of a new paradigm- affordable welfare. Social policy towards 2000: squaring the welfare circle. ed. GEORGE, V and MILLER, S. p1-48. London: Routledge. 1994.

A Theme of the Market. The theme of inadequacy contributed to the derision of government intervention. Furthermore, the theme of rationalisation with its focus on efficiency provided some legitimacy for the idea that the bureaucratic system was sluggish. The domination of the market metaphor as an explanation for action changed the discourse from government intervention to institutional survival - as the competitive environment increased the drivers within the colleges changed. At the same time, and in line with market freedom, the language theme of need was altered to that of consumer rights focused on production orientation. These discourse theme legitimised a reduction in direct government intervention and reinforced a drift towards a context of individualism. Throughout the period studied, **a theme of compromise** is central, although the reasons for this differ. The radical reforms of 1944 were fuelled by the need and desires of the population at large for social reconstruction but were always conditioned by an incremental approach to change. There was always a rationale based on finance, which tempered that radical vision. In the 1970s, the discourse of inadequacy gave way to the market metaphor and economic imperatives. As a result, the discourse on educational effectiveness became subordinated to a discourse about institutional effectiveness and the theme of compromise changes to that of domination. By 1996 the theme of social improvement had become a non-discourse. As a result, consultation on restructuring the system culminates in the rejection of a system that merges disparate qualifications in favour of continuing the established system, a system which reinforces traditional classifications of difference. The theme of compromise thus provided the path for radicalism to be legitimately rejected.

In drawing some conclusion from the themes outlined we must of course be very cautious. The findings rely on the selection of documents used and the writer's interpretation of the information. These factors are exacerbated in the case of further education because the colleges provide such a wide portfolio of goods. It has also to be borne in mind that documentation tends to be written with an audience in mind -the language may be biased. However, care has been taken, as far as is possible, to provide a wide variation of documents for analysis. Given these limitations, a thematic analysis has enabled us to isolate a shift in language from educational effectiveness in 1944 to organisational

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efficiency post-1980s. We have found that the changed language theme also reflects the changing role of the government. The role of government has changed from that of parent and guardian responsible for the development of society in 1944, to one of monitor.

Finally we need to answer the question posed at the beginning: are post-1980s Conservative Government policies radical? Put differently, have the essential principles of meritocracy, and the central theme of equality, on which the educational system was based in 1944, been subjected to a paradigm shift?

There is some evidence to suggest that the development of the education system, particularly for further education, is described by social continuity. The derision of the welfare state, freedom from bureaucratic control, the changed governmental role from mentor to monitor, are consistent with the Victorian values of economic liberation, individualism, self-help and private paternalism and represent some degree of social continuity. However, to ignore the evidence of incremental change would be a folly since this process can also lead to revolution - it simply takes a less obtrusive route. Incremental change kills a paradigm softly.

The discourse centred on the rights of the individual fits less comfortably with the theme of social continuity. The learners changed role from student to purchaser, the student charter and the introduction of credits, coupled with the rejection of markets epitomised in the new ethical stance, suggest changed power relationships. We have been able to demonstrate, as Taylor-Goody[232] suggests, that the Conservative model has moved power more into the centre and that this is popular under the banner of accountability. There does, however, appear to be an increasing move to an ethical stance that rejects the market as a perfect method of allocation for all resources. Consumers do have the potential to be sovereign and use their power to decide but these rights are distinctly different from democratic rights. There is something here that cannot just be categorised into two simple dimensions, old and new.

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[232]TAYLOR-GOODY, P. Education: National success and individual opportunity. In Social policy towards 2000. Ed George, V. and Miller, S. op cit.

Indeed Dunn, in his evaluation of old and new paradigms of industrial relations, building on the work of Khun,[233] Black,[234] King,[235] and Nisbet,[236] suggests that change may not be simply a question of old and new. Root metaphors may be evolutionary, serving to stimulate new and creative activity. Developing the work on the two variants of a "becoming" root metaphor he suggests a third.

The first general type of root metaphor is referred to as a "biological metaphor;" created by the death of an old set of beliefs and thus representing a revolutionary change in ideas. The second general type is called a "journey" root metaphor and it is within this broad type of metaphor that Dunn makes a contribution. "Archetypically, it involves leaving a safe place, familiar place [home], enduring privations, facing temptations and dangers, prevailing over them and returning" - a journey root metaphor thus describes social continuity.[237] In the journey, the exit and entry points are static. An individual may, therefore, break with tradition but find the social cost of doing so too high and conform, thus reinforcing society's belief in the value of the archetype. Where a journey metaphor describes reality traditional sets of beliefs condition and perhaps more importantly control learning Any enlightenment experienced by the individual will be denied at re-entry in order that the individual be allowed back.

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[233] Conceptions of inquiry. op cit. Thomas Kuhn claims that the distinguishing mark of science is to be found in the normal puzzle-solving stages rather than revolutionary phases.

[234]BLACK, op. cit. Developing the concept of metaphors as dynamic argues that not only do metaphors allow comparison of one against another but that this interactive process has the potential to generate new thought.

[235] King, building on Kuhn's puzzle-solving stage, purports that the shift from an old way of thinking to a new involves non-rational decision-making. This occurs because proof in social science is illusive thus, he argues, in some part acceptance of the new paradigm is driven by belief. KING, M. Reason, tradition and the progressiveness of science in GUTTING, G. Paradigms and revolutions . Notre Dame. Ind: University Press 1980.

[236] Nisbet warns that the use of the becoming metaphor and the theories it implies for describing social change risks says nothing about the here and now. There is a danger, he argues, where incremental change is pursued as a description of reality, that the natural state of institutions and social behaviour "fixity" can be ignored. Fixities, he argues, survive failed experiments. Thus the more cognitive distance the metaphor has from today's reality the more useful it is as a tool of analysis. Dunn, developing Nisbet's point, argues that if concentrating on a becoming metaphor can distort today's analysis, by emphasising change over fixity, it can also be blamed for distorting the past. "Thus trade unions behaved as if they had a vested interest in laissez-faire rather than a sword of justice." Dunn. page 25. op. cit. NISBET, R. Social change and history: aspects of western theory of development. New York, Oxford University Press. 1969

[237]Root metaphor in old and new industrial relations. p.18.op. cit.

Dunn, building on Campbells's[238] work, suggests a third option, a new type of journey metaphor. Here there is no return to the past or any revolution. In the new type of journey metaphor ideas and past assumptions are adapted to suit the emerging reality; change is conditioned to a certain extent by the past but the new journey root metaphor "straddles the two and uses a journey to illuminate social change"[239] - exit thus becomes "a pioneering journey."[240] In other words, the new variant of a journey metaphor suggested by Dunn encapsulates making "new clothes out of old," thus creating new designs more suitable to today's world. In the new journey metaphor the return to a stable set of beliefs becomes irrelevant because change, rather than stability, is accepted as the natural state.

Adopting Dunn's proposition, the possibility exists for the growth in commercialisation through the archetype root metaphor "market" to be part of a process of pioneering, the continued development of a new journey metaphor. If we link this concept to past social relations based on monarchy, aristocracy and class relations we can see that the traditional rites of passage, class relations, have been consistently challenged. This challenge is currently under the banner of consumer rights but at the same time the rise of an ethical stance suggests that the discourse on consumer rights may lack a certain something. These factors suggest that what we have found is a journey metaphor, as described by Dunn. It would seem that we are experiencing new knowledge created by a failed experiment. Indeed, this would be conversant with Giddens who suggests that today's society requires a different democratic dialog.[241] Modernising democracy thus becomes a natural consequence of the dynamic world in which we function and indeed becomes crucial to the continuance of legitimisation of government and its agencies. The policies of the

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[238]CAMPBELL, J. The hero with a thousand faces. London. Paladin Books. 1988. Campbell argues that science and technology has served to reduce the occurrence of the journey metaphor because of its link with tradition, which can now be proved wrong. Individualism has superseded associations with group or society. Dunn, op. cit., argues that even if tradition no longer has a hold on knowledge other symbols now take its place - thus journey metaphors are not extinct.

[239] Root metaphor in old and new industrial relations. p 18.op. cit.

[240] Root metaphor in old and new industrial relations. p 20. op. cit.

[241] In western societies, Giddens argues the recreation of society through traditional symbols and behaviour was crucial to its authority and legitimisation. The failed experiment, what Giddens calls the shortcomings of liberal democracy, coupled with the shifting role of the state and its agencies, alongside that of the polity in the new globalised world, produce new political dilemmas the resolution of which demands a different democratic dialogue. The welfare state, he argues, has become stale, inflexible and impersonal at the same time as the public has become more informed thus he suggests greater government transparency could enable the new democracy. GIDDENS, A. op. cit.

Thatcher era did not create a paradigm shift but are a recent part of a consistent incremental trend towards the abolition of class relations. Let us hope, as Dunn suggests, that a new journey metaphor is distinctive in that there is no "going back." Indeed, Jones suggests that post- modern times are distinct in that grand designs become obsolete in favour of image, which serves to distance any meaning.[242] In post-modern times explanation is at best impermanent and quickly replaced causing democracy to become fluid.

In order to examine the more subjective approach taken in this chapter the next task is to subject the documentation gathered to quantitative techniques; this will test further the proposition that there is a change in the language theme over the period 1944-1996.

We conclude that there is a paradigm shift in governmental discourse during this period from educational effectiveness to institutional efficiency.

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[242] In post-modern theorising the fluidity of socialisation constructs and redefines explanation constantly causes meaning to become lost to competing current trends. Jones, P. op. cit.

CHAPTER EIGHT: QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SELECTED GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTATION 1944-1997.

This chapter seeks to check and balance the thematic analysis presented in the previous chapter. In order to achieve this a selection of government circulars and administrative memoranda, White Papers and reports, chosen in order to represent each ten year period from 1994-1997, has been subjected to a content analysis procedure (app.1).[1] The data is analysed using the "caring" and "commercial coding" themes.[2]

Commercial Coding Theme

The words included in the commercial coding theme are **budget, business, client, commercial, competition, competitor, consumer, cost, effective, efficient, management, manager, market, price, profit.**

There is a strong financial aspect to the theme message namely as exemplified by **account, budget and fees.** The market paradigm is apparent in **demand, market,** and **efficiency** with **profit** seen as the measure of success decided by **competition** between the players. A hierarchical power structure in day to day **business** is implied by the use of **management,** legitimate power and authority given to **managers.** The individual is a **client** or a **consumer,** a purchaser.

Caring Coding System

The words included in the caring coding theme are **caring, commitment, community, consult, consultation, duty, educational, enabling, equality, hardship, inequality, injustice, justice, opportunity, student.**

This theme transmits the pursuit of a social ideal, namely **equality of opportunity.**

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[1]The tools used for this are discussed in chapter four.
[2]The method used to attain these coding themes is discussed in chapter four.

The need to control **inequalities** in society suggests a social responsibility, **duty**, to reduce unfair **hardship** caused by the uneven distribution of resources available. The approach is **consultative** and paternal, a **student** studies under a **committed** professional who **enables** his or her learning, the context is one of a **caring** community.

The two language themes imply different sets of social relations and contain different assumptions about the world in which we function and its organisations. Inequality and the pursuit of equality suggest a society that includes division whereas markets assume free choice assured by a price mechanism. The caring theme is based on a sense of community which is achieved through consultative processes educational organisations are thus part of the society in which the sense of community functions. The commercial theme, however, is based on individualism and educational organisations operate in a competitive arena, organisational survival determined by that process.

Similarly student suggests a passive power role on behalf of the individual and a leading paternalistic role for the institution and its employees. Consumer suggests a proactive purchasing power role on behalf of the individual and a servicing role on behalf of the institution and its employees.

The first two graphs adopt a panoramic perspective simply presenting the two language themes over time. Indeed, the first graph indeed confirms the suggestion in chapter seven that caring coding became dominated by the commercial coding, its dominance peaking in the 1980s under Mrs Thatcher as the rationalisation theme and the market theme joined the discourse. The theme of compromise is demonstrated by the fact that the commercial coding was a significant discourse from 1940-1970. In particular it is possible to identify its expected rise in the mid 1970s, driven by an increase in the importance of financial imperatives and the theme of welfare inadequacy. It also confirms the assertion that the visionary theme has remained, its growth peaking in the 1960s and falling in response to the theme of inadequacy which arose as a response to the Great Debate, yet still remaining as a significant discourse. It is also possible to see

financial imperatives conditioning the theme of vision as the theme of compromise is ever present.

LANGUAGE CODING THEMES
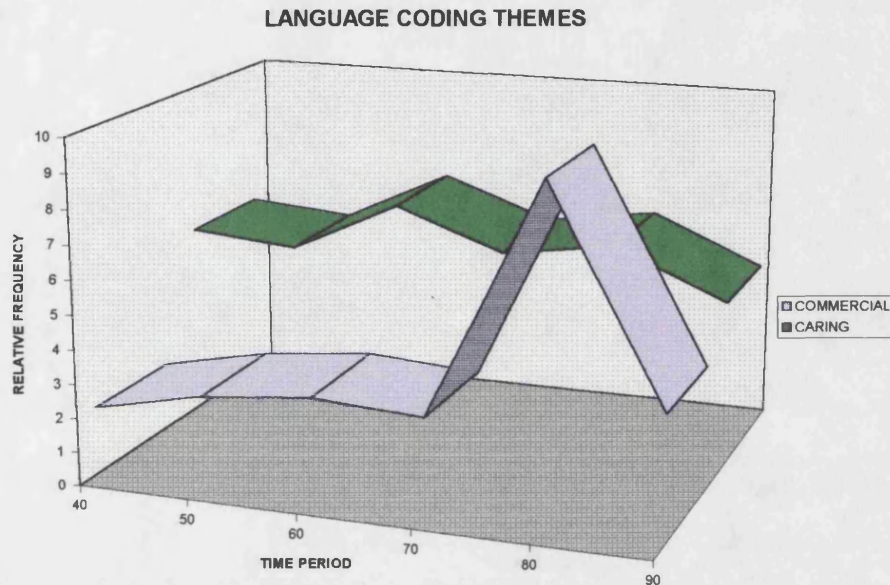
The second graph shows the language themes' response to each particular document and is perhaps less useful in that each document addresses specific issues. Nevertheless the initial enthusiasm of the visionary theme in the caring coding is clear as is its dominance until 1979. The initial pressure on financing the welfare state is also clear – this ultimately led to the situation that further education became peripheral to the government mind. The theme of compromise based on financial imperatives occurs throughout all the documents as anticipated. It is also possible to identify an increase in the caring coding, perhaps as the election in the 1990s drew close or in response to the public mind as it began to express displeasure.
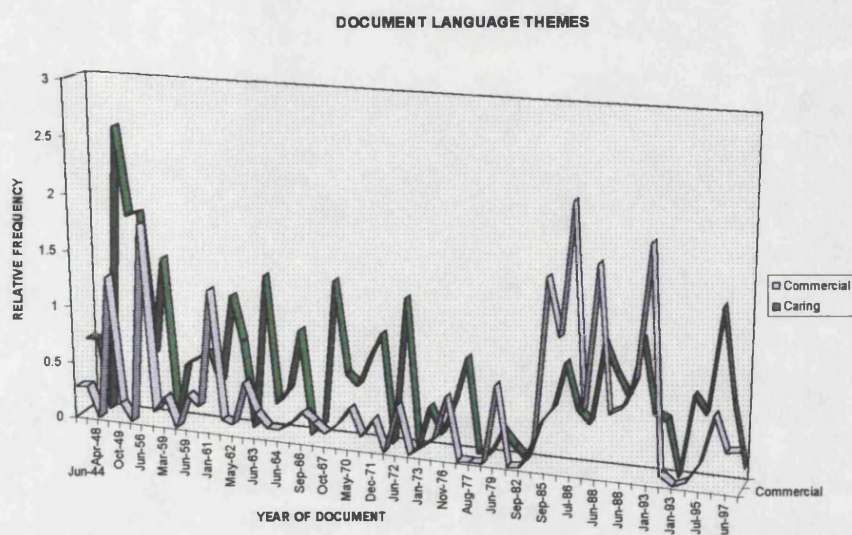
These two graphs do tell a story about the narrative in the discourse confirming the assertion that commercial coding is not a new discourse but an altered one. In Dunn's terms, the data reveals a becoming metaphor rather than a biological one. The story the data reveals is an evolutionary one, confirming the assertions made in chapter seven.

Each individual graph presented here represents the relative frequency of a word appearing over the study period. For ease of analysis the words are grouped in six types; namely **new**, **growth**, **decrease**, **inconsistent but recurrent**, **death/life cycle** where the word usage ceases but re-emerges later and **life/death cycles** where the word occurs then ceases. Some graphs are included in the text whilst the remainder are included in the reference section (app. 2). The adoption of this process has the added advantage that any changes can be matched with the political party in office over time, coloured coded blue for Conservative and red for Labour.

Word Frequency Type: New

New words that appear over the period of the study are; **caring, client and budget.**
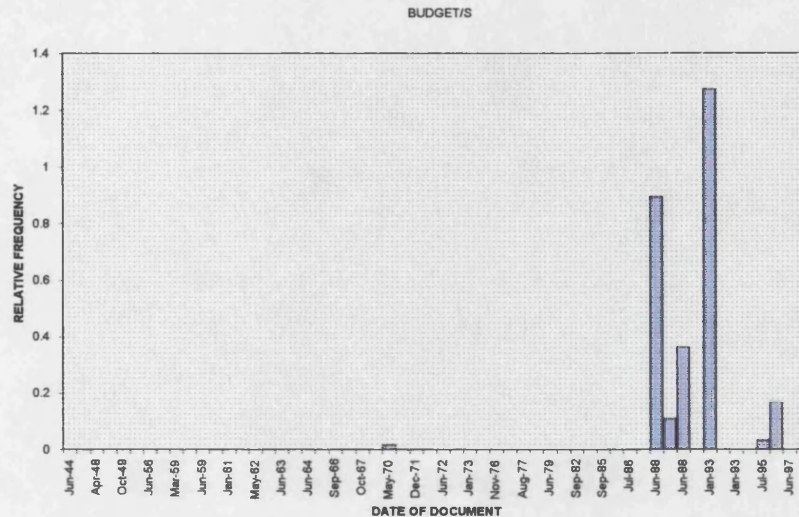
BUDGET/S

Client and **budget** included in the commercial coding theme only occur from the 1980s under a Conservative administration. The frequency of **budget** peaks in 1993, perhaps because further education colleges become incorporated.

Word Frequency Type: Growth

Words in growth are **business, competition, commitment, consumer, management, manager, market, and profitability.**

MARKET
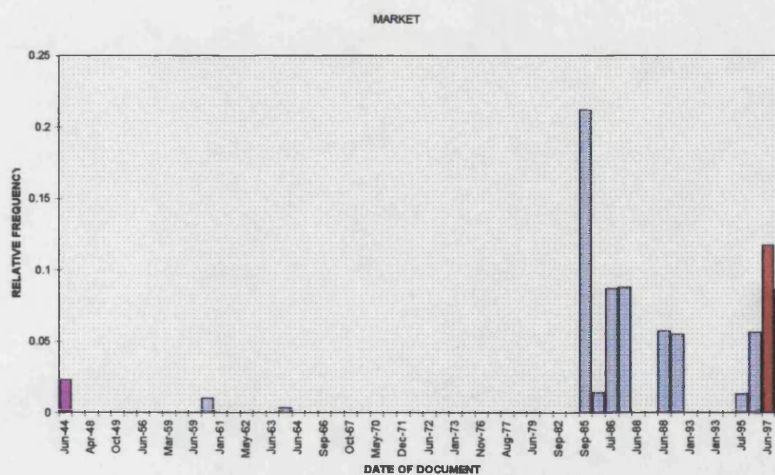
Usage of **business** peaks in the 1980s and also appears under the labour administration. The frequency of **commitment** increases under the New Labour administration. Usage of **consumer** increases in the mid eighties. The use of **manager** peaks in 1979 and **management** in 1986, as does the frequency of **market** in the eighties, although it continues to be used by New Labour, as does **profit**.

Word Frequency Type: Decline

The words included in this category are **efficient, hardship and enabling.**
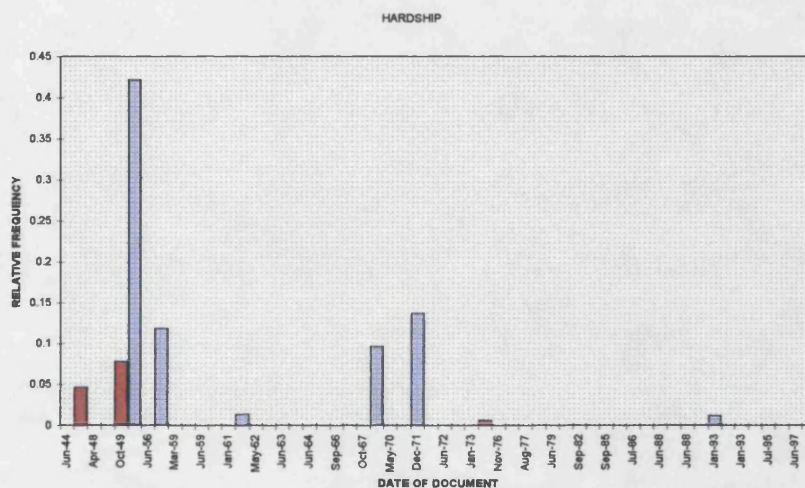
HARDSHIP

The use of **hardship** virtually disappears after the early 1950s. **Efficient** peaks in the late 1940s marking the increase in the theme of compromise driven by financial imperatives. **Enabling** fits with the paternal approach of the 1944 Act.

Word Frequency Type: Inconsistent but Recurrent

There is an inconsistent but recurrent use of the words **commercial, consult, cost, duty, educational, effective, income, opportunity and student.**
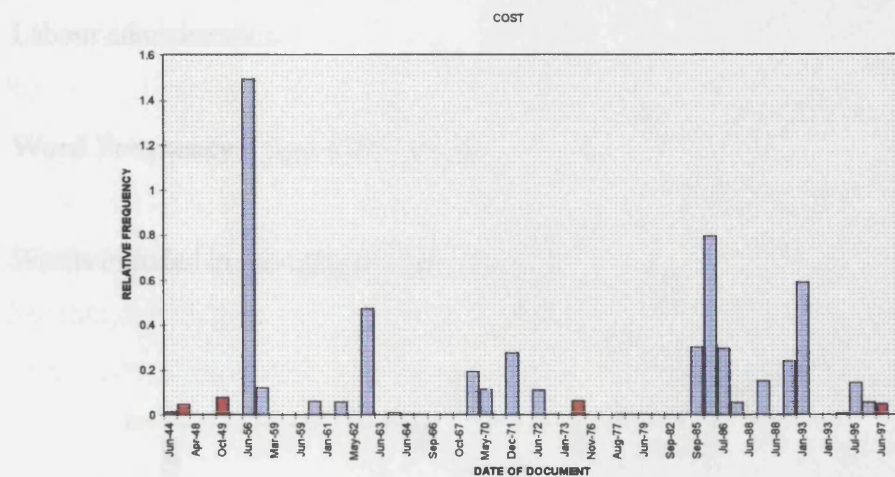
Both Labour and Conservative administrations over time use this category of words. The frequency of those included in the commercial coding, however, increases during the 1980s. The occurrence of **opportunity** peaks in the 1970s possibly marking the arrival of the theme of inadequacy.

Word Frequency Type: Death – Life

Words included in this category are: **inequality and price**
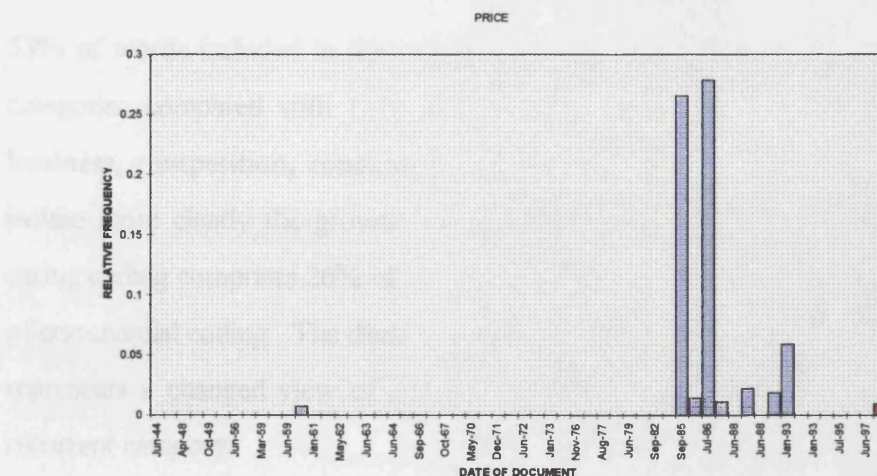
With the growth in the market theme it is not surprising to see **price** reappear on the

agenda. The re-emergence of **inequality** is interesting since it appears under the New Labour administration.

Word Frequency Type: Life - Death

Words included in this category are; **competitors, equality, injustice, and justice.**
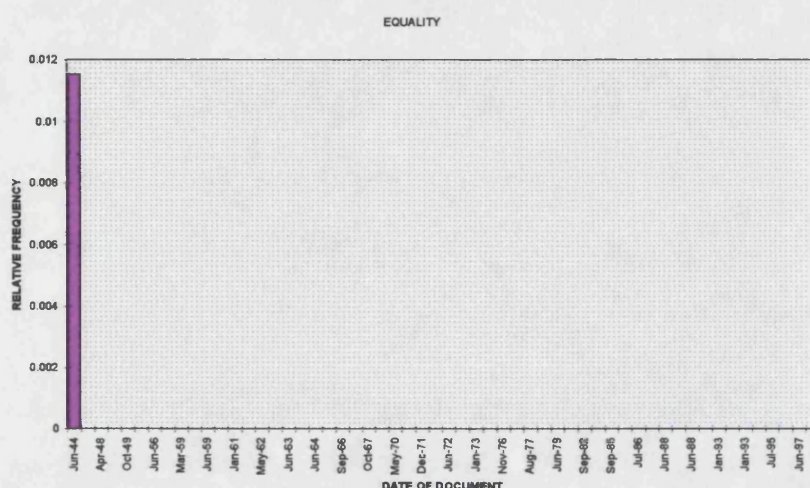
The reduction in the use of **equality, injustice** and **justice** may well represent the exchange of radical change for incremental change.

53% of words included in the commercial coding theme occur in the new and growth categories compared with 13% of the caring coding. The increasing use of **budget, business, competition, consumer, manager, management, market** and **profitability** isolate more clearly the growth of the market theme within commercial coding. The caring coding comprises 26% of the decline and life/ death categories compared with 13% of commercial coding. The decline in the use of **hardship, injustice and justice** perhaps represents a changed view of equal opportunity. Both themes contribute 40% to the recurrent category.

Through this approach it has also been possible to isolate the beginnings of the New Labour theme which clearly encompasses elements of the market theme and commercial

coding at the same time as equal opportunity.

Research Method: Reflection

A quantitative approach to content analysis has provided a useful corrective checking device to guard against bias and to demonstrate that they are usefully complementary. Nevertheless, caution must be adopted in interpreting these results because the relative frequencies of the individual words in the language themes are small. The frequency of word usage could also be influenced by the documents chosen for analysis and in any case are isolated from their context usage. It remains important to recognise that inputs to social issues are multi-factorial, interrelated and individually interpreted; as a consequence any attempt to evaluate language has to be understood in its social context. Language cannot, however, transmit meaning unless there is a common framework of implicitly understood social relations which make it a communication tool. An element of subjectivity thus remains a basic property of the investgation of social interaction and discourse.

Clearly there is the opportunity for more work to be carried out in this area in order to elaborate discourse analysis and the role that language can play as a policy implementation tool. A syntactic approach applied to content analysis does have the potential to provide a greater in-depth analysis of sociolinguistic codes. The possibility that this process could isolate the elaborated code of objective consciousness from the restricted code of subjective consciousness is clearly of interest.

In brief, the results from the quantitative content analysis have provided more credence to the assertion made in the previous chapter that the language used in government documentation is more influenced by market values than previously and that this is new in educational speak whilst commercial coding is not.

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APPENDIX 1 – Scanned Documentation

1. MOE. 1943, Educational Reconstruction. chapter 5. p 1-5. Cmnd 6458.

2. MOE. 1947, Plans for county colleges. Circular 139.

3. MOE. 1948. Technical colleges and other further education establishments arrangements for the deferment of students in the calendar year 1948. Administrative Memoranda no. 274.

4. MOE. 1949. Recognition of schools and other educational establishments as efficient. Administrative Memoranda no. 327

5. MOE. 1949. Expenditure of local education authorities. Circular 210.

6. MOE. 1949. Expenditure of local education authorities. Circular 210.

7. MOE. 1952. Further education: income from fees. Administrative Memoranda no. 410.

8. MOE. 1956. Local education and responsible bodies for adult education.. Administrative Memoranda no. 526.

9. MOE. 1956. Fees for further education. Circular 307.

10. MOE. 1958. Public relations in further education. Circular 343.

11. MOE. 1959. The further education regulations. Circular 351.

12. MOE. 1959. Central advisory council (England). The Crowther Report 16 to 19 Year Olds, Chapters 2,3,5,6,18,28,29,30,35,37. HMSO.

13. MOE. 1959. Governing bodies for major establishments of further education.. Circular 7/59.

14. MOE. 1959. Further education for commerce. Circular 5/59.

15. MOE. 1961. Regional colleges. Circular 6/61.

16. MOE. 1961. Better opportunities in technical education. Cmnd 1254.

17. MOE. 1962. Fees in establishments of further education. Administrative Memoranda no. 5/62.

18. MOE. 1963. Half our future: a report for the central advisory council for England and Wales. Chapter I, 2, 4, 5,6 p.41, 7, 9, 11 p 87-89.

19. MOE. 1963. Organisation of further education courses. Circular 3/63.

20. DES. 1964. The public relations of further education. Circular 17/64.

21. DES. 1964. Day release. p 5-11. HMSO.

22. DES. 1966. Technical colleges resources. Circular 11/66.

23. DES. 1966. Training of teachers for further education. Circular 21/66.

24. DES. 1967. The government of colleges of education. Circular 2/67.

25. DES. 1967. Joint planning of industrial planning and associated further education. Administrative Memorandum no. 25/67.

26. DES. 1970. Government and conduct of establishments of further education. Circular 7/70.

27. DES. 1971. Tuition fees in further education. Circular 4/71.

28. DES. 1972. Education: a framework for expansion. p.1, 2, 17-25, 41-45. Cmnd 5174.

29. DES. 1972. Committee of inquiry into teacher training. Chapter 1,2,3,5. The James Report.

30. DES. 1972. Report of the working party appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science. Central arrangements for promoting educational technology in the United Kingdom. Chapter 2, 3, 4,5. HMSO.

31. DES. 1973. Local Government Act: reorganisation of local government. Circular 1/73.

32. MSC. 1975. Vocational preparation for young people; a discussion paper. part 2 and 3.

33. HMSO. Education Act 1976.

34. DES. 1977. Further education for unemployed young people. Administrative Memoranda no. 4/77.

35. DES. 1977. Links between the training and further education services. Administrative Memoranda no. 12/77.

36. DES, 1978. Review of educational provision for children and young people with special needs. p. 1-5, 36-39, 172-178. The Warnock report.

37. HMSO. Education Act 1979, chapter 49.

38. DES, 1982, The youth training scheme: implications for the education service. Circular 6/82.

39. DES, 1982, Further education for unemployed young people. Administrative

HMSO.

42. DES. 1985. The Further Education Act 1985. Circular 6/85.

43. DES. 1986. Working together education and training. Cmnd 9823.

44. DES. 1987. Providing for quality: the pattern of organisation to age 19. Circular 3/87.

45. DES. 1988. Transfer of responsibility. p 69-71, 94-96, 106. Circular 6/88,

46. Education Reform Act 1988: local management of further and higher education colleges: planning and delegation of schemes. p. 212-227. Circular 9/88.

47. Further and Higher Education Act, part two: planning of LEA further and higher education. 1992. p. 201-211.

48. DFEE. 1993. The Further and Higher Education Act 1992. p. 3-30. Circular 1/93.

49. DFEE. 1995. Review of the 16-19 qualifications framework: The Dearing report interim report the issues for consideration. HMSO.

50. DFEE. 1996. The 16-19-qualification framework: final report. The Dearing report. p.1-9, 100-150.

51. FEFC. 1997. Widening participation committee: pathways to success. The Kennedy Report.

52. FEFC. 1997. Analysis of institutions strategic planning information for the period 1996-97 to 1998-99. Circular 97/04.

53. FEFC. 1997. Sector accounting policies and financial statements.: guidance on the requirements of the council. Circular 97/28.

APPENDIX 2 - Graph Type: New

CLIENT

CARING

Graph Type: Growth

BUSINESS

COMMITTMENT

MANAGER

PROFIT/ABILITY

240

CONSUMER

MANAGEMENT

COMPETITION
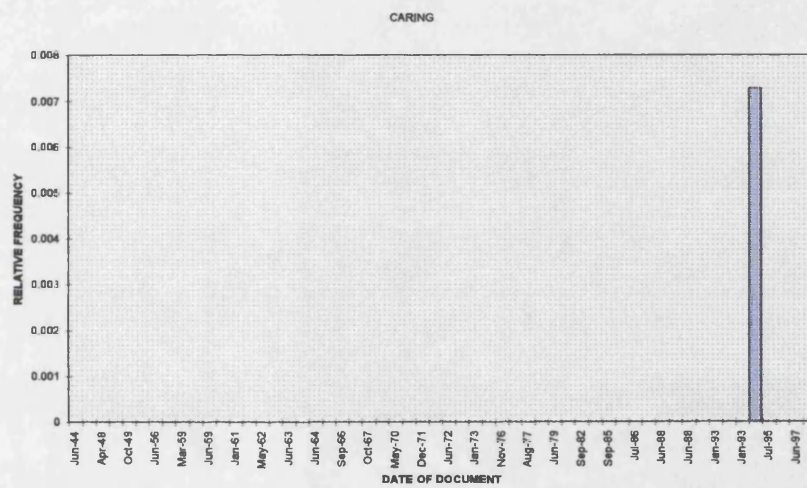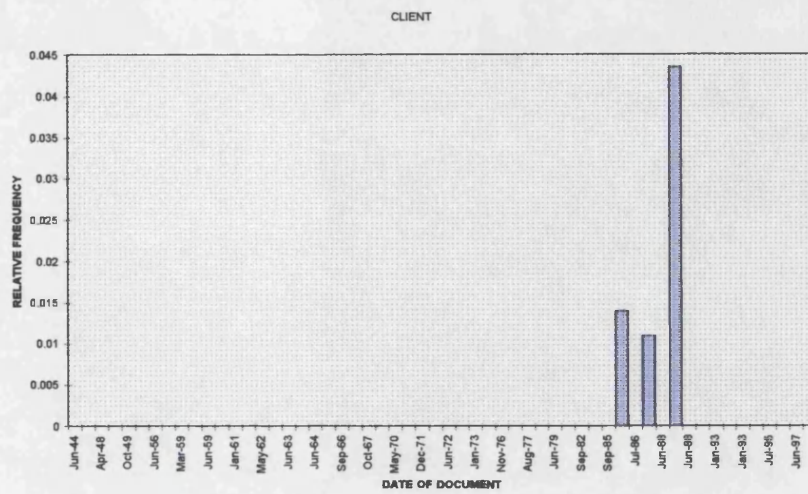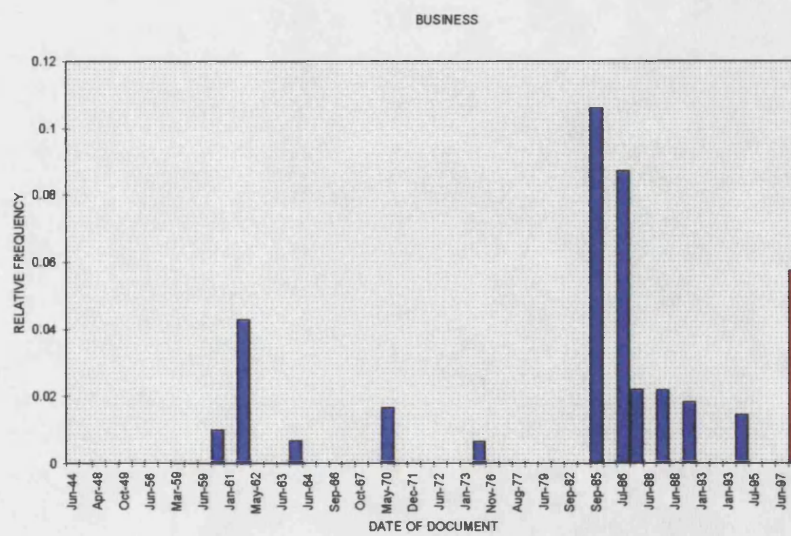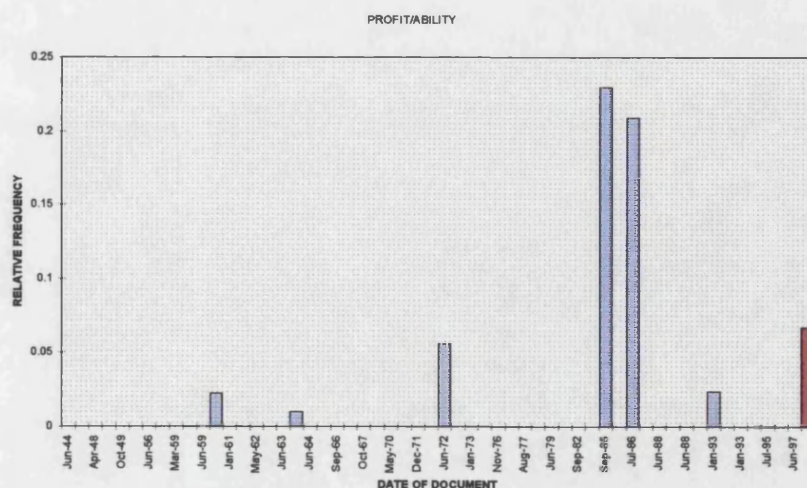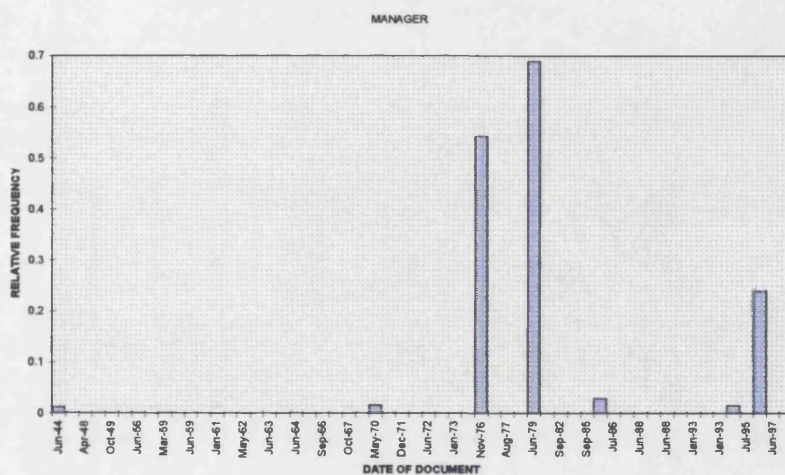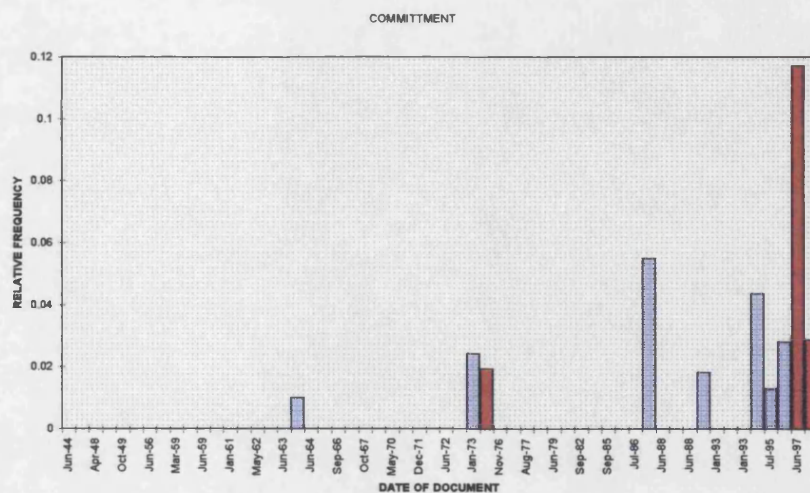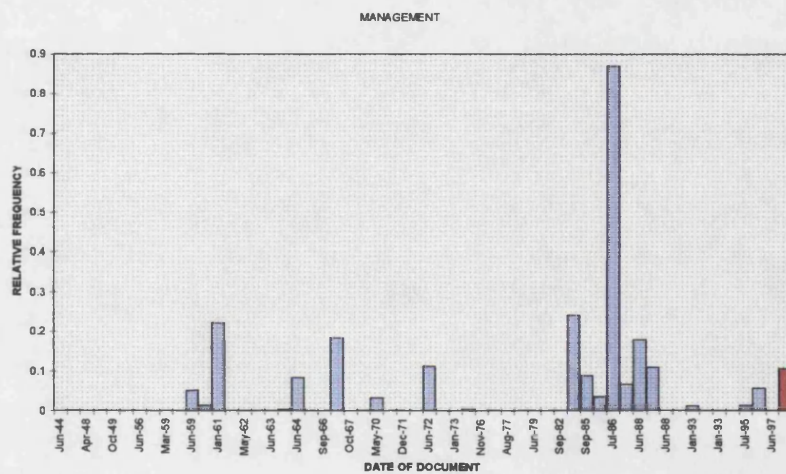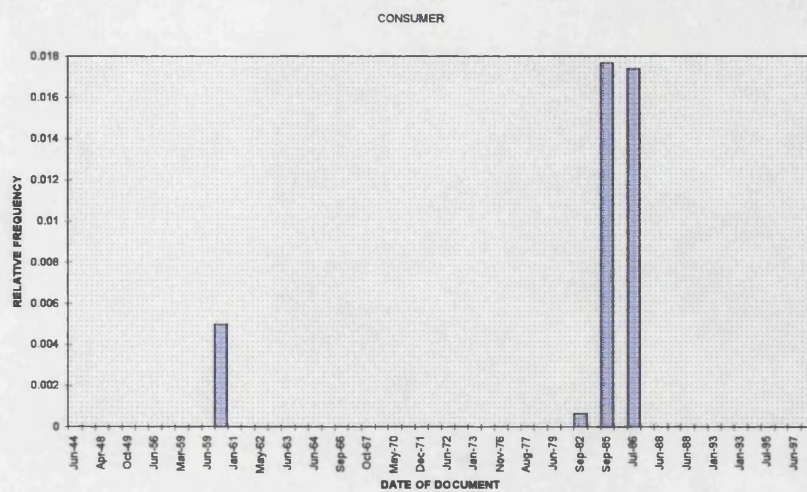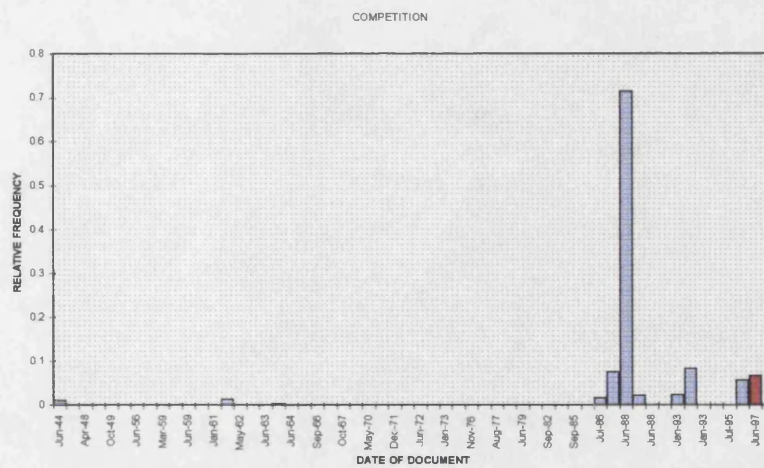
Graph Type: Decline

EFFECIENT

ENABLING
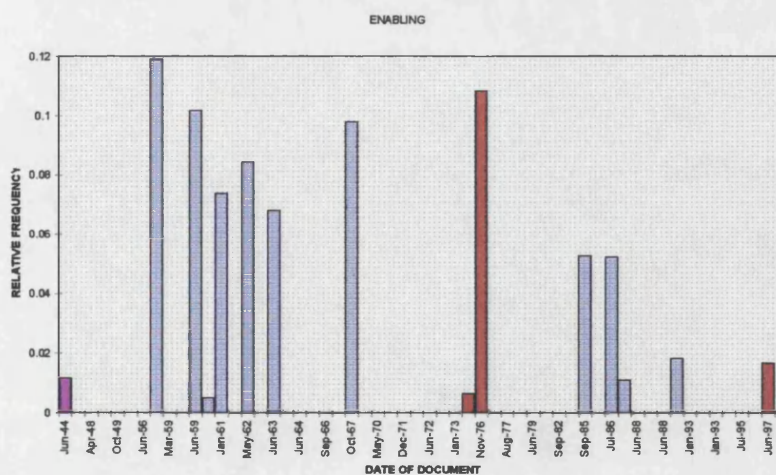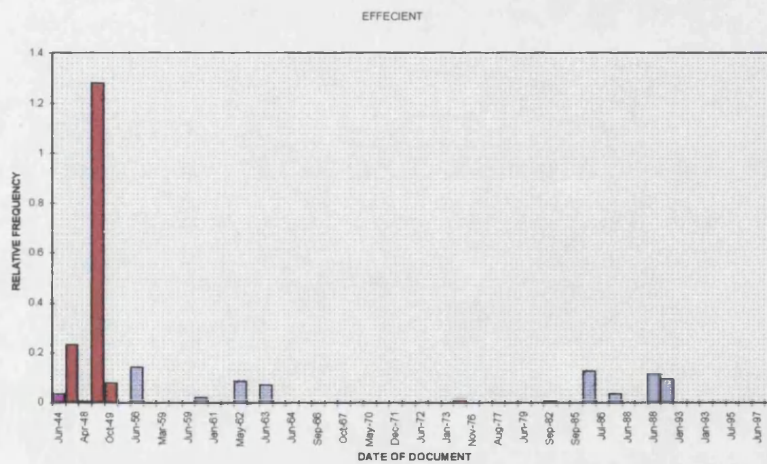
Graph Type: Inconsistent but Recurrent

COMMERCIAL

CONSULT

DUTY
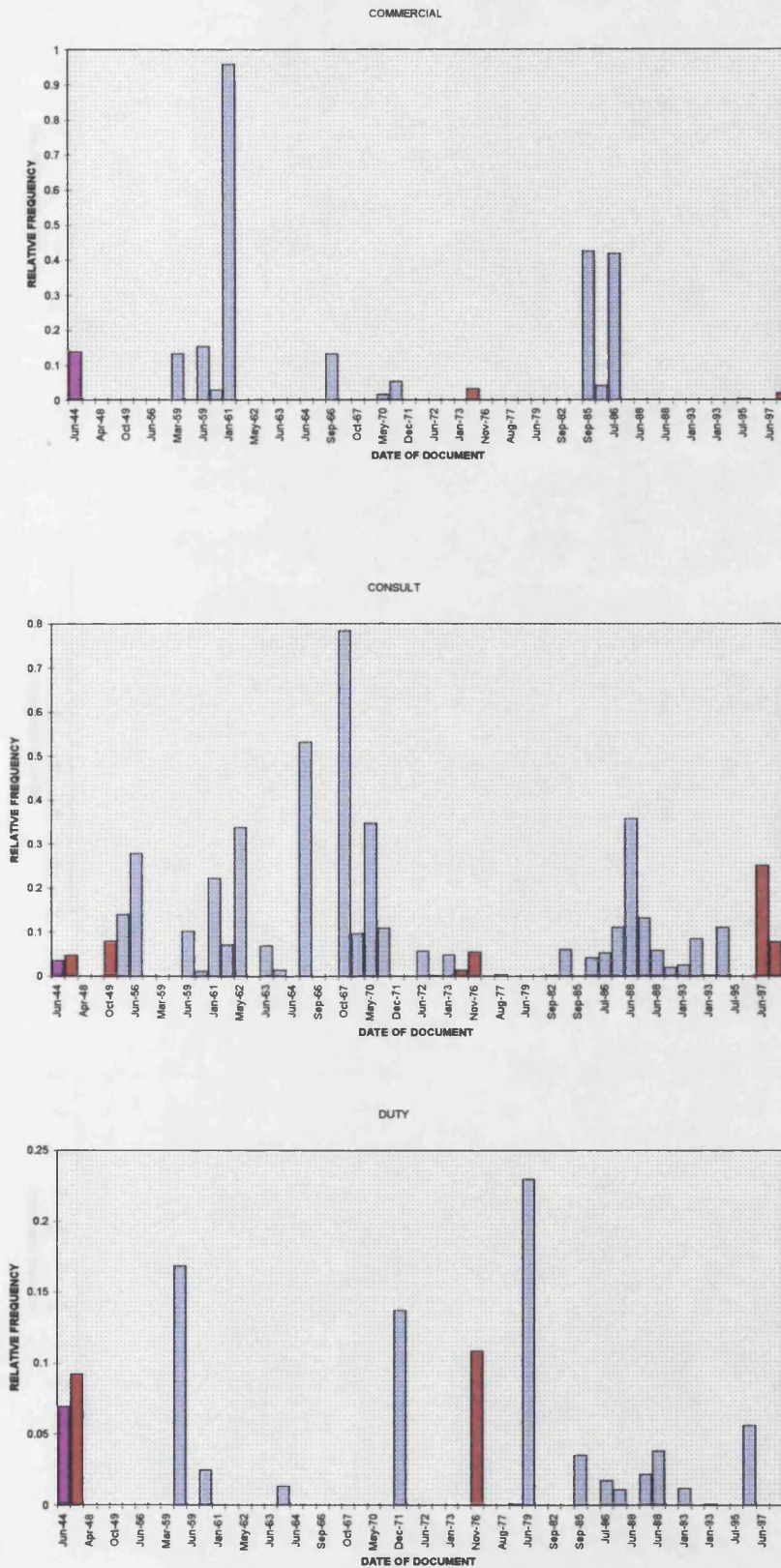
EDUCATIONAL
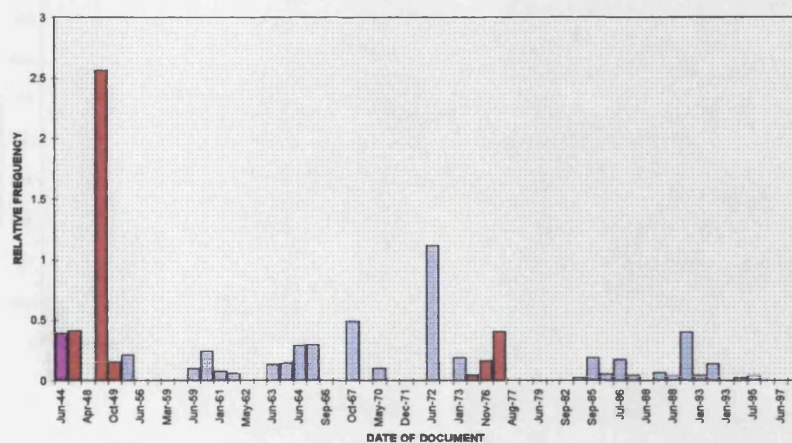
INCOME
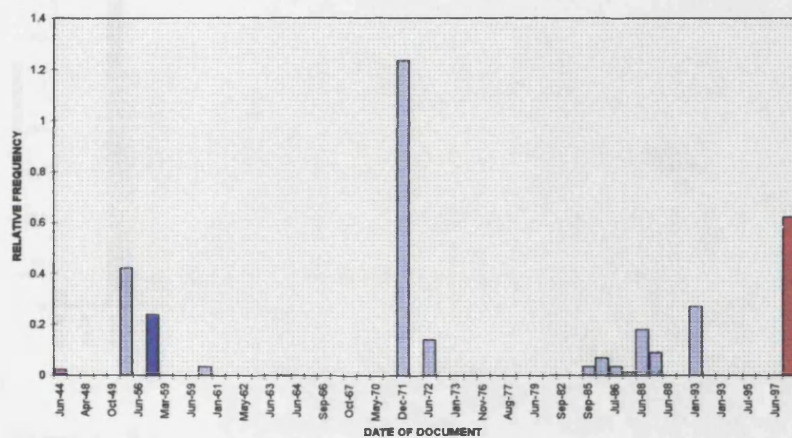
EFFECTIVE
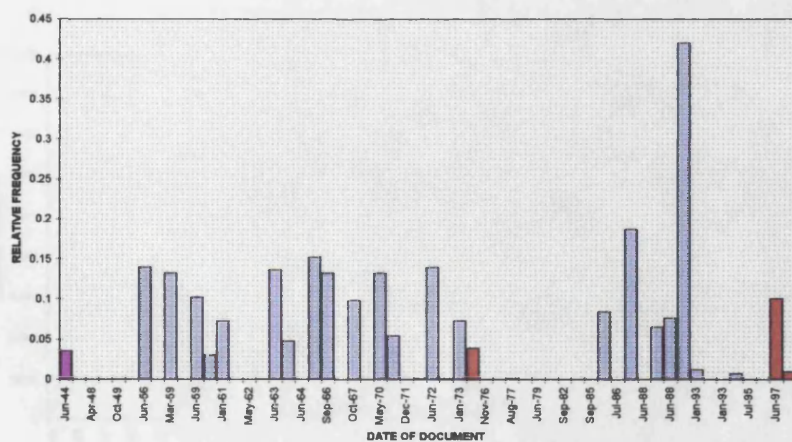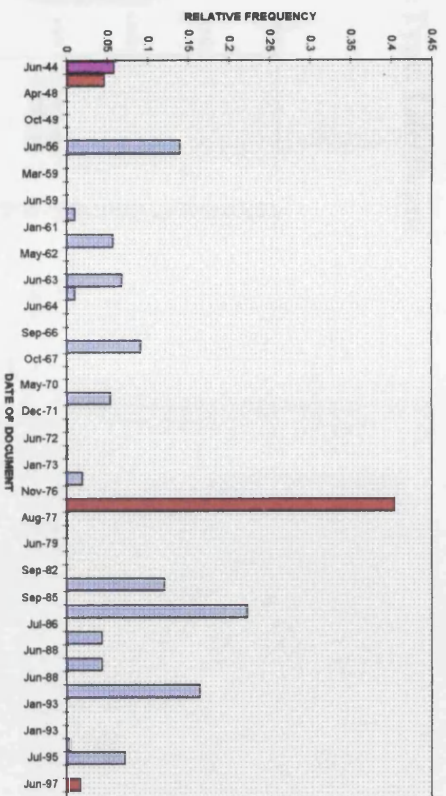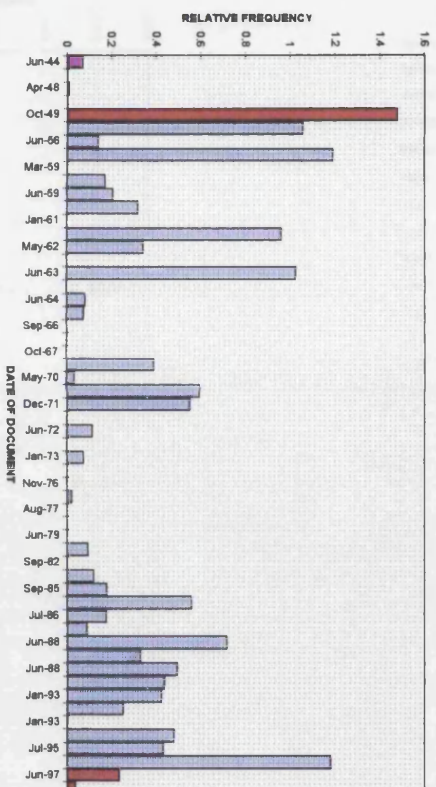
Graph Type: Death/Life

Graph Type: Life/Death

COMPETITORS

JUSTICE

INJUSTICE
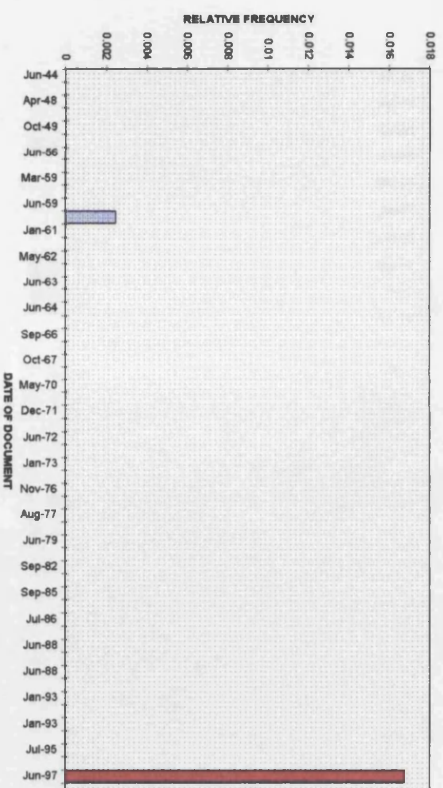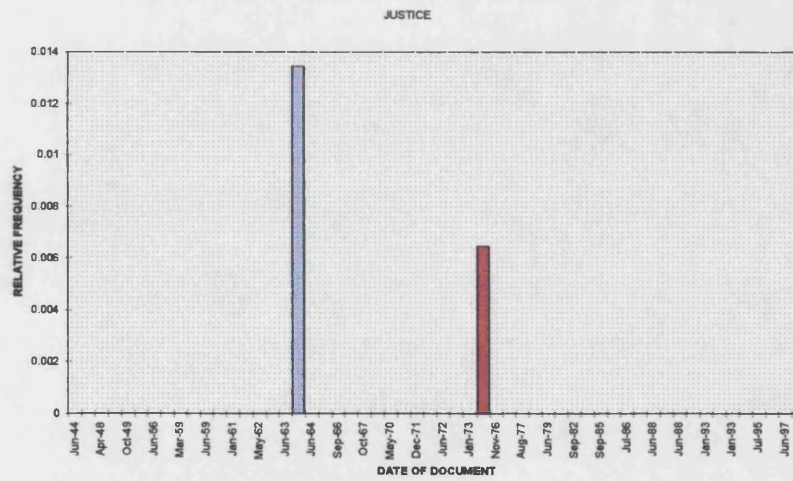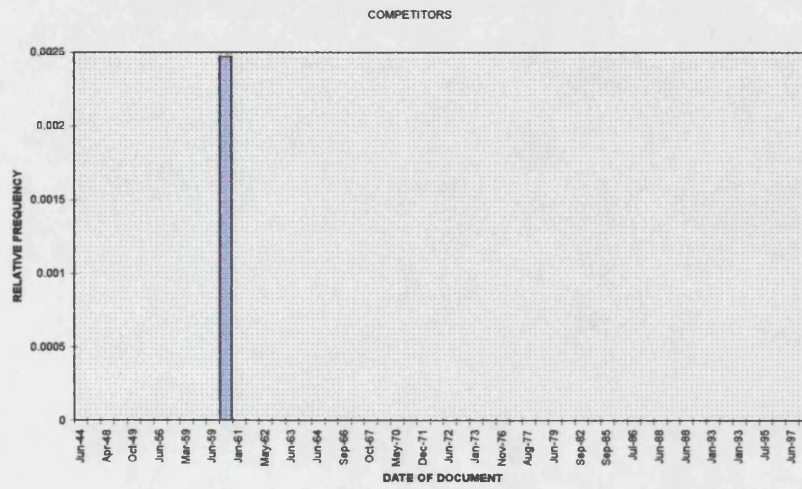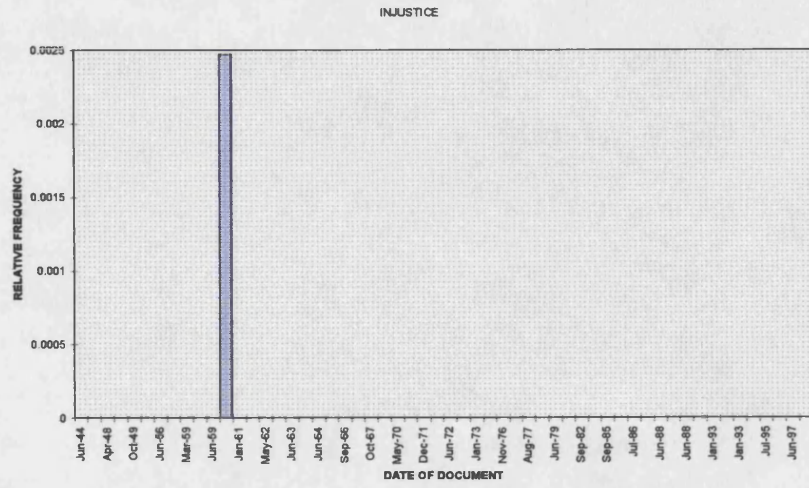
CHAPTER NINE: THE FINANCIAL PARADIGM POST-1988

This chapter evaluates the second lever used by the Conservative Government to bring about change in the further education sector, financial rules and procedures. Evaluation of the collective effect that the financial levers have on the colleges will tell us much about the Government's power to bring about change and alter institutional ideologies more in line with policy intention.

The new funding regime was initially introduced in the 1988 Education Reform Act and made specific in the Further and Higher Education Act 1992. It has three general components which affect the operations of further education colleges: core funding through a block grant; activity related funding associated to full time equivalent student numbers; demand led funding (which ceased in 1997); training credits. Originally applied only to the private sector this financial approach now permeates the previously non-commercial sectors such as education. The funding regime used by the Government however is not an objective tool, simultaneously it transmits a preference for the market paradigm and measures for success.

Trends in Accounting

It is important to recognise that accounting practice is not a science but an evolved art that encompasses a set of beliefs about how business should be managed. A balance sheet, for example, makes no attempt to value a business; the focus is on profit not on cash flow, yet cash flow is the instrument that oils an organisation's growth process and thus ensures its long-term survival.

Accounting practice has a preference for tangible assets and ignoring the intangible aspects of the business, which are so important in the service sector for measuring quality; it thus tells us little about how a business is doing. Accounting methods affect all company transactions but include only those which can be expressed in financial terms. The high status of the accounting profession in the UK has served to ensure that

traditional accounting procedure has the potential to alter organisational behaviour and strategic direction.

An accounting system comprises addition of assets and subtraction of expenses. It is a fundamental taxonomy that terms used in accounting systems must have clearly-defined necessary and sufficient conditions.[1] In order to ensure relevance and reliability the criteria for measurement should share the same attributes otherwise different outcomes are measured.[2] It is thus surprising to find that no clear agreement exists for accounting measurement criteria.

The paucity of sufficient and necessary conditions is apparent in the debate related to defining assets. The Financial Accounting Standards Board in America (FASB) defines them as "probable future economic benefits" and refers to the "the problem of definition," since all items that conform to the former need not be assets.[3] This lack of clarity not only leads to concerns about the reliability of data it also suggests that the scientific image of accounting models is but a myth. Paradoxically, the language of accountancy leads us to believe that it is distanced from belief therefore applied fairly. In reality financial models include beliefs about the way factors should be measured.

The system of accounting should be: understandable; reliable; complete; objective; timely and comparable. The Conservative Government's accounting approach has some commonality with current trends in accounting which include: unit costing as performance indicators, standardisation for comparability of service costs, Planning Programming Budgeting Systems (PPBS) to ensure efficiency throughout departments and new accounting procedures to deal with new income sources, leasing, etc. The difference between the Conservatives' financial model and the current trend in accounting practice is in the tools selected for the accounting focus. The Conservatives' model apes the traditional approach - a focus on profit and price based on financial incentives and penalties. In contrast the new accounting techniques focus on the production process.

[1]ANTHONY, R. We don't have the accounting concepts we need. Harvard Business Review. . p20, 36-40.1991.
[2]WOOD, F. and TOWNSLEY, J. Finance. London: Pitma.n. 1986.

Commercialisation of exchange developed during the Industrial Revolution. Initially, a simple accounting method of recording expenses and revenues was used, the risk being born by the owner and regulated by the degree of his or her wealth. This was superseded by limited liability where ownership became a shared responsibility enabling a company to increase capital resources independent of personal wealth. Concerns that this might reduce owner/manager responsibility thus "prudence" in financial transactions led to a focus on "stewardship;" methods to safeguard a company's assets - this in turn led to an over-emphasis on balance sheets in order to demonstrate financial soundness.[4] Reduction of information appeared as accountants attempted to increase shareholder confidence on the principle that the less they knew the better.[5] At the same time this contributed to the professionalisation of accountancy.

Once a year a company must publish three accounting statements: a profit and loss account; a balance sheet showing the assets owned by the company and how they were financed; a funds flow statement showing the sources of funds and their uses. Realised value and prudence in estimating value and profit are used as a base line. The measurement of financial performance is now controlled by legislation. The Companies Act 1985 provides the general accounting framework; it states that the accounting system must demonstrate "a true and fair view," which has evolved to mean the consistent application of generally accepted principles. Companies are also expected to follow guidelines set down by the Statements Standard Accounting Practice,[6] this includes standardisation with the EEC.[7]

Latterly, "disclosure" has become important forcing companies to reveal more about their organisation's performance. The legal responsibility for disclosure lies with the directors of a company. Large stewardship companies, where managers are not owners, are subject to heavy disclosure practices with the result that the measures of financial performance have become deeply entrenched in the system of management and control

[3]Conceptual Framework. FASB. 1978-1985.
[4]ANTHONY, R. op.cit
[5]REID, W. The meaning of company accounts. London: Gower. 1989.
[6]SSAP. June. 1988.
[7]The Fourth Company Law Directive. USA.

of a business.[8]

Indeed Sikka argues that controversial intellectual debate has become marginalised by traditional accounting principles, causing the practice to proceed largely unchallenged.[9] There are, however, two competing systems of accounting practice, the proprietary approach and the entity approach. The traditional "proprietary view" developed in the 1920s focuses on the role of shareholders and accounting profit; financial performance is based on return on investment (ROI). Profit responsibility is decentralised to operating units and ROI is used to measure a unit's performance. The ROI objectives become the profit budgets to which the company operates.[10] Accounting profit charges interest payable on debt capital only. In contrast, entity theory utilises the "economic profit" approach, which includes the "opportunity cost" of goods and services consumed. Charges are made on the interest on total capital employed, including a notional interest on equity capital - thus entity theory puts the company at the centre of decision-making, managing "stakeholders'" interests. It attempts to separate shareholder capital from capital accumulated by company action in order to define a company's worth.[11] Clearly the different financial measurement approaches place different claims on a business and alter the management approach.

Traditionally the focus has been variable costs, labour, materials and their relationship to volume. Fixed costs are largely ignored. A focus on flow of financial resources in and out of the company, rather than on profit, suggests a very different approach for accounting practitioners. In general costs associated with production and supply must have a downward trend as businesses move up their experience curve.[12] When products reach shake out in their life cycle strategic those who can produce at the lowest cost will achieve competitive advantage. Hence the focus on ROI and management

[8] ECCLES, R. The performance measurement manifesto, getting numbers you can trust. Harvard Business Review. 1993.

[9] SIKKA, P. The mountains are still there: accounting academics and the bearings of intellectuals. unpublished paper. University of East London. 1995.

[10] DEARDEN, J. Measuring profit centre managers, getting numbers you can trust. Harvard Business Review. 1991.

[11] REID, W. The meaning of company accounts. London: Gower. 1989.

[12] CHARLES AMES, B. and HLAVACEK, J. Vital truths about managing your costs. Harvard Business Review. 1991.

concentration on cost minimisation. However, in some products and services price is only part of the customers' perception of value - accounting procedure should be linked to the process of production in order that these other drivers can be recognised. In the education sector these other drivers may include reputation, roots of added value.

The traditional accounting system, focused on profit, is not designed to recognise the multi-value outputs of educational products because it simplifies value to price. Furthermore, it does not attempt to measure intangible assets such as savings that are incurred as an outcome of improved staff morale. The concentration on hard rather than soft assets has a negative effect in a service industry where the intangible assets are important components of customer value. For example in the education sector customers refer to "a sense of belonging."

Accounting discourse thus began to suggest that accounting systems, focused on profitability, had distracted debate away from other issues important to organisational development. Indeed reducing cost through non-maintenance of machinery, non-investment or machine over-use, can result in an increased profitability figure but adversely affects long term organisational growth.

The New Accounting Approach

The new "total factor productivity"[13]approach to accounting suggests that an organisational effectiveness has been reduced by institutionalised conceptual errors about what makes a business work which in turn has led to faulty choices for strategic direction.[14] The total factor productivity method attempts to understand the factors that drive the business other than profit and price. It attempts to represent the portfolio of issues that influence the production process including the product, the corporate strategy, market conditions and management performance. It differentiates department performance from manager performance, since he or she cannot exert control over shifts in industry volume, and includes instead the factors that a manager can influence

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[13]DRUCKER, P. The information tools executives truly need. Harvard Business Review. Jan/Feb. 1995.
[14]DEARDEN, J. op.cit.

for example market share and operating costs.[15]

Furthermore, current accounting thought suggests that companies need both an internal and an external reporting system. The external system must conform to the legal requirements and reflect shareholder/stakeholder interest. The internal cost system Allen suggests needs to provide information inclusive of intangible contributors to success, for three different functional levels namely: operational control; individual product cost measurement and inventory evaluation for allocation of costs.[16]

Indeed Dearden suggests that a focus on the short-term bottom line has limited innovation and hidden error to enable innovation to develop which he argues requires a long-term perspective where all costs are variable.[17] Conventional accounting costs are variable only if they change with short term changes in output thus ignore any changes in cost that result from diversification, product mix and range crucial to value in the service sector.[18] Cooper suggests any measure of product costs should include all the value chain costs, excluding research and development, that can be considered as an investment in future production.[19] In the education sector this implies being the ability to link the whole education process from infant school onwards.

Accountancy and its Image in Other Social Contexts: Germany and Japan

As accounting practices are culturally determined it is not surprising to find that other cultures operate in different ways. In Germany, for example, accounts are seen as only one factor in decision making. Some Japanese techniques use a possible market price as a strategic tool. This is used to push technological development at the design stage freeing innovation in order to produce in line with what the market demands at a target price. Production techniques become focused on reaching the market price this de-emphasises standard costs focused on optimisation and replaces it with continual

[15]DEARDEN, J. op.cit.
[16]ALLEN, D. Modern budgetary control. The Administrator. April. 1995.
[17]DEARDEN, J. op.cit.
[18]COOPER, C. Meeting the needs: educational guidance within HE. Educational Guidance News. Spring. 1990.

improvement achieved by concentration on the overhead burden and its causal relationship with costs to individual products. The Japanese approach thus places accounting practices as subservient to strategy formulation and places human resources as central to product innovation.[20] In contrast the concentration in the UK on benchmarking creates a tendency towards look-alike reactive strategies, since an organisation measures itself against others and sets a target given best practice.

Unit costing and the service sector

The educational product is specifically customised, a professional may perform many tasks in an unrelated sequence dependent on the customer need. This product complexity renders the measurement of cost to task very difficult thus expensive. Indeed Sandretto suggests that where the output is made up of discrete parts, modularisation or choice of product mix for example, the process becomes very technically difficult to cost.[21]

Unit cost control is an appropriate financial measure for organisations that have undifferentiated low-margin products. In contrast organisations that have unique high-margin products may find marketing more important than cost control through price. Accounting tools should thus be selected to reflect the needs of the product portfolio, rather than dictating what those needs should be.

Public sector organisations

Organisations functioning in the public sector are expected to pursue objectives other than profit as a measurement of success because the outcomes are determined by need. Indeed the Financial Account Standard Board (FABS) in America define the public sector as non-business entities that do not have any transferable ownership interests, their purpose is something other than making a profit and they receive contributions that are seen as conceptually different from revenues arising from sales of goods or

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[19]COOPER, C. op. cit.
[20]HIROMOTO, T. Another hidden edge: Japanese management accounting. Harvard Business Review.. 1991.

services. Public organisations are thus distinctly operationally different.

The post 1979 Conservative Government however assumed that all organisations had shared characteristics namely: to function within what the law prescribes; is subject to the authority of a departmental minister who enforces national policy; there is provision for public participation on the boards; the accounts are externally audited; effective financial control is required for accountability.[22] It thus pursued a policy based on the commonality of factors between public and private sector organisations rather than diversity.

Public Expenditure

Prioritisation, selection and allocation of public spending take place in an annual public spending round based in Whitehall. Where public funds are used, overt "stewardship" becomes particularly important. Externally, publicly-financed institutions are subject to legal controls, stakeholder needs and political pressure, mostly from the opposition MPs. Central government departments previously operated essentially on a cost basis of receipts and payments, there was thus no distinction made between capital and revenue.[23]

In response to the findings from the Plowden Report,[24] the Baines Report[25] and the Redcliffe-Maud Report,[26] the Treasury began to highlight the need for a system of monitoring and strategic planning of public expenditure. In the 1980s discourse focused on public accountability and the Nolan Committee suggested seven principals of public life namely, selflessness, integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness, honesty and leadership; in the 1990s these became central to the functioning of the colleges' funding council.[27]

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[21]SANDRETTO, M. What kind of cost system do you need? Harvard Business Review. 1991.
[22]WOOD, F. and TOWNSLEY, J. Finance. London: Pitman. p 150. 1986
[23]WOOD, F. and TOWNSLEY, J. p 170. op. cit.
[24]Plowden Report. 1961. op. cit.
[25]Baines Report. 1967. op. cit.
[26]Redcliffe-Maud Report. 1969. op. cit.

Central Government, responsible for macro planning for education provision, devolved funds to the LEA through the rate support grant.[28] Spending by the LEAs was classified as either capital[29] or current[30] expenditure, total outgoing known as revenue expenditure.[31] The LEAs had extensive discretionary powers as a result of the ambiguity in the 1944 Education Act.[32] As early as 1949, however, these discretionary powers were significantly influenced by the economic climate. The context was one of strictest economy supporting growth.[33]

As the further education sector was not clearly defined further education colleges had two main targets of funding namely advanced work and non-advanced work this presented them with problems in isolating funding opportunities; as well as forming a strategic direction in line with government intention. Central government maintained significant control over education funding. It supported training and education services via the Manpower Services Commission it also provided education support grants.[34] In addition from 1959, the funding for advanced education in further education colleges came from a national funding pool, funded collectively by LEAs, as well as LEA "top-up."[35] The pool was essentially derived from local and national tax with very complex lines of accountability. The DES provided a small amount of financial resources for non-advanced further education and also reimbursed the LEA for mandatory student awards. In addition, the colleges were also able to derive income from student fees, the amount of which varied from institution to institution.

In 1979 the Conservative Government, with Mrs Thatcher as Prime Minister, led a discourse on public spending accountability and began a process of reducing the

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[28]The RSG has two elements: Domestic Rate Relief Grant and Block Grant. The DRRG depends on the number of domestic rate-payers and is used as a bench-mark for judging overspend. The rate paid can vary over time but has a tendency to remain static. The BG is designed to compensate differences between authorities and is calculated through an assessment procedure.
[29]Current expenditure refers to day-to-day expenses and is met out of current income.
[30]Capital expenditure relates to the spending made on creating tangible assets such as buildings and is financed by borrowing.
[31]Revenue expenditure is current expenditure plus the costs of borrowing.
[32]The poor clarification in Sections 43 and 53 of the 1944 Education Act led to misinterpretation.
[33]DES Circular 210. Expenditure of Local Education Authorities. October, 1949.
[34]Education Support Grants funded target areas of educational development
[35]Essentially contributions to the pool were retrospective thus the LEAs could not budget for their

welfare state by removing public ownership. The Public Expenditure Survey Committee was given the responsibility for providing information on costing governmental policies and short term expenditure planning.

In 1980 the size of the advanced further education pool was "capped" making clear Government's view of its undesirable, uncontrollable nature.[36] In 1983 student free fee levels were cut for advanced further education.[37] In 1984 the Conservative Government began the process of diluting LEA control.[38] The Rates Act 1984 ensured that some authorities were subjected to punitive measures by rate capping.[39] The Government at the same time increased the education support grant further reducing LEA power.[40]

Advanced Further Education (AFE) was also moved from LEA control when the polytechnics and other colleges became corporate bodies and funded by the Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council (PCFC). The MSC took control of work related non-advanced further education, thus marginalising the LEAs even more.[41] An entrepreneurial context became part of a college's agenda in 1985 when the LEAs became empowered to market the goods and services of further education colleges as trading companies.[42] Alongside this, expenditure on education had fallen in real terms since 1981, so that further education colleges were obliged to obtain their income from other sources. Central funding increasingly placed an emphasis on efficiency.

The DES introduced the first monitoring measures in 1972, based on norming bands of student staff ratios.[43] In 1985 the Audit Commission pursued its work based on efficient, economic and effective use of public resources and suggested that growth in further education colleges could be achieved by the efficiency gains.[44] Furthermore,

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contribution until the end of the year.

[36]Local Government Planning and Land Act. Section 63, Schedule 10.

[37]The DES cut these fee levels by 50%. Further education colleges thus became wary about recruiting above target.

[38]Training for jobs. 1984. op. cit.

[39]This means that the local authority is given an upper limit to spending by central government.

[40]Treasury 1986a. The Government's Expenditure Plans 1986-87 to 1988-89 Cmnd 9702. HMSO

[41]Training for jobs. 1984. op. cit.

[42]Further and Higher Education Act 1985

[43] DES. 1972. Education: a frame work for expansion. Cmnd 5174. HMSO.

[44]Obtaining better value from further education. 1985. op. cit

they suggested that quality control measures would ensure that the use of resources lead to successful output.

The Working Context Prior to the 1988 Education Act

In general, the further education colleges would estimate their needs and the local education authority would collate the information and transmit a request to the Government, who ensured that the national budget would meet those needs. The local authority was run by elected councillors and chief officers, financial work being normally controlled through a sub-committee. This relationship tended to vary from one area to another and to reflect local needs. Indeed, there was the potential for the political bias of the LEA to affect central government's control of policy implementation.

Prior to the 1980s each LEA had a duty to provide a Chief Education Officer (CEO) and an education committee to manage the education department.[45] The education committee had an academic ethos with co-opted teachers as members; the work of the committee was often delegated to sub-committees. There was no common administrative structure but often there would be a Deputy Chief Education Officer and a Senior Education Officer responsible for further education.

The Further Education Committee, principally a negotiating body, came to collective agreement about the size of each college's funding allocation. Nominally the agreements were based on a relationship of Burnham Points, the nationally agreed figure of teaching time to grade, and to student numbers. In the final analysis it was the LEA who had the duty to make decisions about the size of a college's budget.

Since there was no commonality of LEA systems, funding seems to have been allocated on an ad hoc basis. Some colleges were able to secure more money than others, indeed one principal related the story of another principal who was renowned

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[45]Education Reform: The 1944 Education Act. 1944.

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for giving money back! Clearly lack of future funding was not perceived as problematic. College funding relied on their relationship with the LEA, in particular their relationship with the education committee. Funding does not appear to have been unlimited, but reliant on student numbers per course and/or the ability to demonstrate a justifiable need. A significant level of trust existed between the transacting parties.

The public demand for increased stewardship, coupled with the Conservatives' preference for cutting costs and reducing public sector organisations meant that further education colleges were destined for change. However, significant discretionary powers initially remained with the LEA.

The Further Education Funding Regime

The 1988 Education Act established that further education colleges were to incorporated bodies the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act described the process and responsibilities of incorporation due to commence in 1993. The newly incorporated colleges began to prepare for financial control in 1990; in September 1992 colleges became eligible for financial assistance from the newly formed Further Education Funding Council.[46] From April 1993 the FEFC had a duty to:

> "secure the provision of sufficient facilities for full-time education for those over compulsory school age and under 19."[47]

> "secure the provision of adequate facilities for part-time education for those over compulsory school age, and full-time education for those aged 19 and over, in relation to the types of education listed in Schedule 2 of the Act , section 3."[48]

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[46]This was established in the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act. section 1.
[47]The 1988 Education Act, section 2. 1988.
[48] DfEE. Circular 1. 1993. The Further and Higher Education Act.

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In 1991 it was stated that the FEFC funding would: "consist of a basic annual budget together with an element dependent on the numbers actually enrolled."[49] It was, at this stage, input - related funding model. The Conservative Government's attitude to public sector accountability can be seen in the remit for the Audit Commission in 1985, which was to promote "efficiency, effectiveness and economy."[50] The funding model, however, gives greater credence to efficiency. The Conservatives' preference for measurement of success and its indicators became clear- efficiency not effectiveness became the bottom line.

Since the 1988 Act the colleges' governing body's role has developed to include managing the college budget, monitoring the management of the college and improving its efficiency and effectiveness.[51] Its duties included: managing the budget effectively and efficiently; not incurring a deficit; complying with the financial regulations of the LEA; avoiding commitments that involve the LEA in providing extra resources; maintaining the college premises in a fit state of repair.[52] It could incur expenditure within budget without reference to the LEA and exercise "virement" across all current expenditure except for earmarked funds. It could also purchase supplies and equipment and services and carry forward surpluses from year to year and determine charges for services.[53] The academic board retained legitimate authority, but without power.

The Education Reform Act 1988 specified that the LEAs should submit a scheme for local financial management, requiring:

> "that each scheme should: give colleges as much freedom as possible to manage their own affairs and allocate their resources as they think best within

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[49]Hansard Prime Minister. March, 1991.
[50]Audit Commission . Obtaining better value from further education. HMSO. 1985.
[51]DES. Guide For College Governors. 1989.
[52]DES Circular 9, 1988. Education Reform Act 1988: local management of further and higher education colleges: articles of government.
[53]Education Reform Act 1988: local management of further and higher education colleges: planning and delegation schemes and articles of government. op. cit.

the strategic framework set by the LEA; promote responsiveness by colleges to the changing needs of students, employers and the local community; promote good management and the effective and efficient use of resources in colleges; provide for college budgets to be based on an objective and equitable allocation of available resources; in particular the formulae used for calculating budgets, should be as simple and clear as possible, so that college governors, staff and students, and the community in general, can understand how it operates; give colleges appropriate incentives to earn additional income by providing courses and other services and facilities for the local community, including in particular the business community."[54]

A DES circular became the blueprint for the funding scheme most of which came into effect in April 1990.[55] These defined the managerial relationship between the LEA and the newly independent colleges. LEAs retained a strategic role, but delegated executive control to the further education colleges.

In order to understand the impact of these changes the actual, rather than the intended, events need to be evaluated.

The Implementation Factor

The task here is to provide a picture of what went on in the further education colleges at the policy implementation stage. The discussion concentrate on a few significant factors: the aim is to provide a feel for what was going on rather than an in depth financial analysis.

As a reminder the funding regime contained three general components: core funding through a block grant; activity-related funding associated with full-time equivalent student numbers and demand-led funding through training credits. It relied on price as

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[54]Education Reform Act: local management of further and higher education colleges: op. cit.
[55]Education Reform Act: local management of further and higher education colleges. op. cit.

the competitive advantage - hence unit costs and performance indicators were being used for the measurement of quality of service. One aim was to standardise service costs across the further education sector. In line with new accounting practice, the linking of college funding to the process of education for a student, not the input or output, was a positive step forward. Unit costing, however, drove the measurement of value in the educational process missing important service drivers.

When the change in financing the colleges was first initiated, units resource calculations were based on historical cost; these had largely been discretionary thus some colleges were able to acquire different resources independent of their size. In one case a college in direct geographical competition with another had the added advantage of money to refurbish the refectory, library and student services, all well-known drivers of student choice. This funding anomaly led to some colleges claiming that historical costing created unequal opportunity in the market. Coupled with this, in 1991 the funding model became based on full-time equivalent (FTE) student numbers. The simple conversion from enrolments to FTEs, where different weighting was applied to different programme areas, produced wide variations.[56]

Coupled with this the lack of clear rules about what constituted unit led colleges to use different measurement models. In 1991 the most common process being used Atkinson suggests was the national Training Occupational Classification (TOC) based on student hour attendance. Part-time student hour conversion included average hours, standard hours, annual hours, weekly hours and various attendance mode weightings. The Further Educational Statistical Record (FESR), the Annual Monitoring Survey (AMS) and the National Advisory Body for Public Sector Higher Education (NAB) were based on a mode weighting, each mode representing a set of courses, thus Atkinson argues no common understanding of what constituted a mode existed even the number of modes varied.[57] Budgets were thus subject to individual college interpretation, and possible manipulation despite the Conservative Government's intention that weighting

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[56]ATKINSON, D. FE funding and delegation schemes: an exegesis. Mendip papers. 1993.
[57]ATKINSON, D. op. cit.

mode conversions to full time FTEs should be used.[58] Furthermore, Field found the multipliers poorly defined and indeed not designed to reflect the actual study time taken or resources used for an individual to complete a programme of learning.[59] Clearly these factors presented problems of comparability on common grounds.

Activity-related funding produced a whole new set of monitoring procedures in further education colleges. Generation of the kind of information required for the appropriate division of overhead costs required an MIS system but even in 1993 principals said they were nit fully on line. Other issues also appeared to be causing problems.

The Implementation Factor: virement

The freedom for governors to "vire" between allocations, given local changing needs, was limited only by the requirement not to "cavalierly disregard" the LEA assessment; most colleges only notified the LEA when significant.[60] Indeed Atkinson found some LEAs did not require informing at all.[61] Clearly virement is essential to enable the milking cash cows products, to nurture new innovative products; the evident flexibility here supports this approach.

The Implementation Factor: budgeting period

The non-alignment of financial and academic years created major problems for budget setting. Most colleges Atkinson found were using a system of moderation calculated on the basis of five-twelfths of one academic year target and seven twelfths of the next.[62] Depreciation of work in progress Reid argues becomes problematic where transactions are incomplete resulting in the subjective calculation of profit.[63]

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[58] DES. Education Reform Act 1988: local management of further and higher education colleges: planning and delegation schemes and articles of government. Circular 9. 1988.
[59]FIELD, M. 1991. In ATKINSON, D. FE funding and delegation schemes - an exegesis. Mendip Papers. 1993.
[60]Education Reform Act: local management of further and higher education colleges: planning and delegation schemes and articles of government. op. cit.
[61]ATKINSON, D. op. cit.
[62]ATKINSON, D. op. cit.
[63]REID, W. The meaning of company accounts. London: Gower. 1989.

Another key factor for comparability is whether the budget is net or gross. Atkinson found that even what appeared to be a common net budgeting group included netted income based on student fee income and netted income inclusive of other fee sources.[64]

The Implementation Factor: central services

Prior to incorporation the LEA had provided central services that included further education advisors and curriculum and staff development support services. Circular 9/88 offered two new options: colleges could purchase central services from the LEA, or buy from any supplier.[65] Atkinson found national and local networking supporting central services common though there was some evidence of college autonomy.[66] Decentralisation of services has brought with it changed relationships between the purchaser and the provider and a need for a different management competencies. There had been no process in the colleges for managers to develop these skills and they just had to do the best they could.

The Implementation Factor: excepted items

Excepted items are those which step outside normal assets and liabilities, but occur sufficiently on a regular basis to be subjected to the rules. Though these rules should be applied in the same way Atkinson found responsibility for premature retirement and views on the development fund differed whereas a common approach to contingency funds did exist, probably he suggests because Circular 9/88 intimated this would be paid from the authority budget.[67] The split between college and LEA responsibility varied from individual responsibility to a joint agreement specifying that costs could be imposed on the college budget if the authority had good reason.

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[64]ATKINSON, D. op. cit.
[65]Education Reform Act 1988: local management of further and higher education colleges: planning and delegation schemes and articles of government. op. cit.
[66]ATKINSON, D. op. cit.
[67]Education Reform Act local management of further and higher education colleges: planning and delegation schemes and articles of government. op. cit.

The Implementation Factor: miscellaneous fund issues

Whilst the LEAs retained little influence, in the event they were able to have a significant impact on a college's income through reserve funds; these are used as security for demands in the future. By 1991 the majority of colleges Atkinson found had opted to have a central LEA development fund though the colleges contribution varied from 0.25% to 4%. The majority of colleges selected LEA control of a contingency fund, with an average of 1% of the college budget.

Cost recovery lay within the control of the independent colleges, but claw-back arrangements by the local authority differed in size.[68] In 1991 when the possibility arose for individual college's to hold bank accounts Atkinson found only a small number of LEAs delegated full responsibility.[69] The Variable claims on a college budget was exacerbated by the treatment of planned debt which were treated as borrowing, the agreements negotiated locally. Atkinson found some LEAs imposed interest charges and others did not.[70]

The variability of the LEA schemes meant that college budgets were significantly affected by the relationship that each LEA had with their local colleges. Similarly, colleges were affected by the system of bidding between establishments within LEA control. Control varied from central strategic planning to decentralisation.

Demand-Led Funding

In order to increase student participation and completion rates the FEFC provided funding not tied to agreed growth rates but paid on the actual achievements over and above the expected.

Output Related Funding: TEC

[68]DES. Transfer of responsibility. Circular 6, 1988.
[69]ATKINSON, D. op. cit.
[70]ATKINSON, D. op. cit.

The Government introduced another player in the funding game, the Training and Education Council (TEC), in a White Paper in 1991. Its remit was to link enterprise, skills and economic development.[71] The TECs became responsible for the allocation of some funding[72] with a remit to establish funding from other sources.[73] The FEFC funds the TECs through a cash grant plus additional funding based on student numbers, with weighting applied for differential teaching cost.[74] Funds are also associated with specified student outputs; this output component is a weighted award, which can vary between components of a particular programme. TECs also contract with many training providers.

Clearly, output-related funding had an important impact on the formation of a college's course portfolio. Indeed courses that require high cost provision either in terms of facilities or more teaching time are likely to be under threat.[75] A focus on price also created a bias towards a particular type of course, flexible modes of teaching being more expensive than full time courses.

TEC Demand-Led Funding

TECs have also been responsible for piloting the training credit scheme intended to be completed by 1996. Training credits establish a "contract" between the purchaser and the provider; each student holds a number of credits to "spend" with any provider. Credits only become money when outputs are completed.

The vast diversity of approaches to college income generation contradicted the requirement for simplicity and understandability of the system essential to ensure informed and fair customer choice; as a result the customer remains unable to compare one college fairly with another. Alongside this, the diversity in accounting methods

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[71]DES. Education and training for the 21st century. vol. 2. Paragraph 4.1 May. 1991.
[72]DES. Education and training for the 21st century. vol. 24. Paragraph 6. May. 1991.
[73]DES. Education and training for the 21st century. vol. 2. paragraph 4.10 op. cit.
[74]DES. Education and training for the 21st century. vol. 12. paragraph 6.4 op. cit.
[75]Further Education Unit. Colleges and TECs: funding by outputs. Feb. 1994.

created different competitive positions for colleges.

Funding 1993-1996

Clearly, changes to the funding methodology had to be made. In 1993 each college supplied the FEFC with an estimate of its enrolments from 1992 as weighted full-time equivalent students (WFTE) so that the recurrent funding could be calculated. The WFTE at this time was divided into two broad course groupings and seven modes of study differently weighted.

FEFC 1995: aims and methodology

Under the old system there was no way to adjust cost for student drop out. There was no consensus on weighting applied to different modes of attendance and the old modes of classification were outdated. The FEFC has adopted several key factors as instruments of change based on the following working context: "To foster an environment that will encourage institutions to be enterprising, flexible and responsive to their students, potential students, and employers."[76]

The funding agreement has: block funding known as recurrent funding that is associated with student volume; agreed performance measures and funding, associated with meeting the performance criteria; demand-led funding; a safety-net. The aim of the new funding methodology is to provide "financial and planning stability", "cost-efficient growth", and "improved quality."[77]

The FEFC has also altered the budget mechanism to "converge" the unaccountable differences between colleges' funding using a two pronged offensive; recurrent "core and margin." Core funding is inflation-protected but only a percentage of the previous year core is guaranteed it is also linked to the achievement of a percentage of the agreed target thus it should decrease unfair allocation of funds caused by historically-

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[76]FEFC. Annual Report. 1995.
[77]FEFC. Annual Report. 1995. op. cit.

based costing. The margin consists of "additional funds" as performance-related enticements as well as "demand-led funds." College budgets were adjusted for cost associated to geographical location and divided by WFTEs to provide the unit of funding, this varied from £1486-£4664 per student. Interestingly, for sixth form colleges it ranged from £2205-£3840, thus presenting the colleges with unfair competition.[78]

In December 1992 the council published its new funding learning methodology. The funding units are: entry activities; on-programme activities; achievement; tuition fee remission; child-care support; additional support.[79] The unit was now calculated on a agreed tariff of costs per student overseen by the Tariff Advisory Committee (TAC) funded by the FEFC.[80] TAC was an advisory committee that comprised senior college members and "other" institutions.

In 1994 95% of FEFC funding went to colleges in further education;[81] further education enrolments comprised 84% of total full-time equivalents.[82] The FEFC defined the range of further education as: general; vocational; training; higher education; adult.[83] The funding model allocated financial resources based on the level of activity in the colleges classified into ten programme areas.[84] The common FEFC tariff was reviewed, with consultation, in 1995 and changes were made for 1996: essentially. The tariff is based on the standard length of programme, guided learning hours, weighting for course differentials and additional support for special students. Under the new system each student, who has an individual programme of learning, generates a different sum of units. The student is protected by prior agreement between

[78]Circular 93/09. op. cit.
[79]Annual Report. FEFC Section 19. 1995.
[80]Annual Report. FEFC Section 21. 1995.
[81]The remainder of the funds supported students with disabilities; further education courses provided in HE institutions; further education provided at other institutions Quality and standards in further education. p 19. FEFC Annual Report 1993-4.
[82]The remaining comprised 5% in sixth form colleges and 10% in specialist colleges. FEFC Annual Report 1993-4. p 20. op. cit.
[83]Annual Report FEFC 1994-5. p 20. op. cit.
[84]These were: sciences; agriculture; construction; engineering; business; hotel and catering; health and community care; art and design; humanities; basic education. [84]FEFC Annual Report 1993-4. p 31. op. cit.

the FEFC and the college as to the number of activities for the agreed funding.[85]

Projected Fund Allocation

The funds made available by the Secretary of State to the FEFC for 1995-96 and projections for 1996-98 include an expected growth rate of 25%. The spending plans reflected the "crucial" role of further education to national targets for education and training.[86] Nevertheless they have to make efficiency gains between 4% and 5% and the Government indicated that the year on year increase would be zero by 1996-97; the colleges have to increase participation with a decreasing budget based on the more risky activity funding.[87].

Activity-Related Funding

An organisation's income is derived from two sources namely capital and revenue. The 1988 Act changed the emphasis of revenue funding from national taxes and government grants to the sale of goods and services. Since revenue income supports revenue expenditure the day to day costs of the colleges are now dependent on student intake, activity-related funding.

Capital income is provided for colleges through schemes backed by the Government, or through loans; revenue income can be used to fund capital expenditure by contributions to capital outlay namely reserve funds. Since the 1988 Act colleges own buildings, assets, which if sold could increase reserves for capital expenditure. Wood and Townsley suggest that it is in Government's interest to encourage reserve funds as these smooth costs over time, avoid interest paid on loans and provide a buffer through difficult times.[88]

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[85]FEFC Report. Section 20. 1995
[86]FEFC News. no. 19.
[87]FEFC Report. 1995.
[88]WOOD, F. and TOWNSLEY. 1986. op. cit.

Unit costs will rise where student numbers fall, imposing overhead costs on fewer customers. Colleges who find their student numbers falling will also experience cash flow reduction. Colleges who can increase their numbers, on the other hand, will increase cash flow and chances of survival. This situation is influenced by claw back when students fail to complete a course of study which in turn may alter a colleges choice of course portfolio. The FEFC has a duty to ensure sufficient and adequate provision and can enter into an agreement with a college to ensure particular provision. Nevertheless the drivers for the colleges are the numbers of units consumed per student and the participation and completion results. The funding methodology thus creates a number of policy steers in order that the colleges can respond flexibly to the market and be accountable.[89] At the same time, the structure of the methodology attempts to measure the amount of education, training and learning by a common currency.[90]

Since 1996 a higher unit value is available where the qualification contributes to the national targets; the units available for the on-programme elements can be enhanced where a student requires learning support or is entitled to fee remission or has a low income.[91] Government continued to pursue convergence and public funding levels have to be justified in terms of fitness for purpose.[92][93]

In 1997 the DFEE confirmed that there would be no changes to public expenditure settlements for 1997-8 and 1998-9. As promised, three years on the funding

[89]The aims are: to apply a range of policy steers, including those deriving from its duty to secure provision; to provide a sufficient measure of stability and continuity to afford institutions the confidence to plan strategically and to enable them to manage change; to enable the diverse institutions to operate effectively and respond flexibly in their local environment; to promote accountability and value for money; to be capable of maintaining and enhancing the quality of provision; to accommodate growth on the part of the sector as a whole and varying rates of expansion within and between individual institution. Fundamental review of the funding methodology. FEFC. Circular 97/31, p 10. op. cit.

[90]The basic structure measures the amount of education, training and learning rather than learner support provided to a student in a common currency instead of a measure of full-time equivalent students. Students' learning comprises three elements; entry, on programme and achievement which includes differential rates for different kinds of provision. A core and margin approach is used to encourage growth and institutional stability. Additional funds above the core agreed in advance, with a rationing mechanism for these funds alongside "you are paid for what you do principle. FEFC Circular 97/31. p 10. op. cit.

[91]All students in full-time education aged 16-19 get full fee remission.

[92]DFEE. 1996. Funding 16-19 education and training: towards convergence.

[93]FEFC. Convergence of average levels of funding. Circular 97/09.

methodology was to be reviewed.[94] The main conclusions of the first stage of the review suggested that the system was difficult to explain to outsiders, that it needed to be tested for the next five years and that no other methodology appeared as flexible.[95] In the foreword to the review Helena Kennedy QC suggests, perhaps acknowledging the change in government, that the focus of the next ten years needs to be on the values and priorities for the further education sector rather than market forces.[96]

All newly-incorporated colleges have charitable status and most are exempt charities. However, all colleges have to disclose information as set down by the Statements of Standard Accounting Practice (SAAP).[97] They also have to conform to normal procedure based on four fundamental accounting concepts: the going concern[98]; the accruals concept[99]; the consistency concept[100]; the prudence concept.[101]

In response to increasing pressure for disclosure any exceptional departures from a colleges financial statement and their estimated financial effect have to be reported o the Urgent Issues Task Force (UITF). [102] The Nolan Committee on Standards in Public-Life recommended that colleges should have the following information made public: a

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[94]This was based on the findings of the Public Expenditure Survey Settlement 1997-8 to 1999-2000, extrapolated forward one year. DFEE. Circular 96/30.

[95]FEFC. Fundamental review of the funding methodology. Circular 97/31.

[96]FEFC. Fundamental review of the funding methodology. p 5. op. cit.

[97]The SORP suggest: full name of corporation; indication of the nature of the governing instrument; the names of all the members including method of appointment; names and addresses of any other relevant organisations; an explanation of what the organisation is trying to achieve and how it is going about it; a review of the development, activities and achievements of the organisation; a review of the transactions and financial position of the corporation and explanation of the salient facts of the accounts; the effects of present and future account revaluation of fixed assets; the extent to which the corporations are financially dependent upon the support of any third party; the nature of important events affecting the corporation. Sector accounting policies and financial statements, p 20 paragraph 58. op. cit.

[98]The going concern concept is defined by SSAP as including the underlying presumption that the college will continue in operation in the foreseeable future. Sector accounting policies and financial statements. p 20 paragraph 64. op. cit.

[99]The accruals concept is defined by SSAP as that which recognises revenue and costs as they are earned. Sector accounting policies and financial statements. p 20. paragraph 64. op. cit.

[100]The consistency concept is defined by SSAP as a system that treats like items in the same way in each accounting period. Sector accounting policies and financial statements. p 21 paragraph 64. op. cit.

[101]The prudence concept implies that revenue and profits are not anticipated but recognised only when they are realised. Sector accounting policies and financial statements, p 21 paragraph 64. op. cit.

[102]FEFC. Sector accounting policies and financial statements: guidance on the requirements of the Council. p 3.

list of members of the governing body; the corporate governance structure of the institution; policies on openness; a statement of objectives; performance against key criteria.[103] They should also set out key information to a common standard in their annual reports.[104]

The review undertaken in 1997 concluded that the funding methodology works, but requested the addition of a further list of aims.[105] In particular, the addition that the funding methodology should be able to accommodate the value-added indicators seems to hit at the very heart of the funding methodology and to render it insufficient. At the same time, responding to the evident distance between student demand and the economies need, demand-led funding ceased. The FEFC has suggested that the reduction in demand-led funding will result in 86% of colleges facing funding reductions in 1998. This short-fall they anticipate will be exacerbated by the reductions in competitiveness funds, the diminishing value and availability of discretionary awards, the addition of significant costs resulting from teachers superannuation schemes, reduction in. funds for capital purposes and the need to absorb the full costs of pay awards for staff. In the FEFC's view the further education colleges now face real financial difficulties.[106]

Implications of the Changes Post-1988

The FEFC as a Government quango is an effective mouthpiece for the Government; it has pursued a strategy based on accountability, which it has interpreted to mean the efficient and effective use of resources. The Conservative Government has moved the operation of the further education colleges from the context of the public sector to that

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[103] Local public spending committees. Nolan Committee Report

[104]Sector accounting policies and financial statements: guidance on the requirements of the Council. p 20. op. cit.

[105]These are: to accommodate a contraction in student activity and/or funding levels; to be capable of dealing with a modular or unitised curriculum; to deal with the implications of inclusive learning; to promote widening access to, and participation in, education and training; to accommodate a regionalised approach to the assessment of adequacy and sufficiency, and responsiveness to local market need; to be capable of dealing with value-added indicators; to simplify, as far as possible, the operation of the methodology. Fundamental review of the funding methodology. p 7. op. cit.

[106]FEFC Annual Report. 1996-7 Chairmen's report. p3.

of the quasi-private sector; risk management and environmental scanning have now become part of the management function in further education colleges. This situation will inevitably alter both the management task and the organisation's strategic focus.

The FEFC has adopted a funding methodology based on a student's progress through a course. Other funding is available to the colleges from: fee remission; European Community; TECs ; HEFC. At the same time, the focus on accountability has created a demand for quantifiable data to measure unit costs this has led to changes in the administration process and the introduction of a management information system; this in turn creates a strategic focus on hard rather than soft data.

The strategic importance of environmental assessment in the private sector has long been accepted. Nevertheless, Huff and Ranney suggest that there are significant barriers to environmental scanning where education institutions are concerned. The most significant barriers, they argue, are lack of resources to carry out environmental scanning and a weak causal link between the educational input and output inhibiting targeting.[107] This has led Crisp to conclude that assessing future demands is likely to be the most difficult task in any colleges' strategic planning process.[108]

Indeed, Bennett et al. argue that the FEFC has served to create boundaries in the market.[109] The Government has vigorously promoted vocational qualifications with finite spending skewing the colleges feasible product portfolio. It has thus given further education colleges freedom to operate in the market whilst at the same retaining financial and strategic planning dependency. Indeed, Hoy et al.,[110] building on work by Emerson[111] conclude that an organisation can gain power over another where the second organisation cannot gain resources elsewhere to fulfil its strategic objectives.

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[107]HUFF A.S. and RANNEY J.M. Assessing the environment for an education institution. Long Range Planning. vol 14. no. 3. p 107-8. 1981.
[108]CRISP, P. Strategic planning and management, p 14-15. FEFC. Bristol. 1991
[109]BENNETT, N. CRAWFORD M. and RICHES C. Managing change in education. London : PCP Publishing. p. 1. 1992.
[110]HOY W. K. and MISKEL C. G. Educational administration: theory research and practice. New York: McGraw Hill. p. 86-107. 1987.
[111]EMERSON R. M. Power dependence relations. American Sociological Review. no. 27, p 31-41. 1962.

The FEFC as the primary, and dominant, player in financing the colleges has the potential to control the organisation and its strategic objectives. Furthermore Glatter et al. suggest that resource dependency will skew the organisation's perception of the environment in line with the controlling institution.[112] It would seem that the shift of funding responsibility from the LEA to the FEFC is more about central government control than organisational freedom.

At the same time as fulfilling economic needs the funding methodology has provided the Conservative Government with a pathway to pursue its ideological beliefs. This power would be limited if the colleges could prove that they were effective; effectiveness, however, is also redefined by the increasing concentration on effectiveness measures based on unit costs which in turn denies input and output product complexity.

Garvin argues that transcendent quality, an indefinable condition of excellence and user-based quality, provides the capacity to satisfy user needs and preferences for fitness for use in the service sector.[113] Harrison suggests that high customer interaction and customisation services will be costly, harder to administer and control and will pose problems in the management of customer intervention.[114] Indeed, Coote and Pfeffer purport that in some service situations customers are also providers.[115] This has led Harrison to suggest that the meaning of quality in an educational context could include academic excellence, conformance to specified attributes of the curriculum as well as student demand.[116]

The idea that a further education college should define the level of service it intends to provide and be accountable should be welcomed: increased disclosure is desirable, in a democratic society. At the same time, however, the financing process raises issues

[112]GLATTER R. Educational institutions and their environment: managing the boundaries. Milton Keynes: Open University Press. 1989.
[113]GARVIN D. A. Managing Quality. New York: Free Press. 1988.
[114]HARRISON M. Operations management strategy. London: Pitman Publishing. p 118-148. 1993.
[115]COOTE, A. and PFEFFER, N. Is quality good for you? Institute for Public Policy Research. Social Policy Research Paper No. 5.
[116]HARRISON M. Operations management strategy. p 118-148. op. cit.

about how standards are set and who decides. Apportioning a value is complex and must include all stakeholders' needs and perceptions of quality therefore procedures for measuring need to reflect this in order to balance the tensions between the marketisation of colleges and their social role.

Where an organisation uses an inappropriate cost control method it will generate faulty information which in turn will lead to faulty strategies. An inappropriate cost system is demonstrated where departments invent their own cost system the formal, where managers identify problems which arise because the cost system drives the organisation away from the "on-the-job" needs and where results are hard to explain. Also where financial accounting regulations change, as in the case of further education colleges, this may lead to the distorting of information simply to fit the requirements of the system.[117]

The ambiguous nature of the rules and procedures provided a route for local government and individual college's to interpret that policy differently alongside the application of an inappropriately designed cost system. Coupled with this, the current accounting discourse suggests that where the traditional profit approach is applied to a complex system the identification of the organisation's drivers will be inadequate; and as a result strategic decision-making information will be faulty.

Even if there is some watering-down of government policy at the implementation stage the changes to further education colleges implied by the funding methodology for such colleges should not be underestimated. In the future these colleges will face a risky, turbulent, education market where the right to professional power to decide is altered; at the same time, the FEFC will be applying a range of policy steers using tools which favour quantifiable measures against others. Through this process, educational effectiveness can become subordinated to efficient use of resources. The power struggle is not a managerial one, though it is transmitted through a managerial paradigm, rather it is a highly political one. It is about the right of government to

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[117]COOPER, C. Meeting the needs: educational guidance within HE. Educational Guidance News. Spring. 1990.

change society's ideological perspectives and to restructure the welfare state, which continued with the election of New Labour. The exertion of financial muscle may be the very process that provokes policy resistance.

CHAPTER TEN: THE SELECTED COLLEGES - PRINCIPALS' VIEWS
1991 AND 1996

The ability of the Conservative Government to assert its political ideology on the further education sector is determined to a large extent on its ability to control the decision making process within the organisations that make up that sector. Indeed Crozier,[1] and Gouldner[2] and have concluded that the validity of a public policy is tested where that policy is put into practice. The way in which a policy is managed at the organisational level thus becomes an important variable in the policy action process.

In order to be successful the Government's policy post 1988 had to be able to influence that internal operational process within the further education colleges creating a new strategic direction in line with those policies. Our assumption is that implementation deficit will be controlled if the Conservative Government's discourse is powerful.[3]

Indeed, central government power will be demonstrated if the colleges' social value systems and organisational style change in line with the direction desired by the Government. The precise causes for that change must wait until we have demonstrated whether a change has occurred. This part of the research tests the hypothesis that the principals in the colleges saw their tasks differently in the 1990s and were trying to shift their colleges towards a new perception of its role and to change organisational tradition accordingly. Only then will it be possible to evaluate whether the Government's language themes are reflected in the principals and the organisations' own language.

At the same time, the Conservative Government's policy has an agenda of financial

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[1]CROZIER, M. The bureaucratic phenomenon. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1964.
[2]GOULDNER, A. Patterns of industrial bureaucracy. New York: Free Press. 1964.
[3]BACHRACH, P. and BARATZ, M. Decisions and non-decisions: an analytical framework.
American Political Science Review. no. 57.1963.

cutback; if the strategic phase of cutback has been achieved that discourse will have been won[4] Discourse within further education colleges will thus be about the priorities for change, not whether those changes are appropriate. The measurement of success in the colleges will be focused on output, not the process by which those results are achieved. New drivers will dominate the colleges this in turn may create a new interpretation of educational value - which becomes powerful simply because the instigators are powerful.[5]

Maclure has suggested that areas such as education have previously been considered politically sensitive and untouchable.[6] Changing the culture and remit of further education colleges would be a major coup for the Government. This task, however, is fraught with difficulties because professionals are legitimate rule breakers and are relatively free to act autonomously.[7]

This part of the investigation asks the four principals to give their accounts of the changes as they saw them. The information supplied by the principals in 1991 is then compared and contrasted with that supplied in 1996 in order to provide an account of further education colleges in action during this period.

Tools for Change: leadership styles

Generally it is assumed that leaders can influence organisational processes but because doing business is complex and dynamic and leadership no all-embracing methodological paradigm exists.

Nevertheless the power that leaders have, as well as the approach they adopt when using that power, can considerably affect the culture of the organisation. At the same

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[4]BECK-JORGENSON, T. In DUNSHIRE, A. Cutback management in public bureaucracies. Cambridge: University Press. 1989.
[5]FOUCAULT, M. and BRINSWANGER, L. Dream and existence. London: Humanities Press. 1991.
[6]MACLURE, S. op. cit.
[7]BARRETT, S. and FUDGE, C. Policy and action: essays on the implementation of public policy. op cit.

time the structure of an organisational can affect the style of leadership. Hierarchical organisations, for example, function because leadership power is established through the use of legitimate authority.[8] Hence it is assumed that a leader acts only in order to influence organisational performance and the leadership task is to direct and monitor task-specific performance.[9] Others view this model as a denial of the political-conflict context of organisational processes. Indeed, Ogawa et al suggest that where power is not reliant on authority it can be dispersed throughout the organisation[10] Developing the political-conflict approach, French and Raven suggest that the exercise of power in the organisational context can adopt many forms which operate both through the formal as well as the informal organisation.[11] To put this in a different way, leadership power should not be over estimated.

Feilder suggests that the types of leadership needed and the kind of people who make good leaders are many.[12] Often, the way a leader chooses to operate is determined by his/her perception of what works; it is also determined by his/her perception of how participators operate.[13] Coupled with this, the leadership task changes with the state of change that the organisation faces. Coupled with this, the leadership task changes with the state of change that the organisation faces. Nevertheless the assumptions a leader makes about the best way to manage influences the power set he/she selects to

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[8]Authority is said to be legitimate where A accepts that B has the right to administer the rules. Weber argues that there are three types of authority. These are traditional based on the belief of the sanctity of what has gone before; charismatic based on personal qualities of an individual; legal-rational based on ascertainable principles valid for all which he associated with the bureaucratic form of administration. It is the legal-rational approach that is used at this point. THURTON, R. p 96. op. cit.
[9]HECK, R. Leadership and culture: conceptual and methodological issues in comparing models across cultural settings. Journal of Educational Administration. vol. 34, no. 5. 1996.
[10]OGAWA, R. and BOSSERT, S. Leadership as an organisational quality. Education Administration Quarterly. vol. 31, no. 2. 1995.
[11]They suggest the following forms: reward power which is built on the ability to control resources; coercive power built on the ability to punish; legitimate power based on a common set of goals; referent power which is based on an individual admiring and wishing to emulate another; expert power based on expert knowledge that others do not have. FRENCH, J. P. and RAVEN, B. The bases of social power. In CARTWRIGHT, D. ed. Studies in Social power. Mitchigan: Ann Arbor. 1959.
[12]FIELDER, F. Leadership a contingency model. In Clark, H. et al. Organisation and identities. London: Chapman and Hall. p 272. 1994.
[13]Fox suggests that each individual's view of the world is individually determined formed by social conditioning but alteredin light of experience. FOX, A. Industrial relations: a social critique of pluralist ideology. op. cit.

bring about change.[14]

McGarth suggests that theories about leadership styles and approaches can be simply described in two main categories, namely the autocratic and the democratic. The autocratic leadership style is directive and critical - the leader designs and dominates the decision making process. Scase suggests that autocratic styles of leadership have a tendency to focus on economic factors and create a management culture of command. In contrast, the democratic leadership approach is consultative and person oriented.[15] This approach to management has as a central tenet a consent culture; the decision making process assumes intelligent employees who are capable of contributing to the decision making process. Monitoring of the organisation tends to be loose in order that employees can be empowered to act. The democratic approach is thus a more appropriate leadership style to use in professional organisations such as further education colleges.

In spite of the dynamic context in which organisations, function Lewellen,[16] Benham et al[17] and Iannaccone[18] have concluded that revolutions in the education sector are in the main rare. Nevertheless if leadership style has power to influence and is individually determined each organisation could implement the Government's policy in a different way. One of the tasks is thus to establish each principals leadership style and to evaluate whether that has changed in light of Government influence.

Case Study: college profiles

Of the four colleges selected for study colleges one, two and three are public sector

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[14]Please see chapter three where this point is developed.

[15]McGRATH, J. E. A summary of small group research studies. Arlington: Human Sciences research Incorporated. 1962.

[16]LEWELLEN, T. Political anthropology: an introduction. Westport: Bergen and Garvey. 1992.

[17]BENTHAM, M. and HECK, R. Political culture and policy in state-controlled education system: the case of educational politics in Hawaii. Education Administration Quarterly. vol. 30, no.4, p. 419-50. 1994.

[18]INNACCONE, L. Three views of change in education politics. Chicago: Society for the study of education. 1977.

further education colleges. College four is registered as a private school and has always operated as a sixth form private "crammer" college. It currently operates much like a sixth-form college but calls itself a further education college. College four is distinctly different from the other three and selected in order that a comparison can be made.

In response to the ad hoc way in which the further education sector has developed colleges one, two and three provide a wide range of courses in an attempt to satisfy both national and local community needs. Their course portfolios include academic, craft and career-oriented courses. All courses are offered in various forms: part-time day; block release; full-time; evening.

In contrast, college four caters for a niche, narrow and focused market. As a "crammer" college, becoming more like a further education college, it specialises in the re-taking of GCSE and A level qualifications. On the whole, the students are identified by their parents as potential, but failed, university candidates; the expectation is that student stay would be one year and attend on a daily basis.

The research comprises two sets of interviews, the first conducted in 1991 and the second in 1996; in order to compare and contrast the two periods thus evaluate whether any changes have actually taken place. Given the highly political context in 1991 the following conditions were agreed at the first meeting with the principals: all information would be treated as confidential; all respondents would be anonymous; the principals would see any questionnaires in advance and arrange access to members of staff; members of staff were to be given the option of participating in the research; the principals would have an opportunity to read the final report. Although this increased the potential for the responses to be subject to political correctness this limitation was in itself seen to reflect the power of discourse.

The aim of the first interview was to generate information on the complex context of the organisation, it was therefore crucial that the interview technique should

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penetrate beyond the superficial. Although the interview context was informal and chatty pre-set questions drove the agenda. Where the respondent wished to supply more information this was accommodated; this flexible approach was considered valid in that other important variables could be discovered.

The interview questions were planned to last one hour; the principals were made aware of this so that the least disruption would be made to their day to day plans. In reality most interviews exceeded the hour as the principals simply had a great deal to say about their work. Sometimes the sequence of questions changed as the conversation flowed and sometimes the questions were answered under the umbrella of another.

The interview questions contained two distinct parts. The first included operational questions: namely, the number of full-time equivalent students; full-time and part-time staff; courses; number of departments and areas in decline or growth. The purpose of the second part was to establish each principals personal style and their perception of their college and the way in which it operated. These questions are included below for ease of analysis.

1. How would you describe your style of leadership?

2. What role do you perceive your managers to play?

3. How will incorporation affect you?

4. Are colleges in competition?

5. What role do you think governments will play in college organisation in the future?

6. Has the role of the governors changed, how will that role affect your decision making process?

7. How are decisions made in your organisation?

8. What are the important issues for you in managing change?

9. What role does your managers /staff play in this process?

Questions 2/ 8/ & 9 are primarily concerned with the principals' perceptions of their managers role in the organisation and also the role that managers should play in change management. Questions 3/ 4/ 5/ & 6 are concerned with the competitive freedom of the new organisations in terms of the affecting agents. Question 1/ 8/ & 7 are designed to reveal each principal's perception of his/her own management style and focus. Question 7 is principally with the role of decision making. The interview questions were arranged so that there would be a double check on the answers as follows: 1/7; 2/9; 3/4; 1/8.

For ease of analysis the responses from the principals are separated are under four specific headings adapted from the work of Cameron and Whetton on criteria for diagnosing corporate culture: namely, the principal's management style and focus; college structures and the decision making process; the manager's role in the organisation as a change agent and the college's competitive environment.[19]

Context: before 1988

Prior to the changes, brought about by the Conservative Government in 1988, it was not necessary for the principals within further education colleges to be managerialist, indeed they were known for being paternalistic. The funding for the colleges had been relatively stable, as had their market. Risk, particularly financial risk, was not a game in which they had much experience. The main strength of a principal had been in his/her ability to function and gain advantage in committee meetings and complex consultative processes; consequentially, their expertise lay in negotiation techniques. From the 1980s public accountability became the dominant discourse of central government. Internal monitoring control measures were seen as key to quality provision.[20] In the case of further education colleges the focus for monitoring comprised: lecturers' contact hours with students; attendance hours of all staff, academic, technicians, professional, administrative and clerical; outputs indicated by

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[19]CAMERON, K. and WHETTON, D. op. cit.
[20]Obtaining better value from education. <u>Audit Commission.</u> London: HMSO. 1985.

student hours.[21]

The Education Reform Act 1988 laid the foundation for the changes to come. Part 111 of the Act ensured that the LEA's role shifted from controller of the further education service to monitor; this transfer of responsibilities coincided with the Local Government Finance Act 1988.[22] Indications were given that funding responsibility was to be shifted from the LEA to the Further Education Funding Council (FEFC). From 1993 it would have the duty to secure the provision of full-time education for those over compulsory school age and under 19.[23] Alongside this, education and training became more directly linked to job specification and central government began to target further education colleges to carry out their policies in this area. The power of the old system based on co-operation and interdependency began to be eroded.

At the same time, it was made clear by central government that colleges were to be removed from the public sector. Since little information was available about that process there was much rumour as to what the responsibilities of incorporation implied. There was also much speculation about how budgets would be calculated and devolved. However, there were signals about the likely route of the impending changes. The power of the governors in further education colleges had been increased with their responsibility shifting from a general oversight of the colleges to the responsibility for general direction of the colleges.[24] Principals were adjusting to the implied shift of power away from the academic board; lecturing staff were expressing concerns about their jobs and responsibilities.

The first contact with colleges one, two and three was their reception areas. They had a distinct institutional feel about them and were unwelcoming. Visitors were kept waiting, the reasons for this not being immediately clear. Once in the main offices,

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[21]Obtaining better value from education. p 1.4. op. cit.
[22]The transfer of responsibility for education in inner London. Circular 6-138. 1988.
[23]The 1988 Education Act, section 2. 1988.
[24]Governing bodies for major establishments of further education. op. cit.

however, there was a friendly and busy atmosphere.

Staff in colleges one, two and three were either on long- term full-time contracts or short-term contracts. If they were on short-term contracts they were paid by the teaching hour but also on contract; full-time and part-time contracts were nationally agreed with the trade union. In contrast, the staff in college four were mostly part-time, paid by the hour, and individually contracted.

Management Style and Focus

In college one the principal perceived his style of management as proactive. He identified the major part of his new role as acting as a change catalyst. The principal described his management style in the following way:

> "I am proactive. I am involved, maybe too involved. I would like to delegate but that is not included. The changes that are taking place are spread too wide. The principal's role is to set the stage for innovation. I am using structural change as a way of instigating change. You need to move change into the environment."

In college two the principal saw his approach to management as having:

> "A high profile. I am charismatic, directional and attentive. I do not spend much time out of the college. I know all the staff and all the students know me because I am always walking about."

Clearly this principal's style was very people oriented. He thought the main tool of change was information dissemination. He used "a network of consultation" as a process for discussion and a route for information dissemination.

In college three the principal saw his role as being an "example" of good working

practices

> "I give a lot of myself - I am here early and leave late. I try to be an example of good practice so that it will encourage others. I also still teach".

The main focus of his attention was on the financial aspects of the business

> "I have employed an administrator who comes from a military background. Plans are of limited value and must be changed regularly."

He said he hoped that he maintained an open style of management. However, he was aware that the internal promotion process had led to some jealousy. He identified information as the key tool for the management of change.

> "It is important that they are informed of the right things. NATFHE resisted change in the first instance and this has affected staff attitude."

In college four the principal perceived her style as

> "Non-confrontational, to calm the problem areas" and "by example".

She said she hoped through this process to bring about a culture of "optimism". Paradoxically, she regarded meetings "as a waste of time". When changes were needed she said the approach she took was to make a suggestion and then leave it till the staff gradually came round to it:

> "I know I will get my own way in the end."

The principal's approach to change had evolved, she purported, because:

> "I have tried asking first but get negative responses. For example I suggested that full time staff might each like a room of their own. They

discussed it and said they preferred open-plan."

She shrugged her shoulders as if to indicate the poorness of their decision. She made no reference to their reasons for their decision and one was left with the impression that she was not interested. Staff now worked in an open-plan office. The main focus for change, the principal said, were the students' needs: "Every child has potential". College Structure and Decision-Making Process.

Each of the principals was asked if they could provide an organisational structure chart. Only college three had an organisational chart and this was one related to a future planned structure demonstrating the lack of the lack of a managerialist perspective in all four colleges. At the same time it would be incorrect to assume that they did not keep such records, it was rather the shape and form of records that was the issue.

College one had been involved in a merger with a geographically close competitor whilst colleges two and three had just completed a major restructuring programme. In general the principals recognised that there would be increases in some areas of their market and decreases in others. Historically, of course, changes in the product portfolios had never been market-tested they developed in an ad hoc way, generally in response to the last few years intake numbers and feedback from lecturers, students or employers.

The principals in colleges one, two and three spoke about their colleges being affected by the general economic decline in construction and engineering courses and anticipated changes to their product portfolios to reflect this. College three in particular was built mainly to feed local engineering demand - consequently a large part of its product portfolio was linked to engineering. The principal was therefore very concerned about survival.

Similarly, all three colleges were anticipating growth in the numbers of full-time students as a result of the recession and the resulting lack of jobs for young people.

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Coupled with this, colleges one and three were contemplating a move into franchised courses with local higher education institutions. In college three, participation in higher education, already part of the course portfolio, had nevertheless been restricted by local agreements; these were still operational in 1991. The principal hoped that this would change in the near future.

College four had been largely untouched by the 1988 Act and no dramatic changes had taken place in the immediate past. Its product portfolio was narrow, only providing GCSE and A Levels for re-take in December or the following July; the principal did not anticipate that any changes would take place in this arrangement in the foreseeable future. In general she felt that they were winning against their competitors because of their focus on the student. This, she believed, would lead to sustainable growth.

In colleges one, two and three there was clear departmentalisation of responsibility associated with subject specificity and academic matters. These academic matters were often interpreted to include all management decisions, since any changes affected a course, this being the main focus of decisions.

College one had two sites and eleven departments. The structure was hierarchical with an academic board, heads of department and approximately 140 full time teaching staff and "some" part time staff. The principal estimated that there were approximately 20781 part time and full time students.

The principal identified the decision-making framework in the college in terms of the formal structure only; no reference was made to the informal links of decision making throughout the interview. The formal decision making structure was identified by the principal as hierarchical and he stated that here were several routes for decisions these differed depending upon on the level of the decision- making category. The academic board made academic decisions and power was devolved downwards. It is interesting to note that the principal stated: "Whether staff realise

that this is a strong mechanism for influencing decisions I don't know." This appeared to indicate that in the principal's opinion the decision- making process might not be representative of the organisation as a whole.

There were two vice-principals who had the power to make decisions on day to day issues; the principal met with the vice-principals once a week for general updating purposes. College-wide decision making was made through a senior management team comprising all heads of department.

In college two the structure comprised the principal, a governing body, an associate principal and a management team; the decision making process was hierarchical. However, as in the previous college, the power in decision making was devolved downwards. The principal shared his responsibility with the associate principal who had responsibility for resources. The management team met weekly; this management team included heads of department, academic and administrative staff and governors. The meetings were organised by the principal who said that he controlled agenda setting for the meetings. His approach to these meetings is made clear in the following:

> "We have minutes but no matters arising. All papers to be discussed at the management team meeting have to be submitted four days prior to the meeting. The "no matters arising" rule has been established because people who had not read the papers would take up a lot of time discussing unimportant issues in an effort to get themselves noticed."

Clearly the principal was trying to defuse what he saw as politicking in an effort to create task orientation. Alongside the management team policy groups also made decisions; these policy groups tended to be subject, though not necessarily departmentally, specific. The heads of department met the principal every third week. Marketing responsibility was a cross college responsibility. Decisions he said should be made "at the right level.... People should be making the decisions that they

should be making". This indicated that he preferred a clear, hierarchical, division of labour. The principal commented that:

> "The academic board meetings were not being used to discuss things that had academic depth. They have become more operational and organisational. This has to change so that they become more focused on academic matters."

Previous to the 1988 Act the academic board had been the main decision-makers in the college; the proposed shift suggested therefore that the principal was keen to move away from the academic board's larger role. He indicated that feedback loops were operational from the policy groups to the department:

> "I am a great believer in the departmental system... but we also need cross college departments for what will not be delivered. Subject specialism and departmentalisation can create narrow views. The creation of cross college roles where managers have corporate responsibilities has improved the corporate approach."

Whilst the principal stated that the organisational structure was fairly flat there was clear evidence of a hierarchical decision making system. He said:

> "Decisions are devolved downwards and made at the right level. Power is devolved downwards and decision makers given autonomy. Some decisions are made without me knowing. Policy groups that are subject specific inform the lecturers and keep them informed."

College three had two sites, 3 boards of study and 19 teaching sections, 240 full-time staff and 120 part-time staff. The number of students was estimated at 2,000 full-time and 13,000 part-time. There was clear evidence of a hierarchical organisational structure. As in the other two colleges the decision making also involved devolution

of power:

> "Decision making in this organisation tends to be separated. If it is a more important strategic decision this is made between the senior lecturers and me whilst higher level decisions are made between me and the governors. Teaching decisions are made at the team level, I hope. Anyone can suggest a change. The changes are tied to accountability."

The principal expressed his concern about the autonomy of the teaching team. He identified the following problem:

> "with the team that resist change.... who have a narrow focus as a result of non-movement. I am starting to use informal sub-sets of chosen people to generate discussions on college issues which can then feed into the formal decision making."

The principal was clearly making some attempt to free the "bottom-up" information process by using white knights to signal good practice.[25] Through this process he would inevitably challenge the old icons since it was evidence that he was operating in the formal and informal context of the college to bring about change.

College four has two sites. It has a flat organisational structure with two governors, two principals and six "informal" departments. Only 6 of the 45 staff were full- time: these six were subject leaders. One of the principals said there were around 400 students in each year. There were no formal meetings or procedures. Part-time teaching staff were employed by the hour, for teaching contact only. Major strategic decisions tended to be made by the two principals jointly although she felt that they could "make a decision without the other" when they needed to, without confrontation.

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[25]White knights are people who understand and support the organisation's new change agenda. They are used in organisational change to highlight what the organisation wants. They thus indicate good

In general, the principal said, the subject tutors chose the syllabus they wanted to teach; this occurred because she trusted her staff's abilities: "We employ excellently qualified staff who must make their own decisions" she stated. It was not her task to interfere on academic matters. After all, she continued, it is in the lecturers' interests to make the best choice on behalf of the students. "If the students do not like the classes they will not attend and the lecturers will not be employed".

The principal said that she used an open door policy where innovative ideas were normally generated on an ad hoc basis: they tended to be generated by the lecturers themselves, who simply sought her approval. This freedom to innovate was evident in her following statement:

> "Directors come every three weeks but they just play games. They have to approve expenses, for example, but would not quibble if those expenses changed."

The Manager's Role in the Organisation: change agents

In all four colleges the selection of managers represented the general ethos of an academic institution, they were subject specialists. It was therefore not unusual to find that they were managers who did not know how the organisation as a whole functioned or indeed what funds and customers the college attracted. The managers' decisions were largely academic ones with practical implications. They were often appointed because they demonstrated their ability to work hard and/ or their merit as teachers. This "good at teaching" reputation coming from the students. Their strength lay in their specialist ability and in their ability to enable consultation processes.

The managerialist approach, introduced by the Government, implied a vast culture change for managers in further education institutions. It also implied the need for different skills. In college one the principal stated that he wanted his managers "to

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practice as seen at any one point in time.

organise the strategic plan, set their own targets for development and create their own vision of where we are going. They should understand the responsibilities and ownership of those plans should be in the hands of the management team."

The targets, he said, would be on a five-year plan but would be reviewed on a yearly basis. He identified good communication as key to change but he felt that this was an area that "we fall down on". He said that "the senior management team are well informed but this did not seem to filter down to others in the organisation." The implication was that the senior management team was blocking his attempts to increase communication within the organisation. In consequence, he saw his first task as altering the way the communication channels functioned; he believed he had started this process with the introduction of a newsletter.

He expressed the view that a clear strategy for change was needed; if this was not in place he felt that people would feel "unsettled." Furthermore, he felt that it was important to "build up.. a team approach and commitment." As the key to raising the organisation's awareness of a changing climate he therefore wanted to change the organisational structure he stated that he wanted to "move change into the environment for example get staff changing rooms etc... it will set the pace for the future."

The principal was clear that the governor's role was powerful constitutionally. However, he thought there should be a demarcation between what he termed "governance versus management responsibilities." The perception he had of a principals role as Managing Director can be seen clearly in the following:

> "Governors can play shop if they want to but they will need a better understanding of involvement. They are the employers but where will they stop in terms of human research management? Governors see themselves as responsible for everything within the college. I am just piggy in the middle. My task is to try to get the governors to see that they cannot use simplistic

comparisons of their job to that of the college."

Clearly the principal regarded his expertise in further education as crucial to ensuring appropriate strategies for the future. The management of operations is clearly defined as his task.

In college two the principal felt that managers in the future would need to be able to demonstrate a portfolio of skills. These included: "leadership potential be able to act as a facilitators, motivators, planners and be able to warn and advise."

He expressed the view that he wanted to "move away from academics having managerial responsibility, they are not the right people for it." His frustration was evident in the tone and facial expressions demonstrated when this view was expressed. On the whole he was happy for the agenda of any meeting to be set by his managers. He stated that he had a different relationship with each of his managers. However his need to control that process is evident in his statement that:

> "I keep them all informed but do not necessarily let them have a say. I rarely instruct them. I do not believe in lots of paper, I tell them to communicate with each other and not through me. It is better that they address the problem straight out."

In terms of other managing agents the principal stated that "both politicians and governors" had played a low profile. He stated that:

> "If you cannot control them they will stray into operational areas. The decision route is better, there is more accountability. If you have more confidence in one another then the principal must be accountable and therefore have to explain, consult and support. I have had an altercation over no consultation. You have to take the new on board."

Again we can identify the task of the principal conflicting with that of the governing body.

In college three the principal, newly appointed, inherited what he described as:

"A Japanese lookalike management style which was supposed to deliver democracy and devolution of power. Sections were headed by elected representatives. There was no management control and a massive overspend. The governors were keen to increase control over human resource management and create accountability as well as financial control.....When section heads became facilitators not managers communication collapsed....I have tried to get [the managers] to change their roles....I have a problem with the teaching teams who are too narrow and resist change. This has been watered down by new initiatives which has allowed new staff to be employed."

Here the principal has identified the new management role as one based on departmental as well as individual accountability. The governors' task, he said, was "to serve as advisors." He wanted his colleges to be seen as "part of the community" and he expressed concern that competition might alter this perspective. He was concerned that all the "local good will" they had built up over time would be eroded by the introduction of a competitive environment.

In college four the flat management structure consists of two principals, one male and one female. The principals were jointly responsible for decision making but:

"Staff can come with any new ideas.... and can be instrumental in initiating changes. We have to approve expenses.... but would not quibble if those expenses changed. We employ excellently qualified staff who must make their own decisions."

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Competitive Environment and the College

The environment as aggressively competitive was a newly- emerging context for colleges one, two and three. Colleges had always competed over their reputations but this had never taken an aggressive stance. Indeed, it was not unusual for one college to recommend another to a student, if it fitted the student needs better. It is worth remembering that competition was anathema for many in educational circles; indeed for some it still is. Educational institutions had never previously operated in a market - the professionals did what they did and the students bought into it if they wanted to. One college might have a better reputation than another might but this would be based on the student perception of excellence and coincidental to a professional's behaviour. Professionals may strive individually to achieve excellence, but rarely collectively.

The principal in college one thought that incorporation would have a major effect on his college. He said that the Government had:

> "An unwritten agenda. The constitutional government is going to have major responsibilities and will accept them it will institute various practices throughout the country, there will be major financial changes, focused on student led finance. Colleges are inefficient, as they have never had to face space issues and are complacent. There will be much better- defined procedures, systems and accountability. There will be unit-costing, emphasis on size of classes, length of courses and premises management. There will be major changes in further education colleges and they will accept them."

The principal thus anticipated that there would be increasing central control over his task; he said that competition between his college and others had already become overt and that he thought "mutual understanding between colleges is over." He recognised, he said, that his college needed to beat the competition: "We need to be a market led organisation. We need to build up our student numbers."

In contrast the principal from college two said that in his case there was no competition between colleges. This was because there was "no over provision in the area. The college was already on the road before the changes began, we have always changed incrementally. The LEA had previously had a rationalisation programme over the county and all excess capacity has been removed. Over-provision is a bad thing whereas competition is not."

The principal believed that the earlier rationalisation programme that had taken place in their area had secured the college a safe place in the local market. The Government, he thought, was playing a major role in terms of "financial control and in terms of potential increase in bureaucracy. Politicians and governors have taken a low profile in the area as a whole. There will be funding performance indicators in the future but what form these will take I don't know."

The principal expressed the view that if the Government pursued a process of accountability his task would be to communicate that. It would be his task to "explain, consult and support" the process to ensure that the changes needed took place.

In college three the principal said:

"We were pioneers of the LMS and have backing as we are a Conservative area. In 1980 we were more ready than some to move forward. The 1992 Act provides opportunities of greater freedom through competition. Though our relationship with the LEA has been a good one our growth has been restricted by regional management of this sector. There is great potential for growth in this area. TEC will have an increased part to play and we will get a lot more freedom. I am concerned that further education could be perceived as a soft target for financial cutback. The distance of the college from its immediate competitors restricts the extent of competition in the area, whilst student

choice is limited by public transport problems."

Here the close alignment of policy between central and local government is evident and identified as a positive aspect by the principal. He believed that this gave his college a leading edge over his competitors outside the immediate locality. Freedom from restrictive practices, he thought, would provide the college with growth potential; paradoxically, he had already indicated that his college was protected from local competition Evidently then he clearly perceived competition as that with other boroughs.

The principal of college four said that as a private sector organisation the college had always operated in a competitive environment. Competition, she said, "comes from other local private and public schools. The ethos of this school is on the students' individual needs. For example, where does the individual student need to be in the future, it is not community related."

There had been no overt Government intervention in the management of the college; the principal said, "it is not inspected even though it should be." She anticipated that they could be affected by the national curriculum changes. If the rumours were true that A levels, which were their business, might change she anticipated that this would make a significant difference.

Conclusion: stage one

In all four colleges the principals clearly saw themselves both as leaders and role models. It was also clear that in colleges one, two and three they saw themselves as having some degree of referent power. They thus saw their behaviour as signalling what others might emulate: "I stay late", "I still teach", "by example." In contrast, in college four the principal felt it was much more important that "the students know me," demonstrating a clear customer focus.

In college one the management style is autocratic. The principal leads and directs through the formal system; he changed the structure to alter the culture. He sees himself as fully responsible for bringing about change. At the same time, he uses referent power to influence the informal setting. In college two the principal's leadership style is much more in line with that of the democratic approach. He personalises his role by being attentive, exerting expert power, and using participation to bring about change. Similarly in college three the principal uses a people oriented and participative approach and still participated in teaching. The principal's leadership style in college four is based on a shared vision that of the students' attainment. Although she states that she gets her own way, inferring that her style is autocratic, her style is very decentralised; she gives staff considerable autonomy to act.

We have also found differences in the composition of the organisational structure type. College one and three are tall hierarchical structure, college two has a fairly flat structure whilst college four has a flat structure. All four colleges have consultative processes. The process of consultation, however, varies with each principal's personal style of leadership. College one has a "top down" decision making process; college two and three operate with a clear division of labour and college four uses a "bottom up" decision making process.

In college one there seems to be some contradiction between the principal's autocratic management style and how he wants managers to act as change agents: he wants his managers to be able to act autonomously at the same time as he wants to control. In college two the principal recognises that his specialist managers do not currently have the administrative skills needed to act as change agents. In order to bring about change, his solution is to bring in managers to manage, in other words to circumvent the consultative process. Similarly, the principal in college three identified the lack of administrative skills of his managers: again he has circumvented the consultative process by bringing in new people as change agents. All the principals have talked about resistance to change. In college four managers

are seen as the main change agents; innovation occurs through the autonomous action of the teaching fraternity.

In college four the target market is clearly identified and there is therefore a fit between what the organisation wants to achieve and the skills to achieve it. In contrast, the course portfolios of colleges one, two and three had been largely determined by LEA action pre-1990 so that their target markets were unclear. The principals were beginning to identify a skills gap which had occurred because the introduction of monitoring implies the need for audit trails, hence the need for managers with administrative skills. At the same time economic and technological changes had changed the demand of students for training and education - causing different expertise requirements within the colleges. In contrast, in college four expert flexibility was a part of everyday activity. The college responded to market pressures by using flexible staffing; this was combined with a "bottom up" management style in order to use the expert knowledge of staff effectively.

In colleges one, two and three the principals had started to recognise their organisations' strengths and weaknesses against others. In college two the action of the LEA had to some extent circumvented local competition by a rationalisation programme; the survival of the colleges was thus to some extent secured. Similarly, the close political alignment between central and local government in the case of college three was thought to provide some competitive advantage. College four was used to managing operations competitively and was indeed surprised to be asked the question; the organisation's culture and success were built on incremental change. In contrast college one, two and three seemed to be adopting a re-engineering approach.

The Management of Change

Strategic management is concerned with identifying ways for an organisation to move forward by setting goals and implementing strategies in order to achieve those goals. To bring about change in an organisation is no easy matter because it requires the ability to manage certainty, consensus decision making, alongside the need to

manage uncertainty, conflict resolution. The strategist's dilemma is how to manage certainty and uncertainty simultaneously; since the pursuit of one approach alone will be at the cost of the other.

Management theory offers two distinct approaches to resolving the strategist's dilemma namely the rational and the emergent. In the rational model strategies offer prescriptions for future achievement, how things out to be done, whilst in the emergent approach strategies are formed as part and parcel of everyday activity by stakeholders. In both cases the aim is the same, to create sustainable competitive advantage in the market place.[26] However, the process to achieve those aims is very different.

To bring about change in the organisation strategists have two tools to hand these are: changing the structure of the organisation thus changing organisational actors roles and responsibilities; changing the way in which the organisation is controlled thus changing the power base and who decides.

Tools For Change Management: organisational structure

Goold and Campbell, among others, suggest that there is a link between the structure of an organisation, its management style and its control mechanism.[27] They argue that no one-structure best fits all organisational contexts and all types demonstrate both strengths and weaknesses. In the hierarchical bureaucratic structure the tendency is towards an autocratic leadership style. The benefits of the hierarchical bureaucratic structure are said to be that:

> "Tasks are broken down into small elements rules and procedures are applied
> to those elements; standard budgetary and cost variation controls are applied;

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[26]Competitive advantage comprises the distinct advantage that a firm has in the market place that enables it to add more value than its competitors. Roots of competitive advantage include: price; product range; manufacturing quality; product differentiation; resources external and internal; culture to name but a few.

technology is utilised to limit variation in pace quality and methods; routine decision making is delegated within prescribed limits."[28]

Hierarchical bureaucratic structures therefore enable quick decision-making where events are stable - or at least predictable. Specialisation of labour enables incremental change as job specifications, rules, and procedures can be adapted to absorb the new tasks. On the other hand, the concentration of management on controlling the organisation's process affects the application of the reward and punishment procedures such that error is not tolerated; in order to avoid punishment organisational actors become risk-adverse which in turn creates behavioural conformity that inhibits change and innovation. Coupled with this, and associated with the same factors, a hierarchical organisational structure has long been seen as the culprit of departmental myopia and the resulting lack of corporate identity. All these factors together ultimately decrease an organisation's ability to create added advantage through its process.

In a dynamic environment the key to competitive success becomes an organisation's ability to move in line with the times. Consequently it is argued that organisational structures need to be both flexible and controlled at the same time; the process inherent in the structure has to enable the process of continuity and the process of change simultaneously. Whereas the predictable part of the business may be best organised as a hierarchy dealing with the unknown suggests the need to free innovation, which the hierarchy limits. Where the organisation's context is that of dynamic change, the unknown, the only chance of survival is achieved by bringing together as many views of reality as possible: this implies that the meeting forum should bring together the views of all departments and all levels of management. To cope with the unknown organisations need to abandon departmentalisation in favour of inter-departmental dynamics; which in turn implies a changed power base.

[27]GOOLD, M. and CAMPBELL, A. Strategies and styles. Oxford:Blackwell. 1987.
[28]CHILD, J. Management and Organisation. London: Harper and Row.1973.

Indeed Moss Kanter[29] and Stacey[30] have suggested that a combination of hierarchical structures for day to day activities and a matrix structure for innovation or problem solving is probably the best combination:[31] however, hybrid structures such as these still treat change as if it is a problem which can be resolved by the use of conventional tools. The acceptance of the dynamic context of business implies the need for revolutionary change to our structures and control mechanisms that cannot be met by such cosmetic adaptation.

Despite the need for revolutionary changes to organisational structures there has been a trend across the industrialised world for tall hierarchical structures to be abandoned in favour of flat structures which simply have fewer communication channels. However, the choice of management style and the inherent approach to control remain central to debate.

Tools for Change Management: the role of the centre.

The role that the centre plays when managing change is important. The centre can adopt a top-down approach and inform the employees of the changes or it can take a bottom-up approach and enable those at the work-face to adapt to customer need. The centre can thus play its role tight or loose; although we have argued thus far that freedom to use tight or loose control will be limited by the choice of organisational structure type.

In the case of tight top-down control Lindblom[32], Loabsy[33] and Agyris[34] suggest that innovation and autonomous action will be limited. This occurs because the

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[29]MOSS KANTER, R. The change masters. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1983.

[30]STACEY, R. Strategic management and organisational dynamics. London: Pitman. 1993

[31]A matrix structure is different from a departmentalised structure in that the decisions making system operates both vertically and horizontally.

[32]LINDBLOM, C. The science of muddling through. Public Administration Review. no 45, p 79-88. 1968.

[33]LOABSY, B. Long range formal planning in perspective. Journal of Management Studies. October. 1967.

[34]ARGYRIS, C. First and second order errors in managing strategic change: the role of organisational defensive routines. In PETTIGREW, A. The management of strategic change. Oxford: Blackwell. 1987.

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organisation's objectives become clear and error becomes more detectable. Where this is coupled with an autocratic leadership style error becomes punishable making managers risk adverse who then exhibit job bound behaviour - operating only within their job specification and making changes that are small enough not to be too noticeable.

In contrast, where central control is loose [as in the professional organisation] responsibility and authority is devolved and organisational actors become informed thus empowered actors. The manager's task becomes to facilitate the organisational process replacing the task of directing and leading the process. The decision process becomes based on pluralistic principles, bringing together incongruent objectives, as a tool to cope with complexity, coupled with personal accountability and collective responsibility innovation flourishes. Inter-departmentalism and cross-organisation responsibility becomes the norm.

What then is the task of the leader? Where some factors are unknowable the ability of a leader to be able to compare and contrast differing perspectives becomes a vital skill in order to ensure an organisation's survival. Indeed, Thurton suggests that any form of power only becomes significant as an exercise of power where uncertainty exists. He argues that it is the perception that stakeholders have about a leader's ability to cope with uncertainty, thereby reducing his/her uncertainty, which ultimately determines his/her power.[35] The perception of those over whom power is being exercised thus becomes of paramount importance.

Developing this theme, in recent management discourse it is felt more important to make decisions through what Sengee[36] calls shared vision.[37] Here the leader acts as a

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[35]Thurton gives this example of more pay as reward power. If the subordinate is not reliant on the employer to meet his material and psychological needs and if the subordinate can get more money by working elsewhere then being offered more money is not a reward and subordinate compliance will not be the outcome.
[36]SENGEE, P. op. cit.
[37]Shared vision has a collective nature. The practices are activities engaged in by groups, which lead to the development of principles, which are understood by the group. SENGEE, P. p. 342. op. cit.

steward in the decision process, enabling strategy to emerge. Teaching people to fish, rather than giving them the fish, he argues should be the management principle. The leadership task thus becomes to facilitate a decision-making process that can deal with incongruent objectives and disparate needs alongside creating an organisational culture that tolerates open discussion of error in order to learn from it.

Tools For Change: the organisation's learning ability

There are two reasons for suggesting that the learning style of an organisation needs to be based on conflict resolution. The first is that organisations reflect society, which is made up of individuals who have incongruent objectives and competing needs. The second is associated with the particular decision-making process in organisations, which is required in order to satisfy the needs of an informed or intelligent work force.

Professionals, who form a part of the category of the intelligent work force, are a particular set of organisational actors who are guided in their behaviour by ethical codes, often not written down or formalised. Developing this theme Wilding describes their power base as legitimate authority with discretion to interpret the bureaucratic rule.[38] Foucault takes this one step further and suggests that ethical codes can enable professionals to circumvent the imposed rule.[39]

Society endorses professional discretion because the core competencies that they hold often involve long periods of training organised by a professional body. The role of the professional body is particularly important in that it shapes the individual professionals view of the client-relationship and controls and monitors his/her performance through a code of ethics. To put this differently the qualified professional has learnt internal control. Indeed, Mintzberg argues that in the case of professional bureaucracies the distancing of the techno-structure occurs because the

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[38]WILDING, P. op. cit   LARSON, M. S. op. cit.
[39]FOUCAULT, M. Politics philosophy and culture. op.cit.

operating task is complex even though there is mass standardisation of the service itself. The lack of routinisation of the professionals operating task implies that centralisation should be replaced by decentralisation in order to meet the clients needs.

Putting aside the special case of professional actors, an informed and intelligent work force make different demands on management. Fox argues that most organisations are not based on consensus management[40] - the introduction of conflict resolution as a decision making approach implies a management revolution. Developing the theme of conflict Clegg suggests that when managing anarchistic groups, empowered disparate actors, the ultimate leadership task becomes the enabling of compromise in a context of conflict.[41] However, staff commitment and trust in a change programme can only be developed if the organisational structure and style enables disparate views to be met fairly. If this does not occur Stacey suggests that change will take place in the informal groups that operate in organisations.[42] He argues that outside of the formal rules and regulations, and within informal groups, organisational actors can deal with paradox, complexity and compromise.

This suggests that the formal structure of an organisation can serve to distance the organisation from the very skills it needs to survive in a dynamic market. In order to enable organisations to learn, actors should be well informed and confident to act autonomously; this implies that within the formal context of decision making they should be able to admit error and learn from it. At the same time, an open- approach will decrease politicking and the use of unequal power - the dysfunctional behaviour often observed in conventional organisations.

Alongside this, leaders and their managers must be able to let go of their traditional hierarchical power; their task becomes transformed into one that facilitates, rather than leads, the process. In this way strategic change can be accomplished by a

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[40]FOX, A. Industrial relations: a social critique of pluralist ideology. op. cit.
[41]CLEGG, H. op. cit.

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learning process for all the stakeholders.[43]

Given state of the art discourse we can identify the following organisational characteristics that it is argued will enable successful change management in a dynamic and complex environment. These are: a formal decision-making process to enable the development of clear structures for the known part of the business; cross departmental and vertically integrated decision groups used as a way of freeing innovation; a facilitator management style to free innovation and develop trust; an empowered workforce to enable the organisation to tolerate error and learn from it.

[42]STACEY, R. Strategic management and organisational dynamics. p 172. op. cit.
[43]BEER, M. et al. Why change programmes don't produce change. Harvard Business Review. 1990.
   SENGEE, P. op. cit.

The following conclusions are drawn from the principals' responses in 1991:

College	Hierarchical decision making	Matrix decision making	Flat structure	Facilitator leadership style	Empowered work force
1	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
2	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
3	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
4	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Given that these colleges were professional organisations it is not surprising to find that all the colleges had used a process of empowerment,[44] this finding is conversant with Mintzberg's professional model. The expectation was that each college would demonstrate a level of trust in the professionals' autonomy.[45] There is of course, clear evidence of this remaining in the case of college four where the principal makes clear that teaching staff know their task best.

In the other three colleges the organisational structures have altered in line with the common trend towards flat bureaucratic structures. Similarly, the organisations culture and the style of leadership is in a state of flux. In the case of college one, two and three there is evidence that the consultative organisational styles are altering in

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[44]A facilitator style is used here to describe an organisational process that is enabling, rather than controlling. A manager's aim becomes the easing of the process of consultation rather than to control. A facilitator has no pre-determined outcome in mind his/her task is to smooth the consultative process, keeping in mind the organisations strategic aims and objectives.

[45]Trust is used here to represent the process through which professionals acquire their autonomy. In Chapter Two it was established that the legitimate authority that professionals have to complete their task as best they see it implies that society trusts them. As previously discussed this can take the form of their subject specificity, knowledge, or their particular task. In an educational institution therefore the expectation would be that the level of trust would be high.

favour of more autocratic styles. This appears to be because quality trails are needed - hence the leaders are focusing on the administrative task, which is becoming dominant.

These changes in the principals' task are conversant with Hallenger's findings in schools: the principals in the colleges were already showing signs of acting as change agents this trend is balanced by the personal style of the leader.

College four clearly performs best given the criteria. Whilst on the one hand this result was not surprising, this college had operated in an open market since its inception. In part the structure and style was a response to its niche market. On the other hand, the organisational and leadership style was a product of the principal's trust in the teaching staff that she managed.

The next task is to compare the findings in 1991/2 with those of 1996 in order to evaluate whether any changes have actually taken place and further more to evaluate whether these changes have been driven by the Government's policy.

The Context: 1996

In 1996 we returned to the colleges to ask the principals to reflect on the last five years at work. The context, of course, was not the same; the world had moved on. The Further and Higher Education Act 1992 had confirmed the process for incorporation of the colleges in the public sector. Colleges one, two and three were now incorporated colleges; the FEFC now controlled the allocation of funding for incorporated colleges, which was tied to student numbers.

Returning to the colleges after a five-year period was a very interesting experience. Colleges one, two and three gave the immediate appearance of being more managerial and less collegiate. The principals were less immediately accessible on the telephone. The principals' secretaries, in one case now a PA, played a more

significant role in terms of greeting visitors. The reception areas were more businesslike and the receptionists spoke as if to customers. The reception areas had seen major changes and were very welcoming and modern.

In college four there was no immediate apparent change. There was no reception area, as before, and a small notice sent the visitor to the back of the building, in error. No one took any notice of me and when someone did notice they peered over their glasses and asked in an autocratic tone whether I had an appointment.

Management Style and Focus

In colleges one, two and three all three principals talked about increased caution as an effect of the removal of the LEA safety net for funding. In college one the principal said:

> "Yes my style has changed. At the college where I was before I had a reputation for being entrepreneurial. I was a lone operator, innovative and proactive. The LEA was there as a safety net. This college was very traditional - it was like entering a time warp, something had to change. I had to go down to their level. I had to appoint personnel manager, from industry, because I had to spend so much time on it. I have also appointed a director of finance for industry and I make no decisions until it has been checked by her. I am still entrepreneurial but with a tighter remit. The governing body has taken its role seriously, but the governors have been led by a very strongly opinionated man. I have had to adapt to work with them; on balance it has worked out."

The needs of administration have created the need for specialists. Here we can see the principal adapting to a more consultative style which is confirmed in the following:

"Understanding where you are going, a clear vision of where you are going and developing the people to achieve it. You have to get the people with you. They have to trust me. I try to create a friendly outfit."

Now, he said, he was adapting to work with others in a more businesslike format, with more meetings and a less "hands on" approach. The process was thus not so much one of consultation as of information dissemination. His style, he thought, was still entrepreneurial but had a tighter remit of accountability. He took fewer risks.

In college two there was now a new principal in place, the other having taken early retirement. He expressed his concern that the figures generated on college activity were unreliable: the information system was not working. He identified the problem at the data generation stage. "They [the lecturers] do not see the importance of the data" to funding, he said. He thought the staff uninformed about the "realities" of the market. In consequence he had commenced a programme of information dissemination:

"I am still trying to get things in order. You need planning, good information and clear responsibility. Quality is most important. At this moment I am controlling. I need to identify the people who are prepared to grow in order to liberate innovation, but I also need to control the process. Controlling is a personal tendency of mine. The need to monitor will become more important. I am more consultative than I used to be, because the Union has some benefits. I am less directive in many ways. You do need to set a tone and it is the little things that are significant. Concentration on significant details is a way of doing things."

The principals preoccupation with qualitative data and administrative tasks is clear.

In college three the principal said that he was trying to develop funding from sources other than the government so that the college had at least some control over the

budget. The FEFC wanted targeted outputs but, he said, his problem was that the college had a large portfolio. He felt there was still a need for a community college that did not fit a business model. He said that the consequences of changing college portfolios in response to the market mechanism had not been thought through. The FEFC still had a statutory duty for provision. He was concerned that engineering expertise, for example, could completely disappear unless the FEFC intervened.

The principal felt that his style had become more businesslike. He said that he used "honesty, openness and clear direction" as a way of progressing and stated that he had to buy in the required expertise namely a company secretary, personnel manager and marketing manager. His management style had become more consultative but more controlling, he said, it was more businesslike as it involved strategic planning, more responsibility for finance, more meetings.

> "It's put ten years on me. It has made me more independent. ..The change will continue towards that of a management ethos including strategic planning and more responsibility for finance. There is more sharing of responsibility but there is a need to control. In the old system it was unbelievable the issues on which you had to vote. Committee meetings have to be functional and procedures adhered to. Decision making has to be sharper because of the accountability."

Again it is possible to identify the influence of the Government's model on the principal's style of management: the control and monitoring role has become more significant. Again we note consultation being redefined as information dissemination.

In college four the principal said:

> "There is really no change in my style. Maybe I do lunch with people a bit more often to communicate more and keep contact with people."

Although in its first stages, there is some evidence of a shift away from autonomous action to a more team- oriented approach.

College Structure and the Decision-Making Process

In colleges one, two and three the principals now had a positive attitude to the expertise possessed by the Governors and to the contribution they could make to college management. Problems with role definition, however, remained. In college one the principal referred to the chairperson's inability to praise staff without "a sting in the tail." He said that his management style had had to change to adapt to this. In college three the principal felt that a review was needed to clarify roles for the governors "and their purposes." They were constantly treading on his toes.

Lecturing staff had new contracts in colleges one, two and three. The new contracts involved staff being on the premises for thirty-seven hours although teaching commitment varied. Each principal's individual approach did seem to have altered the process of changing contracts. In college one the outcome of new contracts had been negotiated whereas in colleges two and three the approach had been more of imposition. Indeed, the principal in college three said that confrontation had attracted much "adverse media attention" and some staff had still "not signed" the new contracts.

In colleges one, two and three the organisations were leaner. Redundancies had been voluntary in the first stage. In colleges two and three the next stage of redundancies were in the pipeline, college two having increased staff with increased growth. In 1996 three colleges were able to provide structure charts (app. 1); these clearly show the amalgamation of departments resulting in a leaner organisation. The use of language and the evidence of a managerialist perspective is interesting in college one: the chart is now called a "College Management Organogram." I was also given their first annual report for the period 1993/4, which emulates private enterprise in style.

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The principal in college four, sent a reply to the request for an organisational structure chart as follows:

"I am sorry to say we do not have such things as a structure chart of our college in any form. I can only suggest that since you know what a structure chart is and what you want to show, you prepare what you think is suitable...and let me have a copy to check its accuracy."

In colleges one, two and three the course portfolios had changed in response to demand. Engineering was in decline as had been expected in 1991 and so was business studies, but to a lesser extent. In colleges one, two and three media studies had become the most popular area for growth. Colleges one and three had increased their higher education work.

As a result of the changes in the way part-time students were now measured as full-time equivalents it became difficult to evaluate whether the three newly incorporated colleges had increased participation. In the final analysis we were reliant on the principals' interpretation of the figures. The Directory of Colleges 1996 provided the following data: in college one student numbers were now at 21,913, the largest proportion of provision being in the area of humanities, hotel and catering and business. In college two the number of students now totalled 20,161, the largest provision being in engineering, business and the sciences; In college three student numbers now totalled 3,897, the largest proportion of provision being in humanities, engineering and business.

In college four, despite the principal's opinion that nothing had changed, clearly something had: the influence of the national curriculum changes, in particular the monitoring systems, was in evidence. At the time of the visit staff were involved in telephoning parents to find out why students were not attending and this continued all morning. There was evidence of a more organised system.

It was hypothesised earlier in this work that the combination of a changed language and a change in funding methodology would have a major impact on the operational and strategic issues for colleges. This has been found to be the case. Indeed, the principal in college three identified innovation and quality as most important to organisational success but said that the organisation at the moment had to be focused on budgets.

The changes in structure and decision-making processes in colleges one, two and three are remarkably similar. College survival has become crucial and dominates decision-making; the language has become that of commercialism. In college four the principal said that a rise in student numbers had followed as a consequence of an improved reputation.

There had been two major re-structuring programmes in colleges one, two and three driven by the need for efficiency savings. All three re-structuring programmes involved amalgamating departments under fewer control areas with functional heads. The organisations had remained hierarchical and bureaucratic in structure, which fits with the accountability requirement of the funding methodology. In college one the principal stated that the structure was now "a more industrial model which mirrors that preferred by the Government. It has functional directors. The heads of department now have a direct line to the function heads. In the next review we will be narrowing this even more. We have gone down from eight to five departments and need to merge some again." It was now leaner, had less functional heads but more cross college responsibilities. The principal went on:

> "The accountability issue from the Nolan Enquiry will have an effect. The Public Expenditure Survey suggests massive efficiencies. There are two approaches redundancies: or increased growth with no increase in staff. I have chosen the second approach. There must also be massive changes in delivery patterns, more student centred learning, more reliance on IT so that

we can reduce the number of taught hours. The Government is using all three approaches but God isn't it effective?"

The Government's perspective had influenced the structure of the organisation and its main strategic direction, which is now focused on survival. Course content had changed in line with the Government's delivery pattern. It is interesting to note that the principal supplied no educational reason for the changed delivery pattern - it was purely a financial rationale.

In college two the principal stated:

> "We have restructured. We had seven departments but this is now down to five. The college is now flatter at the top, mean and lean. The governors now spend more time on strategic issues. The auditors influence operational issues and I think there needs to be a review of their legal purposes........We do have some very unreliable statistics on which to base our decisions...The less important decisions tend to be left. There are central decisions. I tend to consult on the big decisions. You have to be autocratic until you feel comfortable."

Again we can see the influence of administration and accountability.

In college three the principal said

> "The structure has become more business oriented and I have brought people in who have these ethics. Now I am trying to bring it back from a business. It's not a business - it is there for the good of the community. We have restructured and all areas are now narrower. This has followed in line with our declining areas. We have set up a separate centre for media and performing arts which we were prevented from doing before. ..:.We have to be more accountable. ......The governors are more involved with decision

making and they give us lots of useful advice."

Decision making in colleges one, two and three had become more centralised, "autocratic" and "top-down." In all three colleges the change in the decision-making process had occurred in response to the need to control the operational process and to be accountable. In college three the strength of the principal's style was still very much in evidence.

In college four the principal said the college had become "more formal as we move towards a centre of excellence. We still have a flat management structure. We are influenced by a decline in physics, because the A Level is difficult. We have increased our standard in maths because the system is now modularised. The new governors tried to be more involved but this is discouraged as it takes too much time to explain the business to them."

There is some evidence here to suggest that the same pressures that the other three colleges have had towards more consultative styles, rather than leadership, are present here also. There are also signs of growing administrative functions.

The Managers Role in the Organisation: change agents

In college one the principal said that they were just entering a new re-structuring programme. It was at the stage of information dissemination, he said. Once again he identified communication as an important tool for change and was clearly using it; he stated that information was being communicated through small groups. The Heads of Department now reported directly to the functional heads [he said] and replication of work across the college had been reduced. The number of administrative staff had increased because of the growing area of IT monitoring and human resource management [he said]. At the same time, he said:

> "The staff need to trust me. The "no redundancy" has gone down well with the staff. I use an open door policy and I try to be user friendly. There needs

to be a clear statement of what that change is going to be, a well thought out reason for change. This has to be communicated at a very low level."

Decisions are made at the top and communicated downward, he said.

In college two the principal said:

"I have two types of manager, one being the initiators and developers the other the maintainers. I need to dilute the maintainers. The structure was heavily departmentalised. I would like to devolve responsibility particularly in the areas of monitoring and controlling. I can do that when information technology is well managed centrally, at the moment there is duplication....then I can manage them through accountability and targets."

Again, the Government's model can be seen to be driving the changes and significantly affecting the way operations are managed within the organisation.

In college three the principal suggested that "there was a feeble management structure of devolved management. They were co-ordinators.... now they have more devolved budgets. Accountability of management is important." The change of management style is clearly evident. In contrast, in college four the principal said:

"Teachers who do administration forget to focus on the customer. We need to keep a close focus on the student with feedback to the parents. I am buying a new building and then I will ask staff what they want to do with it. It will be subject oriented, towards the goals they are set. I would find it alien to impose changes on them. The changes in GCSE mean we have to be more rigidly supervisory....Anyone can come and see me at any time, contact is very informal. Innovation is dealt with on the spot. Other than a change in curriculum staff have autonomy. You have to trust your professionals."

She was still clearly using a system of empowerment.

In colleges one, two and three the principal's perceptions of a manager's role in 1996 has common attributes which can be associated with a shift towards a more managerialist perspective. Managers were now expected to be more accountable. The manager's role had become linked with a specific area; the management task was one of monitor and controller. Budgets had been devolved and managers were now responsible for controlling and allocating the budgets.

The principals said that accountability had been reinforced by the FEFC inspection.[46] Decision-making was now driven by administration because of the need for an audit trail. In college one the manager's role had changed from having "a vision of where we are going" with an external focus, the principal said, to an internal monitoring one. In college two the principal said that his projected increase of more managerial people into his college had not taken place and everything had largely stayed the same. In college three the principal said managers had become controllers where they had previously been facilitators. In college four evidence of a shift towards managers taking on more administrative tasks is also apparent - although the evidence is weaker.

The change in management styles to control orientation suggests a change in organisational culture towards reactionary, rather than proactive, management. A business that has a reactionary culture is likely to have problems with innovation. Government incentives are thus driving the colleges towards a process of managing operations that could lead them to be less successful in the market.

The Government's commercial discourse has also begun to affect the meaning of words. In college one some managers were identified as "innovative" by the principal. In his case, however, innovation referred to the staff's ability to accept the

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[46]FEFC required that there was evidence of an identified route for decision making within the colleges, accompanied by appropriate forms to monitor the process.

new teaching methods, which were imposed; these were considered "efficient", where efficiency meant less classroom contact. New people were being identified as significant to bring about the "necessary" changes. The old holders of these posts were seen as "not innovative"; there was top-down direction and "informing" rather than consultation with staff.

The principal felt that the employees "have to be able to trust me" in order that that changes could be made. He tried to develop trust through an open door policy, he said, by creating a friendly atmosphere and being open and direct with information. He believed that a clear statement of "a well thought out reason" for change needed to be communicated through the organisation. The principal stated that he had taken this approach and met very little resistance to change.

Innovation appears to have become a metaphor for more efficient operation. Quality has become interpreted as meeting the objectives and innovation has become a metaphor for conformance to, and working within, the government model.

In college two the principal said the staff needed to be "willing and competent to change." Management was about changing the culture of the organisation so that everyone "played the game," he said. The inference here is that all staff have to conform to the new model. This is in direct contrast to the previous model of the professional discussed in this work, as free from the bureaucratic rule.

In college three the principal said that he believed that the managers in his college had experienced a major culture shift. Previously, managers had been co-ordinators whereas now they needed to be able to persuade people to understand the strategic direction in which the college was going. They needed to be more accountable and more in control. The communicator role, he said, has changed to the monitor role. Accountability referred only to a monitor process. In contrast, in college four the principal said that her managers "are professionals who are trusted to make all the decisions. They need only liase over any issues they feel important - these are

usually saying what they have already done rather than asking permission."

In this case accountability is about the teaching task itself.

Competitive Environment and the College.

Competition had increased in all colleges. This contrasted with the expectation of the principal in college two who had anticipated that the removal of over provision had reduced competition. The principals in colleges one, two and three said that competition came mostly from schools. The view was expressed by the three principals that the schools have an unfair advantage. In college one:

> "The competition is massive and FEFC has not helped it. We are competing for more funding."

In college two:

> "The competition is coming from schools and they are playing some dirty tricks. There is some competition from other colleges but not much."

In college three

> "The competition is coming from schools, other colleges and higher education who want to fish in our pond."

The principal went on to say that the problem was that new students were currently attending schools for their compulsory education. Schools were making it "difficult" for the colleges to enter the schools to advertise their courses. On top of that the principal said that schools also achieved a higher funding rate per student than his college did. There was some competition from other colleges and HE institutions. One college, he said, had provided a free bus service for students; this occurred because its LEA was controlling the allocation of money for fares by distance

travelled. This had led to unfair competition.

In colleges one, two and three the principals said that they had increased their target area for student participation as LEA control had reduced. They all said they were now more able to alter their course portfolio as a consequence of the reduction of LEA control.

In college one the principal expressed some dissatisfaction with the FEFC audit process. He said that as the grades awarded were made public there was pressure for them to audit properly. In one case, he said, he had asked to be re-inspected because he would not accept the grade given. At re-inspection the grade had been improved. The FEFC historical funding mechanism had helped their immediate competitors to cancel some fees and provide a free bus service for students. The principal felt that there should be some mechanism to recognise that his college, on lower funding, was providing added value and increased student participation over and above the competitor; although the government funding model was decreasing the historical anomalies it was not solving the immediate competitive situation. The principal saw immediate action as important for the competitive position of the college in the future. Reputation, he said, had always been identified as a driver of student choice and if the competitors had unequal power to add value, their reputation would benefit into the future long after the value had been reduced.

The Government, he said, had also effected an open-management style and influenced governance. The reduction in funding and pressure for efficiency, local agreements on lecturers' pay and changes to the course delivery pattern had opened up the competitive elements of the colleges. The principal identified the stopping of all capital investment as a major tool of change; he stated that the colleges would now need to build relationships with private investors or appeal to the Public Funding Initiative. He suspected that competition would significantly increase in this area with the maintenance of the buildings and facilities in good condition seen as added value to the student. He stated that:

"full-time students have increased 100% since incorporation. The growth rate has increased in the area. We have targeted a number of areas outside the remit of the LEA. We are targeting the North London area and Essex. We have also changed the format of our course portfolio from knowledge base to competence base in line with NVQ and GNVQ."

The principal went on to say that a changed mode of course delivery, particularly in the light of the Higgins Report (1996), was essential for efficiency savings.[47] No mention was made of these approaches as being significant to educational effectiveness, but the principal did speak of them enabling organisational efficiency. In college two

"we have both growth and decline. The statistics are unreliable. We have growth in arts, media studies and adult education. Business studies, science and technology and GCSE are all suffering from competition from schools. The decline in catering may just be a blip. ....I suspect the Government will just leave us to it."

In college three the principal indicated that they had a problem with funding:

"We have had a problem with decline that has affected our funding. There have been new staff contracts and disruption. This had been public which has affected our marketing. Some areas are of course in growth - media and the performing arts and full-time HE students. Leisure and tourism are suffering from competition from schools. Business and management is static."

Interestingly, in college four the intake had changed from a one-year stay to a two-year stay. The reason given for this was that students came now by "choice" rather

than because they were "marginalised".

> "We have more minority subjects now, modern Greek or whatever the students need. The competition comes from the whole independent sector. Now one displaced student means decreased funding. Competition has therefore increased and student choice has increased to attract the students. We have to be much more flexible. We are now much more academic. We offer fewer distractions, smaller classes and increased teaching hours. We have now changed directors and they are much more involved."

The operational process of college four had been affected by the changes to GCSE in response to the national curriculum; this had altered the delivery pattern. It has also had changed the management of operations resulting in a lot more register keeping and attempts made to keep the student. This had clearly changed the principal's attitude towards a more long-term view of staff:

> "The majority of staff do not roll over: even part time staff like to stay and some of those will become full-time."

Clearly, the need for reliable staff had become more important as a consequence of the need to increase administrative monitoring. The principal said that the types of course had stayed the same but the subjects had changed. First languages such as Greek and Italian were now common at A level, she said, and more students were now studying A level maths. This she thought was because it was now a modularised course. Physics had declined. The staff had introduced short courses in the holidays, she said, but personally she was concerned that this took their focus away from their main business which in her opinion they "could not afford to do." These changes, she said, had been driven by the new governors.

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[47]The Higgins Report suggests that colleges will be information technology led.

We can thus begin to identify some distinct differences between the two types of organisation. The newly incorporated colleges are reducing teaching hours and increasing students in classes, driven by their need to conform to budget. In contrast the principal in college four is increasing teaching hours and making the classes smaller, which she believes will give them sustainable competitive advantage. The Government's incentive strategies seem to be driving the newly incorporated colleges towards administrative effectiveness at the risk of customer orientation.

College four is beginning to widen its customer focus in order to reduce its risk and increase its market. Paradoxically, colleges one, two and three are being driven to narrow their customer focus by reducing their product portfolio.

Outcomes of The Education Policy: 1996

College	Hierarchical decision making	Matrix decision making	Flat structure	Facilitator leadership style	Empowered work force
1	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
2	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
3	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
4	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

In the newly incorporated colleges we can identify the following changes over the period 1991 to 1996.. Colleges one, two and three have shifted away from matrix decision making to top- down decision making. Colleges one, and three now have a flat structure. Colleges two and three no longer have a facilitator style. Colleges one, two and three no longer use empowerment systems.

The themes have provided a picture of the actual outcome of the Conservative Government's education policy. In general, in colleges one, two and three the principal's management style has become more control oriented and increasingly focused on information dissemination. At the same time, the increased market risk factor has created a more cautionary management style. The principals do see their tasks differently as a consequence of the Government's education policy - they have shifted their colleges more into line with Government objectives. The principals are therefore altering the tradition of the colleges; the language of the market is much in evidence in the principals' approaches to change.

Similarly, in the case of college four there is evidence that Government intervention,

even at a low level, has had some influence. The drive for more accountability has made the teaching task more administrative. The principal's style has been forced to become more cautious, with a need to keep in touch with staff and governors. Paradoxically, their flexibility has been restricted by the Government induced curriculum changes, which have created more focus on bureaucratic procedures and control.

The management styles of the principals have affected the implementation of policy, but only at the fringes. Over the period of study they have shifted from change agents to instructional leaders. Hallenger and Heck,[48] in their research in schools, suggest that a principals role has shifted from manager to street level bureaucrat to change agent to instructional leader, and most recently transformational leader. We have also found that the principals identify organisational transformation as a major task. Our findings are therefore conversant with Hallenger and Heck's work in the school sector.

There is also much evidence to suggest that the strategic phase of change has been achieved; the discourse has been that of goals, the language that of the market. The colleges are now task driven, the main task being accountability as demonstrated through administrative excellence, although perhaps at the cost of educational effectiveness.

At the beginning of this chapter it was asserted that the Government's power to exert its political ideology would be dependent upon its ability to control the decision-making process. The Government's combination of a changed discourse reinforced with a funding regime has altered the way in which the principals behave in the colleges. The budget structure has been devolved and shows clear signs of continuing to influence and control the management of operations in colleges.

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[48]HALLINGER, P. and HECK, R. Reassessing the principal's role in school effectiveness a review of empirical research, 1980-1995. Education Administration Quarterly. vol. 32, no. 1. 1996.

The introduction of competition has not led colleges one, two and three to adopt a more flexible structure like that of college four. This is partly a matter of college size but also because these colleges function in a quasi market.[49] The incorporated colleges simply respond to central government's incentives to survive. They operate in a market orchestrated by central government. The focus on the customer now appears weak. Paradoxically, the Government at the same time has empowered the customer. The colleges thus appear to be caught with neither the advantages of a free market nor the advantages of a collegiate organisation as in the case of college four; to use Porter's terms they are "stuck" in the middle, the worst of all positions.

On the other hand, the advantage of the changed organisations is that they are now administratively neat. At one and the same time central government can target funding of these organisations more accurately and control them. Responding to this principals are fast becoming masters of administration techniques.

Bridges[50] and Heck[51] have both looked at the leadership attributes of principals in schools and concluded that mastery of administrative traits are not important contributors to or consistent with school effectiveness. School principals appear to affect positive outcomes through mission building and social networking. This has led Heck to conclude that a principal's role is crucial to emphasising a schools social and cultural context.[52] Although these findings cannot be directly translated to further education it is reasonable to surmise that further education principals act similarly. Indeed this leadership style is conversant with Mintzberg's description of the professional organisation.[53]

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[49] GLENNERSTER, H. and LE GRAND, J. The development of quasi-markets in welfare provision in the United Kingdom. The International Journal of Health Services. vol 25(2), New York: Baywood Publishing Company Inc. 1995.
[50] BRIDGES, E. Research on the school administrator: the state of the art. Educational Administration Quarterly. Vol. 18, No. 3. 1982.
[51] HECK, R. Towards the future: re-thinking the leadership role of the principal as philosopher. Journal of Educational Administration. vol. 29, no. 3. 1991.
[52] HECK, R. Leadership and culture. Journal of Educational Administration vol. 34, no. 5. 1996.
[53] Please refer to chapter three.

In this case, therefore, we can identify a potential problem since mission building and social networking, essential to leaders within professional organisations, is being replaced by the less useful administrative traits. Coupled with this, consultation has become a metaphor for information dissemination and empowerment a metaphor for accountability hence loose control has been replaced by tight control.

State of the art management discourse suggests that top-down decision making and information dissemination are unlikely traits for sustaining competitive advantage in the market place. This leads us to consider that the Government's discourse is more about control than it is about competitiveness; there is a difference between the real and the espoused meaning of action.

The next task is to investigate the extent to which these changes are mirrored by those employees who work within further education colleges.

Appendix 1. To Chapter 10

The following pages show the structural changes for the colleges one two and three

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COLLEGE 1 [Old Structure 1994]

BOARD OF CORPORATION
Chairman:

PRINCIPAL

DIRECTOR OF FINANCE   DIRECTOR OF PLANNING   DIRECTOR OF CURRICULUM   DIRECTOR OF SUPPORT SERVICES

FINANCE
MANAGER

HOD BUSINESS AND
INFORMATION
TECHNOLOGY

HOD ENGINEERING
TECHNOLOGY

HOD SCIENCE AND
GENERAL
EDUCATION

TRAINING
ORGANISATION
MANAGER

MARKETING
MANAGER

CONTRACTED
TRAINING
MANAGER

GUIDANCE
DEVELOPMENT
OFFICER

PREMISES
MANAGER

HEAD OF
REGISTRY

COMPUTER
SYSTEMS
MANAGER

PERSONNEL
MANAGER

HOD ART AND
DESIGN

STAFF
DEVELOPMENT
OFFICER

CURRICULUM
AND STUDENT
SERVICES
CO-ORDINATOR

QUALITY
MANAGER

LEARNING
SUPPORT
CO-ORDINATOR

HOD BUSINESS
LEISURE AND
TOURISM

HOD SERVICE
INDUSTRIES

HOD SOCIAL
STUDIES

HOD LIBRARY
AND LEARNING
RESOURCES

HOD ADULT
CONTINUING
EDUCATION

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COLLEGE 1 [Old Structure 1994]

Functional Structure for Executive Group

PRINCIPAL /
CHIEF EXECUTIVE

Director of Planning	Director of Curriculum	Director of Support Services	Director of Finance
Focal point for HODs at B Centre	Focal point for HODs at W Centre	Accommodation	Financial Regulations & procedures
Marketing	Curric Co-ordination	Health & Safety	Cash Management
Planning	Quality inc. inspection	Human Resource link for non-teaching staff	Financial analysis & statistics
Resources	Students inc.	Insurance	Budgetary Control.
Human Resources link for Academic staff	Student Services	Exams	Audit
Contracted Training	Staff Development	Facilities	Payroll·
Gateway Services	Learning Support	Reception	Statutory controls including VAT.
Training Organisation	Library	Registry	Management &
MIS-Strategic	Information Technology	MIS-Operational	Financial accounts.
	Equal Opportunities	Legal aspects	

Personnel Manager

8 3 94

COLLEGE 1 [New Structure 1996]

COLLEGE MANAGEMENT ORGANOGRAM

Chairman

Principal

Director of Finance **Director of Planning** **Director of Curriculum and Quality** **Director of Support Services**

Training Organisation Manager   Marketing Manager   Contracted Training Manager

Premises Manager   Head of Registry   Computer Systems Manager

Personnel Manager

Finance Manager   Management Accountant   Payroll Supervisor

Heads of Faculty   Staff Development Co-ordinator   Curriculum Co-ordinator   Quality Manager

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COLLEGE 2

MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE AS AT 1.9.95

Corporation

Principal

College Sec & Reg	Finance Manager	Director	Assistant Principal	Assistant Principal	Assistant Principal	Assistant Principal	Assistant Principal	Assistant Principal	Assistant Principal
		External Relations	Open Campus	Science & Tech	Business & Mangmt	Beauty Catering & Leisure	Student Services	Caring & Social Studies	Arts & Media
Personnel Premises Exams Reception Reprographics Clerk to Corp	Finance	Community Relations EO Ext Liaison Strat Planning	AE (LEA) Outreach Military Rd Ctr BSC Guidance Educ Shop Marketing Staff Develop Franchises Teacher Train ABE Prisons ESOL (GCSE GCE IT Lang Acc) Playgroup TCI	Engineering Automotive Fab & Weld CADCAM Science Maths Health & Safety	Business Professional Secretarial Administrative IT & Computing Modern Lang ESOL NBT Ptnship Stat Shop	Hairdressing Beauty Therapy Leisure /Sport Catering Food Retail	Central Admission Learning Supp Student Supp Welfare Tutorials Youth & Community Student Rec Computer Ed A/GCSE-Recruitment Careers HE Guidance	Health Social Care Social Science Nursery/ Playgroup K/ Heath Ctr	Art & Design Lens-Based Media Perf Arts English Humanities Supported Learning Travel/Tourism Access
			AHOD x 3	AHOD x 2	AHOD x 2	AHOD x 4	AHOD x 3	AHOD x 2	AHOD x 2
			PSR x 2	PSR x 1			PSR x 2		
			PST x 1	PST x 6	PST x 8	PST x 6	PST x 1	PST x 4	PST x 8

AHOD - Assistant Head of Department
PSR -   Post of Special Responsibility
PST -   Professional Support Tutor

c/mansiru1

COLLEGE 2

MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE AS AT 1.8.96

Corporation

Principal

| Overall Direction |
| Policy Formulation |
| Strategy |
| Resources |
| Management Team |
| MIS |

Director of Corporate Services	Director of Finance	Director of Planning & Development (VP)	Director of Studies	Director of Customer Services	Director of External Programmes
Personnel Premises/Estates/Security Health & Safety Rooming Prof Dev & Training Reprographics Clerk to Corp	Finance & Accounts Student Records & Fees Examinations	Resources for Learning Open Learning Accreditation Marketing & Research Curriculum Development European/International Quality Framework Internal Verification Employer Liaison	Organisation & Delivery of Curriculum Cross College Programmes Level II and above (Main Site)s	Threshold Services Reception Information Services Publicity Central Admissions Learning Support Guidance Careers Counselling Student Welfare & Support Student Union Charter & Complaints EO Tutorials & Action Planning Core Skills SEN Level 1	Community Education (LEA) Military Road Centre Business Support Centre Franchise Prisons TCI Adult Part Time Cross College ABE Community Liaison Warwick University European Social Fund
Personnel Officer Estates Supervisor Manager Prof & Dev Train	Accountant Examinations Officer Course File Administrator	Manager Res. for Learning Manager Open Learning Manager Internal Verificat.	Team Leader Arts & Media Team Leader IT Team Leader Bus. & Prof Team Leader Engineering Team Leader Health & Social Care Team Leader Beauty & HD Team Leader Hosp Leis & Tourism Team Leader Academic & Continuing Studies Manager GNVQ	Administration Officer Manager Learning Support Manager Tutorial/Action Planning Development Manager Core Skills	Team Leader Community Education Manager Bus Supp Centre co-ordinators(2) Prisons

Managers -   Cross College Roles
Team Leaders - Lead Curriculum Area

COLLEGE 3 [1992]

GOVERNORS

PRINCIPAL

.... CLERK TO GOVERNORS

PRINCIPALS SECRETARY

| HEAD OF TERTIARY EDUCATION | AP PACBOS | AP BAMBOS | AP SATBOS | AP QUALITY CONTROL | HEADS OF MARKETING AND EXTERNAL DEVELOPMENT | COLLEGE SECRETARY | HEAD OF HUMAN RESOURCES | COMMUNICATIONS MANAGER | HEAD OF TECHNICAL SERVICES |

DEPUTY

DEPUTY

DEPUTY

TEACHING STAFF

SUPPORT STAFF

NURSING SERVICES

SECTION HEAD

SECTION HEAD

SECTION HEAD

STUDENT SERVICES

STAFF DEVELOPMENT

SECTION ASSISTANTS

LECTURERS

LIBRARY RESOURCES

LEARNING RESOURCES

DISCIPLINE

QUALITY ASSURANCE

FINANCE OFFICER

H.I.S.

COURSE ADMINISTRATION

NEW BUILDING AND ESTATE DEV.

HEALTH & SAFETY AT WORK

SECURITY

CLEANING

CARETAKERS

MAINTENANCE

ESU

CATERING

COLLEGE 3 [1993]

GOVERNORS

PRINCIPAL

AP FACULTY OF BUSINESS

AP FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

AP FACULTY OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

HEAD OF TERTIARY EDUCATION

BUSINESS SUPPORT GROUP

COLLEGE SECRETARY

DEPUTY

OVERSEAS MARKETING

DEPUTY

DEPUTY

STUDENT SERVICES

QUALITY ASSURANCE

STAFF DEVELOPMENT

NROC

SECTION 11

16-19 CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

SCHOOLS

ADMISSIONS

TVEI CO-ORDINATOR

BTEC CO-ORDINATOR

HEAD OF COMMUNICATIONS INCLUDING PUBLICITY

HEAD OF EXTERNAL DEVELOPMENT

FINANCE OFFICER

HEAD OF HUMAN RESOURCES

HEAD OF TECHNICAL SERVICES

PUBLICITY & MARKETING

EDU

TEACHING STAFF

PRINTING & PHOTOCOPYING

MEDIA

VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMMES

MANAGEMENT INFORMATION

SUPPORT STAFF

VISITS & PRESENTATIONS

FORWARD HOUSE MANAGEMENT

COURSE ADMINISTRATION

I.T CO-ORDINATOR

SECTION HEADS & SECTION ASSISTANTS

SECTION HEADS & SECTION ASSISTANTS

SECTION HEADS & SECTION ASSISTANTS

BUSINESS & TRADE UNION
COMPUTING
LANGUAGES
OFFICE TECHNOLOGY

ART & MEDIA
EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT
ENGLISH & COMMUNICATIONS
FOOD & ALLIED
HAIR & BEAUTY
HEALTH & COMMUNITY
LEISURE & TOURISM
SOCIAL & COMPENSATORY
SOCIAL & HISTORICAL STUDIES

CONSTRUCTION
ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING
MATHS AND SCIENCE
MECHANICAL ENGINEERING

LRU INCLUDING LIBRARY

OPEN LEARNING

SITES & BUILDINGS DEVELOPMENT

HEALTH & SAFETY AT WORK

SECURITY

CLEANING

CARETAKERS

MAINTENANCE

TSU

CATERING

COLLEGE 3 [1995]

COLLEGE - MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE

Organizational chart:

- **Corporation Board**
  - **Principal**
    - **AP Faculty of Humanities**
      - Deputy
        - Staff Development
        - Open Learning
        - Appraisal
        - Library & LRU
      - Section Heads
        - **SECTIONS**
          - Art & Media
          - Educ Development
          - English & Comms
          - Leisure Industries
          - Hair & Beauty
          - Health & Comm
          - Social & Historical
    - **AP Faculty of Science & Technology**
      - Deputy
        - Quality Assurance
      - Section Heads
        - **SECTIONS**
          - Construction
          - Elec Eng
          - Mech Eng
          - Maths & Science
    - **AP Faculty of Business**
      - Deputy
        - Overseas Marketing
      - Section Heads
        - **SECTIONS**
          - Business & TU Studies
          - Computing
          - Finance & Management
          - Languages
          - Office Technology
    - **Head of Tertiary Education**
      - NROVA
      - Section 11
      - 16 - 19 Curriculum Development
      - Schools
      - Central Admissions
      - TVEI Co-ordinator
      - BTEC + A Level Co-ordination
      - Student Services

BUSINESS SUPPORT SERVICES

- **College Secretary**
  - **Head of Marketing** — Marketing, Publicity, Media & PR, Visits, Presentations
  - **Head of External Development** — EDU, Reprographics, Vocational Trg, Catering, Forward House
  - **Head of Human Resources** — Teaching Staff, Support Staff, Recruitment
  - **Head of Technical Services** — Sites + Buildings, Health & Safety, Security, Cleaning, Caretakers, Maintenance
  - **Principal Finance Officer**

COLLEGE 3 [1995]

MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE

Appendix 1.

CORPORATION BOARD

PRINCIPAL

AP Faculty of Humanities

AP Faculty of Science and Technology

AP Faculty of Business

College Secretary

Deputy

Staff Development

Appraisal

Library and LRU

Open Learning

Deputy

Quality Assurance

Deputy

Overseas Marketing

Marketing Manager

Principal Finance Officer

Head of Tertiary Education

Head of External Development

Head of Human Resources

Head of Technical Services

Section Heads (6)

Section Heads (4)

Section Heads (3)

SECTIONS

Performing Arts
Education Development
Language and Communications
Leisure Industries
Health and Beauty
General Education

SECTIONS

Construction
Electrical Engineering
Mathematics + Science
Mechanical Engineering

SECTIONS

Computing
Financial + Management
Business and Office Technology

Key

Senior Postholder

Senior Manager

Other Manager

COLLEGE 3 [1995]

KEY
| SENIOR POSTHOLDER |
| SENIOR MANAGER |
| OTHER MANAGER |

MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE
REVISED. 6 NOVEMBER 1996
ORIGINATOR . L.ESSAM
AUTHORISED. K.STAPLEFORD

CORPORATION BOARD

PRINCIPAL

| AP FACULTY OF BUSINESS | AP FACULTY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY | AP FACULTY OF HUMANITIES | COLLEGE SECRETARY, CLERK TO CORPORATION BOARD |

OVERSEAS MARKETING ACADEMIC BOARD

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY STRATEGIC PLANNING

ADULT PROGRAMMES MANAGER

TECHNICAL SERVICES MANAGER

STAFF DEVELOPMENT APPRAISAL LIBRARY & LRC IIP

VOCATIONAL PROGRAMMES MANAGER

EXTERNAL BUSINESS MANAGER

HEAD OF TERTIARY EDUCATION

FINANCE MANAGER

SECTION MANAGERS (3)	SECTION MANAGERS (4)	SECTION MANAGERS (6)
SECTIONS	SECTIONS	SECTIONS
BUSINESS & OFFICE TECHNOLOGY	CONSTRUCTION	EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT
COMPUTING	ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING	GENERAL EDUCATION
FINANCE & MANAGEMENT	MECHANICAL ENGINEERING	HEALTH & BEAUTY
	MATHS & SCIENCE	LEISURE INDUSTRIES
		LANGUAGES & COMMUNICATION
		VISUAL & PERFORMING ARTS

QUALITY MANAGER

IT MANAGER

PERSONNEL MANAGER

DITA SYSTEMS MANAGER

MARKETING MANAGER

EXAMINATIONS MANAGER

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CHAPTER ELEVEN: THE PROFESSIONALS' PERCEPTION OF THE LAST FIVE YEARS IN FURTHER EDUCATION COLLEGES.

In this chapter those working in the further education colleges are asked about the change process within their colleges since 1991. Only by understanding how these professionals' have reacted to the changes within their colleges can we understand whether, and if so, how the Government's policy outlined in the Education Act 1988, was implemented thus evaluate what power any government has to alter society and its values.

Our assumption is that implementation deficit will be controlled if the Conservative Government's discourse is powerful.[1] At the same time, it is at the policy implementation stage that policy deficit can occur.[2] Any ambiguity can increase the scope for policy implementation deficit.[3]

Policy deficit can also occur where the policy itself is not supported at the grass roots level.[4] Indeed the possibility exists for role conflict to occur in the case of professionals between the needs of the organisation and their professional ethics.[5] Professional's rejection of the standards set by the organisation in favour of their ethics can be seen as resistance to change limiting that organisation's ability to achieve its managerial and administrative goals.[6] This part of the research tests the hypothesis that the professionals within the colleges saw their tasks differently in the 1990s.

The intention here is to evaluate whether the extent to which the Government's

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[1]BACHRACH, P. and BARATZ, M. Decisions and non-decisions: an analytical framework. op. cit.
[2]KNOEFUL, P. and WILDER, H. Norm building and implementation in the policy implementation distinction. op. cit.
[3]BISHOP, J. Briefing for implementation. op. cit.
[4]HALSEY, A. Change in British society. op. cit.
[5]HENDERSON, A. and PARSONS, T. ed. Theory of social and economic order. In Weber 1864-1920. op. cit.
[6]TITMUS, R. M. Goals of a welfare state. 1971. op. cit.

commercial discourse is reflected in the professionals' own language in order to evaluate the Government's potential power to alter the values held by those professionals. The interview questions are thus designed to evaluate whether the Government has been able to commercialise further education colleges as well as to discover whether the organisational behaviour within the colleges' now mirrors the Government's policy themes, in other words whether the Government has succeeded in attuning the colleges to its set of values.

It is anticipated that any changes to the organisation could affect different levels of employees in different ways thus three heads of department as well as three lecturers were included. In all cases the respondents were asked by the principal to take part. The principals in the newly incorporated colleges provided a list of names and appointment times for the interviews and the principal in the private college supervised the distribution of the questionnaire.

The interviews were scheduled to last thirty minutes, which seemed a reasonable time to ask busy people to spare. The questions were designed to information about the current organisational process as follows:

1. Have the drivers of the institution changed since incorporation?
2. What are the explicit objectives you have to meet, have they changed since incorporation?
3. Is there any change in the tasks you carry out every day and how are they different from before?
4. Has the culture of the organisation changed and if so in what way?
5. How do you make decisions in the organisation and has this changed?
6. What are your feelings about the incorporation process?

Question six was not applied to **college four** as it was already a private college.
Questions one to six were designed to generate information about the way

operations were managed within the colleges and to lead the respondents to compare and contrast this with current custom and practice. Questions one, two, three and five, in particular, were designed to lead the respondents to reflect on their behaviour over time; the aim was to generate information about whether they were doing things differently from before. Question four was designed to compare the principals' reflections on their personal management style with the way in which their subordinates actually saw it.

Whilst question six asked those working in the newly incorporated colleges to compare the past with the present it also had a much wider remit than task orientation - the intention was to tap into people's emotional responses to the changes. It was hoped that the respondents would reveal how they felt about the policy changes brought about by the Government and illuminate whether a battle for power was in fact taking place.

College Context 1996

Colleges **one, two** and **three** were now incorporated bodies and college governors had a more powerful role. The funding regime had changed the way these colleges did business and they now operated in a much more competitive environment. **College four** remained largely free from financial control by Government and driven by the needs of the market.

Colleges **one, two** and **three** had newly re-structured incurring some voluntary redundancies. In **college two** a new principal had been in post six months. New contracts for teaching staff had been introduced which increased the time spent on the college premises as well the teaching commitment. The introduction of the new contracts had not gone smoothly resistance varied from area to area and indeed from college to college. In **college one** the transition had been calm. At **college two** staff had made their protest overt by marching in the town. In **college three** some

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employees still remained on the old contracts as a result of industrial action.

The effect policy changes had on the lecturing staff was more than college based, it differed depending on the lecturers' subject specialism. Indeed, the Government had not targeted A level courses with the result that teaching in this area functioned much as before. On the other hand, subjects associated with information technology had changed dramatically. In **college three** word processing courses, for example, were now delivered exclusively in workshop mode accompanied by teaching packages. Teaching now took the form of problem analysis, a major change to the way lecturing staffs were used to operating. The introduction of NVQ qualifications had also changed assessment as well as the pattern of course delivery.

College four had not been greatly affected by government intervention. On the other hand, it had experienced a significant shift in the time a student stayed at the college, this was now two years. This change in the duration of stay at the college appeared to be associated with the participation of students in GNV qualifications rather than in A levels. There had been 30% growth in student numbers.

In general the context of the interviews in the newly incorporated colleges was congenial: people really seemed to appreciate the opportunity to talk about their job a fact which was demonstrated when one head of department said to another, as he was leaving, "You will enjoy this experience- it is very therapeutic." Similarly a head of department as well as several senior lecturers remarked on the opportunity the interview had given them to think about where they were going, in the organisation, and why. Some time was spent reassuring the respondents that their interview could not be traced back to them and similarly that the research was not for use by the management of their college.

Primary Research: style of presentation

The responses to questions one to five from **colleges one, two** and **three** were so staggeringly similar that snapshot statements, from the interviews, have been used to provide the common discourse themes. This approach can be criticised for using statements out of context; however in this case the use of commercial coding in language was so dominant in the discourse that without presenting combined themes there would be much repetition. On the other hand, where it is appropriate the responses are presented in their discourse context.

The responses from **college four** are distinctly different from those of the other colleges; they are therefore presented separately.

Primary Research: organisational behaviour

1. Have the drivers of the institution changed since incorporation?

In **colleges one, two** and **three** the heads of department and the lecturers provided a clear common picture of the drivers in the colleges: these were financial and were focused on budgeting procedures and student numbers. All respondents mentioned that the need to make money, and compete for it, was new to their colleges.

The use of commercial coding to describe what was going on within the colleges was very common. "The need for accountability" was commonly used as the main reason for change; this had caused the colleges to focus on "audit trails" which were acknowledged as the prime drivers of change at the operational level. "Conformance to budget," the need for "institutional efficiency," "cost awareness" and "income generation" formed the common language theme of change: these were key variables in decision making. The education market, the respondents said, had become "competitive" and "demand led".

One respondent spoke of the new focus as "Where does the money come from and how do we use it?" In another college a respondent said that such was the influence of the budget on decision making, that their budget was now reviewed weekly; this influenced the discourse to such an extent that no other discourse was possible. All respondents spoke of the "targets" that had to be met; this factor had led the colleges to become "much more formal" where the "audit trails" had a particular influence on behaviour, in as much as they increased the focus on administrative traits. "There is more paperwork than ever before" typified the comments made.

There were new factors that drove the way in which the colleges' performed the common theme is demonstrated in the following:

> "Money is what drives the institution; the Government has shifted from seeing education as a public service to education as a product and we have to keep our heads above water financially."

In contrast, in **college four** everyone said that there was no change: "The main motivation is still to enable the students to achieve high grades," was a typical comment.

2. What are the explicit objectives you have to meet and have they changed?

In **colleges one two** and **three** the heads of department, as well as the lecturers, intimated that financial targets, as well as documentation in order to account for reaching those targets, had become the colleges' objective.

There were some different views about the organisation's objectives from the heads of department: this occurred because of their different levels of accountability in the organisational structures. They said they now had "much more of a controlling role", which had occurred for two reasons, firstly because they now had "devolved budgets

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and responsibility for efficiency savings" and secondly because "we now have explicit clearly defined targets." The objective of setting targets was seen by one respondent as follows:

"All the targets including things like recruitment and retention are now related to the nominal target: achieving increased student numbers."

Respondents spoke of many different financial targets, which included a focus on earnings as well as efficiencies, student success and student progression. Other targets were focused on efficient use of resources, for example effective facilities management. These targets, they said, formed the basis of the audit trails. In contrast, the lecturers perceived their objectives as only associated with their teaching task whereas the heads of department made associations between their objectives with the organisations strategic objectives

The lecturers' concerns were more about the pressure on their teaching; as a result of the increased administrative task, "preparing lectures takes second place"; "I want to maintain quality as well as achieve efficiency" typified their reaction. The difference that course and subject specificity had is clear in the following where one A-level teacher said:

"Our department is still laissez-faire; we have an action plan but it is never followed up. We have always monitored retention rates but this has just involved giving a reason for the student leaving."

In contrast information technology-related subjects had acted as triggers for changed practices, one respondent said; lecturers now had to be focused on:

"multi-skilling, much less on specialism. Students can be working on five or six different packages at the same time. We try to get a group of students to

start at the same time so we can move them through packages together. It is very difficult to answer questions on all the packages at once."

Assessment had shifted from the traditional term or annual assessment to unit assessment, he continued; these units were now pre-prepared so that the student could gain a qualification at his or her own speed. The speed of assessment was now driven by the student's desire for completion rather than determined externally.

In **college four** the organisation's objective remained the same, to achieve the highest grades through "the personal development of the students". One respondent felt that competition, for the student and for the organisation, had increased the pressure for good grades, which in turn had created a need to focus on mock examinations; nevertheless, the essential objectives remained the same.

3.   Is there any change in the tasks you have to carry out?

In **colleges one, two** and **three** the task had clearly become more managerialist. Heads of department spoke of "much more time spent on a monitoring role," being "more concerned with strategic planning", "more formal meetings and cross-college meetings", "fire fighting and crisis management". The accountability requirement, respondents indicated, had caused "more time at the computer" and "verifying accounts"; they were less actively involved in the day-to-day activity of the teaching.

The lecturers said that whilst their involvement in administrative rather than academic tasks had increased as part of devolved responsibility they were now much more involved. The term "more involved" was commonly used to describe a different set of tasks concerned with departmental planning; it did not imply that the lecturers were empowered but actually meant that they were better informed. Organisational decision making was "top-down," one respondent said, and "finance driven." Several respondents said that taking a decision actually meant conforming to the objectives set.

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Another common frustration for the lecturers was associated with the management information systems; these were either in place or nearly in place but either way they were not functioning in a useful way. Many of the respondents referred to the amount of time they wasted because different people, within their organisations asked them for the same information several times. The level of duplication varied from college to college; in **college two** several respondents said that the MIS system was operating against them, rather than for them, and because of this staff were generating hand written information as well.

The tasks carried out every day had shifted from the academic to the administrative - "you now have to evidence what you are doing". Many respondents referred to the administrative task having significant power to dictate their working day: whatever happened, they said, it had to be evidenced.

In contrast, the tasks in **college four** remained focused on ensuring that students attended classes and completed their set work. There was more "opportunity to discuss student' work with the parents," one respondent said; this had occurred because of the need to monitor the progress of GCSE and GNVQ students in line with Government guidelines. The tasks of heads of department and those of the lecturers tended to be syllabus-driven with the consequence that several respondents referred to some "modular changes to course work." Several referred to some change in their tasks because of the changes to the national curriculum; this had influenced the setting of course work as well as the way in which it was marked. They felt "trusted to get on with the job," "free to make decisions within prescribed limits," "expected to act as I am, a professional."

5. How do you make decisions in the organisation and has this changed?

In **colleges one, two** and **three** increased governmental influence in the colleges decision making was obvious. The respondents said that many decisions were "top-

down," driven by the financial model and that decisions had become "more centralised." Similarly, concerns about the effect the Government's perspective had on decision making was also very obvious. This was not a criticism of the decisions in general but of the fact that the Government was known for "changing their mind," one respondent said. This inconsistency led several of heads of department to talk about "scenario planning as a way of reducing risk." Change, one respondent said, had become part of the "game".

Many heads of department said that information was now much more freely available but that it tended to be linked to finance and the need for more detail "to isolate financial implications" of change. Similarly, lecturers referred to having been able to "have a go" when they had introduced a new course in the past, but that the focus on financial accountability had made that much more difficult now.

A consultation process continued to be part of the decision making process but now, one respondent said, "there is an urgency to achieve the strategic direction. It goes back to funding, there is more accountability and top-down monitoring decisions are linked to the level of accountability."

It was clear that the terms, innovation, and risk, had become redefined. Innovation was not about introducing new courses, as in the past, but about introducing courses that increased student numbers at less cost; innovation implied cost reduction. Similarly, risk was not about launching a new course but about not being able to meet the budget. Indeed, several respondents indicated that courses were now evaluated in terms of their overhead costs and increased risk was associated with increasing overhead cost. All heads of department said they feared that subjects which attracted high overhead costs could be cut. One head of department in particular said:

"My department is said to be expensive. At the moment we are regulated by

safety procedures. We have to have more staff and only a set number of students in a room."

Yet another common theme was the emerging conflict situation between administration and the academics; this was described by one respondent in the following way:

> "Administration should have a servicing role but it has its own agenda and this had led to conflicts which are pulling people in different ways. The need for data is there all the time."

The pressure for administrative information had begun to alter the power relationships.

In **college four, however,** it was made quite clear that decisions at the head of department level, as well as those at the lecturer level, were not made "in terms of the school - these are made at the appropriate level by the principals." Decisions made by lecturers tended to be concentrated on subject specific and student specific activity: "We make all the changes we need to make to ensure that class-room contact goes well." In contrast, decisions made by the heads of department tended to be focused on the selection of examination board.

Primary Research: organisational style

4. Has the culture of the organisation changed? If so in what way?

In **colleges one, two** and **three,** the most dominant change, the respondents said, was the lack of trust they now had in management. One respondent explained that "the national scene related to changed contracts has caused suspicion of management's motives." A theme of mistrust was the dominant discourse. Many respondents

referred to the alteration of contracts as central to changing staff morale as well as creating low-level trust in management. At the same time, they said that the growing pressure brought about by increased contact hours had also dramatically changed their way of teaching: "We could not continue to teach in the same way as before. Our student centred approach had to change to fit in with the time we had spare."

Many respondents referred to the change in the environment to one that was more "competitive and innovative." The colleges' decision process had become "finance-led rather than curriculum-led." One respondent commented that the work environment of the college had always been "a political institution but now it is competitive: people's egos and careers" were becoming a feature; "some come out of it well," the inference being, of course, that others do not.

At the lecturer level the introduction of curriculum changes, NVQ for example, had become "owned," one respondent said, by the staff. Keen participation in the new initiatives was a common theme identified by many respondents as a route to promotion - "you have to be part of it to get on here now."

Another common theme from the lecturers is typified by "you need to pull in the same direction." One respondent in particular described this as "a command type culture where the control mechanism is exerted with very little feedback." The new contracts had brought a general feeling of being undervalued and morale had become a problem. These changes to culture are epitomised in "less staff centred and more managerial," "less parochial," "more admin focused." One respondent described the changes in the following way:

> "It has gone from a co-operative culture to a top-down command culture driven by the FEFC."

In contrast, one respondent said that "the heads of department have autonomy but I

am not sure what that means"; another remarked, "I have more autonomy and can be more entrepreneurial," and another commented, "I have to be able to be an autonomous actor and aware of competition." Autonomy seemed to imply being responsible for achieving the targets they were set rather than suggesting any power to control; decisions had become top-down. Autonomy had been redefined to mean spending, or not over-spending, a budget.

The culture of the organisation was no longer controlled by the principals, yet the staff were still influenced by the principals' leadership style. Many respondents referred to their principals statements to add clarity to their own with the words "the principal said." At the same time, their facial expressions were interesting in that their faces tended to light up, the reference being accompanied by a smile. Those respondents who did not agree with what their principals were saying prefaced their answers with "it's not popular for me to say this but..,", "I may be the only one to say this but..", "the principal does not agree with me but...", Their facial expressions were also interesting in that they portrayed guilt and defiance.

The common theme in **college four** was that they had become, if anything, "more professional." One respondent said that there was a "greater effort to engender a community," rather than "individuals as subject specialists." This change appeared to be a response to the need for more accountability, the need to monitor a student at the college rather than on a course.

Primary Research: the influence of a principal's leadership style

The number of common themes in the respondents' discourse from **colleges one, two** and **three** led to the conclusion that a principal's leadership style had much less influence than might be expected. This finding corresponds with the information provided by the principals themselves who said that their that their leadership styles had changed in order for them to respond to the needs of the Government's policy

implementation tools, namely financial imperatives.[7] In consequence, their leadership styles had become more focused on control and monitoring than had previously been the case.

At the same time, they referred to the principal as a leadership figure. In **college two** the leadership style was often commented on and compared with that of the former principal who had "adopted a more paternalistic style and informed people about outcomes." In contrast, they saw the new principal as "wanting people to be better informed about the decisions." He had put in a process of information dissemination, the respondents said, throughout the organisation. This increase in openness had raised the staff's concern about whether the college would survive. They identified the new principal's style "as more proactive and more appropriate to the circumstances."

In contrast the principals in **colleges one** and **three** were seen by the staff as buffers between the Government and the implementation of policy. Their more secure financial position meant that staff in general were less fearful of survival. The respondents associated their secure financial position to their principal's leadership style: "he keeps ahead of all the changes," "he is good at keeping the governors out of decision making," "we have had to increase substantially the number of students we teach but he has kept all our jobs."

In **college four** the principal's management style was seen as "hands off," "trusting." The following comment typifies the respondents' view of the principal:

> "She recognises that we know how to do our job. If I need to change things I tend to talk to her about it to check if it is possible."

Primary Research: non-rational phenomena - the staff's personal feelings

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[7] See previous chapter for a more in-depth discussion.

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6. What are your feelings about the incorporation process?

The language of all the respondents was dominated by commercial coding. The most striking commonality in the responses from **colleges one, two** and **three** was the way in which they interpreted "feelings". The first feelings were expressed with reference to the individual's own college and its competitive position. This appeared to be related to the respondents' current fear about the future - survival was the most dominant "feeling" they had: "I think we're doing quite well," "we are doing better than....college - we have some of their students."

Some of the respondents described their feelings as if they had been at war, comments such as "we came through it fairly well," being common. There was also a theme of abandonment - "we have been left to sink or swim." There was a sense of the inevitability of education always being used by government for its own purpose'. "was it essential? Probably not, desirable, probably yes" typified this. Alongside this were many comments related to the desire to get on with the job without interruption. "Let schools do what they are best at and let us do what we are best at", "I wish they would just go away and let us get on with the job" were typical of this theme.

The most striking factor in the responses was what the respondents did not say: there was very little criticism, and yet one could feel that it was there. Of course, one of the limitations of discourse analysis is that it can only be applied where language is used for communication, ignoring facial expressions and sighs, which emphasise unstated emotional responses to events that the listener interprets. The emotional context of "soft" communication serves to embellish that communication; it often gives meaning to what is said.

To a certain extent, it can be hypothesised that discourse omission would be a direct product of the depersonalisation process of working relationships. At the same time, discourse omission must also be a product of the rules of the society in which we

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live, differentiated by an individual's needs and values. Even so, discourse omission does not fit comfortably with what we expect of professionals; namely their right to use discretion and interpret the bureaucratic rule. Indeed, the expectation had been that any discourse theme would involve some level of critical evaluation by the staff working in the colleges', even if it were not personalised and focused at arm's length on the Government.

What was going on? Understanding the role that a theme of nostalgia can play in discourse goes a little way in helping us to evaluate those "soft" issues in communication. Nostalgic reflection provides a way of dividing the old from the new reality - it is often sentimentalised and tends to be highly selective because it is formed from an individual's recollections; for this reason it tends to be disregarded in discourse analysis.

Rationalists tend to interpret displays of emotions as a weakness and as indicative of illogical behaviour which they denigrate; in order to explain reality their preference is to separate emotion from reason. On the other hand, emotion can be seen as the very source of meaning and idealism. Adopting this approach, to ignore emotion is to ignore reason.

Indeed, Gabriel has suggested that in order to understand organisational behaviour we also need to understand that part of the organisation that is not managed, an individual's emotions.[8] There is a fine line that exists in organisational behaviour between how much emotion can be displayed to describe reality and be acceptable, and that level which is not. Risk adverse individuals have thus learnt to manage the expression of their emotions within social constructs that dictate acceptable behaviour - linked to task and institutional goals.[9] Within organisations emotion

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[8]GABRIEL, Y. Organisational nostalgia - reflections on the 'Golden age'. In FINEMAN, S. ed. Emotion in organisations. p. 118. London: SAGE Publications. 1993.
[9]Emotional labour is the term used to describe the situation where organisational roles and tasks exert control over emotional displays.

becomes a commodity like any other, feelings are displayed as a public ritual, thus a gap emerges between those emotions that are felt and those espoused. Removing emotion from communication means that, in general, it is much easier to express conformance than it is to express opposition.

If we ignored the role that emotion plays in discourse we could conclude that the Government exerted considerable power and changed the colleges activity more in line with its policy. Adopting this conclusion, the lack of critical analysis in the professional's discourse we could argue is associated to the dominance of the managerial paradigm over that of professional ethics; brought about by the use of commercial language.

On the other hand, Hochschild contends that the marginalisation of emotion is not simply about organisational denial - he makes the point that where organisations do have the ability to "manage hearts" withholding emotion from day to day communication may simply be a way for an individual to avoid being totally managed by the organisation.[10] Indeed, professionals' have traditionally expressed control avoidance in their use of autonomous action expressing their emotions and beliefs in ethical codes. Rather than ignore the role of emotion in discourse, it seemed that an attempt had to be made to interpret it - in order to understand the meaning of the responses provided by the professionals.

Where emotion becomes subject to control, resistance or non-conformance is transmitted through paralinguistic signs such as non-eye contact, sighs and pauses, embellishing and in some cases replacing words. These signs of communication were particularly obvious when the respondents' talked about their feelings concerning the changes that had taken place; there was a highly emotional unspoken context. The former led us to suspect that the lack of critical analysis in the professionals discourse did not imply that the managerial paradigm controlled the

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[10]HOCHSCHILD, A. R. The managed heart. Berkley: University of California Press. 1983 .

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hearts and minds of those professionals though it had altered behaviour; which in turn led us to look to explain discourse omission, the unstated. Understanding the role that nostalgia plays in communication has been used, therefore, as a way to explain the emotions displayed in the responses from the professionals in the colleges, in order to understand the meaning implied.

The theme of nostalgic reflection is communicated through organisational symbolism - it uses typical characters to describe past culture and folklore. Therefore, analysing the nostalgic symbolic reflections in the discourse of those working in the colleges could provide an understanding of both the past and the current discourse; because it is a process that is centred on comparing the past with the present.

The study of nostalgia concentrates on nostalgia as a positive emotion. Nostalgia is used as a way of coming to terms with the present in order to let go of the past. Indeed, Gabriel has concluded that nostalgia is used in communication as a symbolic watershed.[11]It is interesting to note that the respondents had to be prompted to reflect on the past. There was very little evidence of organisational nostalgia and very few reflections on any "golden age" present in the interviews. Had nostalgic reflections been included in the responses we could have concluded that the past was seen by the respondents' as over and done with. As it was, the lack of nostalgic reminiscences in the discourse suggested something quite different: the past had not been put to rest. If this was the case, what had caused the respondents to limit critical analysis to paralinguistic communication - emotional displays.

Gabriel suggests that there is a counter emotion to the theme of nostalgia - that of demonisation where the past is identified as a problem that the future has to cure.[12]

[11]GABRIEL, Y. Organisational nostalgia - reflections on the 'Golden age'. In Emotion in organisations ed. FINEMAN, p. 118. London: SAGE Publications. 1993.
[12]GABRIEL, Y. Organisational nostalgia - reflections on the 'Golden age'. In Emotion in organisations ed. FINEMAN, S. p. 120. op. cit.

Evidence of a demonisation theme can be seen in the following:

> "It was self-indulgent with no need to be efficient because the LEA were a safety net."

> "Laissez-faire was an idea that never got off the ground. There was no plan, no structure. It was protecting crumbling empires - now staff recognise it has to change."

The influence of demonisation on past reflection can be seen here in the response by one head of department:

> "It's embarrassing really, I just used to do what I liked doing, what I was good at. I am much more accountable now."

Another head of department remarked that she now recognised that she had:

> "....custody of the education product [because] the governors do not understand the primary task. The product we deal with is different, it is not measurable... equal opportunity and the rights of the individual have to be protected - we are not dealing with a tin of cat food. We have to ensure and keep a focus on what the task is. It matters that I have the right number of the right students to ensure quality. I have to keep a clear picture of the totality of the task."

The evident difficulty in expressing this view in other contexts was clearly demonstrated when she stated that "the Chair of Governors would say I was being an educationalist," the inference being that an educationalist approach had become unacceptable and no longer openly discussed. Reference was made to the fact that "those who don't belong are leaving", indicating the level of control over any

mismatch of individual views with the Government's strategy expressed in the organisation's goals.

The power of the new discourse has re-interpreted, as well as demonised, the past such that is has become an embarrassment. The lack of past accountability is currently seen as decadent; furthermore, because commercial coding does not have a language to describe emotional contexts, autonomous action and a trust-oriented decision making environment, it is omitted from the discourse. In other words, it becomes even more difficult to counter the theme of demonisation.

There was much evidence of a new "political correctness" and debate was clearly influenced by a need to "sing to the same tune," one respondent said. Another respondent commented that "the context of 1996 needs to be taken into account - you are lucky to have a job now."

On the whole, the respondents found it difficult to put into words what drove the institution before the changes. Pauses, hesitation and lack of eye contact during communication transmitted the highly emotional context; the unstated discourse was powerful.

At the same time, there was evidence that features of the past were based on caring, altruism and professional ethos. These themes can be seen in the following:

> "We are still trying to hold on to a service, to the fact that we help people"; "we are driven by personal motivation to do better" "it didn't matter except to personal pride"; "previously I could do what I enjoyed", "laissez-faire and staff- centred", "did monitor before but it was not written down formally", "didn't have objectives", "professional with integrity to do your job", "used to be academic achievement."

In the past, an academic and altruistic focus was stronger: "we strived to produce the best courses", change was "curriculum led" and "innovative - you could take a chance on a new course but not any more." Now it was "more concerned about the product". A common theme was the mismatch between student demand and demand for skills: "courses [were] matched to local need, which is better than now - look at media courses leaping ahead when there is no demand for jobs in this area." Now there is, one respondent said, "less involvement with the curriculum now that decisions are devolved downwards."

The common theme related to decisions in all three colleges prior to the change is epitomised by "we [the lecturers] only made minor decisions" - the inference was that decisions previously were directly related to the teaching task. The management role was said to have "changed year on year because the LEA decided". One head of department mentioned the burden of responsibility that accountability had brought with it whilst another stated that he "didn't like responsibility".

The environment before the changes was seen as predictable and "stable", "teaching was enough, it was frowned on to have innovative ideas." Although all appeared to think the process had previously been consultative and hierarchical, there was a common theme that "it didn't go anywhere", because of the control power of the LEA. Another common theme was that decisions in the past were made "with difficulty" the reason given was the consultative processes.

The "caring coding" theme was in evidence when the respondents referred to the teaching task:

> "The product is not the same for everyone - some are low to average achievers."

which indicated a need to re-focus on individual student capability and the equal

opportunity that each should have to achieve. The former view was reinforced by the concern:

> "There should be more steer centrally so that the organisation matches the skill needs of the economy, or at least a closer resemblance - look at the growth in media. I dislike the fact that there is no match of course development to need."

This clearly indicated a common theme: that there should be a close resemblance between the needs of the economy and course choice to ensure equal opportunity for each student in the future.

> "It has been a paper exercise - the agenda is about reducing funding. How a college can be a company I don't know. The Government funding has just brought more problems: I am not empowered, I am neutered. My professional role has changed so that I have no time to give what I would like to give. To a certain extent the teaching is the same, but the FEFC and the inspectors alter the way you teach. It is much more threatening than HMI. If you don't perform you are out - a professionals position has shifted."

This set of statements demonstrates a shift in professionals' power and their right to decide.

Many expressed concerns about the maintenance of quality, which was seen to be under pressure from increased numbers and reduced staffing. The lack of a national perspective was also giving some concerns in terms of quality:

> "I am unhappy about the change in FE and NVQs they are set up to challenge the professional ability to choose how to teach. The lead bodies have been set up willy-nilly and have a much more serious effect. It's not been thought through and is a right mess and will give us problems in the future."

The strongest theme from the lecturers was the focus on administration and new contracts because they were "working much harder". The focus on a time budget meant that they did not have as much time as before to help individual students, although several felt the students were bettered served than previously.

There was a common theme about the appropriateness of accountability which seemed to be a reflection in line with the changing role of the professional in society as a whole: "I feel very positive about being accountable", "we always were, we just never wrote it down", "we can now prove that we do more than our contract hours", "retention should be monitored so that we can prove what we do".

Accountability was contrasted with the new commercial context of the education product. One head of department commented, "The last five years have been caught up in the dynamic pursuit of efficiency; we know the price of everything and the value of nothing", and another, "The supermarket policy - stack them high and sell them cheap".

Language Themes

It is clear from the research so far that the discourse in **colleges one, two** and **three** has become dominated by "commercial coding" language themes. Budgets, organisational or departmental, have become the main focus driving decisions in the organisation - leading to concentration on increasing student numbers in order to attract funds.

The demands of the market have an increasing influence on decision making within these colleges - altering the environment to a competitive one. The Government's preference for accountability has increased administrative monitoring and planning which have become endemic; this has added responsibility for administration to the professionals' task. Changes made to the delivery of courses has been focused on the

achievement of efficiency or the generation of income; driving quality to become re-interpreted to mean conformance to standards.

The "caring coding" system was very little in evidence in **colleges one, two** and **three** because the discourse themes had been heavily influenced by "commercial coding" themes and "demonisation themes." In contrast, the "caring coding" system is very much in evidence in **college four;** the students and their attainment were at the very heart of decision making where the focus on student care was identified as its competitive edge. Whereas one might expect hourly pay and part-time modes to be a disadvantage to the maintenance of quality staff, the use of the "caring coding" in discourse served as a tool to keep staff - they felt valued.

Resistance factor: college one two and three

The focus on "commercial coding" has redefined the focus of the colleges from education to organisational survival. The need to survive in a competitive environment has skewed decision-making and has affected the professionals' right to choose. It is very difficult to have a discourse on educational value when the organisational driver has become cost and effectiveness as determinants of reasoning.

Commercial coding has affected the interpretation of value: "I am very sad about the changes, not angry, because of the focus on funding, which I accept," typifies the attitude of the professionals to the changes. The discourse is currently controlled by the Government's choice of management, control and funding tools.

The driver for change in these colleges has become budget focused where the decisions now flow top-down. The explicit objectives have become financial targets and the lecturer's task more administrative and involved, though not empowered. In line with the Governments objectives, the colleges organisational styles are more

competitive. The discourse is about institutional efficiency and not about educational effectiveness.

Our findings are similar to those of Waldron and Krone who found that where there is a high degree of emotional control disagreements are often surpressed and the employee voice neutralised.[13] Certainly behaviour of the professional actors in the further education colleges, at the head of department and lecturer level, has changed in response to changed tasks, objectives and control mechanisms.

However, the use of paralinguistic signs coupled with the lack of nostalgic folklore have provided glimpses of resistance which suggests that the new discourse based on efficiency is not completely accepted by the professionals. Comments like "how can a college be a company, I don't know" leads one to surmise that these professionals could be saying one thing and doing another; in other words the "caring coding" system may still dominate the minds, if not the actions, of professionals.

The power of the monitoring system used in the colleges, to implement Government policy, has served to re-define effectiveness to mean conformance to specification. Whilst colleges struggle to come to terms with organisational survival the discourse about educational effectiveness is controlled. Nevertheless, it is contended that the Government has power over discourse simply because the dialectic between it and the professionals has been avoided by the careful, or incidental, choice of the policy implementation tools; namely monitoring processes and financial muscle which, intentionally or unintentionally, has introduced a different language theme into the colleges.

The principals leadership styles in the newly incorporated colleges has also changed in order to meet the Government's policy. They have become much more directive. However, leadership style did have some affect on the way in which policy was

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[13]WALDRON, V. R. and KRONE, K. J. The experience and expression of emotion in the workplace:

implemented; in some cases enabling a smooth transition for the inevitable changes. This leads us to conclude that whilst the principal's management style had changed, in order to carry out their changed tasks, their attitude towards their subordinates has remained personalised.

College four stands out as clearly different from the rest. Since the Government has not subjected it to major changes it operates much as it has always done. Those working in the college clearly feel valued by their managers, who hold old-fashioned views of professional behaviour: they are expected to exert their autonomy and be committed to the cause. The language theme used in this college is rooted in "caring coding", it is emotionally connected; this factor has survived alongside, and indeed is seen as essential to, commercial awareness.

Even though caution must be applied in interpreting the results of college four, because the research instrument negated the opportunity to observe any paralinguistic phenomena, there is evidence to suggest that commercialisation of the further education colleges and trust in a professional and their ethics, are not mutually exclusive. This provides more evidence for us to conclude that the change in discourse is more about political ideology, coupled with the Government's desire to control, than it is about the efficiency of the further education sector. In other words, emotionality does not have to be abandoned in favour of a commercial focus but rather that the simultaneous use of the two approaches, as adopted by college four, actually serves to create competitive advantage - added value.

a study of a corrections organisation. <u>Management Communication Quarterly</u>. no. 4, p287-309.1991.

CHAPTER TWELVE: CONCLUSION AND REFLECTION

An important purpose of this work has been to relate the introduction of a welfare state, and the recent changes brought to bear, to political trends through language themes over a fifty year period. In view of the complexity of the subject the span of investigation has specifically focused on the implementation of the Education Act 1988 and 1992 and their effect on four further education colleges. The study was thus built on the assumption that the tracing of the policy action relationship could reveal those trends.

As stated at the outset the intention was not to prove conclusively that changes in local practice would not have come about merely by virtue of the colleges' changed financial incentives because the language signals were changing simultaneously. However, if the research revealed that language did change, both on the part of government and in the colleges, this would be some indication that the Government has been successful in achieving at least surface acceptance of its policy at an institutional level. Moreover, the result would then be consistent at least with the thesis that language is an important tool of change.

An assumption was that the changes in the 1980s were typified by a "market" theme introduced by the Conservative Government into public sector organisations; this suggested a potential battle between the Government and the professionals. Adopting Barret and Fudge's proposition, the expectation was that if an implementation gap occurred it would be at the organisational level. Two scenarios were postulated, namely that the combination of changed financial incentives and discourse skewing was a successful tool for policy implementation, or that the professionals would resist those changes. Testing for the possibility of an anti-thesis revealed the use of two coding systems by the professionals, namely "market" coding and "caring" coding which were then used as instruments of analysis.

Further education has been an under investigated sector and previous studies have been

causal and fragmentary. The first task, therefore, was to place further education in its historical context in order to better describe and analyse its identity. This drove the literature review to be eclectic. A benefit of the discovery of the narrative themes from an historical perspective has been that the drivers, levers and constraints which have contributed to the development of further education have been more clearly highlighted. It has also explained the process that led to its identity and reasons for its bias. Another benefit has been the provision of a forum against which the 1980s could be compared.

Further Education and its Clients

By adopting a Foucauldian approach and exploring the panoramic of the narrative, several other interesting issues have come to light. One of these relates to further education's clients and policy making. Research revealed that education for the majority of the post-school population is at odds with a large proportion of those people's needs. Surprisingly, as early as the sixteenth century Francis Bacon can be found eloquently expressing concerns that the education process created social division, adrift as it was from the needs of so many people.

Furthermore, policy failure and abandonment for these client types is not uncommon-indeed there is evidence to suggest that this failure became institutionalised as pressure on resources relegated further education to the periphery of the welfare state. This process was not helped by rivalry between those institutions set up to bring order to educational provision. More importantly, the central system driven by old upper class ideals, which valued academic achievement above any other measure of intelligence, led to the entrenchment of difference not parity of difference - the vision which drove the education reconstruction programme in 1944. The end result was that education became valued as the trappings of social privilege and training became valued as second class. In combination this process has led to the disenfranchisement of a large part of the educable community despite the evidence of valiant efforts and bitter battles to correct this. Yet equal opportunity re-emerges again and again - the vision of a

society that provides equal opportunity refuses to be put to death.

Further Education Colleges

Whilst the legislation in the act made provision for further education it said little about the place of further education colleges in the educational sector. Without a central aim, further education filled the market vacuum, offering education and training, a second chance and an alternative route to success. Given their portfolio further education colleges became valued, and continue to be valued, as second class. Nevertheless they have provided many with an opportunity for success, one might say despite, rather than because of, legislation.

Further Education – The Narrative

The study task, however, was not to devise or advise on a new approach for these clients - it was to explore the narrative through the text. The main focus was the period 1944-1997, the earlier period representing a watershed for education policy. Utilising the two language codes as a basis, the narrative of education reform from 1944 has been subjected to intense scrutiny; this has revealed a visionary theme, its central tenet being equal opportunity as the main driver of change. Further analysis revealed that the visionary theme was later subjected to a theme of inadequacy, which grew in power and served to alter the discourse to dialectic. It was the opportunity provided by the theme of welfare inadequacy that provided the springboard for the growth of the market theme. Rather than the market theme as a "biological metaphor," representing the death of old values, evidence has suggested that these themes are journey metaphors. Indeed, they are consistent with Dunn's "pioneering journey metaphors" concepts, which challenge expressions of traditional rites of passage.

The root metaphor "market" thus appears to represent a stage in a journey towards modernising democracy to represent equal opportunity. As such some components of the "market" theme are revolutionary indeed there was some evidence presented which

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suggests that the "market" theme had altered democratic rights which were being swapped for consumer rights.

On the other hand the analysing the narrative also revealed an underlying discourse, namely a theme of compromise, chameleonic in nature, coupled with a theme of rationalisation which both consistently tempered radical change. These narrative themes are an expression of a "journey metaphor" representing convention and stability. The theme of compromise, a rationale based on economic sufficiency, altered the visionary theme to choice; in so doing it created action consistent with Lindblom's incrementalism thesis. Furthermore, research revealed that it was the theme of rationalisation, initially representing the idea of careful spending in the context of growth, that gained ground in the 1980s as it changed to mean control of increasing demands made by the welfare state. These financial components of the "market" theme are far from radical.

Nisbet's point that "fixity" survives failed experiments, and Dunn's proposition that today's analysis can be distorted by emphasising change rather than stability, led to the consideration that the influence weighting of these two metaphors could be an important variable in explaining the power of a changed discourse. Study of the narrative revealed that the two narrative themes encompassed within the journey metaphor bound and controlled the "pioneering journey metaphors." This is not consistent with Gidden's proposition that reflexivity ensures instability and a reduction of the power of tradition. The two themes in the journey metaphor justify a "let it be" approach, retaining capital and labour in an unequal balance, and thus implicitly transmitting tradition. In combination the themes explain the mobilisation of bias and the way in which society can embrace radical changes along the lines of equal opportunity and do little to attain it.

In Foucauldian terms the "journey" and "pioneering journey" metaphors form the basis of a common archaeological system. This study has revealed two philosophical systems held in unison; this has helped us explain how the social actors over time have been

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able to think differently. Together they enable illumination of the process of social change, describing as they do the intellectual and political trends that have led to the current position of the welfare state. Furthermore, these findings lead to the supposition that the theme of the market and its assumptions about effectiveness and efficiency will continue their journey towards the development of a better democracy, contributing to the development of more acceptable forms of state intervention. Indeed although New Labour is in its infancy its policies confirm this.

Another gain is that investigation of the narrative has helped to explain why the further education sector was subjected to adaptive, responsive and stable polices at one and the same time. It also goes some way to explaining how further education colleges came to be placed in a competitive market and faced efficiency drives based on production models in the 1980s. It was the rationalisation theme in combination with the market theme that created these changes to the colleges.

The research has also revealed some evidence to suggest that a paradigm shift from the pursuit of educational effectiveness, based on equality and the notion of social responsibility, to the pursuit of educational efficiency did take place in government circulars and administrative memoranda. Analysis of the narrative has revealed that this occurred as a consequence of the vision of the welfare state being subjected to the themes of inadequacy and rationalisation where the resultant dialectic challenged the "truth" that social benefits of the system outweighed the social costs. These two themes operating in unison brought about two drivers for change the market theme highlighted the dissatisfactions of the customer in state-run enterprises and the rationalisation theme the lack of accountability of the professional and their institutions. Furthermore, it was the Conservatives market theme that shifted state responsibility from the role of parenting to that of manager providing the forum for it to distance itself from moral responsibility, that is the need to right society's wrongs.

It has also been possible to isolate the beginning of the New Labour theme as comprising the rationalisation theme from the commercial coding alongside an altered

caring coding.

The Conservative Government's Management Technique

In pursuing the market theme the Government assumed that all organisations shared the same characteristics this ultimately led to the colleges becoming incorporated bodies in the 1990s. The colleges were bombarded with justification via commercial coding. Research revealed that the funding regime prior to the 1980s had grown organically and thus lacked a common format; this resulted in a complicated regime made worse by the inability to delineate clearly between further and higher education.

The rationalisation theme created a need for more disclosure and drove the Government to focus its financial methodology on tight control. By the 1990s the rationalisation and market themes were dominated by production assumptions and methods Paradoxically, along with Drucker, Dearden, Allen and Cooper, current thought had begun to focus on total factor productivity measures rather than profit as the new way forward. Indeed Garvin argued that transcendent measures of quality were significant to the service sector. Adopting Sandretto and Harrison's point that complex processes are difficult to measure it was argued that the customised nature of the education process made transcendent quality measures important to further education.

Added to this, research revealed that further education's customer is likely to be a traditional education failure or rejecter; as a result quality measures other than conformance to standard seemed even more significant. All these factors pointed to a form of unit costing suitable for production but inappropriate for education. It was argued that the application of a production orientation to education was premised on a basic misunderstanding of the business. Education is not a product but a process where the customer and the product are interconnected in a way that a customer purchasing frozen peas is not.

Nevertheless, the colleges were thrust into the marke. Atkinson's research

demonstrated the chaos that ensued for the colleges as the funding methodology went into place. The Government's finance methodology forced further education managers for the first time to embrace risk management. It was argued that the inability of the methodology to accommodate other value-added aspects rendered it insufficient and indeed detrimental to the pursuit of educational effectiveness.

Furthermore, building on Hoy, Emerson and Glatter's work, it was argued that the FEFC, a government quango, as a primary source of financial resources, had the potential to control the organisation and skew activity in line with government perceptions. Client needs were increasingly in danger of being decided by administration needs.

To aid clarification of the options open to government to manage change a continuum of management thought, representing an uncertainty tolerance zone was presented. Through this process the use of tight financial controls by the Conservative Government was identified as being at the rational stable end of the continuum thus enabling continuity but restricting innovation. The colleges now had increasing risky cash flow and methods of funding that drove them in different directions with success measured by a costing system that failed to represent the process.

Another gain of presenting the management theory continuum was the identification of significant factors currently thought important to the management of change in a dynamic environment, namely a flat organisational structure, formal and informal decisions making systems, a facilitator management style, and employee empowerment. The first stage of the principals' interviews identified their position with respect to these benchmarks which were then compared to 1996. This identified that the Conservative Government's chosen instruments of change had shifted the colleges from what Mintzberg terms a professional organisation to a more traditional bureaucratic control oriented organisation. The Conservative Government's selected management style ensures that the principals are now less able to manage the environment that it has selected for them. Indeed job specificity with strong control

from the top is criticised in current thought for limiting innovation and organisational flexibility.

Alongside this, professional autonomy became weakened. It has long been thought that professional organisations are different from conventional bureaucracies and look like March and Olsen's organised anarchies because customised service demands specialised service; this relies heavily on expert knowledge to determine the customised outcome. Professional organisations operate with dual responsibility held between administration and the professionals but previously administrators adopted a servicing role. Our findings were conversant with Goffee and Scase: the support staff's role now overlapped with that of the technostructure and administration began to some extent to control standard setting. Indeed client needs were increasingly determined by administration needs. Coupled with this as a result of the Government's management approach lecturers spent more time on administration, which was interpreted to mean that they were more controllable. The problem for professionals in state run enterprises thus became how to maintain individual intellectual freedom.

Some considerable evidence has been presented which suggests that the principals did change their behaviour, their management style and the language they used to describe what they were doing. Indeed it has been argued that they now have a more bureaucratic, control oriented, and cautionary style of management. This is consistent with Hallenger's findings in schools. Along with Bridges and Hecks we express concerns about the shift towards administrative traits and the demise of mission building and social networking. The research reveals that the changes have been at the cost of informal decision making and trust, best in the class attributes, which have diminished in importance as tools of management within these colleges.

There is also considerable evidence that those working in the colleges have adopted a more commercially oriented discourse to describe what they are doing and that this is more in line with Government thinking. This leads to the conclusion that the narrative frame can affect professionals' selectors. There is some evidence to suggest

that Government has the power to alter the strategic direction and core activity of further education colleges. Paradoxically this move towards central control is the opposite of the Government's espoused market theme.

In stark contrast, the private college remained largely untouched by the Government initiatives though there was evidence of a small shift towards administration. The study revealed that this college operates with professional autonomy as key to its commercial success and scores best given benchmarking. It would seem that professional autonomy and commercial success are not mutually exclusive. Indeed the study confirms the assertion of Stacey, Agyris, and Sengee, amongst others, that the key issues for holding these two needs in unison appear to be decentralisation with a management approach based on trust. Although some caution must be adopted in interpreting these results because of the absence of a measure for paralinguistic discourse in this case the professionals were given discretion to decide. Indeed the principal linked their success to the fact that the professionals exerted their discretion and improved courses, as they saw appropriate. Her management style deliberately encouraged and supported autonomous action.

The other significant factor in the private college was that the major body of professionals were outsourced from the the operating core.

2000 and Onwards

Although this may provide indications of the way forward it has to be borne in mind that the private college operates in a niche market which allows the college to be very focused on its product and its customers. The incorporated colleges have very wide product portfolios reflecting the needs and desires of society as well as those of local customers. It is questionable whether these will be best met by market needs. Indeed engineering courses, which have high overhead costs and currently, though not historically, poor uptake are placed in a vulnerable position. At the same time increased participation in training, technical training in particular, has remained a national need for a significant period of time. Already some employers run very costly in service

courses because fewer colleges provide the required facilities pressure is thus put on support, which as we have found is already very weak.

The further education college of the future thus needs to be able to adopt and drop courses in line with current demands at the same time as it needs to sustain society's demands for traditional training and education. However, in an unequal society the basing of opportunity on market selection, or the ability to pay in any form, will cause individual rights to decline for a certain section of the community reinforcing class, racism and androcentric thinking and thus increasing wasted talent. In order to fulfil national education and training needs and reduce wasted talent further education colleges also need to set out to attract and create demand from those sections of the disadvantaged community.

The task for further education colleges, with pressures on financing in a culture that clearly differentiates between education and training is an unenviable one. The very thing the reconstruction of the education system fifty years ago set out to resolve. The placing of further education colleges in a competitive market, however, appears to serve neither the individual, the employers nor the national need and leads us to question the appropriateness of the Conservative Government's training and education strategy.

Indeed current management thought contends that organisational success requires workers to increase their cognitive abilities not only in order to meet market demands of flexibility but also to increase the global competitive position of the UK. In contrast the NVQ system, on which much training is based limits knowledge to task specificity.

In short there was much to suggest that professional autonomy had been threatened. Adopting Luke's approach the investigation focused on the inactivity of these professionals.

Emotional Decision Making

Again, analysis of the narrative identified the lack of resistance by the professionals in the incorporated colleges. There was some evidence to suggest that those working in the colleges accepted the theme of rationalisation but did not accept the theme of the market – thus it was possible to postulate that evidence of changed action and skewed organisational discourse does not imply changed beliefs.

The demonisation of past modes of behaviour evident in the organisational narrative led us to conclude that the discourse was being controlled within the colleges. This conclusion coupled with the absence of nostalgic reflections in the responses from those professionals working in the colleges, contributed to the assertion that these professionals were expressing their dissatisfaction by a non-discourse. Added to this was the evidence of paralinguistic signal- facial expressions of distress, fidgeting, lack of eye contact. This led to the conclusion that the journey metaphor had created a theme of political correctness. Schwartz suggests that this works through shaming which can only be reduced if the resistors participate in the politically correct movement and outwardly attack their unworthiness. There was no evidence of attack. The strength of the paralinguistic signals, however, and the lack of nostalgic reflection led to the conclusion that the old professional paradigm has not been relinquished but rather that the resistance factor may be dormant. This leads us to postulate that observed behavioural change could be short term and could lead to some reaction in the longer term. This can only be speculation but is consistent with the responses.

Building on the work of Agyris, Sengee, Parker and Finemann we were able to assert that in the decision-making of professionals an emotional level is significant in that they have substantial control over the selectors defining meaning. Goleman's work in particular - which has led to a wider understanding of emotional intelligences has given credence to the theme that professionals' decision making is contingent upon their having emotional intelligences. The identification of ethics as grounded in the emotion of empathy, coupled with the conclusions of Hoffman and Gardner that empathetic people are more likely to favour action driven by principle, suggested that

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professionals are extraordinary social actors. Indeed Giddens suggests that professionals are involved in high reflexivity: our expectation would therefore be that their knowledge will be affected by the pioneering journey metaphor. This goes some way to account for the non-discourse. Yet there is in addition evidence to suggest that some emotional intelligences expressed as ethical values also operate external to social change.

The model presented here is simplistic and of course untested but it encapsulates our thoughts for future investigation. Minds, thought and knowledge are affected by current discourse. This is consistent with the findings. It is also possible to postulate, however, that emotional thinking creates a greater level of autonomy, which may alter as knowledge changes but remains free floating because it is expressed in emotional responses that transcend known truth. It is reasonable to consider that emotional intelligences are free floating attributes that professionals have and which they bring to bear at specific times to re-construct reality. They are not tangible but become so when they adhere to an expressed decision. Their non-verbal nature makes them significant and uncharted contributors to the acquisition of professional knowledge. This suggests the need for further research.

At the beginning of this work it was stated that the role which the state has or should have in organising social action is open to debate and argument. Education reconstruction in 1944 was based on a radical re-think as to how society should function – it recreated tradition and in so doing altered the role of the state to include righting society's wrongs. It was asserted that in order to understand the government's ability to change the existing social order we needed to understand why people might accept the authority of the state to change those existing social relations. In this study analysis needed to address why the educational goals were changing and to identify who had the power to do the changing. The application of a panoramic analysis of the narrative over a fifty year period has enabled identification of the political and intellectual trends that existed and thus to some extent account for, in Foucaldian terms, the archaeology that enabled Mrs Thatcher to have

legitimacy to act. Furthermore, the rationalisation theme has been isolated as significant to legitimising Mrs Thatcher's right to pursue educational change based on re-organisation and re-distribution.

At the centre of the justification for the democratic process to bring about change, however, is the debate about the nature and extent of democracy. Dunleavy, Poulantzas, Bachrach and Barataz are firm that it is in the state's interest to massage the population as long as capitalism is protected. The discovery of a pioneering journey theme is not then evidence that power is dispersed indeed the conditioning nature of the journey metaphor adds weight to their argument. Neither can it be concluded as Foucault suggests that individuals are constituted by discourse. Research has revealed that pioneering journey themes do challenge tradition. Whilst only the naive would conclude that polyarchy rules in order to benefit all, the evidence of a pioneering journey theme leads to the conclusion that in a democracy, however power is balanced, and even where there appears to be an absence of collective grounds on which to base resistance, the possibility exists for incremental change to kill a paradigm softly.

The wide diversity of topics and materials used here makes it difficult to summarise them into a coherent whole but the notion underpinning the rigour of the proceedings has been the story of governmental power told through the discourse. This has revealed that policymaking and implementation are part of the chameleonic flux of a dynamic society. Even so the study has demonstrated that, at least in the short term, government discourse does have the power to affect intellectual trends; this is demonstrated in the new wisdom that the welfare state must change. Revolutions imply a known alternative - perhaps that is why no evidence of a biological metaphor has been found. Although the possibility exists for the pioneering metaphor to kill old paradigms if those that hold emotional intelligences do not rejuvenate the political system from the bottom up the power to decide will rest with the government and there is no reason to assume that its interests will be representative.

All the factors presented here lead us to consider that the outcomes postulated in the beginning of this work as too simplistic. Research has revealed the story of policy implementation as a rich stream of events tumbling and jostling for position as it rushes towards the future.

Some Reflections on Method

It remains important to be cautious in interpreting the results presented in this work. Much research in social policy relies on quotations from policy documents and is open to the criticism that the story presented simply reflects what the author wants it to be. The sheer amount of documentation that touches on this subject is so overwhelming that in order to keep the study within reasonable limits the researcher had to be content with a sampling method. In any investigation of this kind it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to achieve absolute objectivity in the evaluation and selection of material. The account is thus broad brush and impoverished by exclusion but, it is hoped, not more so than other work of this kind.

Another difficulty has been that in common with other historical accounts the qualitative content analysis presented relies heavily on the writer's retrospective interpretation centred in today's context. This bias is not removed by the additional use of quantitative content analysis as this introduces a further problem the deconstruction of meaning. Further it too relies on the authors selection of material. However, noting the need for caution the panoramic explanatory power of discourse analysis has provided a process through which past policies can be evaluated and enabled the story of the development of further education to be told.

Caution must also be applied to the conclusions drawn from the organisational research. These are constrained by the knowledge that interviews are affected by the social context in which they take place. Particularly, paralinguistic signals involve the receiver as well as the sender in communication. Some discourse bias is thus bound to be evident in research of this nature.

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