# THE TECHNICAL VOCATIONAL EDUCATION INITIATIVE (TVEI) AND THE MAKING OF THE ENTERPRISE CULTURE

By

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June, 1996

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ISBN 0-612-19735-2

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#### THESIS ABSTRACT

This thesis is situated in the history of British debates over the relationship of technical and vocational schooling to capitalism. It analyses the impact of 'new vocational' policy initiatives on English education from the 1970s, using an approach termed 'historical ethnography.' Using this methodology, it draws on ethnographic studies of the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) between 1985 and 1992.

My argument is that TVEI represents the most recent manifestation of a long history of educational policies that have systematically produced and ordered the social relations of class in an educational form. In this vein, I argue that the technical and vocational curriculum can be seen as an integral site within the English educational State for the production and formation of class relations within schooling. TVEI, I assert, was central to such a process through its capacity to concert and co-ordinate the social relations and practices of secondary schooling around the concept of enterprise, which acted as an organising device for management/administration, teaching, learning, and most crucially, the formation of individual subjectivities. Understood this way, we can see how TVEI effected reforms that contributed to the formation of clusters of social relations that produced class in new ways.

I show how this process emerged under TVEI through my ethnographic studies of enterprise, school-based management, business studies, and assessment. What each study reveals is how TVEI worked to effect a generalised shift in the culture of schooling away from the post-war social democratic politics of education, to that of a 'managed market' and enterprise culture. In this respect, I argue, TVEI prefigured many of the reforms that were to flow from the Education Reform Act (1988).

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### RESEMI

La présente thèse se situe dans la cadre des débats entourant la relation entre l'éducation technique et professionnelle en Angleterre, et le système capialiste. A travers une approche qualifiée d'historico-ethnographique, nous y élaborons une analyse de l'impact des nouvelles politiques en matière de formation professionnelle sur le système d'enseignement en Angleterre depuis les années 1970. Ainsi, la méthodologie de l'analyse s'appuie-t-elle sur des études ethnographiques de l'initiative de formation technique et professionnelle (IFTP) entre 1985 et 1992.

Notre argument est à l'effet que l'IFTP constitue l'expression la plus récente d'une longue série de politiques ayant systématiquement produit et coordonné les rapports sociaux de classes tel qu'elles se manifestent au sein du système d'éducation. Nous soutenons également que le curriculum technique et professionnel représente une matrice privilégiée ou se déroule le processus de production de rapports de classes à l'intérieur du système anglais d'énseignement. L'IFTP fut à cet égard d'une importance majeure en vertu de sa capacité de exercer un rôle de concertation des pratiques et des rapports sociaux à l'échelle de l'enseignement secondaire autour du concept de l'entreprise, concept qui sert d'instrument organisateur dans les domaines de l'administration, de l'e\_seiignement, de l'apprentissage, et, surtout, de la formation de la subjectivité individuelle. Vue sous cet angle, l'IFTP se dévoie en tant qu'outil de réforme ayant contribué à la création d'ensembles de rapports sociaux qui donnent lieu à des nouvelle formes de constitution des classes.

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Nous démontrons le développement de ce processus à l'aide de nos études ethnographiques d'entreprises, les systèmes de gestion scolaire, et des études commerciales. Chacune de ces études révéle comment l'IFTP a pu effectué des politiques social-démocrates de l'après-guerre dans le domaine de l'éducation vers un modèle basé sur la culture marchande de l'entreprise. En tant que tel, l'IFTP représente une préfiguration de maintes réformes ayant découlé de l'Educational Reform Act de 1988.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGFMENTS**

Hidden from view of the reader of this thesis is an extended work process to which many people have contributed. My colleagues on the TVEI Project at Leeds University spent several years collecting, annotating, and analysing the ethnographic data from which this study arises. In particular I owe a special debt to my friend and colleague David Yeomans. This study would not have been possible without his practical support, insight, and willingness to respond to a barrage of requests relating to TVEI over the years.

I would also like to acknowledge my gratitude to the TVEI Unit of the Manpower Services Commission, for allowing me to use the Leeds University TVEI archive for the purposes of this research.

In Montreal I have been fortunate to become part of a circle of friends who have provided a social context that has not only been intellectually stimulating and challenging, but has also given me a sense of belonging. For this I wish to thank Andrea Levy, Qussaï Samak, Eric Darier, and Eugenio Bolangaro. Within the Department of Administration and Policy Studies in Education, my colleague Pat Boston has been a constant source of encouragement and optimism. Thanks are also due to the McGill library staff who have always been both courteous and helpful.

The members of my committee have been supportive, patient, and unreservedly generous in overseeing this project and I wish to thank them all: Don Burgess, Allan Fenichel, Nancy Jackson, and Eric Sharagge. Special thanks are due to my supervisor, Nancy Jackson, who taught me to ask questions and frame problems from a non-positivist

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perspective. The care she has shown for students and her relentless pursuit of scholarship in research and teaching, will always be a role-model that I will seek to emulate.

I would also like to acknowledge the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) for a doctoral fellowship.

Finally, I want to thank both my families on either side of the Irish sea for their support over the years. A special 'thank you' goes to Elizabeth for being patient, enduring, and above all good humoured about my long hours of solitude.

This work is dedicated to my parents, Dick and Sally Jordan.

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#### CHAPIER I

#### INTRODUCTION

We have to move this country in a new direction to change the way we look at things, to create a wholly new attitude of mind.<sup>1</sup>

The focus and themes of this study derive from recent debates and controversies within the sociology of education that have centred on the effects of the 'new vocationalism' within English education and schooling. These debates have generated an extensive array of historical, evaluation, and policy oriented research that carefully details the impact of new vocational policies on secondary schooling. Indeed, the literature on the subject has grown to such a degree as to constitute a 'sociology of the new vocationalism' (Jordan, 1985).

This thesis contributes to this research by examining the effects on secondary schooling of the Technical Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI). Launched in 1982-3, TVEI aimed not only to explore new methods of managing and organising English secondary education, but to significantly increase the technical and vocational component of the secondary curriculum for 14-18 year olds. In this respect, the Initiative constituted part of a much wider program of new vocational policies in the 1980s and 1990s that focused on making education and schools more responsive to the 'needs' of industry. What makes TVEI particularly worth investigating is not only that it represented a fundamental break with a pre-existing educational politics embedded within 'progressivism,' but that it prefigured a 'new' politics of education that articulated with the construction of an 'enterprise culture' in Britain during these years.

Several main themes will become apparent as the thesis progresses. The most broad and over-arching concerns itself with understanding technical and vocational education as an historical process that is deeply implicated in questions of how rule of the bourgeois State has been effected, in an educational form, within British capitalism. As I will demonstrate, this involves exploring how policy and practice in technical and vocational education is concerned not only with the creation of 'human capital,' but also with social regulation and class formation. A second theme focuses upon how TVEI articulated the daily activities of teachers, administrators, and students to business and commercial interests, or what I refer to as a 'moral economy' of enterprise (Thompson, 1971, 1991). The third theme investigates the different mechanisms, procedures, and practices that were used to effect forms of subjectivity that centred on the creation of an 'enterprising self.' Throughout the thesis the overriding emphasis is to show how the social relations of accumulation, or processes of capitalist rationalisation have taken a material form in the policy and practice of technical and vocational education.

In this introductory chapter I outline the several aims of the thesis as well as provide an overview of its contents. The first section describes the origins, aims, politics, and curricular content of TVEI. The second section deals with the research setting and questions that relate to the collection and organisation of ethnographic data. Following this, I introduce the broad theoretical and methodological concerns that have defined my interests in attempting to connect ethnographic studies of TVEI schools with questions of policy and history, using an approach I have called historical ethnography. The fourth and last section provides an overview and summary of the remaining chapters.

#### <u>TVEI</u>

Organised, financed, and implemented by the Manpower Services Commission (MSC), TVEI was aimed at vocationalising the secondary curriculum of English schools for the 14-18 age group "across the ability range" (MSC, 1983). In policy and practice, this implied the systematic introduction of programmes of technical and vocational education that were designed to provide students with relevant skills for "employment and for adult life in a society liable to rapid change." In this respect, TVEI can be understood as the most recent example of an historical tendency to make the English education system more responsive to the 'needs' of capitalist industry.

Described by Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) of schools as "the largest curriculum development project funded and administered by central government" this century, TVEI was first announced in Parliament in November 1982 by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and then launched in September 1983 (HMI, 1991, p. ix). Although it was initially conceived of as a 'pilot' project covering 14 local education authorities (LEAs), in 1986 an 'Extension' phase was announced by the Secretary of State for Education which involved all schools within 104 LEAs in the country. Thus, when funding for it terminates in 1997, TVEI will not only have had a major impact on the character and social organisation of secondary schooling in Britain, it will also have been decisive in forming the classroom experiences of teachers and students. As a fore runner and ground breaker for the Education Reform Act (ERA) in 1988, therefore, TVEI constitutes one of the two most important educational policies in Britain's post-war history.

From its inception within the 'Enterprise Unit' of the Prime Minister's Cabinet Office, TVEI did not follow any of the traditional patterns of educational reform established since 1944. Whereas the latter had relied upon a consultative process (with LEAs and teachers), an advisory model (as in the Plowden Advisory Committee), or legislative change, TVEI enacted a policy process that was both "executive" (i.e. centralised) in style and dependant upon a "business or commercial model" (Dale, 1989, p. 149). In its 'executive' mode, TVEI exhibited two features. First, it was funded and organised through the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) whose activities had hitherto been restricted to post-16 vocational training, not the Department of Education and Science (DES). Since its establishment in 1964, the DES (formerly the Ministry of Education) had acted as the traditional conduit for education policy. However, by the late-1970s the DES and its 'partnership' with the LEAs and teacher associations/unions had increasingly become the subject of a sustained critique by new Conservatives. Although this critique had a number of components, it primarily focused upon the organisational culture of the DES which was perceived to be fundamentally antithetical to an emerging politics of enterprise. Indeed, as Secretary of State for Education (1970-74), Margaret Thatcher remembers that "the ethos of the DES was self-righteously socialist" (Thatcher, 1995, p. 166). In the early 1980s, therefore, new Conservative distrust of the DES ensured that its former position in the circuits of policy formation were curtailed in favour of the MSC on ideological grounds. Second, what made the MSC so attractive under these circumstances was not only its lacking a 'socialist' past, but that it had been constituted as a 'quango' under the Employment and Training Act (1973).<sup>2</sup> This had the advantage of

enabling successive Thatcher governments throughout the 1980s to use the MSC (and its later transmutations) as an executive arm of the Department of Employment.<sup>3</sup> The effect of this was to remove any requirement for Parliamentary legislation or consultative processes in relation to TVEI, thus reducing policy processes and development concerning the Initiative to the internal administrative processes of the MSC. In this way, "a major agent of the Department of Employment [...] bypassed conventional democratic channels and now deals direct with LEAs, schools and colleges" (Gleeson, 1987a, p. 3). Thus, the location of TVEI within the MSC was an instance of the Thatcher government's strategy to circumvent the traditional channels of democratic accountability that had been established with the 1944 Education Act.

Understood this way, the politics from which TVEI emerged were an expression of the new vocationalism which "gave it an emphasis on notions of nationalism, materialism, capitalism and enterprise consistent with the Conservative tradition" (McCulloch, 1987, p. 23). This orientation had definite long-term implications for the management, organisation and curriculum of TVEI. First, TVEI brought with it a new method of financing educational change that depended upon 'categorical funding.' This differed substantially from existing arrangements in which LEAs received a combination of grants from central government and local taxes for expenditure on schools and colleges. Critically, the disbursement of these funds under the earlier system was embedded within a decisionmaking process that, while influenced by the priorities of national governments, was primarily determined by the politics of the LEA and teacher associations/unions. By contrast, under TVEI categorical funding required that LEAs and their schools *contract* 

with the MSC to deliver change in schools and colleges that conformed to the TVEI 'Aims and Criteria' (see Appendix 1). As I show in chapter five, this effected a 'bid and deliver' mechanism that was to reconstitute the decision-making processes of LEAs and schools within an emerging moral economy of enterprise.

Once an LEA had signed a contract with the MSC for funding it was then committed, over a five year period, to implement TVEI in accordance with its own local agreement (i. e. the contract) and the aims and criteria which were centrally issued by the MSC. Although this allowed the emergence of 'versions' of TVEI at the level of the LEA and school, it nevertheless ensured that "the structure and the ideology of TVEI constrain[ed] the breadth of possible interpretations of the TVEI guidelines" (Dale, 1989, p. 159). This had major implications for both the *management* and *curriculum* of TVEI which I explore in chapter five.

On the management side, TVEI worked in and through LEAs and schools using its own organisation and designated personnel. Thus, while policy was determined by the MSC's 'National Steering Group' and 'TVEI Unit,' implementation of the contract within individual LEAs and schools was administered by local TVEI Units under the supervision of a project co-ordinator. Within schools TVEI was usually enacted by a team of teachers under the guidance of a school co-ordinator who was responsible for its day-to-day management and administration. As part of this management structure and to ensure 'contract compliance,' the MSC also instituted a substantial and multi-layered programme of evaluation and monitoring. In all, there were four national evaluations of TVEI incorporating studies of: curriculum and pedagogical practice; management, organisation and

implementation of TVEI; finance; and finally, a curriculum data base. LEAs were also obliged to contract their own local evaluations over the life of the project. In addition, MSC appointed its own regional 'Advisors' who performed a similar role to that of the HMI but who focused exclusively on TVEI. In chapters five and six I discuss the impact of this organisation on the TVEI schools that form my study.

As I have indicated above, TVEI did not impose a curriculum upon schools (as did the later national curriculum) but a set of guidelines that were to be taken into account when constructing programmes of study using TVEI funding. Although the aims and criteria are broad, they nevertheless stipulate a reasonably coherent set of aims and objectives against which curriculum development was to occur. Superficially, this was to centre on 'Vocational Education' which "is to be interpreted as education in which the students are concerned to acquire generic or specific skills with a view to employment." In particular, schools were to focus on the development of the 'technical and vocational' or 'practical' in their programmes where students could "become accustomed to using their skills and knowledge to solve the real world problems they will meet at work" (MSC, 1983). TVEI programmes were to also include: an emphasis on equal opportunities; enterprise; planned work experience (for up to two weeks); regular assessment (records of achievement profiling); provision for the encouragement of initiative, problem-solving, and other aspects of personal development. Significantly, the Focus Statement that was issued for the national 'Extension' of TVEI in 1987 simply reiterated the pilot's aims and criteria with only slight modifications.

Although some commentators have argued that there "was little in this list that LEAs could reject" (McCulloch, 1987, p. 27), particularly as TVEI contained a 'progressive' emphasis (e.g. 'equal opportunities,' 'regular assessment,' 'personal development'), this does not detract from the indebtedness of the guidelines to a new vocationalist discourse. In this context, both the pilot and national extension guidelines disclose an emerging process of "ideological re-tooling" (Smith, 1988) that was expressed in concepts such as 'skill,' 'competency,' 'enterprise,' and 'the world of work,' Significantly, this was not restricted to vocational subjects in the curriculum, but as the then Director of TVEI put it, "TVEI energy [was to be] released to ensure that the whole curriculum is related to the world of work" (Jones, 1989, p. 352). Couched in the discourse of an educational progressivism that distinguished TVEI from other new vocational policies, this statement appears to evoke the liberal ideals of 'relevance' espoused by educationists such as Dewey (1963). However, it is important to note that the 'world of work' to which the whole curriculum was to relate was being redefined by new Conservative policies aimed at creating a "free-enterprise economy" in Britain in the 1980s and 1990s (Thatcher, 1995). My point is that the relation to the world of work established through TVEI was of a particular ideological character which worked to transform and recontextualise the relations and practices of progressivism. This is a major theme that I explore in chapters four, seven, and eight on TVEI Enterprise, Business Studies, and Profiling.

## The Research Setting

The data that I use in my exploration of TVEI is drawn from two studies that span a period of seven years (1985-1992). The first study I participated in as one of six researchers on the National Evaluation of TVEI Curriculum, based at Leeds University between 1985-1988. Over the three years of the study 26 pilot schools were visited twice, at different periods, for two to three weeks each. The primary focus of the evaluation was on the TVEI curriculum in action, as this emerged from the work of teachers and students in classrooms, workshops, laboratories and elsewhere. In addition data was also collected on the management and organisation of the Initiative in both schools and LEAs.

This was followed by a smaller scale study in 1991-2 of ten of the original 26 schools (again for two to three weeks each) to assess the medium-term impact of TVEI. Although I was not directly involved as a researcher in the second phase, I did act as a consultant on its design and implementation. The scope of this study encompassed two aims. The first was to engage with the broader legacies and effects of TVEI on the curriculum, teaching and learning, and management within schools. The second was to examine how particular subjects (business studies, design and technology, and information technology) that TVEI introduced to the secondary curriculum had evolved since the beginning of the pilot in 1982-3. This set of data is particularly revealing of the more enduring transformations that TVEI effected within the social relations of schools and classrooms.

The purpose of both the 1985-88 and 1991-2 studies was not to produce individual 'case' studies of the TVEI curriculum within individual schools, though such cases have

been published using the data (Williams & Yeomans, 1993, 1994a, 1994b). Rather, the procedure used was to construct a broader picture of TVEI around emergent curriculum themes and issues across the schools investigated. This approach not only allowed an appreciation of how TVEI interacted with the established micropolitics of particular schools, but placed emphasis on common effects and continuities between them. As will become apparent, this is consistent with the approach that I have adopted in my own analysis of the TVEI data.

The selection of schools and colleges for inclusion in the 1985-88 evaluation was based upon a two-stage process. At the level of the local education authority (LEA) the following considerations were taken into account: the point at which an LEA entered TVEI; geographical location (e.g. rural as opposed to urban/industrial); local employment characteristics; the level of institutional funding for schools within an LEA; as well as special features (e.g. centralised staff/resource provisions). At school level, factors such as a school's previous involvement in technical and vocational programmes, as well as the information it provided in its submission documents about curriculum organisation adopted for TVEI were considered. The selection of schools and colleges for the 1991-2 study was less influenced by the criteria established for the original national evaluation, than by data yielded by this research on actual TVEI programmes within schools. In particular, the ten schools that comprised this study were chosen because they had accomplished significant transformations in their curricula, management and organisational processes under TVEI.

Throughout both periods of research, ethnographic techniques were employed, consisting of classroom observation, interviews with teachers and other educational practitioners, as well as the collection and analysis of documentary evidence (Barnes et al., 1987, 1988). When research was completed on both studies, over 1,000 hours of classroom observation had been recorded, approximately 500 interviews with teachers and LEA administrators conducted, and numerous documents collected and analysed. This data now constitutes a public archive which is housed in the School of Education at the University of Leeds to which I was given access for the purposes of completing the research for this dissertation.

# Historical Ethnography: An Approach to Social Inquiry

In this section I briefly review contemporary approaches to inquiry that have dominated historical and ethnographic research on technical and vocational education and more particularly, the new vocationalism. By contrasting these with my own approach, which I have called historical ethnography, I hope to make visible how the present study contributes to scholarly research in the field.

The relatively new and growing research on the sub-field of the sociology of the new vocationalism has attracted studies from a range of different, theoretical, methodological and political perspectives. While these have competed to define the terrain on which debate and analysis would occur, studies of the new vocationalism's impact on schooling have largely been approached from a 'liberal vocational' standpoint. This has produced accounts with a number of common characteristics, and I would argue, shortcomings.

First, the dominant approaches emphasise forms of policy and institutional analysis over detailed ethnographies of the school and classroom. This has had two curious effects: first, it encourages a conception of the policy process that is autonomous of the everyday, lived arena of schooling; second, it fails to construe policy as a political and cultural intervention aimed at re-ordering the social relations and organisation of school life. In short such studies fail to show how policy works in schools to produce certain kinds of experience and subjectivity and in what ways these articulate with the prevailing political aims of the era.

Second, in conventional literature the relationship of the historical to the ethnographic is organised in a way that understands history as a 'context' or 'back-cloth' within which empirical studies of the school and classroom can then be situated. Connecting history and ethnography in this way does not, however, show us how daily life can be understood as the realisation of particular historical tendencies. As Thompson has argued, we need to appreciate that "the past is not just dead, inert, confining; it carries signs and evidences also of creative resources which can sustain the present and prefigure possibility" (Thompson, 1981, pp. 407-408). Developing this notion of *historical process* has been one of my central interests in the thesis, particularly in connecting my investigations of TVEI with the history of English technical and vocational education. I have wanted to show how, through TVEI, specific historical tendencies in the history of English technical and vocational education continue to exert a determining pull over policy and practice within contemporary schooling. For this purpose, I have relied upon

theoretical and methodological insights borrowed from historical sociology and educational ethnography to construct an historical ethnography of TVEI.

Third, technical and vocational education has rarely been understood as constituted by the social relations of capitalism as a specific historical and social formation. As I show in chapter two, the reason for this is that the concept, practice, and politics of a liberal vocationalism has historically arisen from within government, the professional middle classes, and progressive elements of the bourgeoisie. As it has been conceived from within these 'relations of ruling' (Smith, 1994), it tends to ignore or marginalise questions relating to class, ideology, and power.

Thus, a liberal vocational approach to the analysis of technical and vocational education reproduces forms of inquiry that conclude investigation at the very point at which they become of serious sociological or cultural interest. Cognisant of these limitations, critical and marxist approaches have provided both a critique and alternative to a liberal vocational perspective on the new vocationalism. This has been explored most extensively in relation to developments in training (Bates et al., 1984; Benn & Fairley, 1986; Cockburn, 1987; Cohen, 1990; Gleeson, 1989, 1990; Jordan, 1985), although significant contributions have also focused upon secondary schooling (Brown & Lauder, 1992; Dale et al., 1990; Finn, 1987; Gleeson, 1987b; Saunders, 1986; Shilling, 1989). While these approaches have advanced a perspective that centres on concepts of class, ideology, and power, they have nevertheless construed these concepts in ways that limit analysis of the historical and social character of new vocational policies and particularly TVEI. In my view, this is a problem that stems from theoretical and methodological

tensions within marxism that have still to be resolved. These tensions are most apparent in renderings of the key conceptual categories of ideology and class. For example, ideology is most often used to denote an inter-related collection of ruling ideas that has defined the new vocational agenda on terms favourable to capital (Mannheim, 1965). As I argue in chapter five, this is an unnecessarily narrow and restrictive conception which reduces ideology to ideas, beliefs, and values while ignoring their embeddedness within lived social relations and practices of the everyday world (Smith, 1987; Thompson, 1978, 1991). The effects of this are twofold in critical and marxist accounts of the new vocationalism. First, policy and the policy process are construed as a conduit, a conveyor-belt, for the transmission of ruling ideas concerning how schools should be organised. Thus, at the risk of oversimplifying new vocational policies such as TVEI are seen to enter schools through teachers' and students heads' via "policy as discourse" (Bowe, Ball, & Gold, 1992). Second, in ethnographic studies this restrictive conception has focused policy research on how the new vocationalism effected transformations in teachers' ideas, understandings, and meanings of their work. What this view overlooks, however, is how and in what ways TVEI policy impinged upon and reorganised the practical activity of schools within which new vocational 'ideology' or 'discourse' was to become effective. This conception of policy also re-focuses our attention on the educational State as being constituted by forms of practical action. I will say more on this below.

Similar tensions, or ambiguities, are evident in critical and marxist approaches to the question of class. Influenced by debates in marxist and Weberian social theory during the 1960s and 1970s, the sociology of education has tended to reproduce a conception of

class as a position, or location held by distinct groups or populations that share common socio-economic circumstances. The overwhelming effect of this has been to generate a language of class in educational research that tends to emphasise the categorisation of individuals according to income or wealth over the social and historical dimensions of class relations. For instance, in their discussion of class in *Schooling in Capitalist America* (1976) Bowles and Gintis argue that, "the reader should be impressed with the need to place individuals in society into identifiable groups for the purpose of analysis" ( p. 67). This is a method of analysing class which has also been uncritically incorporated within much of the literature on the sociology of the new vocationalism, particularly as vocational education policy has historically centred on defining forms of schooling appropriate for that segment of the population identified as 'the working-class.'

This notion of class is useful, but not sufficient for the analysis of either the new vocationalism or TVEI. It is not adequate for two reasons. First, the character and social organisation of contemporary capitalism in the 1980s and 1990s has been to systematically restructure the capital relation itself. That is, while it still holds true that the capital relation as Marx described it is responsible for the production of populations that have different relations to the means of production, it is also the case that this has changed in important ways. The one examined here is the elaboration of technologies of the accumulation process that articulate individual's lives to regimes of managerial control and surveillance associated with 'the market' or 'enterprise culture.' The principal effect of this change process has been to disorganise the pre-existing relations of class and capital that characterised vocational education under industrial capitalism, thereby rendering the 'old'

concept of class analysis incomplete or obsolete. What has to be taken into account in the context of the 1980s and 1990s is the way in which the social relations of class are being re-organised in ways that do not necessarily correspond with nineteenth or twentieth-century industrial capitalism. This is not to say that class in the old sense is a redundant concept, but to argue that we have to take account of the changed forms through which class has evolved as a social relation within the enterprise culture in the contemporary period.

To understand how the concept of class embodies an ongoing historical relationship, we must also effect a methodological shift in our analysis. In seeking such an approach, I have followed the historical studies of Corrigan & Sayer (1985); Johnson (1970, 1972a, 1972b, 1977, 1979, 1988), Paterson (1988a, 1988b, 1989, 1991), and Thompson (1967, 1968, 1976, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1981, 1991, 1993, 1994) and the sociological theory of Smith (1974, 1984, 1987, 1990a, 1990b, 1994). In their analysis class is not understood as an abstract category to which individuals or groups can be assigned, but a social relation that is an organisation of both practical activities and subjectivity which is not necessarily within the immediate control of individuals. In this view, class is an organisation of social relations that has the property of inserting the local, particular experiences of individuals in the wider political economy of capitalism or 'capital relation.' In this way, class eventuates as a 'relation of ruling' (Smith, 1994), in the sense that it privileges certain practices, forms of knowing, and courses of social action over others. In English education, as I show in chapter two, these relations are expressed in the historical division between the 'secondary' and 'technical,' or in the 'English



tradition' of the public and endowed schools. Although they materialised in a different form, these relations also characterised the new vocational policies, such as TVEI (and the ERA). Thus, the empirical chapters on TVEI attempt to show not only how and in what ways these relations perpetuated class as a historical process, but actively reconstituted it by articulating the practices of schooling to the creation of an enterprise culture.

Last, it is important to note that the historical studies I have referred to above also work with a particular conception of 'the State.' That is, while these writers recognise that the State can be conceptualised as a discrete political organ comprised of an interrelated network of institutions and personnel, they nevertheless give emphasis to the social relations and practices that constitute 'it' within the everyday world. This is why writers such as Corrigan and Sayer (1985) speak of "State formation," as they wish to emphasise that the particular forms the State assumes arises from an historical process which is ongoing and embedded within the social regulation of the everyday world. This notion of the State as practice also underlies my historical ethnography of TVEI. However, unlike Corrigan and Sayer's work which is often highly theoretical and does not focus on ethnographic data, my approach is closer to Thompson (1968, 1976, 1978, 1991) in that it pays close attention to the analysis of ethnographic material in showing how different social practices have combined to form the English educational State in the contemporary period.

### Overview of Chapters

Chapter two examines the development of British technical and vocational education policy since the early nineteenth century. My aim is to show how historical

trends in technical and vocational education helped shape and provide the policy dynamic that led to the implementation of TVEI in 1982-3. Unlike conventional histories of vocational education, that tend toward a chronology of events and policy developments, I focus on how the social relations of vocational education define class in an educational form. This is the same analysis that I explore in my later ethnographic investigations of TVEI.

Chapter three locates the emergence of TVEI within the 'new Conservatism' that began to shape British public policy from the mid-1970s, particularly in re-defining the aims and purposes of education and schooling. As I demonstrate, its lasting impact was not only to effect the gradual demise of the post-war social democratic settlement, but to generate an alternative form of educational provision embedded within a new Conservative critique of the Keynsian welfare state. I argue that the 'enterprise culture' from which the new vocationalism and TVEI were to emerge was part of this broader transformation.

Chapter four focuses on how the politics of enterprise was expressed through the TVEI curriculum. Through studies of the micro-enterprise, and subjects such as technology, business studies, and information technology (IT), it focuses on how the concept of enterprise produced forms of teaching and learning that re-constituted what was to count as relevant or useful school knowledge and experience. As I show, its overriding effect was not only the elaboration of the concept and practice of 'entrepreneurship' in the classroom, but the rendering of forms of decision-making within the school that emulated those of business or commercial organisations.

Chapters five and six examine the impact of TVEI on the management and organisation of schools. While both chapters have in common an exploration of the effects of the 'management of change' on the experiences of teachers and administrators, they nevertheless stress different aspects of this process under TVEI. The orientation of chapter five is more theoretical and methodological. It argues that because of its peculiar managerial character, TVEI cannot be adequately grasped using conventional approaches to the analysis of educational administration. In their place, I argue for a critique and a reconceptualisation of educational management/administration as forms of social regulation. In this respect, I suggest that by introducing market relations in to schools through the mechanism of 'categorical funding,' TVEI produced a social organisation of school governance that was deeply implicated in an emerging moral economy of enterprise. This is elaborated in my notion of a 'managerial grid.'

Using the analysis developed in chapter five, chapter six focuses on how the managerial grid issuing from TVEI transformed the social relations of decision-making within two schools. As the two 'case studies' of *Scruton High* and *Redmond College* show, its general effect was not only to align the social organisation of decision-making within the two schools with that of an emerging moral economy of enterprise, but to displace and invalidate the 'voice' of teachers within this process. This rendered styles of school management in which teachers professional judgement was both increasingly marginalised and systematically de-valued.

Chapter seven explores the subjectifying effects of TVEI on a teachers and students engaged in a business studies class. The corner stone of this chapter is the

analysis I do of a business studies lesson in *Riverside Comprehensive* on the theme of 'Retailing and Security.' My aim in this is to show two things. First, how the capital relation constitutes the underlying dynamic of the lesson in structuring and channelling teacher-student interaction in particular ways around its theme. Second, how this same relation inverts the students' real, lived, relations to the 'adult world.' Last, I show that this process does not only re-define their lived connections with the outside world, but that the capital relation is itself reproduced as a particular kind of subjectivity.

Chapter eight concludes my empirical investigations with a critical analysis of the 'new assessment' practices that TVEI introduced to schools. It argues that although records of achievement and profiles had 'progressive' origins, under TVEI and the politics of the new vocationalism they were re-constituted as subjectifying technologies for the 'needs of industry.' In this new context, 'child-centredness' assumes an altogether different social organisation in either being implicated in relations of surveillance, or the moulding of particular subjective capacities for participation in the "free enterprise economy"(Thatcher, 1995). In this mode, assessment is not treated as simply a technical or administrative exercise, but a practice that is embedded within the moralisation of technical competence in the context of class relations.

Chapter nine is an overview of the argument presented in this thesis. It examines the implications of historical ethnography for further research on the technical and vocational within secondary schooling.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Thatcher on being elected to Prime Minister in 1979 (quoted in Mullard, 1987, p. 161).
<sup>2</sup> That is, a quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation. As defined by the Oxford

<sup>2</sup> That is, a quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation. As defined by the Oxford English Dictionary, it is a "semi-public body with financial support from and senior appointments made by government." The term came into common usage in the U. S.A. in the early 1970s.

<sup>3</sup> In 1988 the MSC was renamed the 'Training Commission.' It was then demoted to a division within the Employment Department known as the 'Training agency.' In 1995 the Employment Department was amalgamated with the Department for Education. Significantly, the new body is now known as the Department for Employment and Education.

#### CHAPTER 2

# TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION: THE EVOLUTION OF CLASS RELATIONS

The concern of our predecessors in the nincteenth century about the need for a technically and professionally competent workforce is a very important dimension of TVEI, but it is not the only dimension; it is not just about people for industry [...] it is more likely to be about people for business and enterprise.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter presents an historical analysis of the development of technical and vocational education policy in England. However, unlike conventional histories of the subject, its approach is derived from historical ethnography, which as I made clear in the Introduction, has implications for how we may view and understand the 'historical.' That is, my focus will be on how the technical and vocational evolved as a social relation that was implicated in the formation of class and the mediation of the capital relation in different historical forms. As I show, this was not only expressed in the changing character of the English educational State as it unfolded over time, but in the different approaches to educational policy that expressed ever-changing phases of social regulation.

For the purposes of the analysis I develop here, it is useful to mark out four phases or modes of regulation that have characterised the politics of the English educational State. In the first phase, which includes most of the nineteenth century, Britain was extremely slow to develop a national system of education, as Green (1991) has argued. Rather, it relied on a system of 'voluntarism' in which education "developed less through state action than through private and philanthropic initiatives" that were primarily

controlled by the landed gentry and bourgeoisie (p. 10). The rendered effect of this was not only to marginalise and neglect the development of scientific and technical instruction, but to define it as an appropriate and proper form of education for the 'industrial classes.'

The second phase of regulation is marked by the emergence of a national system of education under the control of central government. This began to appear after the passing of the 1870 Education Act, which although it brought some co-ordination to educational policy and funding concerning elementary provision, nevertheless represented little "more than a compromise with the old voluntary system" (Green, 1991, p. 11). However, the establishment of a Board of Education (1899) and the enactment of the 1902 Education Act and Secondary Regulations (1904) "finally instigated a unified educational administration" (p. 12). The effect of this legislation was to institute a form of regulation which ensured the continuation of the differentiation between the 'secondary' and 'technical.' Inscribed within policy and practice, this distinction acted to ensure that the education of working class children did not extend beyond elementary schooling, while the secondary remained the exclusive province of the middle classes and bourgeoisie.

The third phase is signified by the rise of a social democratic politics in education that began to emerge during the 1960s. While the distinction between the secondary and technical still persisted, it was nevertheless subsumed within the shift in policy toward comprehensive schooling in the mid 1960s. As the Centre for Contemporay Cultural Studies (1981), Dale (1989), and Grace (1995) have shown, the regulatory character of this phase materialised through 'decentralised control' of the educational system, in which

class relations were increasingly mediated by local education authorities (LEAs), schools, and the professional organisations of teachers who were the primary stakeholders in the implementation of national policy.

The fourth phase was ushered in by the 'Great Debate' and the shift to what sociologists of education have labelled the 'new vocationalism' (Bates et al., 1984), which included developments such as TVEI and the Education Reform Act (1988). This will form the topic of chapter three.

Having said all this about my approach to historical analysis, it may be helpful for me to comment on two difficulties I have experienced in developing such an analysis of the evolution of technical education. First, as Donnelly has noted in his review of developments in technical education during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, "studies of the detailed operation of technical curricula and institutions, and the forces impinging upon them, are rare" (Donnelly, 1989, p. 160). Ethnographies of the nineteenth century technical classroom do not exist, except in the highly mediated form of the schools inspectors' reports. Where possible I have attempted to overcome this limitation by incorporating in my study some empirical research that does exist on the early technical curriculum, so as to display the impact of policy on the social relations and practices of schooling (see Summerfield & Evans, 1990b). Second, existing histories of technical and vocational education (Argles, 1964; Donnelly, 1989; McCulloch, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1995; McCulloch, Jenkins and Layton, 1985; Musgrave, 1970; Roderick & Stephens, 1972, 1982a, 1982b) tend to adopt a positivist methodology that focuses on institutional

developments, significant events (e. g. the 1851 Exhibition or the first world war) and the role of prominent individuals. Thus, the reports of royal commissions of inquiry, acts of parliament, the investigations of parliamentary select committees, and the contributions of public figures such as T. H. Huxley, Lyon Playfair, and Bernard Samuelson, are all used in these studies as central reference points.<sup>2</sup> This means that my principle sources have been material that construes the 'historical' from a standpoint with different emphases than that of historical ethnography. This has inevitably produced some unevenness in the account I attempt to make of developments in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with a focus on social relations. However, since my primary analytic focus in the thesis is with the later TVEI period, for which my data is much more compatible with my approach, I have tried to be somewhat pragmatic in my resolution to these problems in the early period. With these caveats in mind, I will move on to begin exploring the historical relationship between technical education, social regulation, and class formation.

#### The Era of Voluntarism

Corrigan (1977), Corrigan and Corrigan (1979), Corrigan and Sayer (1985), point out that by the early 1830s the British state begins to assume its distinctively modern form. It is from this period that the State is formed through what Corrigan (1977) refers to as a "sociology of intervention" which involves the fabrication of social policy aimed at suppressing, transforming and regulating existing social relations and cultural practices which either opposed or acted as alternatives to that of an emergent bourgeois society. Spearheading these interventions were the nineteenth century inspectorate who wanted:

... to show their political paymasters and, often directly, their 'economic paymasters' (the mineowners, millowners, and others) that the old forms of social order are attenuated, if not dissolved, by the new relations of production. For, the old 'moral' or 'natural police' has faded into insignificance; a new regulation, a new policing is needed. But this overt 'law and order' is, itself, only a temporary measure; the real change must be accomplished at the levels of systematic socialisation, through schools and churches (Corrigan, 1977, pp. 149-150).

Thus, it is important to realise that the processes which constituted State formation were directed towards the social regulation of an emerging industrial population, as well as constituting the social and cultural bases of bourgeois power. As I have suggested, its character can be grasped through the concept of 'voluntarism,' in which an array of Church, private and philanthropic institutions worked to effectively 'privatise' the development of social (particularly educational) policy throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Daunton, 1989). The nature of regulation that flowed from these initiatives was remarkably coherent, however, as Corrigan and Corrigan indicate "Many of the social policy changes of the 1830s were related to [the] disciplining of the workforce and the regulation of the labour market" (Corrigan & Corrigan, 1979, p. 10). The flood of social policy that emerged during and after the 1830s was therefore "part of a strategy for capitalist growth."

Whether as the Poor Law of 1834, or significantly for my purposes, the establishment of the Privy Council Committee on Education (1839), social policy was directed at the construction of a 'new' social order. For Corrigan and Sayer, this process of "State formation itself is cultural revolution." Indeed as Paterson has argued, "It
follows from this that the agencies of the State need to be understood in terms of the structuring of social relations" (1989, p. 66). Drawing upon this perspective, I will show below how educational policy in the nineteenth century actively constructed the technical and vocational as a dominant social relation within education. Emphasis will be given to the way in which issues of class formation permeated and defined policy in this area. Science and Technical Education: Emerging Sites of Regulation

Cotgrove has usefully pointed out that "For all practical purposes [...] technical education in the nineteenth century meant the teaching of science." Before the 1880s, it appears that no distinction was made between scientific and technical instruction, "the words were used as practically synonymous" (Cotgrove, 1958, p. 36). Consequently, to understand developments in technical and vocational education, we must first note what passed for scientific instruction in the period up to the 1880s.

It is clear from historical studies of the nineteenth century that school science held a precarious position within both the school and society. For instance, Uzzell (1986) notes that elementary science was excluded from the curriculum under the Education Department's *Revised Code* of 1862 and then was not re-introduced until twenty years later as a class subject in 1882 (it was made compulsory in 1896). Layton's (1973) study of school science during this period concludes that "the available evidence suggests one of total neglect" (p23). That science and scientific instruction were generally disregarded within both private and State provided forms of schooling does not reflect a public indifference to science *per se*. Rather, the reverse was true, science and scientific

instruction were the subject of controversial debates well into the second half of the nineteenth century, when science finally congealed into its modern form under the pressures of what Layton (1986) has termed "professionalisation." What is both significant and interesting about these debates over the place of science in the curriculum is that they were infused with questions of class and social order. Thus, Cotgrove's observation that "Throughout the nineteenth century, educational provision and policy were closely related to the class structure" cannot be over emphasised here (1958, p. 17).

The controversial debates over science instruction in the first half of the nineteenth century can be traced back to the social and political role which science played in both the Enlightenment of the seventeenth century and particularly the English Revolution of 1640-1660. Although I cannot explore this history here, it is important to understand that science had served radical agendas in politics until Victorian hegemony had moulded it into its modern, autonomous and detached form.<sup>3</sup> Further, because of its social and political nature and its connection with "useful knowledge" by the eighteenth century, science had already been relegated to a subordinate place within the curriculum (Johnson, 1979, 1988). This was especially so of Oxbridge and the public schools, where the subject was obscured by the classical studies of an emerging liberal-humanism.<sup>4</sup>

The connection between science and practical knowledge was therefore antithetical to the classical curriculum identified with a middle class education in the nineteenth century. This was a cleavage which was to permeate and shape policy in technical education throughout the century, particularly as such knowledge came to be closely

associated with manual labour and the 'industrial classes.'<sup>5</sup> Until science had been abstracted from its associations with this social context, it was actively marginalised within the curricula of both public and elementary schools. But as Hodson and Prophet (1986) show, when science was gradually re-introduced into the curriculum of these schools from the early 1880s it was deeply embedded within the social relations of capital.

In the public schools, modern laboratory science was increasingly practised after the 1850s. Although its progress was slow and uneven, as evidence to the Clarendon (1864), Taunton (1868) and Devonshire (1870-75) Commissions show (1868), it nevertheless became the dominant model for science instruction.<sup>6</sup> In the public schools, as Layton notes, "first chemistry, then physics, were re-fashioned to serve the ends of liberal education as then defined in terms of mental training" (Layton, 1986, p. 115). The development of abstract, intellectual skills, "purity and social disconnection" formed the epistemological basis upon which scientific instruction was to advance. For this purpose public schools began employing science masters and constructing laboratories for instruction. Although the same model was used to fashion science instruction in elementary schools after 1882, Hodson and Prophet argue that it represented an extremely diluted version of laboratory science, tending toward a simplistic natural history or "love of nature." Additionally, elementary schools were unable to acquire the equipment necessary for demonstration or experiments for laboratory science. In practice, because of its superficial nature and absence or lack of equipment, elementary science was at best

reduced to the teaching of watered down scientific principles and at worst, a banal natural history.

The ascendancy of laboratory science in the nineteenth century was not uncontested. Both Layton, and Hodson and Prophet, make clear that alternatives did exist, notably the approach developed by Charles and Elizabeth Mayo within their Home and Colonial School Society, the 'Science of Common Things' (SCT). Unlike laboratory science, the SCT method employed what was known as the "object lesson." Pupils would be encouraged to observe, arrange and classify everyday common objects; skills which were considered to be preparatory for science instruction. Although the object lesson became a recurring pedagogical device throughout the century, SCT eventually gave way to the laboratory method. Layton suggests that this was simply because laboratory science was more adaptable to the purposes of professional science after the 1850s.

Hodson and Prophet dismiss this interpretation and argue that SCT represented an "empowering" epistemological tool, which threatened to propel those who studied it (working class children) above their station. For instance, they cite the reports of school inspectors who were alarmed at the level of scientific knowledge possessed by children who studied under SCT methods. Inspectorial anxiety was further compounded by the knowledge of the paucity of science instruction in 'their' public schools, as reported by successive commissions of inquiry from the 1860s. In Hodson and Prophet's view, professional science achieved its dominance because it was "designed to develop an elite who conformed to the image of the 'pure scientist' rationalised by the higher orders"

(1986, p. 175).<sup>7</sup> Any model of science that threatened to diffuse scientific learning amongst the broad mass of the population was deemed contrary to the aims of State provided schooling.<sup>8</sup>

It is important to understand that many of the objections to the inclusion of science within the curriculum, particularly within the public schools, was founded upon the perception that it failed to develop 'moral' character. As Layton notes "It might yield power over material forces of the universe, but it left untouched 'the greater forces of the human heart'" (1986, p. 115). Hostility to science within public schools therefore reflected class specific interests; that of the embourgeoisment of the middle classes. As Wolffe and Seed suggest:

... if the notion of leadership is stripped of extraneous aristocratic connotations, then it is possible to comprehend the Victorian public school for what it actually was; an educational system finely adjusted to meet the directive needs of a class society that was at once agricultural, industrial, commercial, and above all, imperial (1988, pp. 35-36).

That science appeared unconnected with the formation of the human character, that 'it made the rainbow cold' also provided grounds for hostility to its teaching within elementary schools. Schooling from the 1830s, as Johnson (1970) and Donald (1985a) show, was perceived by the early Victorian middle classes (and particularly the inspectorate) as being primarily concerned with a 'civilising mission.' Schools were viewed as mission stations, or cultural outposts, aimed at the social regulation of a population of an emergent industrial society.

In this context it is significant that Kay-Shuttleworth viewed the teacher training colleges he established in the 1830s and 1840s as "pioneers of civilisation," underlining the cultural dimensions of the Education Department's policy from this period. Science not only appeared irrelevant for these purposes but, given its connections with useful knowledge, even antithetical. Layton's observation that even "the cultivation of 'the faculty of observation' was secondary to the ultimate goals of religious understanding and moral improvement," indicates that science and science instruction had to be carefully regulated until science had been sufficiently professionalised in the latter part of the century (1973, p. 25). What I am trying to illuminate here is the idea that "Curriculum categories are social categories, but they are also related to subjectivities. They help form social identities" (Johnson, 1989, p. 99). It is my argument that until science could be divorced from its social context as useful knowledge, re-articulated, and then re-presented in its professional form as laboratory science, it was considered as potentially subversive or simply irrelevant to sustaining social order.

Thus, the generation of policy on the provision of science instruction in the nineteenth century was as much concerned with questions of social class and moral order as it was with the diffusion of scientific knowledge. In short, policy was directed toward the careful regulation, diffusion, and access to scientific knowledge. That professionalisation toward the end of the century institutionalised science as a mode of 'mental training,' abstracted from everyday useful knowledge, signalled its assimilation within a bourgeois epistemology. As Hodson and Prophet argued, the nature of this

science was aimed at producing a form of knowledge and a social elite 'rationalised by the higher orders.' Yet within State provided elementary schooling, policy (e. g. the *Revised Code* of 1862) was regulated in such a way that it constrained, if not actively negated, the diffusion of scientific understanding.<sup>9</sup> Further, we must also note that the definition of science (and technical instruction) that emerged from this period was systematically gendered. It was a specifically patriarchal domain. Finally, in arguing for the production of science and scientific instruction as adhering to a process of class formation, I am suggesting that this was also integral to the formation of the educational State.

As I have shown above, science instruction was imbricated with issues directly related to questions of social regulation and class formation; in short, the re-ordering of culture. Historically, technical and vocational education policy has always sought to create or re-order existing social relations and cultural practices which inhibit capitalist growth or threaten bourgeois moral order. It is my argument that from its inception in the nineteenth century, technical and vocational education policy was founded upon this principle and continues to be so in the present. I now want to present several studies which show how technical education articulated with this process.

# Mechanics Institutes: Competing Constructions of the Technical

Burgess and Pratt (1971) argue that "the establishment of mechanics institutes in the early nineteenth century marks the effective beginning of technical education" (p. 2). The origins of many contemporary colleges (technical colleges, polytechnics, colleges of advanced technology) in their study, they point out, can be traced back to these

institutions, created by combinations of local bourgeoisie and working men (mainly artisans).

From the 1820s the mechanics institutes provided one of the main avenues for technical and vocational instruction in Britain for working men.<sup>10</sup> Argles (1964) indicates that by 1850 there were 610 mechanics institutes nationally, providing technical and vocational education for over 500,000 working people. Although they were highly successful in the first half of the nineteenth century, "the national lack of primary and fundamental education proved an insuperable barrier to their continuing success" (p. 7).<sup>11</sup> By the late nineteenth century they had "lost their original artisan flavour," many of them being transformed into middle class philosophical and literary societies.

Wrigley (1982, 1986) has also drawn attention to the limitations on technical instruction created by a national deficiency in elementary education. As she argues "Britain stood out during the nineteenth century for the contrast between its national wealth and its educational penury" (1982, p. 164). But this deficiency was only one of a number of factors that led to the demise and eventual transformation of the mechanics institutes after 1850. Other factors relating to class formation, moral order and changes in the labour process assume greater significance in her analysis.

In Wrigley's (1986) study of the Manchester Mechanics Institute (est. 1824), several themes are explored. Her argument stems from the premise that the history of working class education in the nineteenth century was "influenced by changes in the production process" (p. 32). By the early 1800s, changes in technology and working

practices were generating an impetus for adult education, particularly amongst the skilled working class (artisans) and sections of the bourgeoisie.<sup>12</sup> However, the primary impetus for the mechanics institutes came from the intersection of interests "between experimental scientists and those artisans who worked on scientific instruments" (p. 34). It was interest in the scientific principles which underlay the instruments and industrial processes that artisans worked with that led scientists such as George Birkbeck to conduct lecture tours for these men. From their inception therefore, the institutes were aimed at providing instruction in scientific principles underlying crafts and trade, for what has been called the 'labour aristocracy.' Following on this precedent, technical education became increasingly identified with the upper echelons of the working class (mainly managers and foremen), while science "was becoming an intellectual industry linked with the upper reaches of academic education" (p. 45).<sup>13</sup> That is, both kinds of knowledge came to play an important role in class formation through educational institutions, whether independent (mechanics institutes) or State provided (elementary schools).

It is important to comprehend that although the Manchester Institute was established with the support of the local bourgeoisie, this did not imply that artisan and capitalist shared common objectives. The reverse was in fact the case. As Wrigley and others have shown (Simon, 1960, 1965; Thompson, 1968), the rationale guiding their involvement did not stem from educational progressivism, but capitalist rationality. Until the middle of the century it was widely believed that Britain's lead in technology inhered "in the persons and knowledge of artisans themselves," and that investment here would

lead to further technological advance, efficiency and economic growth. Further, "if properly controlled, the institutes would not pose a political threat but might, in fact, draw workers away from more dangerous political study" (Wrigley, 1986, p. 38). Through the institutes, Manchester's bourgeoisie believed it could simultaneously head-off political unrest amongst its most prized workers and achieve a greater competitive edge over its national and international rivals. In so doing an educational policy contributed to capitalist growth, worker quiescence and the formation of class relations.

Manchester's artisans held not only a different logic for the provision of science instruction through the institute, but one which was intrinsically opposed to that of its bourgeoisie. As I noted above, before the nineteenth century science had always been embedded within popular culture as 'useful knowledge.' Further, within this social milieu it had also a strong connection with political radicalism. For Manchester's artisans (and the working class generally) science offered a potentially liberating epistemology which would "sweep away traditional and obscurantist ways of viewing the world." In this respect "scientific and political knowledge appeared as two sides of the same coin" (Wrigley, 1986, p. 39). Additionally, scientific knowledge was perceived as both enhancing and maintaining their existing craft skills at work. Technical education was therefore an intensely political matter for both artisan and capitalist in Manchester.

That the institutes were faltering by mid century was a function of the contradictory rationales held by capital and labour toward technical education. Wrigley argues that the increasing intensity and pace of the advance of the division of labour after

the 1820s undermined the artisans privileged position at work.<sup>14</sup> The introduction of new technology, and consequent deskilling, simultaneously "lead to a lasting shift away from the idea of teaching workers scientific principles on any large scale" breaking the strong connections estabilished between experimental scientists and artisans from which the institutes originated (Wrigley, 1986, p. 41). Indeed, the professionalisation of science toward the end of the century was but a reflection of the separation of mental and manual labour occurring within the production process. In this respect, the nineteenth century witnessed a "complete divorce between working class life and the main currents of science" (p. 48). With the transition from production based upon what Marx called "manufacture" to "machinofacture," the bourgeoisie began to lose interest in technical education as a way of fostering increased productivity and focused instead on education as social regulation as a means for maintaining social order (Marx, 1954). For example, Musgrave - quoting from Mr William Williams MP in the House of Commons following the Rebecca Riots of 1846 - elaborates this shift in mood:

... an ill-educated and undisciplined population, like that existing among the miners in South Wales, is one that may be found most dangerous to the neighbourhood in which it dwells, and that a band of efficient schoolmasters is kept up at a much less expense than a body of police or soldiery (1970, p. 152).

Further, educational policy began to embody this strategy, as the Report of the Select Committee on Scientific Instruction (1868) shows, technical instruction was to be aimed at the higher reaches of industry (foremen and managers), whilst instruction for the working classes was to be both narrow, negligible (as the 1862 *Revised Code* ensured that it was)

and concerned with questions of class regulation. Thus, policy in this area was aimed at the recomposition of the working class and social discipline.

## The Department of Science and Art: Prefiguring Regulation

Summerfield and Evans (1990a) have argued that "nineteenth century educational reform was based on the principle that the State might subsidise, but would not direct, provision" (p. 8). In other words, the State provided a framework within which educational policy could evolve, but this was to be descriptive and not prescriptive as it was, for example, on the continent.<sup>15</sup> Green's comparative study of the English with the German, French and US systems suggests that the primary effect of 'voluntarism' in education was to produce the educational State in a highly decentralised form. As he shows:

The consequence of this lack of central direction and support could be seen in terms of the low enrolments and uneven standards in elementary education, the retarded growth of technical schooling, and the very slow pace of change of secondary education. Overall, the education system was characterised by a singular diversity of institutions and a chronic lack of integration between the various parts (Green, 1991, p. 208).

This general observation is particularly applicable to developments in technical and vocational education from 1850 onwards. For example, the central government agency for scientific and technical instruction until 1899, the Department of Science and Art, in a Minute of 1859 states that 'It is hoped that a system of science instruction will grow up among the industrial classes which shall entail the least possible cost and interference on

the part of the State.<sup>16</sup> As Wrigley argues in relation to the work of the Department, "state aid was to be "simply auxiliary to private effort" (1986, p. 167).

Argles points out that the "main agency of technical education during the years after the Great Exhibition was the Department of Science and Art" (1964, p. 18).<sup>17</sup> From 1860 until 1899, the Department of Science and Art examinations constituted the main route through which artisans and 'the industrial classes' could gain a technical education.<sup>18</sup> The way in which the Department organised its courses and examinations is instructive of how educational policy contributed to class formation over these years. The Department essentially worked through a system of grants to schools, colleges and other educational institutions (e.g. mechanics institutes), guided by an examination system operating according to the principle of payment by results, established by Robert Lowe's 1862 *Revised Code* for elementary education.

Any school or science classes existing or about to be established could apply for a certified teacher to organise science courses that would lead to the Department's exams. The salaries of teachers' were grant augmented according to their professional qualifications. Classes had to take place in suitable premises, with a minimum of ten students in attendance. Overheads, such as rent for accommodation, heating, lighting and cleaning were to be partly met out of students fees and aid from the Department. Teachers were able to increase their salaries through the number and level of exam passes that their students achieved (i. e. payment by results).<sup>19</sup>

However, the system of payment-by-results acted to impoverish the content of the Department's classes of any 'really useful knowledge' (Johnson, 1979, 1988). That is, teachers concentrated on repetition of basic material in the hope of increasing the number of exam passes. Further, the content of subjects rarely had a practical application. Instead, emphasis in classes was given to imparting abstract scientific principles, which were elementary in nature.<sup>20</sup> Argles suggests that as a consequence, employers held former students of the Department in low regard, noting that neither their productivity nor their knowledge of science and technical subjects had been enhanced as a result of attending its classes (Argles, 1964, pp. 37-38). Underlining this perception, Musgrave suggests that a popularly held view of this time was that the "offices and workshops of the country were 'its true technical schools'" (1970, p. 65). In this respect, payment-by-results can be understood to have effected forms of classroom processes that severely curtailed the dissemination of 'useful knowledge' and skill that would have enhanced labour's relationship to capital.<sup>21</sup> Thus, under the *Revised Code* the Department's activities reproduced a form of regulation that, as I indicated earlier in relation to elementary education, was aimed at emasculating and containing the education of the 'lower orders.'

Thus, it was not that the Department of Science and Art had mixed success in developing technical education as conventional historians have argued, but that its classes were constitutive of an emerging form of social regulation that produced the technical as an integral element of class relations. In this respect, while it created a national system of examinations and classes which attempted to respond to the acknowledged deficiency of

scientific and technical education within the 'industrial classes,' this was accomplished on capital's terms. Constituted this way, the technical came increasingly to be associated with that segment of the population identified as the 'working class.' Thus, the Department's activities prefigured the development of an approach to the regulation of class relations that was to be most fully elaborated with the enactment of the 1902 Education Act and Secondary Regulations.

# The 'Golden Age' of Technical Education: Challenging the Boundaries of Regulation

Before I go on to examine the implications of the 1902 Education Act and Secondary Regulations, it is important that I highlight and give emphasis to developments over the twenty years from 1880 to the turn of the century. These are generally perceived by historians of technical education as a 'golden age' where imaginative advances were achieved in technical and vocational education at the level of local school boards. Thus, Argles comment that during this period "technical education in England made more rapid strides forward than it had done so far" is indicative of other studies in this area (1964, p. 31). That is, what is notable was not just the expansion of technical education itself, but the heterogeneity which it displayed. This included the appearance of the London polytechnics, technical colleges, and in particular, the gradual liberalisation of the grants system used by the Department of Science and Art which supported a wide range of school board initiatives before its closure in 1899.

However, as Simon (1965) points out the most significant developments during this period occurred under the leadership of local school boards which were established

under the 1870 Education Act. While the creation of school boards represented the first tacit moves toward a national system of governance for elementary education, by the 1880s it was nevertheless clear that "the School Board system could not be controlled" (p. 159). That is, Church and middle class critics were concerned that these elected bodies were allowing elementary schooling to move beyond the limitations placed on it by the 1862 *Revised Code* and successive Education Department 'Code of Regulations' reiterating the 'Standards' for the elementary curriculum (i. e. the '3 Rs' of reading, writing and arithmetic and needlework for girls). Particularly in the northern industrial cities that were the strongholds of progressive liberals, the large metropolitan school boards were actively supporting the development of 'higher grade schools' which extended both the duration and curriculum of elementary schooling. Thus, higher grade schools in cities such as Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, and Bradford, not only broadened their curricula to include "mathematics, branches of science, and a language" but allowed pupils to stay-on up to the age of fourteen or fifteen (p. 177).

Several authors have argued (Blackman, 1990; Simon, 1965; Vlaeminke, 1990) that the higher grade or elementary schools 'movement' began to pose a viable alternative to the 'secondary' over these years. As Vlaeminke argues the:

... higher grade schools movement increasingly saw itself as pioneering a new style curriculum, which was useful but not narrowly utilitarian, combining practical, technical, intellectual, cultural, physical and aesthetic pursuits (1990, p. 60).

According to Vlaeminke, the curriculum and ethos of these schools was guided by the 'logic of dirty fingers.' For example, in Leeds Central Higher Grade School (the biggest in

the country) girls and boys had access to a curriculum containing: English, geography, history, Latin, French, mathematics, a minimum of two sciences, drawing, manual instruction and physical education, religious instruction, German, shorthand, bookkeeping, geometry and dressmaking over a four year period. The technical and vocational education which was constructed for students within these schools was not add-on but embedded in "access to literary culture and to 'knowledge of their own glorious inheritance" (1990, p. 60).

In this way, higher grade schools represented a significant departure from existing conceptions of what was expected to constitute both the elementary and technical. Although these schools were co-educational, gender did exercise some influence over what was taught to boys and girls. However, attempts to offer girls a different, more 'feminine' curriculum were not always well received by either parents, school boards or teachers who perceived subjects such as needlework "a waste of precious school time" (1990, pp. 61-62). Nevertheless, a persistent and enduring feature of the curriculum was its feminisation (Attar, 1990).

It is in this respect that the development of technical education under the auspices of the higher grade schools came to be seen by the members of the Cross Commission (1885) as constituting 'a very great abuse' to the voluntary system controlled by the Church, private, and philanthropic interests. Indeed, as we shall see, this was a view that was shared by other educational reformers who began to envisage a modified or more tightly regulated school system in response to the autonomy shown by the school boards.

By the 1890s, therefore, the "moribund endowed grammar school was facing a serious challenge from a vibrant, popular and forward-looking alternative model of secondary education" (Vlaeminke, 1990, p. 62). In short, bourgeois hegemony was being challenged by these local initiatives which were attempting to re-define the version of secondary education that had emerged from the 1850s and 1860s. The passing of the 1902 Education Act and the issuing of the 1904 Regulations was to stem, undermine and reverse these advances in both elementary and technical education. In particular, it was this legislation that institutionalised the distinction between the technical and secondary as one of the defining features of the regulatory form of the English Educational State throughout the twentieth century. In this respect, the 1902 Education Act forms a continuum with the 1944 Education Act and most recently, the Education Reform Act (1988). It is to an investigation of the effects of the 1902 legislation upon schooling during the inter-war years that I now turn.

#### The Foundations of a 'National' System

## The 1902 Education Act and 1904 Secondary Regulations

The 1902 Education Act and the subsequent issuing of the 1904 Regulations constitute a decisive political settlement in favour of a national system of education and schooling regulated in accordance with the cultural aspirations of a national bourgeoisie. McCulloch has argued that both the Act and Regulations "strengthened the dichotomy between 'secondary' and 'technical' education" (1986, p. 39). That this legislation marginalised and led to the subsequent subordination of the technical and vocational

serves to underline the way that it contributed to the dynamics of class formation that I have been exploring in this chapter. As policy therefore, we can observe that 1902-1904 represents the consolidation of a gradual, but nevertheless ineluctable process of class formation, itself the result of the gelling of complex processes of social regulation designed to inculcate and maintain social and political order. Given its importance, it is instructive to detail the impact of this legislation upon the educational system.

Vlaeminke's (1990) account of the effects of 1902 Education Act and 1904 Regulations is extremely valuable here. Like McCulloch (1986), she emphasises that the technical and vocational received a major setback, being effectively peripheralised within the educational system. Henceforth, the 'secondary' was to be equated with the classicalliberal tradition of the universities, grammar and public schools. The other side to this policy was, as Summerfield and Evans have indicated, that technical education was "resisted by the architects of the reformed system of secondary education from 1902." Additionally, they argue the:

... secondary schools and universities were seen by those running them as offering varieties of cultural preparation for a very different place in the occupational, and hence class, structure from those to which the recipients of technical education were expected to aspire. The practical component of technical education confirmed its low status character (1990a, p. 4).

Clearly then, we can observe the technical and vocational emerging as a distinct aspect of educational policy during these years which had as its focus the regulation of class relations.

Vlaeminke points out that the purpose over which the reformers were "most singleminded was to genera te a clear and lasting definition of secondary education out of the conflicting interests and variants which had developed during the 1880s and 1890s" (1990, p. 64). This definition of the 'technical' was clearly counterposed to that of the 'secondary,' where the "former wok a poor second place to the latter as specialisation." In the light of this definition, Board of Education policy after 1902 was aimed at regulating the boundary between these two educational forms. In practice, it embarked on a campaign aimed at re-juvenating the endowed grammar schools, which despite exhibiting a tendency toward "a collective deathwish" - through refusing to accomruodate to the advances of the 1880s and 1890s nevertheless "were the most promising candidates to accommodate that extension" envisaged by the reformers.<sup>22</sup> Thus, while decaying grammar schools all over the British Isles were given a reprieve, "all aspiring municipal secondary schools were subjected to minute supervision, backed up by threat of loss of funding, in the Board's crusade to turn them into pale imitations of the more favoured institutions"(1990, p. 66).

Thus, from 1902 the Board of Education exhibited two overriding policy aims: first, to methodically rid secondary schooling of any association with the technical and vocational; second, to ensure the conformity of the same schools with the design envisioned of them by the Board. The asymmetrical effects of this policy on the majority of working class children's school lives ensured that they "were destined to spend their entire school career in elementary schools where the curriculum (particularly in science) was deliberately curtailed"(1990, p. 72). Summing up, Vlaeminke argues that:

Hence elementary education, according to [the] 1904 Regulations, was primarily to inculcate habits of industry, self-control, truthfulness and loyalty, and technical education was pushed to the margins of the formal education system, an optional extra which could take place either "on the job" or as a part-time, largely unrecognised activity (1990, p. 73).

Commenting on these developments, conventional historians of technical and vocational education (Argles, 1964; Cotgrove, 1958; Donnelly, 1989; Roderick & Stephens, 1972; 1982a, 1982b; Silver & Brennan, 1988) have tended to focus upon the fact that the 1902-1904 legislation isolated and defined what constituted both secondary and technical education. They have also argued that the technical side of the curriculum and schooling declined in terms of status and public resources devoted after 1902. However, for my purposes such an analysis is too narrowly descriptive and misses the central point that the Act and Regulations were specifically designed as part of a wider process of State initiated social regulation. First, a concerted attempt is made to fashion what counts as the social reality of publicly provided schooling in accordance with a design imposed from a particular class perspective. Second, we can observe an educational policy attempting to deliberately regulate the process of class formation through the secondary and technical. Combined, both of these processes work to establish networks of social relations that express a bourgeois social and political order within education and schooling. As Simon notes of the effects of the legislation on subsequent developments, "the Education Act of 1902 rigidly defined differences between elementary and secondary education. From now on there was to be no confusion; two systems, each with a distinct social function, were to run parallel to each other; any institutions crossing the lines must be swept away" (Simon, 1965, p. 256).

#### The Junior Technical and Central Schools: Regulating Class and Gender

The legacy of the 1902-1904 settlement has pervaded and shaped English education policy since. This is most evident if we examine technical and vocational educational policy during the inter-war years. In particular, two developments stand out which illustrate how educational policy was implicated in the formation of class and gender.<sup>1</sup> McCulloch's (1989) and King's (1990) studies of, respectively, the junior technical and central elementary schools show clearly that Board of Education policy was aimed at regulating class and gender relations through technical and vocational education. McCulloch has shown that:

Technical schooling in England and Wales in the inter-war years was specifically designed *not* to be 'secondary' either in status or in appearance. Its characteristic institution at that time was the junior technical school (1989, p. 31).

Junior technical schools developed out of the London trade schools from 1900. In 1913, the Board of Education issued regulations establishing full-time junior schools, known as junior technical schools.<sup>23</sup> The Board's regulations stipulated that these schools were to provide 2-3 years post elementary education (i. e. from age 13-14) with a narrow emphasis upon technical and vocational instruction. By 1937, there were 194 such schools, with a total population of 23,844 students in attendance.<sup>24</sup>

Four, quite distinct, types of junior technical schools emerged: the first group aimed at preparing male students for entry to a particular group of industries (usually engineering or

building) without restriction on the trade to be followed; second, 'trade schools' prepared boys and girls for entry to specific occupations, tending to emphasise craft work in their curricula; third, 'junior housewifery schools' trained girls for home management; fourth, 'junior commercial schools' prepared both boys and girls for different pointed of 'entry to commercial life,' reflecting the growing need for sex differentiated office staff since the end of the nineteenth century. Quite explicitly therefore, these schools institutionalised both class and gender relations. It is also important to take note of the fact that they were closely tied to local labour markets which determined the form and content of instruction. Thus, although the production of class and gender relations regulated their educational activity, this was itself highly segmented by being defined through "local needs."<sup>25</sup>

The curriculum of these schools was primarily vocational in orientation but also included subjects such as English, history and geography, although as the *Hadow Report* (1926) emphasised, these subjects were to be made "practical" wherever possible. Therefore, there were two "sides" to the junior technical school, a craft and/or technical side and English, history and geography which according to the Board "are either directly useful in an occupation or necessary to elucidate its place in the texture of human l'fe and society" (Quoted in McCulloch, 1989, p. 32). Such stress on the practical in these subjects was intended to differentiate the curriculum from that of grammar schools. Significantly, unlike the grammar schools, the junior technical schools were barred from having their students externally examined although it was general practice for them to set their own internal examinations.<sup>26</sup>

Further, the schools were usually housed in the same building as technical colleges and "were regarded as the junior department of these larger institutions" (p. 33).

These constraining institutional relations therefore ensured that junior technical schools "differed greatly in their scope and design from state secondary schools" (p. 34). In short, they embodied and sustained what I have called the political settlement of 1902-1904. In so doing, they fixed and perpetuated a peculiarly English version of the technical and vocational within schooling, which was largely concerned with training and "clearly favoured the utilitarian, instrumental, directly vocational character of technical schools" (p. 37). Additionally, as Silver and Brennan (1988) have pointed out, they "diverted pressures for practical, vocational and job-related forms of schooling away from the grammar schools" (p. 156).

King's (1990) research reveals a further dimension to Board policy during the inter-war years by showing how a particular version of femininity was constructed as a dominant social relation through technical and vocational education. Her study focuses upon the central elementary schools which provided technical and vocational instruction for boys and girls during the inter-war period.

Central schools were the successors to the higher elementary or higher grade schools that developed primarily in London from the 1880s. Promoted under the auspices of the local State (in King's study, the London County Council (LCC) from 1904), these schools endeavoured to provide advanced instruction for working class children from elementary schools. Because of their illegality under the 1870 Act, the Board issued regulations in 1901 to restrict their growth. In an attempt to circumvent this policy, the LCC chose to continue with their development under the elementary code. Although the LCC lost its right to a higher grant for these schools (thus restricting staff pay and equipment, enlarging class sizes and imposing shorter holidays), it nevertheless assumed greater control over directing their development. By 1918, the year of the Fisher Education Act, there were 300 central schools nationally (51 of them operating within London) preparing students for "immediate employment."<sup>27</sup>

Whereas these schools varied according to their technical and vocational orientation King argues that the Board and local education authorities constantly clashed over their role and functions.<sup>28</sup> As may be expected, the source of this conflict centred on the definition of the technical and secondary (i. e. class relations). The Board required that central schools remain essentially pre-vocational in character and subject to the elementary code - once again reasserting its view "that technical and vocational education were suitable for a working class, but not a middle class, clientele" (King, 1990, p. 71). Local education authorities, such as London, Bradford and Leicestershire wanted to allow their central schools to broaden instruction and prepare students for higher education - the traditional province of secondary education. Despite this conflict, the Board, local education authorities and employers were unanimous in believing that boys and girls in these schools should *not* have access to the same educational experiences. As King puts it "the education provided in the LCC central schools was in form and content highly gender-specific" (p. 82).

The implications of the genderisation of the curriculum in central schools is evident both in Board and LCC policy, inspectors reports and the actual structuring of school curricula. One means for ensuring a gendered approach to the formation of educational experiences is to

invoke a policy of single-sex schooling. This is exactly what both the Board and LCC advocated for central schools during the inter-war years (despite a tendency to integrate State provided elementary education). Significantly, the justification for this policy orientation was based upon the view that the proportion of time allocated to practical work should not only be different for boys and girls but that subject work itself (particularly science and technical subjects) would require different methods "with the sex of pupils." For example, policy on science teaching invariably pictured girls as being unable to cope with either the theoretical or experimental; in practice, girls science was always referred to as "elementary" and tended to nature study, requiring less expensive resources than the chemistry and physics taught in the boys' central schools. Ultimately, the "supposed technical bias for eiths invariably emerged as a correlation with the domestic aspects of science" (p. 82).

Even within the general subjects of the curriculum, LCC Inspectors' reports show a distinctive perspective on gender. In geography, while boys were taught about the world distribution of commodities, girls had to suffer the "geography of the breakfast table and the Christmas pudding." Likewise, in history the inspectorate advocated the 'study of man's activities and of his overcoming obstacles in the creation of comforts to himself but were more than hesitant about this being taught to girls. At one school, an inspector observing an English class noted how "the boys excelled in class debate while girls devoted time to performing plays in a 'simple and childlike way'" (p. 83).

In central school with a commercial bias similar patterns prevailed. For girls "the main aim of their commercial education was to teach the monotonous, low-status elements of office

work," a practice justified through the assertion that such instruction was relevant to their "inevitable" destination and "natural" place within the labour market (p. 86). Commercial girls' schools therefore concentrated upon typing and short-hand, while boys' schools focused upon economics, commerce and accounting. Central schools with an industrial or technical bias "emphasised the domestic subjects considered appropriate feminine preserves and taught 'skills' which might be transferred to the home" (p. 88).<sup>29</sup> Further, evidence from the *Hadow Report* (1926), LCC inspectors' reports and oral evidence from interviews conducted by King with former pupils "confirms that the time-table was dominated by cooking, laundry, cleaning and sewing" (p. 91). Such policy was implemented inspite of the fact that women throughout this period constituted 30% of the labour force and that over a fifth of all women did not marry. It is likely, therefore, that given the choice women would have remained "in paid work if they had been given the training, opportunity and freedom to take skilled, well-paid employment" (p. 89).

King argues that the central schools experiment was caught up in an irreconcilable contradiction between progressive educational ideals (providing technical and vocational training for girls) and the ideological practices of femininity which equated women's work with service functions within the domestic economy. As she argues:

The forms of technical education offered girls in the central schools marked a new acceptance of the need to train females for limited economic independence [...] However, the technical training provided in central schools simultaneously reflected and contributed to a strengthening and remoulding of the sexual division of labour in paid work and in the home (1990, p. 93).

In this way, policy relating to these schools during the inter-war years can be seen to be attempting to construct and reproduce definitions of femininity 'naturalised' to fit divisions of labour within the home and labour market. To this extent, the central schools of London simultaneously contributed to and sustained the formation of class and gender identities through technical and vocational education which continue to dom:nate the school curriculum today (Attar, 1990).

This process of class and gender formation which the junior technical and central schools exemplified was to underlie the development of the post-war social democratic settlement in education. This was expressed most cogently in the publication of the *Norwood Report* (1943). A cursory glance of its recommendations reveals a concern to secure and sustain the 'English tradition,' embodied in the public and grammar schools, whilst simultaneously attempting to reconcile the role and purpose of technical and vocational education within a reformed secondary education that was to emerge in the aftermath of war.

Norwood's response to this problematic was to envisage a system of secondary education grounded upon 'three kinds of mind' and correspondingly, three types of secondary school: the secondary modern, the secondary technical, and the grammar.<sup>30</sup> This recommendation formed the basis for the 1944 Education Act, and consequently provided the structure of the English education system in the post-war period until comprehensive reform in the mia-1960s. Although each type of school was to have 'parity of esteem' within the new tri-partite system, in practice grammar schools assumed the position of

*primus interpares*. However, while secondary technical schools were launched in the postwar years, by the mid 1960s they began to falter and fade.<sup>31</sup> Consequently, well before the advent of comprehensivisation, "National secondary provision was bipartite rather than tripartite" (Bailey, 1990, p. 97).

The legacy of the nineteenth century was therefore to establish a pattern of educational provision in which the technical and vocational was deeply implicated in the regulation of class relations. Indeed, "the development of technical education in this century has [...] largely failed to break out of this mould" (Green, 1991, p. 23).

## The Post-War Social Democratic Settlement

While I recognise that the literature on the post-war social democratic settlement in education is extensive, it will not be my purpose to review it here. Rather, my intention is to outline the significant elements of the pattern of social regulation that constituted it as this was expressed in the formation of the post-war educational State. For this purpose, I have chosen to rely on the account of this process given by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (1981), Dale (1989), Education Group II (1991), Grace (1995).

Despite the hold over the secondary curriculum that 'English tradition' was to exercise through the 1944 Act, the post-war period was marked by a profound transformation in the politics of the English educational State. That is, from 1944-1976 English education and schooling was defined through the politics of social democratic State forms that were decentralised. This installed a new educational politics that was adhered to by the major political parties, teachers' professional organisations, trade

unions, and local government. This produced a national consensus over not only the aims and purposes of schooling but how it should be organised. By the 1960s this consensus was expressed through several, interrelated, developments that combined to effect a particular understanding of the technical.

The first such development was progressivism. Drawing its major intellectual impulses from the Montessori school movement, the work of Dewey and Piaget, developmental psychology, and child-centred pedagogy, progressivism became the dominant ideology of the classroom teacher. Although this ideology is most popularly expressed in its 'child-centred' pedagogy, progressivism has also been associated with more open, democratic styles of school organisation and leadership (Grace, 1995). However, the widespread adoption of progressive teaching practices would not have been possible without the professionalisation of the teaching workforce. As Lawton has noted, the 1960s was "the Golden age of teacher control" (Lawton, 1980, p. 22). That is, while growing professionalisation had important implications for the internal structuring and organisation of teachers' associations and unions (Lawn & Whitty, 1992), its major effect was to allow them substantial autonomy and control over their immediate work process. Dale (1989) has referred to this as "licensed autonomy," which, unlike the "regulated autonomy" that characterised the period following the 'Great Debate,' depended upon "teachers' professional judgement, taken on trust or hallowed by tradition" (p. 133).

In all of this it is important to take into account the reorganisation of governance that was developing within the educational State. Under the 1902 Education Act, the

existing School Boards had been re-organised into Local Education Authorities (LEAs) (these were part of larger administrative units called 'Local Authorities') which assumed responsibility for organisation and financing of schooling. Although initially they had been subject to tight central control, with the enactment of the 1944 Butler Education Act they became increasingly autonomous. Thus, from 1944 until the early 1980s LEAs were the primary mediators of national educational policy. The axis formed by central government, LEAs, and teachers' professional associations/unions, which Lawton (1980) and Simon (1991), refer to as a consultative "partnership," could be seen to constitute the English educational State over these years.

The decentralised character of this 'partnership' was nevertheless subject to effective extra-local control through the Department of Education and Science (DES). In particular, the DES initiated the shift from the tripartite system of grammar, technical, and secondary modern schools enacted by the 1944 Act, to comprehensivisation in the mid 1960s.<sup>32</sup> This re-orientation in policy was of historical significance, in that it not only represented a fundamental break with the system of selection (and psychological testing), but a weakening of the institutional boundaries that had maintained the separation of the 'secondary' from the 'technical' since the late nineteenth century. It is also important to recognise that comprehensive reorganisation was not only modelled on developments in LEAs (particularly in London) from the 1950s, but was seen by educational professionals as the organisational expression of progressivism. In technical education these developments were expressed in the revival of a 'liberal vocationalism,' which as

McCulloch (1990) notes, was given its most complete statement in the *Crowther Report* (1959). Because Crowther's notion of an 'alternative road' for technical and vocational education was to profoundly influence the character of technical provision within secondary schools during its social democratic era, it is worth briefly considering its recommendations.

The Crowther Committee was essentially concerned with two problems: first, defining an alternative approach to technical and vocational education which was neither narrowly vocational, nor imitated the academic grammar school model, but which was 'practical' in orientation; second, to systematise and introduce a coherent route from secondary to further and higher education. It was within this context that the Crowther Committee defined the following themes as constituting an 'alternative road' for the technical. First, it "sought an educational rather than a vocational rationale for its growth" (McCulloch, 1990, p.10). Second, it aimed at embedding the technical and vocational within a general education which aimed at nurturing a "broad scientific curiosity." Third, it was to be primarily practical in orientation working from the specific (applications) to the general (theory), rather than vice versa. This last prescription was based upon the Committee's view that there were 'two kinds of mind' (c.f. Norwood Report), the 'academic' and 'other minds which cannot grasp the general except by way of the particular, which cannot understand what is meant by the rule until they have observed the examples' (quoted in McCulloch: 1990, p.9) In this way, McCulloch (1986) argues that Crowther was in the tradition of Bryce and Spens who "argued an important role for

technical education at the secondary level not so much for utilitarian or vocational ends but rather for social mobility and personal development"(p. 43).

The notion of the technical that emerged from Crowther was therefore clearly embedded within an educational progressivism. Indeed, several educational historians and researchers have pointed to the legacy of the alternative road in developments such as the Schools Council's *Project Technology* and TVEI (McCulloch, Jenkins, & Layton, 1985; Williams & Yeomans, 1994b). However, we need to remind ourselves that the concept of the alternative road did not only issue from the same administrative elite who defined the main contours of the 1944 Education Act, but that it implicitly retained the traditional distinction between the secondary and technical through its notion of 'two kinds of mind.' It is in this respect that while the liberal vocationalism of Crowther may have posed an alternative road within the social democratic era, this nevertheless articulated with an historical process that continued to be concerned with the social regulation of class relations.

This implicit bifurcation was to be stridently re-asserted with the shift to what sociologists of education labelled the 'new vocationalism' during the 1970s. This was signalled by the 'Great Debate' on education which marked the beginning of the demise of the social democratic era. Initiated by a Labour Prime Minister in 1976, it generated a fundamental re-evaluation of the aims, purposes, and organisation of secondary schooling. In particular, the Green Paper *Education in Schools* (1977) which flowed from it mapped out the new policy regime which the State was claiming for the country's children

(Donald, 1981). As the Conference of Socialist Economists (CSE) State Group (1979) have noted, the Great Debate "has been the politics of reaching a consensual definition of the needs of (capitalist) industry *as* the needs of pupils" (p. 71). It is in this respect the 'new' politics of education that has gradually been installed since the mid 1970s - particularly under successive Conservative governments since 1979 - has in many respects reactivated a return to historical patterns in education and schooling that were characteristic of the nineteenth century.

# Conclusion

In this chapter I have developed an analysis of English technical and vocational education policy which departs in emphasis from conventional historical accounts. That is, I have argued for an approach which understands technical and vocational policy as expressing an historical relation that is integral to social regulation and the formation of class (and gender) relations under capitalism. This relation, as I have shown, has not only generated different institutional forms, but has determined both the content and dominant practices of the technical curriculum since the beginning of the nineteenth century. I have also suggested that this regulatory process has not been without some contestation. Indeed, as I demonstrated in relation to the mechanics institutes, from its inception scientific and technical education has been the site of political struggles over the curriculum that have turned on what was to constitute 'useful knowledge.' However, where independent or locally organised forms of educational provision have attempted to move beyond the limitations that the relations of class and gender have imposed, as in the



so called 'Golden Age' (1880-1900) of technical education, then powerful interests mediated by the educational State have developed policy to contain and block such initiatives.

A second element of my analysis focused on the way in which the practices of technical education have served as part of the means of social regulation that continue to be integral to the formation of the English educational State. As I showed, this has assumed three distinct modes or phases since the early nineteenth century that were expressed through private and philanthropic initiatives or 'voluntarism;' the emergence of a unified, national administration to co-ordinate funding and the implementation of policy; and a social democratic phase in which the educational State materialised through 'decentralised control.' As I noted in the introduction, the fourth and contemporary phase in which the educational State has been increasingly expressed through the relations of enterprise, will be explored in chapter three.

This chapter has also argued against both the dominant, utilitarian, conception of technical education as merely preparing the 'working class' for productive work, and the popular 'liberal vocational' perspective. What it has shown, in the first instance, is how forms of technical education have contributed to the formation of the working class as subordinate and 'Other' to bourgeois culture. Second, it undercuts the notion that liberal alternatives (e.g. Crowther's 'alternative road') have constituted a major departure from the dominant path in that these have also been embedded in the same problematic of social regulation and class formation. This last point will be further explored in my critique of the

progressive ethos of TVEI which begins in the next chapter. That is, mainstream approaches to TVEI have consistently argued that its espousal of progressive, childcentred, pedagogies articulate it with not only a liberal vocationalism, but comprehensivism and the era of social democratic schooling. By contrast, I will argue that when we consider *how* TVEI used progressive practices to construct versions of enterprise education, we can see that it was more of a mask for coopting progressivism to a process of capitalist regulation. Thus, as the epigram that begins this chapter suggests, we need now to explore how this mode of regulation was 'not just about people for industry [...] it is more likely to be about people for business and enterprise.'

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> J. Woolhouse, Director of TVEI (Woolhouse, 1984, p. 135).

<sup>2</sup>Huxley, Samuelson and Playfair were key figures in the technical education movement from the middle of the nineteenth century. All three originated from bourgeois backgrounds and can be considered as "political servants" (Corrigan, 1977) of the State. Towards the end of the century Vlaeminke (1990) suggests that the social bases of this 'movement' had widened considerably to include sections of the labour aristocracy and the lower middle classes. This coincided with what Argles (1964) refers to as the 'golden age' (1880-1900) of technical education.

<sup>3</sup> Christopher Hill's (1958) study of the intellectual origins of the revolution of 1640-1660 shows how political and 'scientific' discourses infused one another.

<sup>4</sup> Oxford and Cambridge throughout the nineteenth century were dominated by an aristocratic ethos which they shared with the Clarendon schools. The production of 'gentlemen' for leadership (of the empire) being one of their primary objectives. Science and engineering were held in low regard. Professorial chairs in engineering, for example, were not established in either institution until 1875 (Cambridge) and 1908 (Oxford).

<sup>5</sup> Such a division of course corresponds to a much broader tendency in the early capitalist labour process, extensively detailed by Braverman (1974), Littler (1982), and Nichols (1980), to separate conception from execution, mental from manual labour. This process itself must be recognised as being gendered (Oakley, 1976; Rowbatham, 1976).
<sup>6</sup> The Clarendon Commission found that of the nine major public schools, few gave more than two hours per week to science as against eleven for the classics. Rugby, the most 'progressive' of these schools, appointed a science master in the early 1850s and had built a science laboratory. But even here the science master complained of science (maths, physics and chemistry) being "crowded out" by Latin and Greek studies (Roderick and Stephens, 1972, pp. 26-40). The Taunton Commission (1868) found that "only eighteen of the many hundred secondary schools it investigated did as much as four hours a week of science" (Argles, 1964, p. 54). The results of the Devonshire Commission's (1870) survey of 123 secondary schools showed that less than 30% were teaching science and that only thirteen possessed a laboratory. Roderick and Stephens conclude that "The overall position in the public schools of England around the 1870s was that science was taught in fewer than 20% of the schools and to fewer than 10% of the pupils" (Roderick & Stephens, 1972, p. 38).

<sup>7</sup> Layton argues that toward the end of the nineteenth century "Science was an open society" characterized by "a fellowship which transcended the more worldly barriers of rank and employment" (Layton, 1973, p. 31). If we accept that this 'fellowship' was exclusively male and middle class then we might accept his observation. In reality of course it systematically excluded women and increasingly, the 'industrial classes.'

<sup>8</sup> The effective emasculation of the elementary curriculum brought about through Robert Lowe's 1862 Revised Code, and the introduction of an examination system based upon 'payment by results,' represents an early policy move in this direction. It is also of interest to note the class nature of the Education Department at this time. That is, while introducing payment by results into the State supported sector, the Department chose to ignore the recommendations of Northcote-Trevelyan (1854) that competitive examinations be used in appointment procedures to civil service positions. As (Johnson, 1972a) shows, appointment to the Education Department was by patronage until the turn of the century.

<sup>9</sup> Of the 1862 Code, Robert Lowe observed that "we do not profess to give these children an education that will raise them above their station and business in life; that is not our object, but to give them an education that may fit them for that business" (quoted in Summerfield & Evans, 1990a, p. 8). Clearly then, the Code was specifically concerned with the social regulation of access to types of knowledge and schooling (particularly scientific knowledge), and therefore class formation.

<sup>10</sup> The other was the Department of Science and Art (1853-1899), established in response to the threat of foreign competition witnessed in the Great Exhibition of 1851. The overlap between these two bodies was quite extensive, given that the DSA's examinations were taken in mechanics institutes and other evening classes throughout the country.

<sup>11</sup> Cotgrove explains that this was primarily due to "the failure of the elementary schools to teach any basic science on which scientific and trade instruction could be built" (1958, p. 31). Consequently, instructors were confronted with large classes of working men whose scientific education was rudimentary at best. In this respect, Cotgrove argues that technical education in particular was really "continuative" i.e. aimed at redressing the lack of science education at the elementary level. This in turn had two implications: first, only very basic instruction in scientific



principles could take place (lack of equipment compounding this problem); second, the shallow nature of instruction undermined the central aim of the institutes to teach scientific principles underlying the trades of working men. Thus, lack of relevance became a critical issue in the decline of the institutes after the 1850s. These were general problems confronting technical education throughout the nineteenth century.

<sup>12</sup> Given aristocratic and Anglican distrust and antipathy towards forms of popular education, it was mainly non-conformist industrialists and Whig politicians who advocated limited educational provision for skilled workers.

<sup>13</sup> Cotgrove (1958) points out that from the Select Committee on Scientific Instruction (1867-68) clear connections were made between instruction in scientific and technical principles for supervisory grades and managers, while no more than an 'efficient' elementary education should be provided for the 'industrial classes.' This theme carried through to other parliamentary inquiries, notably the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction (1884). By the late nineteenth century, technical education was fracturing with changes in the class structure. For example, Musgrave tells us that "Technical education for the upper levels of the labour force might still be seen as general principles, but at the lower levels to teach practice was now becoming custom" (Musgrave, 1970, p. 69). To meet these demands for instruction in 'principles,' the development of the civic universities, such as Owen's College (Manchester) and the London Polytechnics, provided specialized training for supervisors and managers within technical education after the 1850s.

<sup>14</sup> The transition from a production process based upon craft skills, to one which was capital intensive began from the 1820s. Several strategies were used by employers to generate this transition: first, unskilled labour was trained for semi-skilled jobs; second, increasing numbers of apprentices were employed, breaking the traditional hold artisans had over their recruitment; finally, the 'piece-master' system was introduced. The effects on artisans were dramatic, in the satellite town of Oldham (Lancashire) between 1846-1861 the proportion of skilled workers declined from 70% to 40%. Further, the 1851 lockouts in Manchester and other northern industrial cities represented a political defeat for skilled workers in engineering, textiles and chemicals, being forced back to work under non-union codes (Wrigley, 1986).

<sup>15</sup> The voluntary character of education and schooling in England has been an enduring characteristic of schooling in that country until only relatively recently. However, as Johnson points out, "Local peculiarities have provided further differences which privilege has been able to colonize. In the light of locality, social inequality appears merely as geographic diversity. It has been hard for excluded groups to fathom the social significance of all the local variations. Local complexity has given further advantages to a kind of educational insider trading. As usual, the really decisive knowledges have remained informal, uncodified, implicit, and therefore unavailable to those who do not know the rules" (Johnson, 1989, p. 100).

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in Roderick and Stephens (Roderick & Stephens, 1972, p. 13). It is interesting to note the association drawn in this policy statement between technical education and 'the industrial classes.' This connection repeats again the emergent dichotomy between 'secondary'



(i.e. grammar) and technical education that was to be fixed in the 1902 Education Act and the Secondary Regulations issued in 1904.

<sup>17</sup> The Department of Science and Art was established in 1853, with Lyon Playfair as one of its joint secretaries (responsible for science). Originally part of the Board of Trade, it was transferred in 1857 to the Education Department. While the Education Department was to be responsible for the promotion of primary education, the Department of Science and Art was to encourage secondary and technical education. Although the Education Department (in Whitehall) after this time was the senior agency, the Department of Science and Art enjoyed substantial autonomy (in its offices in South Kensington) until its abolition in 1899.

<sup>18</sup> From 1853 until 1859 the work of the Department of Science and Art was severely limited through lack of funds -it received only £868 over the entire period. However, although in 1859 the Department only recognised six subjects as qualifying for its financial aid, in 1864 this had increased to twenty-three. The subjects were: geometry, mechanical drawing, building construction, physics, chemistry and natural history. The teaching of physics and chemistry was encouraged through larger allocations of financial assistance. These six subjects constituted the basis of the Department's technological examination system. From the early 1860s then, the Department's work expanded considerably, so that by 1899 (when it was incorporated into the newly established Board of Education) it was disbursing a grant of £200,000 on technical education each year, the number of students receiving instruction in its classes exceeded 170,000.

<sup>19</sup> Two problems confronted teachers taking the Department of Science and Art's science classes. First, because of the low status of science and technical subjects in universities and secondary schools, many were self-taught. Consequently, the level of instruction varied enormously. Second, few were able to earn a living income from teaching science classes. In 1871, of 828 teachers, the majority earned less than £40 a year; only 26 had earnings of over £100. For most teachers, the Department's classes supplemented their income from other sources, such as work in elementary schools.

<sup>20</sup> Cotgrove explains this was due to "the failure of the elementary schools to teach any basic science on which scientific and trade instruction could be built" (1958, p. 31). Thus, teachers were mainly confronted with classes of students whose scientific education was rudimentary at best. This situation did not alter until science, belatedly, was made a compulsory subject in elementary schools in 1896 (Uzzell, 1986, p. 151).

<sup>21</sup> Payment by results was replaced by a system of inspection after the 1880s.

<sup>22</sup> This was the finding of the Royal Commission on Elementary Education or 'Cross Commission' (1887-8) which viewed the higher grade schools as a direct threat to feepaying grammar schools (Blackman, 1990).

<sup>23</sup> The Board's Regulations concerning these schools were primarily restrictive in nature and "were intended to keep them 'true to type' and so prevent any tendency for them to develop as rivals, through imitation, of secondary schools 'proper'" (Bailey, 1990, p. 104). <sup>24</sup> Junior technical schools were distributed unevenly around the country, most being concentrated in London where they acted as 'feeders' for the polytechnics and senior technical and commercial institutes.

<sup>25</sup> McCulloch (1989) does not examine the dynamics of gender within these different types of school, even though as Bailey (1990) has pointed out, girls formed the majority of students within both the trade and commercial junior technical schools. King's (1990) study, provides some very useful evidence on this in her study of the London central schools.

<sup>26</sup> For example, students attending junior technical schools were disallowed from taking a foreign language, which was necessary in order to matriculate from secondary education. This one absence from junior technical school curricula effectively debarred students from higher education.

<sup>27</sup> Although the Act's major recommendations were never implemented (e.g. the raising of the school leaving age to fourteen; staying on until sixteen and the provision of some form of advanced, post-elementary schooling), it did allow local education authorities to experiment with their own educational initiatives; central schools representing such a development.

<sup>28</sup> For example, central schools differed according to whether they were selective or nonselective. Further, their curricula were oriented to the needs and conditions of the local labour market. Consequently, there were central schools with a 'commercial bias' (the most popular), 'industrial' or 'technical bias.'

<sup>29</sup> From 1927, because of the overwhelming popularity of the commercial and the slow advances made by the industrial or technical schools, *all* LCC central schools were required to introduce a non-commercial side - "science and industrial for boys, domestic for girls" (King, 1990, p. 88).

<sup>30</sup> Norwood was the architect of the post-war secondary education system which was enacted in 1944. Following in the tradition of earlier reformers his primary concern was to ensure the integrity of the 'secondary' within the post-war educational system. It is also interesting to note that "he held up 'Bolshevism' as an enemy which elementary education had kept out of Britain" (Corrigan, 1977, pp. 377-78).

<sup>31</sup> It was presumed this occurred largely because of comprehensivisation from the 1950s and particularly after 1966. However, McCulloch (1989, 1995) argues that what was more decisive was the ambivalent policy of the Ministry of Education and negative attitudes of both employers and parents who favored a pure secondary education.

<sup>32</sup> Under the 1944 Act, junior technical schools were given secondary status. However, as McCulloch (1989) has shown, secondary technical schools were to be a short-lived experiment. This was not least because of the ambiguity expressed by policy emanating from within the new Ministry of Education (est. 1944). For example, issues of selection, assessment, staffing, resources and rationale plagued these schools. Because of this equivocation at national level, local education authorities were left to implement their own plans, and these were at best "patchy." These problems combined to undermine the position of separate secondary schools, so that in practice the "idea of bilateral secondary schools, grammar-technical and technical-modern, was therefore quite widely favoured"



(McCulloch, 1989, p. 63). Thus, by 1958 less than 40% of LEAs maintained secondary technical schools with a student enrollment of 3.7% of the total secondary school population.

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#### CHAPTER 3

#### THE NEW CONSERVATISM, EDUCATION AND THE POLITICS OF DECLINE

Although the relative decline of the British economy started a long time ago, during the late nineteenth century, it became most visible after the Second World War. By the 1960s and 1970s the decline of enterprise - for that is what is at issue - had become a major problem.<sup>1</sup>

In the preceding chapter, I argued for an analysis of technical and vocational education policy that emphasised its relation to processes of social regulation and class formation. I tried to identify some of the different forms this regulatory process has taken since the beginning of the nineteenth century. This chapter focuses on how, in the contemporary era, this relation has been expressed through the construction of an 'enterprise culture' within British politics and society. I will argue that the emergence of TVEI is a central element in this development, and thus in the ongoing transformation of modes of capitalist regulation through education.

By the mid 1980s, enterprise was a term that had come to dominate government policy in virtually all its areas of activity, especially those related to the reform of the public sector. Whether it was education and training, health care, social security or even prisons, the creation of enterprising individuals - or as Lord Young (1992) calls them 'intrapreneurs' - became the focus for the construction of an enterprise culture in Britain from the early 1980s to the present. This has prompted MacDonald and Coffield to note that, "A few years ago the word 'enterprise' was fashionable; it has now become pervasive and is in danger of becoming compulsory or at least very difficult to avoid" (1991 p. 18). In order to understand TVEI, then, we need to investigate this thing called 'enterprise.' To do this, we must first appreciate how it was that enterprise was connected to an emerging

politics of decline during the 1970s and 1980s. In turn, this will necessitate consideration of the 'ideology of the New Right' (Levitas, 1986b) that came to saturate both politics and policy in education from the Great Debate (1976) to the present.

Consequently, the chapter will have three sections. The first section deals with the origins of the concern with industrial decline and how it has been re-interpreted and given its modern character within the work of historians and other academics. As I show, of particular importance was the analysis advanced by M. J. Weiner's English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980 (Weiner, 1981). The significance of this work for my purposes was that it not only synthesised and reproduced the dominant understanding of the causes of British decline in the 1970s, but that it was assimilated within an emerging politics that was to shape the educational policy throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Second, I discuss what dimensions the decline thesis assumed within the 'new' Conservatism that was to dominate British politics and society from 1979. My argument here is that the political philosophies through which the new Conservatism was constituted (principally neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism) defined the parameters and possibilities for policy - including in education - designed to halt and reverse British deindustrialisation. As I show, this involved a profound critique of the post-war social democratic educational settlement, as well as the creation of new forms of social organisation in education that were modelled upon the market and business. In all of this the new Conservatism implicitly recognised that for educational changes to occur on terms which it has established, it is:

... necessary to smash up or dismantle older forms of regulation, whether these are the remains of eighteenth century paternalism, the

moral economy, or of twentieth century welfarism. This is no mere institutional form. People's lives have to be forcibly re-arranged (Johnson, 1989, p. 109).

Finally, I then explore the actual policies and practices which neo-liberalism and neoconservatism bequeathed in education, that of the free market and strong state. As I show, this doctrine established the material foundations for a new regime of social regulation within education, that was organised around market relations, business practices, and the formation of an enterprise culture. As I will argue here and in the chapters that follow, TVEI was the front-runner for these developments.

# The Decline of the Industrial Spirit

What I have labelled 'the politics of decline' has a long history that stretches back to at least the late nineteenth century. Debate and policy analysis over this issue has produced a range of competing economic, political, and sociological explanations that have sought to account for the decline of the British economy. From the mid 1970s interpretations of this process have increasingly centred upon a critique of British society and cultural values as both anti-industrial and deficient in the Victorian qualities of thrift, hard work, and self discipline. As Raven has noted, by the early 1980s this type of approach:

... enjoyed powerful influence across a far-flung empire of historical works, economic commentaries, privately commissioned papers, political manifestos and television, radio and journalism (Raven, 1990, pp. 188-189).

The most influential and popular version of this type of 'culturalist' analysis was advanced in Martin J. Weiner's *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980* (1981).<sup>2</sup> His thesis is that that while British economic decline can in part be attributed to

economic factors, the determining historical influences have been cultural. He argues that from the mid Victorian era, anti-industrial and business sentiment has been the hallmark of British cultural life, whether in government, the civil service, the professions, or, significantly, education. The reason for this collective aversion to industry and commerce lies in the failure of the English bourgeoisie to effect a national culture that was of their own making. Rather, from early on in the industrial revolution, they were lured into an aiready established culture of the aristocracy and landed interests that eschewed the profits of commerce for the countryside. polite society, and leisure. By the 1880s, the industrial spirit that had been so crucial to Britain being the 'workshop of the world' was already on the wane with the complete subordination of the middle classes to a 'gentlemanly capitalism' (Daunton, 1989). Weiner emphasises that one of the principal institutions to continually suppress the industrial spirit was education, particularly the public and grammar schools. Not only did they spurn science for the classics, but their ethos was dominated by aristocratic and landed values. Although this had transformed into the humanities and a liberal-progressivism by mid twentieth century, its effect was to suppress the expression of entrepreneurial values and practices within schooling. Finally, in his assessment of the decline of the industrial spirit in Britain, Weiner draws the following conclusion:

... it is true that this period of recognised economic crisis in Britain [the 1970s] was preceded by a century of psychological and intellectual de-industrialisation. The emerging culture of industrialism, which in the mid-Victorian years had appeared, for good or ill, to be the wave of the future, irresistibly washing over and sweeping away the features of an older Britain, was itself transformed. The thrust of the new values borne along by the revolution in industry was contained in the later nineteenth century;

the social and intellectual revolution implicit in industrialism was muted, perhaps even aborted (Weiner, 1981, p. 157).

# Enterprise Unbound

Since it appeared, Weiner's analysis has been severely criticised by a number of historians (Baxendale, 1986; Daunton, 1989; Raven, 1990; Wolff & Seed, 1988).<sup>3</sup> While their critique has pointed to a number of serious flaws in his arguments, what interests me bere is that despite this, the analysis Weiner synthesised forcefully permeated political discourse throughout the 1980s. Most importantly, it was used as part of a wider political assault on British institutions and 'values' to justify a programme of capitalist modernisation that was set from the right. As we shall see, the regeneration of enterprise and the fostering of an enterprise culture, particularly through education, was made central to this.

Although there was wide support across party politics for the decline thesis, it was within the British Conservative Party that it had its most profound effect. However, shorn from its original context in an essentially academic debate between economic historians, it was revised to mesh with a 'new' Conservative politics that formed under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher from 1975. To understand how it was reworked in its new context, it is instructive to note how the former Prime Minister conceptualised the problems that confronted her first administration in 1979. In the *The Downing Street Years*, she observes that:

Britain in 1979 was a nation that had had the stuffing knocked out of it with progressively more severe belabourings over the previous hundred years. Beginning in the 1880s, our industrial supremacy had been steadily eroding in the face of first American, then German competition [...] We fell further behind them, until by 1979 we were widely dismissed as the 'sick man of Europe' (Thatcher, 1993, pp. 5-7).

While Thatcher attributes the initial stages of this "prolonged bout of economic and financial anaemia" to primarily economic factors, of greater importance she argues, was the gradual repudiation this century of *laissez faire* as the guiding social and economic philosophy anchoring British politics. Beginning with the "social reforms" of the Balfour administration (1902-1905), what she calls a "centralising, managerial, bureaucratic, interventionist style of government" began to emerge most forcibly after 1945. While this was the creation of the Labour Party, the "accommodationist politics" that flowed from it was embraced, albeit ambivalently, by the Conservatives as well. Thus, for "over thirty years" after the end of the second world war, successive governments, whether Labour or Conservative, accelerated Britain's downward trajectory through a mixture of "Keynesian methods of fiscal manipulation," "welfare" and "the virtues of dependence." According to Thatcher, with the advent of a world recession, rising domestic inflation and unemployment contributing to 'stagflation' by the mid 1970s, "another approach was needed."

Lord Young, the architect of the enterprise culture (as well as of TVEI we shall see), has in several publications and public speeches produced an account of British decline which is virtually indisting sishable to that of Thatcher's later writing (Young, 1984, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1992). What defines his analysis, however, is his consistent assertion that the British disease is a consequence of the 'decline of enterprise,' which was most acute during the 1960s and 1970s (see epigraph to this chapter). In his view,

reversing the historical decline of the British economy could not be achieved through purely economic measures alone. What also had to occur, and this is a recurrent theme in Conservative thought during and after the 1970s, was the re-moralisation, a phoenix-like revival of the 'spirit of enterprise' within British culture and society. That this was a central theme in Conservative politics from this period is apparent if we consider Thatcher's comment - given in a speech at Cambridge University after her election victory in 1979 - that 'The mission of this government is much more than the promotion of economic progress. It is to renew the spirit and solidarity of the nation' (quoted in Morris, 1991,p. 35). Or more potently, in an interview for the *Sunday Times*, 'Economics is the method. The object is the soul' (Thatcher, 1988). So, we may ask, what kind of solidarities were to renew and bind the 'spirit' of the nation and how were they to be created? And whose 'soul' was to become object?

By the late 1970s, the idea of Britain's retreat from the industrial spirit had therefore been successfully established as the key factor in its national crisis. New Conservatives, such as Thatcher and Young, argued that this crisis did not originate in the economy as such but in the gradual withering of the spirit of enterprise within British culture and society over the past century. What had been a popularly held, though largely unsubstantiated, explanation for the acuteness of the 'British disease' was thus transformed into what I have called a politics of decline. This was composed of two, intertwined, historical processes. The first is that which I have outlined above, the elaboration and broadcasting of a view of British culture and society subject to relentless decay and decomposition. It is a vision of a 'fall,' but from the nineteenth century garden

of *laissez faire*. Its other manifestation was the generation of a 'new' kind of politics that, as successive Thatcher governments were to argue from 1979, would 'break the mould' of the post-war consensus which had accelerated Britain's international descent. Thus, what became known as the 'politics of Thatcherism' (Hall & Jacques, 1983) created the environment for what Smith and Smith (1988) have called 'ideological retooling.' That is, the creation of an ensemble of governing concepts and policies that not only aimed to reclaim enterprise but establish an enterprise culture as a way of life throughout the nation. To understand the relationship of TVEI to enterprise, we therefore need to explore the underlying principles guiding new Conservative policies since 1979.<sup>4</sup>

## The New Conservatism

When discussing the new Conservatism, there are several preliminary observations that we need to make. The first is that we are investigating less a political party, group, or collection of influential intellectuals (e.g. Havek, Friedman, Scruton) than a particular political tendency that has been unravelling within the western capitalist democracies for almost three decades. In this sense, it can be better thought of as an historical process that is embedded within the changing character of capitalist accumulation now referred to as 'globalisation.' While in Britain it has been most closely associated with the Conservative Party under Margaret Thatcher's leadership, in the antipodes a new Conservative policy agenda has been followed by the Australian and New Zealand Labour governments (Dale, 1992; Kenway, 1990). In the United States, the same trend was represented by the Reagan-Bush years and more recently by the Republican capture of Congress and its 'Contract with America.' In Canada, the rise of the Reform Party, and the election of



right-wing parties in Alberta and Ontario, is testament to a similar trend at both the federal and provincial levels of government. Thus, we have to understand that the New Conservatism is an international phenomenon that has assumed different political forms. In Britain it transpired as the 'politics of Thatcherism.'

Second, the 'new' in the New Conservatism can be misleading. As several political scientists have shown (Gamble, 1983, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990; Gunn, 1988; Levitas, 1986b), its politics and ideology are driven by a mix of traditional and modernising tendencies which have been re-articulated within the contemporary period to produce a qualitatively different ideological synthesis.<sup>5</sup> As I will indicate below, this combination has generated tensions within its political programme, particularly as it has impinged on educational policy. Third, the conservative renaissance that materialised in Britain since the 1970s has been:

... couched in terms of the specific British political context, strengthened and supported by the economic difficulties in recent British history, and framed in the light of a particular reading of that history - the economic decline of Britain, especially since 1945 (Heelas & Morris, 1992a, p. 16).

As I discussed earlier, the persistent and gnawing fear of national decline in Britain served to rekindle and reinforce the search for an alternative approach to the post-war consensus. In this respect, the rise of the new Conservatism was "fundamentally predicated on the collapse of post-war social democracy in the 1970s as a viable economic, social and political order" (Gunn, 1988, p. 17). This leads onto a fourth consideration, that the New Conservatism defined itself *against* the politics of social democracy. In particular, the welfare state was understood by new Conservatives to have embedded the 'virtues of dependence' within the national consciousness so that:

Welfare benefits, distributed with little or no consideration of their effects on behaviour, encouraged illegitimacy, facilitated the breakdown of families, and replaced incentives favouring work and selfreliance with perverse encouragement for idleness and cheating (Thatcher, 1993, p. 8).

In this way, it was assumed that the institutions. policy grids and practices of social democracy had acted to produce a *mentalité* or "moral economy" (Thompson, 1971) which was antithetical to its opposite, the enterprise culture. This is why, for Lord Young, "We *must* have an enterprise culture, not a dependency culture" (Young, 1992, p. 35). Last, it is important to emphasise that just as the education system and schooling were considered to be bastions of 'welfarism,' they were therefore viewed as pivotal to unleashing the spirit of enterprise. This was reflected in the avalanche of enterprise initiatives, including TVEI, that flowed from the *New Training Initiative* (1981) and other vocational education policies during the 1980s and 1990s. Indeed, it has been argued that the central role allotted to education in the new Conservative policy ensemble is what makes it hegemonic, as opposed to narrowly ideological (Abercrombie & Keat, 1991; Heelas & Morris, 1992a; Heelas & Morris, 1992b).

# Social Regulation and the 'Free market'

The new Conservative politics and policy since the 1970s has been dominated by a number of recurring themes. These have been generated by two distinct tendencies: neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism, or "social authoritarianism" (Levitas, 1986c). Johnson describes the orientation of each as follows:

Neo-liberals stress freedom and the market; they attack socialism as coercion and state monopoly. Political economy is in command. Neo-Conservatives deny that freedom is the leading value; social order, authority, tradition and consensus matter too. Morality and a strong state dominate this argument (Johnson, 1991a, p. 89).

While both tendencies share a profound critique of the post-war consensus, they have nevertheless projected quite different approaches to the problem of social regulation. As Gamble (1986) has shown, neo-liberalism is an amalgam of economic individualism, libertarianism, and Austrian economics, particularly as this was elaborated in the work of Friedman & Friedman (1985), Hayek (1944), and 'public choice' theory (Buchanan & Tullock, 1962). The primary challenge for neo-liberals has been to show that social democracy (or 'socialism' as they prefer) not only stifled capitalist accumulation through growing state intervention, but threatened individual freedom. They argue that the only available mechanism to ensure both liberty and sustained economic growth within a capitalist economy is the market. Not only does the market allow the unfettered expression of entrepreneurial activity, it also acts as a clearing-house for a decentralised system of decision-making mediated by an extended network of exchange relations. In this respect, it is also spontaneously democratic in that 'free,' independent, individuals enter the market to make choices with regard to their wants and needs. Aggregated, these choices translate into effective demand which continuously signal consumer preferences over time. Thus, as a mechanism for co-ordinating the supply of commodities and services within a capitalist economy, there can be no substitute for the sovereignty of the consumer and market. Indeed, according to neo-liberals the fundamental error of social democracy was its aim to replace the market with the planning and co-ordinative functions of the

state. This is seen to effect an unwarranted transfer of economic decision-making away from the market to the public sector, thereby 'crowding out' or distorting capital accumulation within the private sector.

The descent of the British economy in the twentieth century was thus attributed to the "pseudo-liberalism" of Edwardian liberals, such as Keynes and Beveridge, who were responsible for substituting public regulation in the economy for that of the market. For new Conservatives in the 1970s, this analysis proved to be a powerful counterweight to the notion of 'market failure' that legitimated state planning and guided welfare policy after 1945. As Thatcher puts the neo-liberal case, the "free market" is:

... like a vast sensitive nervous system, responding to events and signals all over the world to meet the ever-changing needs of peoples in different countries, from different classes, of different religions, with a kind of benign indifference to their status. Governments acted on a much smaller store of conscious information and, by contrast, were themselves 'blind forces' blundering about in the dark, and obstructing the operations of markets rather than improving them (Thatcher, 1993, p. 11).

In other words, neo-liberalism enjoined that 'government failure' was the root cause of the British malaise. The problems confronting neo-liberalism were therefore twofold. The first was how to free existing markets from the incubus of state regulation in order to rekindle the accumulation process within the private sector and restore profitability.<sup>6</sup> The second issue proved to be more intractable in that it centred on the burgeoning public sector that had grown dramatically in the post war-years.<sup>7</sup> The question confronting neo-liberals here was how to re-assert the sovereignty of the market over wide areas of everyday life that were "de-commodified" (Offe, 1984, 1985).

Since 1979, Conservative governments have systematically attempted to incorporate the neo-liberal critique of Keynesian fiscal management by constructing a policy regime that will 'roll back the state' and reintroduce free markets.<sup>8</sup> Since the publication of its first *Public Expenditure White Paper* in late 1979, why eqan 'Public expenditure is at the heart of Britain's present economic difficulties' (qu. ed in Harrison, 1989, p. 1), public spending 'cuts' have assumed a central and enduring place in Conservative policy.<sup>9</sup> However, of greater importance have been the adoption of policies that aimed to radically transform the way in which the public sector was organised and operated. These have centred on two principle mechanisms which effectively prepared the financial, statutory, and organisational framework for the development of an enterprise culture - 'privatisation' and 'deregulation.'<sup>10</sup> Together, these have constituted a new mode of social regulation that has increasingly subjected publicly provided services, particularly education, to 'market forces.'

Given that local government was responsible for consuming 30% of public expenditure by 1975 (Stoker, 1988), it became an immediate focus for new Conservative reforms of central-local state relations. As Cochrane (1993) has shown, local authority spending was not only subjected to tighter and more precise regulations on its spending (e. g. 'rate-capping'), it was also forced to privatise and deregulate a whole range of services. In particular, the imposition of Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) from the early 1980s introduced a powerful quasi-market mechanism that effected a re-organisation of the social relations of decision-making within the local state. In education - which had been placed under local authority control by the 1902 Balfour Act - developments

associated with privatisation and deregulation were to have profound implications for the social organisation of secondary schooling. In this context, it was not only significant that TVEI funding was administered by the Manpower Services Commission (and not the Department of Education and Science), but that it was dispersed using a 'bid and deliver' system at the heart of which was a contract between the MSC and local authorities (Dale, 1985; Dale et al., 1990; Dale et al., 1989). This process represented a major break with precedent established under the Education Act (1944), in attempting to introduce a form of accountability that emulated 'consumer sovereignty' of the market. In this way, one of TVEI's central achievements was to prepare schools for the creation of a 'managed market' that was to be the centrepiece of the legislation surrounding the Education Reform Act (1988).

## Transforming the Moral Order

If the neo-liberal side of the new Conservatism was concerned with the free market as a regulatory principle guiding economic life, then its neo-conservative side has focused on the question of social or moral order. As Lord Young has put it, "The market economy has to be supported by moral values" (Young, 1992, p. 29-30). Where individual freedom, accountability and efficiency are watchwords for neo-liberals, neo-conservative discourse is organised around concepts of order, authority, hierarchy, culture, nation, and the (patriarchal) family. In many ways, their creed represents the revival of a Tory paternalism which has attempted to address the political challenges created by the advances of market liberalisation.<sup>11</sup> As I noted above, although they have shared with neoliberals a profound antipathy towards the 'politics of accommodation,' their critique has

centred on the "decadence of democracy" that social democratic politics instilled in British culture and society (Gamble, 1986). For example, neo-conservatives point to the debilitating and corrosive effects of the 'permissive' 1960s and 1970s in destabilising the traditional relations between 'State,' 'civil society,' and 'individual' (see Cowling, 1978; Scruton, 1978, 1980). In the growth of the public sector they have also seen the rise of a 'new class' of public servants who not only exert 'producer capture' over the services they administer, but are responsible for the dissemination of a 'welfarist' ideology. This is no more evident than in education, where the "educational establishment" has systematically contributed to an anti-business ethos and decline in educational standards through its attachment to progressivism and comprehensive schooling (Thatcher, 1993, 1995; Young, 1984).

However, it is important to understand that neo-conservatives have often been antagonistic towards the programme of social regulation that neo-liberalism has attempted to effect through the market. This is because market policies threaten to transform, even obliterate, traditions, customs, and institutional practices that constitute what it means to be 'British.' That is, "market societies are high risk social orders" (Johnson, 1991b, p. 83). It is for this reason that Casey, in his contribution to *Conservative Essays* (1978a), argues that liberalism *per se* can be set apart from English conservatism in that it presents "a self detached from history, from culture, and from all activities by which man grasps his own essence and accepts responsibility for his own being." He continues that:

As much as a Marxist a conservative characteristically sees human nature as defined by human activities in the world, rather than as fixed, timeless and universal. For the conservative the best, indeed only means of access to man in the world is through customs,

pieties, cultural, national and religious traditions (Casey, 1978b, p. 96).

For Casey, the "conservative position" must entail "tradition" and something like the religious concept (and practice) of *'pietas*' that "involves a consciousness of oneself as inhabiting a world of reciprocal relations and demands" (p. 99). In other words, there must exist a countervailing force to the potentially disintegrative effects of market relations, a conservative moral economy that can illuminate "the ways in which individuals can be enlarged in their relation to customs, institutions and the State" (p. 100).

In this way, neo-conservatives are thoroughly sceptical of the spontaneous capacities of the market to produce forms of social regulation that will transform the social order. They counterpose the notion of 'economic freedom' or possessive individualism of the market, with 'political freedom' or 'virtue' that only the State can assure. As Levitas (1986a) explains, "It resembles closely the notion of true freedom being willing subordination to God (or in this case, the nation) which has been traditionally preached by the established church" (p. 92). This is a regulated freedom, that works to reinforce a conservative or traditional moral economy that will bind the individual to the authority of the State. According to Scruton in his *The Meaning of Conservatism* (1980), is emphatic that "it is as deep an instinct in a conservative as it is in a socialist to resist the champions of 'minimal' government, and to recognise the essence of politics in established power" (p.48).

Thus, taken together neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism have constituted the contemporary ideological pillars of the new Conservative policy agenda in Britain. Their

political force lay less in their power as distinct ideologies, than in the way in which they combined to effect an approach to social regulation that was cloaked in the politi.s of decline. In this respect, they should neither be conceived as separate or necessarily contradictory tendencies. As a leading conservative explained of the position facing Mrs Thatcher within the Conservative Party in the late 1970s, it was not a question of *either* 'authority' *or* 'freedom:'

In short, to the question 'Should the tory party now be emphasising authority or freedom?' Mrs Thatcher has given the right answer, the more effectively because she has done so in concrete rather than in abstract terms: the antithesis between liberty and authority is false. The State must be strong in defending itself against foreign attack, enforcing the rule of law and recovering and strengthening a sense of national identity. It must, however, forswear the pretension to meddle incessantly in the economic and commercial activities of its subjects (Utley, 1978, p. 51).

In other words, the new Conservatism turns on the catechism that the "free economy requires the strong state" (Gamble, 1983), or as Johnson has observed in relation to education reform, "the market with *guarantees*" (1991b). Consequently, although there exists a tension between the two dominant ideological tendencies within the new Conservatism, this has been productive when translated into policy and practice. For instance, Levitas (1986c) argues that it has allowed a certain flexibility in switching "the grounds of its legitimations at will" on a wide range of policy issues.

### **Transforming Education**

In education the doctrine of the strong State and free market has had a profound impact on policy over the 1980s. On the one hand, it generated a plethora of government legislation and administrative directives aimed at either outright privatisation or, more

significantly, the development of a managed market within the publicly maintained sector. Pursuit of this agenda involved a number of significant developments. The 1980 Education Act which provided funding for pupils in the maintained sector to attend private schools (i. e. 'assisted places'), as well as the reconstitution of school governing bodies to represent parent (i. e. 'consumer') and business (i.e. 'community') interests instead of LEAs and teachers (Grace, 1995). The MSC's sponsorship of the TVEI 'bid and deliver' approach to contract funding for LEAs and schools, which created a competitive environment within and between schools over resources. The market led provisions of the ERA (1988), particularly 'opting out,' 'open enrolment,' and 'local management of schools' (LMS), as well as the creation of City Technology Colleges (CTCs). The 1992 Education (Schools) Act, which transferred funding and control of LEA inspectorates to schools, who now tender for inspections every four years with private consultants registered with the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) (Levacic, 1993). Legitimating these reforms has been a policy discourse centred on greater accountability. efficiency and freedom of choice for the consumer, as well as decentralisation in the form of school-based management (e.g. as in LMS). The effects of these reforms on schools has been profound, as Grace has observed:

A process of ideological transformation is occurring in contemporary English society in which education is regarded as a commodity; the school as a value-adding production unit; the headteacher as chief executive and managing director; the parents as consumers; and the ultimate aim of the whole enterprise to achieve a maximum value-added product which keeps a school as near to the top of the league table of success as is possible. In short, the market relations of schooling have emerged as the dominant preoccupation of the 1980s and 1990s (Grace, 1995, p. 21). What is clear, is that taken together over the last decade, these developments have aimed at the systematic destruction of the post-war social democratic settlement in education through the informal, "no hands' forms of control" mechanisms of the market and micro-management (Ball, 1994). Indeed, this is illuminated in Thatcher's account of the objectives of educational reform that Conservative governments pursued throughout the 1980s (Thatcher, 1993, pp. 590-599).

However, the new Conservatism also recognised that the introduction of market relations alone would not be enough to subvert the hold of the "educational establishment" over the curriculum and associated areas, such as assessment. To paraphrase Lord Young and Baroness Thatcher, market relations have to be supported by particular moral values in creating types of social solidarity that are conducive to the formation of enterprising qualities. This has generated a distinct type of social regulation that has depended upon the direct intervention of State agencies, such as the DES and MSC. This approach to social regulation has been overtly centralising and bureaucratic in prescribing either the framework within which forms of knowledge are to be generated and monitored, and/or actually specifying in detail the subjects of the curriculum and their method of assessment. The two most notable developments in this respect have been the introduction of TVEI, followed by the national curriculum and testing implemented under the auspices of the ERA.

TVEI emerged from the educational settlement that generated the new vocationalism from the second half of the 1970s. In this respect it can be understood as an educational response to the way in which a renascent new Conservative politics explained

and defined the relative decline of the British economy, society, and culture during the post-war years. As I argue in the chapters that follow, in both policy and practice TVEI explored a form of regulatica that not only worked to undermine the existing social democratic 'partnership,' but replace it with an organisation of relations that expressed the relations of enterprise.

Before I commence my investigations of TVEI it is important to say a few a words about the ERA. This is for two reasons. First, the ERA entrenched within the legal fabric of the educational State many of the reforms that TVEI had already been exploring in secondary schools. Second, data from my follow-up study of TVEI (1991-2) reveals how the effects of the ERA built upon and developed TVEI policy. Indeed, it is my argument that the relationship of TVEI and ERA is one of essential continuity, not of discordance and discontinuity as many authors have either implied or claimed (Gleeson, 1987b; Gleeson & McLean, 1994; McCulloch, 1986, 1987; Saunders, 1986, 1990, 1993; Saunders & Halpin, 1990).

Initially announced in Parliament in June 1987, the 'Great Education Reform Bill' (GERBIL) had 137 clauses which covered developments in primary, secondary, further, and higher education. In this respect, it not only aimed to be comprehensive but was centralising in that it allowed an "enormous number of new powers to be taken by the secretary of state" (Simon, 1991, p. 542). In relation to secondary education, four main provisions were made which formed the core of the ERA (1988). These were: 'open enrolment;' 'local management of schools;' 'opting out;' and a `national curriculum.' The first three of these measures stemmed from neo-liberal concerns in the new conservatism

aimed at introducing market relations to education. Thus, while open enrolment introduced a quasi-voucher scheme through 'per capita funding,' local management of schools (LMS) shifted financial and budgetary responsibilities away from LEAs to school governing bodies. Under LMS, the budgets of school governing bodies are now directly related to the number of pupils that they can attract. With the publication of school league tables in examinations (using Standard Assessment Tests or 'SATs'), open enrolment and LMS have intensified competition between schools over a declining pupil intake. These trends have been reinforced by opting out, which has allowed individual schools (after a ballot of parents) to leave LEA control by applying to the Secretary of State for a maintenance grant from central government. This has sanctioned the emergence of Grant Maintained Schools (GMS) that, along with the creation of City Technology Colleges (CTCs) also created by the ERA, has contributed to the fracturing of the post-war social democratic settlement in education.

As Johnson (1991b) has noted, the national curriculum can be understood as a "primarily political intervention" that derives from a neo-conservative critique of progressive education, initially developed in the *Black Papers* (Cox & Boyson, 1977; Cox & Dyson, 1970) and then by policy 'think-tanks' such as the Hillgate Group and the Centre for Policy Studies (Ball, 1994; Bowe, Ball, & Gold, 1992; Whitty, 1989; Whitty & Menter, 1989). This has centred on the supposed failure of comprehensive schooling to impart the 'right' attitudes, discipline, standards, forms of knowledge, and traditions to young people, particularly as these relate to *British* history, culture and society. As Elliott and MacLennan have noted:

For many neo-conservatives in Britain, the school curriculum must not just serve the needs of the economy, it must also respond to a crisis of authority in society at large. It is in response to this general crisis of authority that the restoration of traditional morality and high culture become priorities in curriculum reform (Elliott & MacLennan, 1994, p. 175).

Within the national curriculum this critique has materialised as a return to conventional subject categories that eschew recognition of the 'new' social orientations to knowledge that were explored under progressivism. Thus, although the curriculum is composed of three 'core' (mathematics, English, and science), and eight 'foundation' (history, geography, technology, information technology (IT), music, art, physical education, and a modern language) subjects, it systematically excludes forms of curriculum development that were pioneered by comprehensive schools throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Significant omissions include any reference to social studies or social science, multicultural education, inter-disciplinary studies such as integrated humanities, and political education. Indeed, as Aldrich (1988) has shown, aside from the inclusion of 'technology' and 'IT,' the national curriculum replicates the subjects specified in the 1904 Secondary Regulations. In this respect, it reproduces the 'English tradition' of the nineteenth century public and grammar school curriculum. For this reason, Ball has characterised it as "the curriculum as museum" (Ball, 1994, p. 35).

# **Conclusion**

This chapter has located TVEI (and the ERA) within political transformations that emerged in Britain from the early 1970s. Following the work of other authors (e.g. Education Group II, 1991; Gamble, 1986; Gunn, 1988; Hall & Jacques, 1983; Levitas, 1986b), I argued that the political settlement arising from these changes could be seen in the rise of the new Conservatism to government after 1979. I also argued that the new Conservatism did not represent a political movement in the conventional sense, but embodied a form of *capitalist* social regulation that worked to transform the English educational State as it was constituted under social democracy.

As I noted, this was comprised of two distinct, but nevertheless interrelated, tendencies that were expressed through respectively, neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. Together these twin ideological pillars of the new Conservatism produced a mode of regulation that was effected through market relations and traditional moral values. As Lord Young put it, the market had to be supported by 'moral values.' Within public policy this regulatory process has materialised in the campaign to re-establish an enterprise culture within British politics and society, with a major emphasis on educational reform. In this context, I argued, TVEI emerged as the front-runner in introducing the relations of enterprise to secondary schooling.

Thus, my overall argument has been that as with other initiatives in technical education that I discussed in chapter two, TVEI cannot be adequately analysed or understood without proper consideration of its relationship to capitalist social regulation. In what follows I intend to address these questions by investigating how TVEI contributed to the construction of enterprise in the schools that comprise this study. In doing so, I hope to show that it not only was embedded in a regulatory process that had its locus within the 'free market,' but that i' also worked to effect a recomposition of class relations as these were expressed through the practices of enterprise.

NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Young, quoted in Heelas & Morris (1992b p. 29)

<sup>2</sup> Raven notes that "The success of Weiner's own essay was remarkable [...] For *The Economist* it was essential reading for 'everybody who has some portion of Britain's destiny in his (or her) hands" (Raven, 1990).

<sup>3</sup> Their critique is comprised of the following themes. First, Weiner's methodology is called in to question for its overt empiricism, particularly as this relates to the interpretation of his literary sources. Second, his analysis of British industrial decline derives from observations of elite or bourgeois society but takes no account of 'shop-floor' culture. Third, he either dismisses of ignores 'economic' explanations of British decline (e.g. Hobsbawm, 1969). Fourth, the notion of economic decline being the consequence of anti-industrial/business forces is not particular to Britain. This is a phenomenon that has dominated public debate in France, Germany, and the USA since the 1880s. Last, Weiner's analysis has actually underestimated the cultural achievements and power of the British bourgeoisie (c. f. Thompson, 1978b).

<sup>4</sup> Terminology can be confusing on this subject. Various labels have been used including: 'the New Right' (Levitas, 1986); the 'New Conservatism' (Gunn, 1989); 'the politics of Thatcherism' (Hall and Jacques, 1983) 'Thatcherism' (Jessop, 1988); 'the Conservative Restoration' (Ball, 1992); even 'Majorism' (Kavanagh, 1994). Despite the different nomenclature, I will use the New Conservatism, as it is the preferred term of those intellectuals who spearheaded many of the policy initiatives after Margaret Thatcher's election as leader of the Conservative Party. Thus, Cowling's edited collection, *Conservative Essays* (1978), constantly refers to the 'New Conservatism.'

<sup>5</sup> As Levitas has shown, New Conservative pressure groups in Britain, such as the Economic League (1919), Aims of Industry (1942), Institute for Economic Affairs, Centre for Policy Studies (1974) and Adam Smith Institute (1979) "took over from earlier organisations which date back to the 1880s and 1890s" (1986b, p. 33). Also, in his edited collection of New Conservative intellectuals, Cowling (1978) significantly argues that, "New Conservatism' is perhaps a misnomer; probably it would be better to see it as 'traditional Conservatism' brought up to date" (p. 194).

<sup>6</sup> Relative to its OECD partners, British industry had consistently failed to achieve comparable rates of economic growth and profitability during the post-war years (Martin & Rowthorn, 1986). For neo-liberals, this was an effect directly attributable to the State 'crowing out' private investment.

<sup>7</sup> Between 1950 and 1981, public expenditure grew from 35.4% of GNP to 47% (Newton & Karran, 1985).

<sup>8</sup> As Mullard (1987) notes: "The [Conservative] strategy on public expenditure was not a short term crisis response, but a laying to rest of the ghost of Keynes" (p. 161).

<sup>9</sup> While successive Thatcher (and Major) governments since 1979 have introduced financial reforms within the public sector aimed at reducing budgets, greater emphasis has nevertheless been given to 'restructuring' the way in which government spending (or PSBR) has historically been administered and targeted. This explains why, despite stringent financial policies, government spending showed only a marginal slowdown

during the 1980s (Mullard, 1987) Indeed, if we examine the government's *Statistical Bulletin* on education for 1992, we find that between 1980 and 1990 "spending per fulltime equivalent (FTE) pupil increased by 40 per cent for nursery and primary schools and 53.5 per cent for secondary schools" (Department for Education, 1992) Thus, to use the term 'cuts' is something of a misnomer which serves to obscure from view a radical reorganisation of the management, aims, and purposes of the welfare State (Cochrane, 1993).

<sup>10</sup> Privatisation has involved either the transfer of public resources and services, or control over them, to the private sector; deregulation has entailed the restructuring of the public sector so that it emulates the organisation and activities of business (Ascher, 1987).

<sup>11</sup> For example, the year long 1985-6 miners strike developed out of the Thatcher government's systematic closure of mining pits because, it was claimed, they were 'uneconomic' in not producing coal at the 'market price.'

#### CHAPIER 4

#### TVEI AND THE POLITICS OF ENTERPRISE

In the schools we have the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative. The main aim of this programme and the big changes in examinations and the curriculum we have introduced, is to sustain and develop enterprise. That is the way to encourage and enable young people to use their growing skills and knowledge to solve real problems in today's world [...] our system must be built on individual choice and enterprise, on commitment and enthusiasm, not coercion.<sup>1</sup>

Under new Conservative governments throughout the 1980s and 1990s, public policy was intimately connected with the recovery of enterprise and the formation of an enterprise culture. This has been no more apparent than in education and training policy, where enterprise initiatives abounded. As MacDonald and Coffield (1991) have observed, "The 1980s witnessed a burst of schemes, courses, agencies and publications, all specialising in the promotion of the enterprise culture" (p. 19). These included TVEI, Mini-Enterprise in Schools (MESP); Training for Enterprise Programme; Enterprise in Youth Training; Enterprise in Higher Education; Enterprise Awareness in Teacher Training (EATE); even Evangelical Enterprise.<sup>2</sup> This trend was to continue into the 1990s, as the establishment of a national network of 104 'Training and Enterprise Councils' (TECs) in 1989 demonstrated. Based upon the U.S. Private Industry Councils (PICs), the TECs have become one of the major policy devices for the reform of the local state in Britain.<sup>3</sup> Incorporated as private companies who operate within a competitive 'bid and deliver' system of funding determined by the Secretary of State for Employment, they constitute the primary loci for the continued fabrication of an enterprise culture in the twenty first century.<sup>4</sup>

For these reasons, it would be wrong to think of enterprise as a mere rhetorical device that was used to rally support for new Conservative policies. This is not how new Conservatives understood it. As Lord Young suggests above in relation to TVEI, enterprise was to provide the context within which young people could 'use their growing skills and knowledge to solve *real* problems in today's world.' In other words, he is identifying a cultural process of subjectification, where teachers and pupils were to become actively engaged within teaching and learning situations that were organised around 'enterprise.' Thus, we have to investigate enterprise not as if it were a discursive phenomenon confined to the realm of language as some authors working with a Foucauldian analysis have (Fairclough, 1991) Our task is to understand its widespread adoption in educational policy as embracing or naming a preferred form of social organisation that was to act as a model for the process of schooling from the early 1980s. Understood this way, we have to ask how did TVEI effect enterprise, as a social relation and set of practices - a moral economy - within the schools that comprise my study.

I will address this question in two ways. First, I will outline and describe the attributes of the 'education for enterprise movement' that emerged in the 1980s, of which TVEI was the central and leading component (Rees & Rees, 1992). My concern will be to show not only the range of education for enterprise initiatives launched by central government, but how together they constituted an ensemble of policies that worked to concert and co-ordinate the social relations of schooling in ways that effected the standpoint of capital. My argument is that the education for enterprise movement was deeply implicated in an essentially historical process that worked to produce and

reproduce the social relations of capitalist accumulation as forms of everyday, commonsense, within schools and classrooms. Indeed, seen from this perspective, TVEI was about *making sense* of enterprise.

Second, I move on to an analysis of enterprise as it materialised within the 26 schools that comprise this study. As I indicated in chapter one, interviews with teachers and administrators, classroom observations, and content analysis of relevant documents provide data for the historical ethnography i elaborate in this and the remaining chapters. First, I propose to provide a brief descriptive account of the kinds of school and classroom practices that arose within TVEI. From this it will become evident that the insertion of enterprise within these schools not only worked to reorganise and produce different kinds of classroom knowledge, but a politics of decision-making that altered their relations with the local state.<sup>5</sup> Second, I will suggest that in the contemporary period, enterprise education can be understood as vocational education undergoing re-formation. I should emphasise that this cannot be comprehended as a simple change of name, but is indicative of more profound changes in the social organisation of schooling that has traditionally been deemed appropriate for the working-class. To illustrate what I mean by this, I will focus on several instances of TVEI enterprise in my data that display the emerging character of this process of transformation.

Finally, I need to emphasise that the ethnography of TVEI I begin in this and the following chapters continues to develop my analysis of the historical dynamics that have driven and shaped technical and vocational education in England. That is, my primary

concern in the remainder of the thesis will be to reveal how the social regulation of class relations is expressed through the ordinary, everyday, activities of schooling under TVEI

#### Education for Enterprise

Writing of trends in public policy in the 1980s, Morris and Heelas have noted that in "the last decade, the word 'enterprise' has been elevated to a cultural status" (1991, p. 1). Others have observed that since the 1980s "the significance of enterprise in British society, has, if anything, intensified" (MacDonald & Coffield, 1991, p. 13). In other words, 'enterprise' did not only define new Conservative public policy towards the welfare state and business, it has also seeped into everyday discourse within the media, work and education. In short, it has acquired a hegemonic quality. As a social phenomenon this was historically unprecedented, as it was paradoxical. That is, while it is true that enterprise had always been associated with business and more generally capitalist development (as in the 'spirit of enterprise' or the image of the entrepreneur), it has never assumed the status of a national-cultural icon as it has done in Britain in the 1980s and 1990s. Further, it was paradoxica! in that unlike *laissez faire* policies in the nineteenth century, enterprise in the contemporary period has been entirely dependent upon the fiscal resources of the British State. Without either the policy grids that successive new Conservative governments constructed around enterprise from 1979, or the considerable financial support given by the Treasury thereafter, it is doubtful whether enterprise would have acquired the ideological force that it has patently done in the last two decades.

That it has done so was no more apparent than in education, where enterprise came to dominate policy and practice. As I indicated above, from the early 1980s an

education for enterprise movement' (henceforth education for enterprise) began to develop that had as its focus the introduction of programmes that were aimed at cultivating enterprising capacities and qualities in colleges, schools and students. Indeed, to use the fashionable language of Human Resource Development (HRD), enterprise was about 'capacity building' within educational institutions. Given this, we have to ask what kind of capacities and qualities were to be developed and through what social relations and practices were they to be realised. Before we begin to address this question below and in the next section, it is important that I outline the character of some of the early enterprise initiatives in British education.

## Antecedents

Forms of enterprise education have existed in British colleges and schools since at least the 1960s. However, unlike the 1980s, developments in the earlier period were smallscale, fragmented and entirely supported by large corporations (such as Shell U.K.), independent private foundations, or charitable trusts. The State, particularly local education authorities (LEAs), provided little, if any, financing for enterprise activities within the curriculum. Further, the relative absence of forms of enterprise education during the post-war years grew out of the prevailing politics of social democracy, where the activities of the Keynesian-welfare State were seen as the primary motor for capitalist development - in educational thought, this was most cogently expressed in 'human capital theory.' That is, in a period of sustained growth, rising living standards, and full employment, the notion of enterprise appeared almost as an anachronism. Indeed, because of its strong associations with unregulated nineteenth century 'free enterprise' capitalism,

enterprise was even considered antithetical to the social democratic project of equality of opportunity, social justice, and the eradication of class inequality (Tawney, 1964).

What forms of enterprise education did exist in the 1960s differed substantially in character and constituency from that which emerged under the new vocationalism during the 1980s. For example, 'Young Enterprise,' an import from the U.S. and run by a private foundation, was primarily aimed at academic sixth forms in English secondary schools.<sup>6</sup> Using the joint stock company as its model, students in participating colleges and schools would establish and run a company for a year as part of a national competition. Similarly, sixth form students following either 'A' or 'O' level General Certificate of Examination (GCE) in Economics might run a mini-company as part of a project for their course assessment. Significantly, although the profit motive was at the heart of the activities that comprised Young Enterprise and other versions of enterprise education, this was subordinated to the liberal-progressive notion of developing the all round talents of individual students. In other words, enterprise education during this period can be understood as emulating forms of bourgeois leadership required for industry and business. It was, in short, a modern elaboration of the process of embourgeoisement that the public schools provided for industrialists, middle classes and gentry from the early nineteenth century. As we shall see below, this model of enterprise education was not that which emerged within TVEI or the new vocationalism during the 1980s and 1990s. That is, forms of enterprise education in this later period focused less on the formation of the attributes of bourgeois leadership, than on enterprising qualities for the 'good' citizen. As a leading exponent of the enterprise for education movement has put it, enterprise was to
be concerned with an "approach to learning [in] developing particular competencies for life in general" (Johnson, 1988a, p. 62).

As I noted in the previous chapter, the key dynamic driving new Conservative social policies in the 1980s and 1990s was establishing the appropriate conditions for the creation of an enterprise culture. In State provided education, this translated into a profusion of enterprise initiatives that had as their collective aim the transformation of the existing moral economy of social democratic schooling. Although there is still a relative paucity of research on education for enterprise initiatives, several recent studies have shown how the introduction of programmes of enterprise education have influenced schooling (Coffield, 1990; Harris, 1989, 1995; Rees & Rees, 1992; Rees, 1988; Shilling, 1989a, 1989b; Williamson, 1989). First, enterprise initiatives have broken out of their former enclave within the academic sixth form curriculum to encompass predominately 14-18 vocational courses. For example, the formation of a 'Education for Enterprise Network' in 1982, was sponsored by educational, industrial, and voluntary sector organisations with the aim of encouraging the extension and development of microenterprises within secondary schools on a national basis. In like manner, the Schools Council Industry Project (SCIP) has also supported enterprise activities that teach students on 'being your own boss' (Grant, 1986). To this can be added the Mini-Enterprise in Schools Project (MESP) and TVEL, both of which contributed to the national dissemination of micro-enterprises and enterprise activities within the secondary curriculum (Shilling, 1989a, 1989b). Through these programmes enterprise education became a central element within the emerging new vocational curriculum of schools and

colleges marking what had hitherto been designated as the 'technical' or 'vocational.' To this extent, they were also deeply implicated within the reproduction of forms of teaching and learning that had historically been deemed appropriate for the working-class. For example, in her survey of 132 Welsh schools, Harris (1989) found that enterprise activity was viewed by teachers as appropriate for "non-academic pupils." In a subsequent study of classroom teachers attitudes toward enterprise she has drawn very similar conclusions (Harris, 1995). Such findings have also been substantiated by Cohen (1990), Jamieson (1986), Shilling (1989a; 1989b), and Williamson (1989).

Second, "Education for enterprise has become a shorthand expression for learning about self employment of one kind or another" (Rees, 1988, p. 11). The exemplar for young people who engage in forms of enterprise education is that of individual entrepreneur or, collectively, the limited liability company. In this way, the dominant model of enterprise within schooling reproduces the social relations of the capitalist enterprise as *the* only acceptable form of organisation within which both productive and meaningful activity may occur. As Rees and Rees have observed in their study of the Mini-Enterprise Schools Project (MESP):

... the profit motive implies that other organisational forms which combine income generation for participants with wider social goals, such as community development, are not offered to young people as realistic alternatives. The profit motive becomes a taken-forgranted part of their cultural repertoire (1992, p. 134).

In this context, wealth creation and the accumulation of capital have become synonymous with enterprise. Alternative renderings of enterprise, such as co-operative ventures, are thus marginalised within this dominant paradigm (Skillen, 1992). Further, the adoption of

micro-enterprises within schools tends to legitimate and reproduce social divisions that are inherent within private sector companies - such as those related to gender and ethnicity (Barnes et al., 1987, 1988; Rees, 1988; Westwood & Bhachu, 1988; Williamson, 1989). Last, it can potentially act as a mechanism of auto-critique which "endorses a New Right moral appraisal of individuals who 'choose' unemployment rather than starting their own business" (Rees & Rees, 1992, p. 134-5).

Enterprise education has also rendered important transformations in what is to count as 'useful knowledge' within the secondary school curriculum. This has been a complex and uneven process, but it is possible to distinguish a number of salient developments. The most striking has been the way in which education for enterprise initiatives in schools have articulated with the vocationalisation of the curriculum from the early 1980s. Indeed, enterprise has become virtually synonymous with, or at least a substitute for, the vocational in schooling. To this extent, it has been instrumental in fracturing the secondary school curriculum, contributing to the generation of social divisions that were characteristic of education before comprehensive reforms in the mid 1960s. For example, the widespread introduction of pre-vocational and vocational programmes from the 1970s, such as Business and Technician Education Council (BTEC), Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education (CPVE), City and Guilds of London Institute (CGLI) and Royal Society of Arts (RSA), and more recently General/National Vocational Qualification (GNVQ/NVQs), have effectively created an alternative curriculum within schools for students designated as non-academic. Significantly, all of these initiatives have embodied either micro-enterprises, enterprise, or business elements within their curricula.

Further, the emergence of an 'alternative curriculum' has been reinforced in the 1990s by the announcement that the national curriculum will only account for 60 per cent of a pupil's time within school. The remaining 40 per cent will be devoted to vocational elements, particularly GNVQs, which will include enterprise education.<sup>7</sup> In addition, the Secretary of State for the Department for Education and Employment (DFEE) announced in August 1995 that all students not following academic courses in GCSEs will be subject to extended periods of work experience with employers.<sup>8</sup> Together, these developments have served to reinforce the differentiation of the vocational from non-vocational that characterised the historical tension between the technical and secondary.

As part of the wide-ranging reforms of English education enacted by the ERA, the national curriculum has also contributed enterprise elements to the secondary curriculum. That is, despite its overt scholastic orientation, the national curriculum contains an explicit commitment to elements of both vocationalism and enterprise within its five cross-curricular themes. These are: economic and industrial understanding; careers education and guidance; health education; citizenship; and environmental education. Unlike the eleven core and foundation subjects of the curriculum, which are aimed at the 'spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils,' the later inclusion of the themes was to provide students with knowledge and experiences that would prepare them for 'adult' or working life. In this respect, it is important to understand that this model of enterprise education was inherited from TVEI. Indeed, in many of the interviews conducted with classroom teachers and administrators in my study, it was common to hear them point to how TVEI had not only shaped but defined the content and process of

national curriculum subjects. For them, the 'spirit of TVEI' was very much in evidence within both the national curriculum and the other reforms of the ERA (1988). I shall say more on this below and in the chapters that follow.

The view that the national curriculum's cross-curricular themes embody aims and objectives inherited from TVEI, particularly those related to education for enterprise, is most evident within economic and industrial understanding (EIU). Thus, a recent study by Whitty, Rowe, and Aggleton found that "economic and industrial understanding appeared in the most subjects and could thus be defined as the most fully permeated theme" within the national curriculum (Whitty, Rowe, & Aggleton, 1994). In this context, it is significant that the National Curriculum Council (NCC) recommendations on the content of EIU include an explicit commitment to the dissemination of "entrepreneurial skills" as a means to "increasing economic competitiveness" and maintaining "the nation's prosperity" (National Curriculum Council, 1991, p. 1). Thus, curriculum guidance four on EIU states that:

Education for enterprise means two things. First it means developing the qualities needed to be an 'enterprising person,' such as the ability to tackle problems, take initiatives, persevere, be flexible and work in teams. Secondly and more specifically it means taking part in small scale business and community enterprise projects designed to develop these qualities. A programme for economic and industrial understanding requires both (1991, p. 6).

This policy statement is notable in two ways. First, it expands and elaborates the concept of enterprise contained within the original TVEI aims and criteria in focusing upon the development of a group of skills and competencies that have been at the centre of new vocationalist discourse since the early 1980s (MSC, 1983). In EIU, however, they are

explicitly connected to the creation of 'qualities' that are to constitute the 'enterprising person.' Second, and of greater significance for my discussion of enterprise, is the emphasis placed upon the realisation of these subjective capacities within the 'small scale business and community enterprise projects.'9 That is, in legitimating forms of capitalist social organisation for EIU activities within schools, we can begin to understand that enterprise has a reiterative character. Enterprise in the context of EIU emerges as an exemplar, a coordinative device, for embedding the capital relation within the processes of schooling surrounding the national curriculum. For example, under "knowledge and understanding" within EIU, students are to focus on "how business enterprise creates wealth for individuals and the community" (p. 4). Further, such learning is to be grounded in the development of "analytical, personal and social skills" that involve co-operating "as part of a team in enterprise activities" (p. 5). In this way, we might think of the modernised scholastic tradition that the national curriculum represents as a form of vocationalism (or enterprise) in that "it does very much reflect the kind of response given by employers when asked their views on education. With its emphasis on standards and discipline it is clearly concerned with the kind of model citizen envisaged by many employers" (Spours & Young, 1990, p. 215). In relation to this observation, it is relevant to note that recent studies of national curriculum subjects have shown that areas such as design and technology, and information technology, are infused with classroom practices modelled upon business (Apple, 1992; Beynon & MacKay, 1992, 1993; Beynon, Young, & McKay, 1991; Jamieson, 1993; Medway, 1992).<sup>10</sup> As I will show in the next section, the foundations for these developments were prepared by TVEI.

Enterprise, however, has had far wider implications than the reconstitution of school knowledge. It has also acted to reorganise and transform the politics of educational decision-making that had prevailed under the social democratic settlement established after 1944. This is the conclusion that Grace (1995) comes to in his study of the effects of the enterprise culture on school headteachers in England, where he argues that recent reforms have tended toward what he calls the "commodification of education." As he explains:

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Education, regarded in the nineteenth century as primarily a moral and spiritual enterprise and regarded in the social democratic era as a professionally autonomous cultural service, has been recontextualised in the 1980s as a product in the market place. This commodification process has been accomplished by a series of reforms, such as the introduction of local management of schools (which has established the discourse of the budget centre), the promotion of league table of school results (which has created a language of 'output', 'value-added' and 'measurable product') and by official discourse which has constituted the curriculum as an entity to be 'delivered' and the parents and pupils as the 'consumers' of the education product (1995, p. 40).

In this context, enterprise has worked to produce not only a 'discourse,' but forms of social organisation that have rendered the relations of capitalist accumulation both meaningful and practicable within education and schooling. Understood this way, enterprise is not mere rhetoric, it is a conceptual practice that is as much concerned with what is learnt within the classroom, as it is with how schools manage their everyday decision-making. Emulating the practices of the 'world of work' in this way, enterprise education has consistently sought to re-articulate the social relations of schooling more closely to business and the capitalist market. Indeed, with the emergence of a 'managed

market' in education in the 1980s and 1990s, the local educational state has assumed an enterprising form.

My argument, therefore, is that in the 1980s and 1990s, enterprise has come to stand for the elaboration and embedding of a constellation of social relations and practices within education that embody the standpoint of business or capital. In other words, whether as the school micro-enterprise, as 'relevant' and useful knowledge within the curriculum, or the reproduction of the local educational state as a market, enterprise has acted to concert and co-ordinate the social organisation of schooling in ways that are deeply implicated in social relations of accumulation. In this sense, we can speak of an 'enterprise effect' in English schooling that has produced a grid of social relations which has simultaneously constituted and worked beyond the immediate experiences of classroom teachers and their students. To appreciate how enterprise materialised in this way, we can now turn to an analysis of its effects within the 26 TVEI schools that comprise this study.

### Enterprise in TVEI

Like many social policies aimed at remodelling the welfare state on principles and practices derived from business, TVEI was designed and developed by the 'Enterprise Unit' within the Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister (Morris, 1991, p. 29). The imprint of this senior ministerial body (under the directorship of David Young) is unmistakable in the TVEI pilot aims and criteria, which is redolent with references to "enterprise," the "world of employment," and "real-world problems" (MSC, 1983). Within the TVEI extension

document or *Focus Statement* (see Appendix 2), these themes are reiterated with a marked emphasis on developing "enterprising" qualities in students (Curtis, 1990; Jones, 1989a).

From its inception, therefore, TVEI was understood by new Conservative governments as addressing what I have called in chapter three, the politics of decline. That is, the 'technical,' vocational,' and 'educational' in TVEI were to be cast within a much broader educational politics that was concerned with the regeneration of the British capitalism modelled upon the new conservative utopia of the free market. Thus, the emergence of TVEI policy and practice from 1982-3 (whether as pilot or extension) cannot be adequately grasped unless located within this particular ideological context. In other words, enterprise provided the conceptual nexus through which school-industry relations were to be reorganised and co-ordinated as part of a much longer-term process of the restructuring and re-ordering of British capital in the 1980s and 1990s. Indeed, this is made explicit in the TVEI aims and criteria, where number seven states that LEAs/schools are to work in "close collaboration [with] industry/commerce/public services etc., so that the *curriculum has industry's confidence*" (my italics MSC, 1983).

My research data from both the 1985-88 and 1991-2 studies suggest that enterprise education was practised through several organisational forms within the TVEI curriculum. The most commonplace mechanism that was used by schools was the microenterprise.<sup>11</sup> As I have indicated above, although a version of this did exist in Young Enterprise from the 1960s, the micro-enterprises that were to emerge as a consequence of the new vocationalist impulse of the 1980s onwards were of a very different character. In other words, TVEI schools adapted and re-worked the model of the capitalist firm that

Young Enterprise bequeathed for a very different constituency than it was intended. In this respect, Williamson concluded his study of 150 pupils in 20 English schools that "minienterprise was clearly associated by both students and parents with lower ability levels" (Williamson, 1989, p. 78). Second, enterprise activities would often be organised through TVEI supported subjects, such as business studies, design and technology, information technology (IT), and personal and social education (PSE). Occasionally, as in business studies and PSE, the micro-enterprise model would be utilised, though either a module or group of activities on enterprise could also be observed. Third, curriculum content and process would be linked with employers and industry, through 'business partnerships,' or as under the Extension, 'Compact schemes,'<sup>12</sup> Schools would also connect enterprise with non-curricular activities, such as TVEI work experience, counselling and guidance, and outward-bound activities (e.g. school residentials). In addition, arrangements for trips by pupils to local industry and business would be made, as well as return visits by local employers. By exploring in greater detail the ethnographic dimensions of these practices, as I will do in this and subsequent chapters, we can better comprehend how TVEI worked to produce an 'enterprise effect' within the existing moral economy of the schools I investigated.

### Construing 'Reality': The Micro-Enterprise

As I have already indicated, the most widely practised organisational form of enterprise education that materialised under the auspices of TVEI was the 'minicompany.' For this reason, we may take it as an exemplar of the kinds of practices I will investigate here. Of the 26 schools, perhaps the most striking example of how micro-

enterprises were used to effect teaching and learning practices within the TVEI pilot was at Smith Community College (SCC). Like the other schools (and schools nationally), the College had organised its TVEI program using a core + options curriculum model. Within the program, enterprise elements were evident in both subject options (business studies) and what the College referred to as its "TVEI Project." However, what was significant about the College's Project was that it was realised entirely through the mechanism of the micro-enterprise. Timetabled for an entire Tuesday morning, TVEI teachers (12) and students (50) would meet for Project activities. After an initial introduction by one (or more) of the faculty to frame the morning's 'business,' students would disperse into groups and begin work on their micro-enterprises. These included: producing greetings cards; making candles; constructing an inflatable tent; programming for educational software; creating a war game for use on a computer; and a landscaping business. Observations of the students' micro-enterprises revealed that they were engaging with a range of questions, issues, and practices drawn from business (e.g. interview techniques; handling money; how to organise a loan from a bank; constructing a cash-flow for a business).

In this way, micro-enterprises anchored the College's TVEI Project within an ensemble of social relations that emulated the practices of the *capitalist* enterprise. As one student succinctly put it, "it's a about building a business." In interview, it was apparent that teachers working on the Project were committed to both its underlying methodology and practice. This was noted by the headmaster, who observed that:

I've never seen my staff so enthusiastic. I've never seen so much inter-disciplinary collaboration between subject areas. I called it the

'people's democratic republic of TVEL' I found that teachers now had some money to develop their own ideas and get away from the exam ethos of the school [...] So, for teaching staff it injected new ideas and gave them some control over their teaching (HM/9/62/85-88).

This view was endorsed by TVEI Project teachers. When asked if it had effected changes

among the usual "leadership" relations of teachers in the College, one replied that:

That's interesting, yes, it has changed. We began as equals in the TVEI Project. We held meetings frequently and the information was disseminated to colleagues. It was a *group* decision that determined policy, not a question o. seniority (Proj/9/14/85-88).

Yet other teachers described the organisation of the Project as "democratic" in that it broke with the "academic tradition" of the College. This orientation did not imply that the ethos among Project teachers was antithetical to that of the mainstream curriculum. What it did entail was the creation of a relatively autonomous 'enclave' (Saunders, 1986) that allowed Project teachers, as the headteacher put it above, to 'develop their own ideas and get away from the exam ethos of the school.' In practice, as observations of the Project classes showed, many teachers attempted to use the curriculum time and space afforded by TVEI to realise a pupil-centred approach that was embedded within their own professional ideology of progressivism. But this was not without contradictions.

A professional allegiance to a progressivist methodology and practice did not appear to contradict Project teachers embracing the business inspired model of the microenterprise. Indeed, the two were seen as quite compatible. As the co-ordinator for the Project explained:

There are a number of processes: didactic; active tutorial work; developing leadership qualities i.e. entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship is relatively new, that's where we use the *real world* as a model for learning. Their [pupils] businesses could

include everything, except caring skills. All of this takes place within a student-centred approach (PC\9\30\85-88).

The juxtaposition of 'entrepreneurship' and a 'student-centred approach' (i. e. progressivisin) raises some important questions which I will come back to below. For the moment, we need to focus our attention on how entrepreneurship was used to constitute 'the real world as a model of learning' within SCC. First, it is important to realise that the notion of entrepreneurship was not indigenous to SCC, rather it was imported from without. As the Project Co-ordinator explained:

This model of TVEI [entrepreneurship] came from the Director of Studies who started TVEI and who was chairman of the local Liberal Party. He had contacts with businesses outside the school and made TVEI acceptable there - then it was just a matter of getting it in the school (PC\9\30\85-88).

This points to a two-way process, in which TVEI had to be 'made acceptable' to local business, before 'getting it in the school.' The 'it' in this context refers to the 'model of TVEI' or entrepreneurship that SCC administrators and teachers saw as constituting their approach to curriculum development within the Project morning. Thus, the notion of the *real* that was to emerge in the TVEI Project was not only legitimated by business, it was to be constituted by business concerns. In Smith's (1990a) terms, the Project created a "virtual reality" within which students could explore the everyday world as it appeared through the lens of the capital relation. In this context, we can begin to comprehend that entrepreneurship was more than just a collection of pedagogical techniques focusing on the development of 'leadership qualities.' It denoted the formation of a set of educational experiences that would ground the relations of capitalist accumulation through students' activities within their micro-enterprises. Entrepreneurship enacted a process of bourgeois

subjectification that crystallised the standpoint of business as the *real* within the TVEI Project. As two Project teachers put it. "The incentive we use is to make *real* money and to go with that, a greater sense of freedom." Or, "The criteria that the teachers use for assessing their [students] mini-enterprise work is whether they learn from their mistakes. But for the kids, it's whether they make a profit or not." (PT/9/63/85-88) Again, it is the way in which the 'real' is being construed for these students that is the key to understanding entrepreneurship.

We can see the social relation that the concept of entrepreneurship embodied producing similar effects in teachers understandings of the 'real' and 'community' under the TVEI extension. When asked what he thought was the most significant impact of the TVEI pilot, the Deputy Headteacher (who had been the College Co-ordinator for the TVEI pilot) replied that:

I think probably the biggest impact it had was on *teacher* awareness, that there are other ways of teaching and since then *it* has developed and pervaded the whole curriculum, so that now the TVEI Extension for enterprise is not mentioned, it is part of the curriculum [...] generally the extension has been the whole curriculum (DH/9/8/91-2).

His comment that TVEI had effected changes in 'teacher awareness' and had, under the extension, 'pervaded the whole curriculum' was reiterated by many other administrators and teachers in the schools we studied. However, what requires explanation is in what ways did TVEI affect teachers and administrators' understandings and experience of not only their work but more broadly schooling. The account of a careers education teacher of

his responsibilities in SCC are revealing on this issue. Asked how he saw his job, he

replied that:

The business community have still got their ethics that you have to comply with whether you like it or not. So that's how I see my job to keep this reality coming in, to say to kids "Look it's all very well for you to say 'Everybody knows me, I'm OK.' They do in school, all right you're a bit of a scallywag, yes but everybody's got a soft spot for you, once you walk out of this door your name means nothing to anybody, you've got to start afresh, it's no good thinking 'Oh I can get away with being late because everybody knows I'm all right,' you can't, you're starting and whatever reputation you create will stay with you." I think we badly need some sort of reality within the school.

He then went on to define more precisely his use of 'community:'

We are doing an awful lot to try and get the community in. We've got a very, very strong set of governors now. When the head came here, he in fact came to me and said 'Look who should we have on the governors, I'd like some industrialists' and I got some real people in, I gave him some real names, instead of the old farts that you generally get on school governors, we got some really good people.

Finally, he argued that, "we've no intention of letting the old TVEI spirit drop, that's our

job is to bring that back. We want to get a lot of reality into the school, a lot of reality"

(CG\9\8-8\91-2). In this instance the principal effect of the 'old TVEI spirit' was again to

define 'reality' or the 'community' from the vantage of local employers and their 'ethics.'

Construed in this way, TVEI constructed a very particular notion of the real world outside

the college to use as a powerful force shaping both the content and process of curriculum

development. In short, it effected a form of 'extra local ruling' (Smith, 1984) that was

made invisible by its very ordinariness. As we will see in what follows, the elaboration of

this social relation was to render subtle, but nevertheless profound, changes in the social organisation of teaching and learning within the 26 schools.

# Enterprising Subjects

Although the micro-enterprise was the most prevalent organisational form of enterprise education to be adopted by TVEI schools, other approaches were also explored. Subjects, particularly technology, business studies, and personal and social education (PSE), would usually contain an enterprise activity or module. While microenterprises were in evidence, however, it was more usual to observe teachers and students working on individual projects or engaging in group activities that were organised around an enterprise theme. This would include topics such as, 'Setting up a Business,' 'Market Research,' 'Advertising,' or 'Generating Capital.' In this way, the underlying relations of enterprise worked to reproduce forms of teaching and learning across the schools that expressed a very similar character to that I have explored within the TVEI Project at Smith Community College. Indeed, what defined enterprise in these different contexts was not only that it grounded teaching and learning within the capital relation, but that this process was accomplished through forms of 'pupil-centred' pedagogy. Consider the comments of a Business Studies teacher in Peak Grammar:

The first single option module was called 'Setting up a Business' so they did do some survey of retail outlets, but it wasn't specifically a retail survey. The brief was that the group were a management consultants and the young couple had come to them thinking about starting up their own business with some capital, the girl had supposedly got a house that she had been left which she could sell, that kind of nice situation and they were to advise on a possible type of business [...] the thing was quite good, it was an introduction to the course and the idea of getting out and about and doing your own research, really giving them the responsibility and I think they were a bit surprised that they weren't being sat down in formal situations and that they'd got a lot of freedom to do their own thing [...] The second one we put together was an assignment based around estate agents. They had to design a brochure which would effectively be the 'For Sale' brochure for their own house, create a database as if they were the estate agent, interrogate a database, write a business report on some aspect of the housing market. It brought in some business report writing and quite extensive use of the computer facilities, so it's quite a good one. Now we've just embarked on the third one which is called 'Business in the Environment' and it takes three or four approaches. The main thing we will be looking for them to bring out will be how whatever they do affects the local community (BS/1/7-8/91-92).

His description of the course is significant in several ways. While the content of each module revolved around a business theme, the approach used to enact teaching and learning was thoroughly pupil-centred, relying upon students own initiative in 'getting out and about,' doing their 'own research,' as well as the 'freedom to do their own thing.' Clearly, this type of pedagogy can be instantly recognised as issuing from the progressive teaching practices and professional ideology of teachers that emerged during the social democratic era of the 1960s and 1970s (Dale, 1989; Dale, Esland, Ferguson, & MacDonald, 1981; Education Group II, 1991; Grace, 1995). However, where progressivism espoused an essentially liberal-humanist ideology that reflected the supposed interests and needs of students, within the context above, it was the practices of 'management consultants' and 'estate agents' that defined legitimate knowledge and skill within the TVEI curriculum. Thus, designing a 'For Sale brochure,' or creating and examining a 'database' was not merely a 'student-centred' activity. It amounted to the creation of a political space where the capital relation could be explored as part of the

ordinary, everyday experience of schooling. Again, we can also see that the 'local community' was constructed from the vantage point of this relation.

What was remarkable about this approach to the teaching of business studies was its reiterative character within TVEI schools. For example, when asked what links were made between business studies and the "world of work," the TVEI business studies specialist for Smith High school replied that: "they use the local community for research [...] they do the retail surveys, they do surveys of the industrial estate across the road, they'll go and ask local shopkeepers questions." Significantly, she was opposed to a "very formal way of teaching," preferring methods where "it's more important that they know *how to find the facts* if they need them," that is, teaching "them to think." However, teaching them 'how to find facts' and 'to think' was to be realised within very specific contexts. As she explained in relation to an exercise on decision-making: "I have had the Midland Bank to come in and give them an exercise on decision-making [which] was very nice in that it taught them about decision-making very much from a banking point of view" (BS/11/11-12/91-92). This is a theme I will return to in chapter seven on business studies.

TVEI business studies was not exceptional in this respect. Despite its apparently 'technical' character, it was evident that the same dynamic shaped TVEI design and technology. Discussing the criteria by which students were assessed in their projects, two technology teachers (T1 and T2 below) at Peak Grammar explained how they emphasised the role of 'economic' considerations in the design process:

T1 One of our projects was quite heavily involved in marketing wasn't it, in packaging, how would you sell something, design a package which would hold a pizza.

- T2 [...] that could be developed a lot further into a business
- T1 They had to look at what makes things sell and how do you sell things and where are the markets. We do link in marketing and business as part of the normal studies.
- T2 Costing comes in anything that they make, obviously they have to cost it out, however simple, a cake they've made, or anything they've made.
- T1 They have to say 'Well is it economic to make it out of certain materials?'
- T2 Yes, that decision has got to be taken in the design process before they actually make it (Tech/1//91-2).

In Baker Grammar similar concerns were discernible. Asked if there were any 'business'

elements in Technology, a teacher replied that:

Oh yes, that's right. It appears in other places because when they're doing their poster design for instance they look at printing, the cost of printing, how many they're going to make, that sort of thing. Whenever they're making something which is not solely for their bedroom wall then they have to consider the costs when designing something for somebody else to use. So the industry link is always there, economics is always there really (Tech/8//91-2).

In both instances, therefore, the 'economic' was chosen as the element of 'reality' necessary to shape the conceptual practices of technology teachers within the classroom by organising the design process around the problem of 'where are the markets' or 'designing something for somebody else to use.' Put another way, the technological within TVEI was generated upon a distinction between exchange and use value, in which *exchange value* was to predominate and determine how a 'decision' was made in the design process.<sup>13</sup> Such an approach was also incorporated within national curriculum Technology which was to rely upon, as the Statutory Orders put it, 'the best practice [...]



in particular developments under TVEI' (quoted in Barnett, 1992, p. 84). The legacy of TVEI in this respect has been to ensure that "a disproportionate amount of attention is paid to business" within national curriculum Technology, while "*community* processes, structures, criteria and values" tend to be ignored (Medway, 1992, p. 76).

The creation of a version of technology that gave primacy to business, wealth creation, and enterprise raises questions concerning the formation of a "technological literacy" within the secondary curriculum (Beynon & MacKay, 1992, 1993; Beynon, Young & MacKay, 1991). In this respect it is important to remind ourselves that the raison d'être that lay behind TVEI policy from its inception was, as its then Director put it, to "equip young people with the knowledge, skills, competencies, qualifications, and attitudes which they will need at work in a rapidly changing highly technological society" (Jones, 1989a, p. 351). Significantly, the same prescription was to define the relationship of economic and industrial understanding (EIU) to national curriculum technology, where "Technology should help pupils develop the skills, enterprise qualities, and economic and industrial understanding necessary for a world experiencing rapid technological change" (my italics, National Curriculum Council, 1991, p. 10). Seen from this perspective, TVEI and other initiatives aimed at introducing technology into schools were understood by new Conservatives as addressing the problem of a technological *illiteracy* that was the legacy of comprehensive schooling and progressivism from the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, my point is that while TVEI subjects such as design and technology, information technology, office practice, and business and information studies, may have broadened understanding of technology per se within the curriculum, they effected this in contexts that were organised

around business or enterprise. The decision to design and produce an artefact was therefore deeply embedded within an evaluation of 'what makes things sell and how do you sell things.' This approach was also reflected in the many technology projects that students devised using micro-electronics for the purposes of constructing domestic security devices for the protection of private property (Barnes et al., 1987, 1988b). In these ways, TVEI contributed to the creation of forms of technological understanding that were deeply implicated in the reproduction of the relations of capitalist accumulation as opposed to those of the 'bedroom wall.' I shall say more on the issue of literacy in chapter eight on the new assessment.

Before progressing to an investigation of how these practices began to transform the social organisation of policy-making on information technology (IT), we need to return to a question that I posed above concerning the synthesis achieved between a childcentred, progressivist pedagogy, and forms of enterprise education. With a few notable exceptions, the apparent convergence between these elements has been either merely noted, or welcomed by educational researchers (Williamson, 1989; Craft, 1994). Thus, where Harris has argued that "a progressive curriculum would seem to offer a more accommodating framework for enterprise activity" (1989, p. 91), Craft (1994) has recommended it as "empowering." Both interpretations I find untenable. This is because historically, progressivism has always been associated in Britain with an ideology of teacher professionalism, the 'educational establishment,' and social democratic politics particularly Labour party politics (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1981). To this extent, the "progressive consensus was articulated *cigainst* industry and those who

were held to represent it in government and the Conservative party" (Finn, Grant, & Johnson, 1977, p. 157). Conversely, there is no doubt that new Conservatives understood progressivism as antithetical to their project of constructing an enterprise culture as well as the primary source of anti-industrial values in schools (Cox & Boyson, 1977; Cox & Dyson, 1970; Scruton, 1978, 1980; Thatcher, 1993, 1995). Thus, we need to scrutinise their goals in building on progressivism.

From its inception, it was apparent that both new vocationalist and enterprise discourse, particularly that associated with TVEI, drew heavily upon progressivist concepts, practices, and theories. Thus, where contradiction, discord and even conflict would have been expected, as we have seen, it produced coherence, integration, even harmony. Further, not only have teachers embraced enterprise (as in Smith Community College), educational researchers have also shown a distinct tendency to view it as either compatible with, or an extension of, progressive practices. In other words, enterprise is perceived as being accommodated on terms established by progressivism, *not* vice versa. This is an account which has also permeated writing on TVEI in defining it as an essentially progressive policy in its continuities with a 'liberal vocationalism' (c. f. Gleeson, 1987b; McCulloch, 1986, 1987; Saunders, 1986; Saunders & Halpin, 1990; Williams & Yeomans, 1993, 1994b). The question remains, however, how it was that a quintessentially educational mode of thought and practice was colonised by the 'spirit of enterprise' from the 1980s.

There are two ways in which we can address this question. First, because of its associations with the Thatcher government, the MSC, and its apparently vocational

orientation, TVEI initially was greeted with a mixture of concern and suspicion by the teaching profession. This political opposition was reflected in the large number of LEAs who, during the pilot, refused to bid for TVEI contracts. Consequently, from the beginning, both the MSC and national TVEI Unit were very aware that they had to win consent for the Initiative and avoid a boycott.<sup>14</sup> One way in which this was achieved was to erabed TVEI within a progressive discourse that espoused child-centred and informal pedagogies, integrated approaches to the curriculum, and extolled 'relevance,' as well as active, experiential learning. That the TVEI cohort in each LEA was to represent a 'mixed ability' grouping further underlined its apparent indebtedness to progressive sympathies. In this way, the MSC ensured that the language of change that TVEI was cloaked in resembled as closely as possible that of the 'educational establishment,' and particularly teachers. We must remember that progressivism, from the period of the Great Debate (1976), had been undergoing change and transformation. Thus, my point is that recontextualised within the new vocationalism, progressivism can be thought of as a mask worn by the MSC, which although not coincident with the traditional politics and practices of social democratic forms of education, was above all, attempting to be mistaken to be so. Relatedly, the progressive interpretation of TVEI served to focus attention on it as a form of curriculum development, rather than as a policy intervention aimed at the management and organisation of schooling (as I will argue in chapters five and six). In this context, my view is that progressivism was utilised as a political mechanism for winning the active consent and participation of teachers and their respective organisations to the aims of TVEL

The second way in which we can explain the colonisation of progressivism by enterprise is by reference to the *apolitical character* of progressivism. As Avis (1991a, 1991b), Donald (1985a, 1992), Jones (1989b), Henriques et al (1984) and Wolpe (1983) have convincingly argued, rather than constituting a coherent body of critical knowledge and practice embedded within a radical educational politics, progressivism has historically provided a disparate set of pedagogical techniques centred on the regulation of classroom behaviour.<sup>15</sup> Understood this way, its unswerving commitment to forms of child-centred pedagogy can be interpreted as an effect of a modern technology of disciplinary power that "does not function through overt repression but through the covert reproduction of ourselves" (Henriques, 1984, p. 196). As I have shown above, this was realised in the micro-enterprise, business studies, and design and technology, through the conceptual practices of enterprise. Progressivism, in other words, is better understood within the context of the new vocationalism as an apparatus of technique concerned with the regulation of social relations within schooling, than as a potential reservoir of an emancipatory educational politics.

### Developing a Policy for IT: 'There's a funding issue there'

The effects of TVEI enterprise were not restricted to classroom practices, but were also apparent in the wider social organisation of the schools. In particular, I at a referring to the way in which TVEI encouraged and supported the systematic development of a wide range of work-related schemes which attempted to bring the 'community' into the school. As the TVEI criteria put it, "the technical and vocational elements should be broadly related to potential employment opportunities within and outside the geographical

area for the young people concerned" (MSC, 1983). In practice, this materialised in the provision of compulsory work experience, careers guidance and counselling, and closer links with local employers, which prior to TVEI had often been ad-hoc and inconsistent (Jamieson, 1986, 1993).<sup>16</sup> While I cannot detail the impact of each of these developments on the 26 schools (this would be another study), it is illuminating to provide an example of how the move to closer school-industry links affected policy formation on information technology (IT) in Riverside Comprehensive.

A key feature of this process was described by a TVEI Technology Co-ordinator in Riverside. Discussing how TVEI had introduced a wide repertoire of school-industry links since the beginning of the pilot, she noted how these had accumulated under the Extension so that "there's loads of these schemes being initiated to support teachers extend the classroom (Tech/3/4/91-92). Her observation raises the question how and in what ways did TVEI actually 'extend the classroom?' We can begin to understand what she meant by this in exploring developments around IT within Riverside between 1985-1992. Like TVEI schools nationally, Riverside had devoted a considerable proportion of both its pilot and Extension funding to introducing computers into the classroom. Although the school had originally invested in 'stand alone stations' within departments under the TVEI pilot, its policy on IT had gradually veered to signing a contract with a national computer company International Computers Ltd (ICL) on establishing a centralised computing facility of 30 work stations. By 1991 this was in place and operational. The decision-making process that teachers and administrators entered into to produce this shift in IT policy is illuminating of the question I have posed above.

Asked to account for the "thinking behind the new IT facility," the IT Coordinator in Riverside argued that there were two reasons why he wanted to adopt this approach. The first was that until the computer centre was installed, computers had been dispersed throughout the school and were therefore "not openly accessible because you reach a point where you can't actually supervise effectively because you've got walls between you and the kids." An "open plan" facility would thus obviate the need to "get on your bike and stay mobile all the time" as well as being cost-effective in "that you can have a fairly large number of people all doing their own thing but supervised by a small number of staff." Of equal importance was the centre's innate capacity to generate its own informal methods of classroom control:

... it also means that pupils have to work effectively, develop the skills of working for themselves, by themselves, without causing havoc anywhere else, in the sense that *if you're in one corner of the room and there are 20 other people trying to work and you start dancing and singing, a lot of people are going to get very upset, the socialising effect of it as well should be really quite powerful (IT/3/1/91-92).* 

Over and above these concerns, he went on to argue that the primary reason for creating

the centre was that ICL offered 'industry standard' machines. As he explained:

I immediately started thinking, well if we get ICL gear in, *industry standard*, using the latest software that actually is on offer to companies then the benefits to our kids who can leave Riverside are enormous. They can walk into any office in the city, well some anyway, and say 'I know about this software, I've used that, I can sit down at that machine, I can switch it on, I can get into it, I can log on, I can start and I can be effective from day one almost,' so immediately our kids become more employable [...] and you know we're living in a real world now and my job is to educate, to facilitate, but also to prepare these people for further employment and make them as effective when they get there as I possibly can (IT/3/2/91-92).



Clearly then, the decision to develop a centralised computing facility was not simply a technical or administrative matter. As well as being implicated within issues of access, cost, and 'supervision,' it was also connected with ensuring that the practices of the computer centre meshed with those of 'industry.' In this way the design and social organisation of Riverside's IT centre embedded the relations of workplace or 'real world' within the classroom.

This process which began as enterprise education under TVEI was reinforced by the gradual introduction of market relations within education throughout the 1980s. In particular, the 'open enrolment' clauses of the ERA (1988) effectively created a 'public sector voucher' that "meant that state money followed the child to whatever school he attended" (Thatcher, 1993, p. 591). Combined with a falling school population, declining budgets, and dwindling resources, the effect of this was to force schools into acting as if they were operating within a market place (Ball, 1994; Thomas, 1990). In Riverside, this was to have direct implications for the realisation of the school's IT policy. As the Technology Co-ordinator observed:

The schools investment in IT is seen as two-fold, one is the *pupil* enhancement but the other is the general school enhancement. The deal we got with ICL was far too advantageous not to go with [...] the school sees it as a way of selling Riverside to get more students in because we've got falling rolls. I don't know if you know but when I first came to Riverside there was 1800 students, we are now down to less than 600 [...] that then was seen as a way of attracting more students. It also could have a spin-off, we could generate wealth from there as a training facility. Scottish and Newcastle brewery have already brought in teams of their workers to be trained on the ICL system and local industry is coming to use the facilities. This Tyneside TEC will support up to 50% for in-service for businesses on IT, so if



they use our premises we get the money, so it will generate wealth (Tech/3/10-11/91-92).

The school's headteacher made a very similar argument when he commented that:

... the issue for us is that although on the one hand links with industry mean links for the sake of our youngsters, that's the main point of links, the other side of the coin is offering the ICL suite in particular and other bits of the school as a training facility for industry, so there's a funding issue there (HT/3/6/91-92).

The insertion of market relations into English education through TVEI and the ERA therefore had distinct and continuous effects in shaping Riverside's policy on IT. First, a centralised, 'open plan' area was established because it combined economy with the powerful 'socialising effect' of surveillance (Foucault, 1977). Second, the 'industry standard' that the ICL machines offered was seen as a way of incorporating the relations of the 'real world' into classroom practice. At this point we must remind ourselves that technological artefacts are never value-neutral, but have encoded within them a particular set of assumptions that reflect the social relations of the workplace (Noble, 1977; Tomaney, 1990; Zimbalist, 1979). Third, the high profile which the IT centre achieved in Riverside was to be used in 'selling' the school to parents and their students. Last, and perhaps most crucially, it was being used as a 'training facility' to 'generate wealth.' Taken together, what these processes point to is the gradual commodification of educational decision-making in relation to IT policy within Riverside. In this, TVEI provided not only the resources but the initial conceptual practices through which the 'technical' could be embedded within an emerging moral economy of enterprise.

Finally, when asked if she agreed with the commonplace justification that IT helped students learn more effectively in different subjects, the Technology Co-ordinator

replied that "for me it isn't just that, *it extends our curriculum a lot more and makes it realistic*" (Tech/3/10/92-92). In other words, while these teachers and administrators did use arguments supporting the introduction of IT within Riverside that relied upon an educational rationale, these were ultimately embedded within concerns that centred on economy, surveillance and the capacity to 'generate wealth.' What this suggests is that the formation of school policy on IT was driven less by technical-rational, administrative, or even 'micro-political' concerns within the school, than by the system of "market accountability" (Grace, 1995) which TVEI and later the ERA installed. How TVEI prepared the foundations of a managed market in English education is the question I will consistently return to in the chapters that foilow.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter I have argued that the elaboration of the concept and practice of enterprise within TVEI cannot be divorced from what I described as the politics of decline in chapter three. That is, the 'enterprise for education movement,' of which TVEI was so central, has been intimately connected with the rise of new Conservative politics in Britain from the early 1980s. Thus, in order to understand how enterprise materialised within TVEI as the experience of teachers, administrators and students, we must also appreciate that it was invested with a politics that owed much more to the creation of enterprising subjects and new markets than it did the social democratic ideal of '*Secondary Schools for All*' (Tawney, 1922).

I then moved on to explore the empirical character of enterprise in TVEI, particularly in its archetypal form, the micro-enterprise. In brief, what my investigations

reveal is that TVEI enterprise generated types of understanding and social organisation that implicitly grounded the standpoint of business or capital within the everyday commonsense of teaching and learning. As I showed, the micro-enterprise effected this in the different ways it appropriated and construed the 'real world' for students to engage with in their learning. By presenting data from business studies and technology, I also argued that it was possible to discern a similar dynamic structuring and giving shape to the experiences of teachers in these subjects. Last, I concluded with an analysis of how the development of IT policy in one school was shaped and given concrete expression by an emerging 'market accountability' within education. This, I suggested, had begun to push the organisation of the school toward becoming a centre for the generation of wealth or value, as opposed to 'pupil enhancement.'

What emerges from these investigations is the notion of enterprise education as a vehicle for the introduction of educational practices that will naturalise the standpoint of business within the curriculum and decision-making of schools. How and in what ways this was rendered as TVEI management, business education, and assessment is what I will be investigating in the chapters that follow.

### NOTES

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lord (David) Young (Quoted in Fairclough, 1991).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Other national schemes included: the 'Training for Enterprise Programme;' 'Enterprise Allowance Scheme;' 'Scottish Enterprise' and 'Highlands and Islands Enterprise.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The inauguration of the TECs was signalled in 1988 by the White Paper, *Employment for the 1990s*. In this, the government made clear that the TECs role was to promote enterprise in the workforce, as well as act as centres for regional and local economic development.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Studies of the social composition of TEC boards suggest that the dominant interests represented are those of business "with only token representation from trade unions, education, local government or voluntary organisations" (MacDonald & Coffield, 1991, p. 34).

<sup>5</sup> This is a theme I will return to in later chapters, particularly those on management (five and six), where I argue that TVEI spearheaded the 'marketisation' of the local educational state (LEAs).

<sup>6</sup> Thus, Grant (1986) has observed that: "Young Enterprise, it should be noted, is designed for a limited range of senior and more able school pupils and is further restricted by the number of firms able to sponsor Young Enterprise companies" (p. 56).

<sup>7</sup> Significantly, GNVQs can be delivered by private agencies. Already a small number of large and small firms have been approved to award certificates (Unwin, 1990).

<sup>8</sup> The recent shift in nomenclature from Department of Education and Science (DES) to its new title, Department for Education and Employment (DFEE), underlines a policy commitment to the reestablishment of a differentiated educational system that will rest on distinctions between the 'academic' and 'vocational.'

<sup>9</sup> In chapter seven. I will show how this notion of enterprise affected the production of classroom knowledge within the context of TVEI business studies.

<sup>10</sup> For example, curriculum guidance four suggests that "Technology should help pupils to develop skills, *enterprise qualities* and economic and industrial understanding necessary for a world experiencing rapid technological change" (my italics, National Curriculum Council, 1991, p. 10).

<sup>11</sup> In 1986, a DES survey found that 74% of schools had micro-enterprises and that 37% of these had integrated it within the curriculum (Harris, 1989).

<sup>12</sup> School 'compacts' are school-industry partnerships. They are American in origin and are designed to provide both teachers and students with industrial and commercial experience (Coffield, 1990).

<sup>13</sup> The shift to a version of design and technology within TVEI that emphasised its connections with 'wealth creation' and 'enterprise' reflected national priorities. For example, as early as January 1982 Prime Minister Thatcher had called a Downing Street seminar on design where she argued that 'The profit potential of product design is considerable. Designers should be more aggressive in selling themselves to industry and wealth creators' Significantly, in the same year that TVEI was launched (1983), the government in conjunction with the British Design Council began its 'Design for Profit' campaign that was aimed to 'maximise sales and profits' and make industry more 'competitive' (quoted in Whiteley, 1991, p. 196).

<sup>14</sup> The most notable example of this was the largest LEA in the country, the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA). Until its abolition in 1991, the ILEA had consistently refused to enter into negotiations for TVEI funding.

<sup>15</sup> In this context, it is worth noting that since its emergence in the ninetcenth century, the term 'progress' or 'progressive' has been used by *both* a radical and conservative politics. As Williams (1983) has noted "Progressive [...] is used generally of the Left (by parts of the Left) as in 'progressive-minded people,' but, on the other hand, is used to distinguish supporters of 'moderate and orderly' change [...] where the sense of a steady step-by-step journey in some general direction is called upon, as in 'a progressive but not socialist party,' or 'Conservatism is orderly progress; we are the genuine progressive party'" (p. 245). My point is that progressivism does not denote a form of anti-regulation.

<sup>16</sup> The inclusion of Economic and Industrial Understanding, and Careers and Guidance under the national curriculum, as well as the imposition of GNVQs from 1996-7, will ensure a secure place for these elements in English schooling well into the 21st century.

### CHAPTER 5

# MANAGING THE MARKET: TVEI AND THE SOCIAL RELATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

The pilot scheme was to be run within the Government's existing public expenditure provision. The purpose of each project and of the pilot scheme as a whole would be to explore and test methods of organising, managing and resourcing replicable programmes; and to explore and test the kind of programmes, curricula and learning methods required for success.<sup>1</sup>

The principle policy aim of the TVEI pilot at its inception was to encourage LEAs and schools "to explore and test ways of organising and managing the education of 14-18 year old people across the ability range" (MSC, 1983). Yet, from its introduction in schools in September 1983, the Initiative was widely understood by educational practitioners and researchers as a programme for developing vocational curricula in education. For example, in their review of TVEI (1983-1990) Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMI) of schools begin by noting that "TVEI is the largest curriculum development project funded and administered by central government" (1991, p. ix). Gleeson begins his edited collection of TVEI evaluations in a similar way, when he states that "In essence the project may be viewed as an attempt at major innovation to stimulate curriculum development and introduce new approaches to teaching and learning' (1987a, p. 2). Thus, despite its managerial overtones in policy, from its beginning TVEI was recognised by the HMI, researchers, and educational practitioners as a curriculum initiative that was only marginally related to questions of management and organisation. Where issues of management and organisation were foregrounded, they tended to be couched within a conventional framework derived from the literature on school administration.

As I will show, not only does such a perspective suffer from its own internal limitations, but it leads to an analysis of TVEI that systematically misconstrues its peculiar managerial character. Consequently, as this chapter proceeds I will argue for an analysis that conceives TVEI as a pervasive form of social regulation aimed at both curricula and management practices in schools that was enmeshed in the construction of an 'enterprise culture.' In exploring these issues I will focus on how TVEI prepared the ground for the management of change within the 26 schools of my study between 1985 -1992.<sup>2</sup> I will be interested in not only uncovering the understandings which administrators and teachers brought to the practices of management, but how TVEI effected educational change as a social and political process within the schools.<sup>3</sup> In particular, I will identify what social relations and practices were being articulated to management within TVEI, as well as problematising the concept itself as it is construed within the literature. As I will show, management elements within TVEI can be understood as a medium for the introduction of guasi-market relations in education that were part of a wider project connected to the construction of an enterprise culture within English schools. A further issue I will touch upon will be concerned with visions of educational change that were imminent to TVEI. That is, what possible paths of educational development did TVEI pre-figure? In all of this it is necessary to question concepts of 'management' and 'change' as they are conventionally understood, in order to construct an analysis of TVEI that is unfettered by the theoretical and methodological limitations that conventional approaches impose.

In thinking about the 'management of change' under TVEI therefore, I choose not to adopt a perspective drawn from educational administration. There are three reasons for

this. First, as Campbell et al (1987) note, modern educational administration is rooted in an essentially managerial paradigm that is still replete with 'scientific' or Taylorist residues. In this respect, I depart from contemporary mainstream usage of the term, especially as it has been applied within the emerging literature on 'school restructuring' (Clune & Witte, 1990a, 1990b; Hannaway & Carnoy, 1993; Hannaway & Crowson, 1989).<sup>4</sup> Second, the analysis of education and schooling that emanates from an educational administrative perspective commonly lacks a decidedly historical or ethnographic character.<sup>5</sup> This adversely affects the way in which it interprets 'change.' In the literature on school management and restructuring for example, change is almost always represented as a linear, rational, progressive process that is inherently connected with improvement (Caldwell & Spinks, 1988, 1992; Tyack, 1993). Such a view of educational change is too narrow in my view. First, the notion itself is bounded by the present but it has little or no relationship to the past. For instance, in her review of recent British texts on educational management Ozga (1992) has argued that "there is a need for a considered attempt to relate the development of educational management to its historical context" (p. 279-80). We cannot understand the present, or a projected future, without reference to the past. Managing change, in other words, has to be viewed as an historical process. This implies that the couplet 'management of change' cannot be abstracted out of the immediate particularities of local, historical contexts in which it occurs. In my view the management of change process that flowed from TVEI has to be treated as an empirical phenomenon that arises from the *business-like* re-ordering of schooling within Britain during the 1980s and 1990s.

This raises a second consideration. Managing change is an inherently political process, which involves contestation, conflict, and struggle as older arrangements and practices are either re-organised or dismantled. As I argued in chapter three, under the new Conservatism this process has been effected through a mode of social regulation that has generated forms of change expressed through the free market and forms of moral order centred on 'governing the enterprising self' (Rose, 1992). That is, this form of regulation has worked to construct a 'new' political settlement that continues to define how and in what ways educational change within English schools is to be managed. Within government policy this settlement has been represented positively, through for example, a discourse of greater 'choice,' 'parent power,' 'accountability,' 'efficiency,' and the raising of 'standards' (Brown, 1989; Brown & Lauder, 1992). Further, this discourse has also been uncrtically adopted by the profusion of management texts that have attempted to address the changes which this new politics of education has generated (Angus, 1993, 1994). However, my argument in what follows is that understood ethnographically, from below, we can begin to construct a very different picture of the effects of this mode of regulation on the social relations and practices of schooling.

Finally, in complex institutions like schools, educational change does not only have a micropolitical dimension, but is embedded within wider societal transformations. In 1980s Britain, for instance, school reform cannot be set apart from the "politics of Thatcherism" (Hall & Jacques, 1983). Yet as Angus notes in his review of a key management text. in education, Caldwell and Spinks internationally acclaimed *The Self-Managing School* (1988), "the authors display a total lack of awareness of the profound

shift to the right in the educational policy context within which school self-management is to be exercised" (1994, p. 81). We therefore also have to examine change for its ideological content.

By contrast, my perspective derives from the historical and methodological approach I have outlined in chapter one. This suggests that we understand the management of change initiated through TVEI as part of an historical process of embedding and naturalising the social relations of capital within the everyday of school life. I do not mean by this, as some authors imply, that we need to identify how the imagined 'needs' of a capitalist economy are translated into demands for vocational training within the educational system (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Brown & Lauder, 1992; Shilling, 1989b). This would amount to a lapse into an unwarranted functional correspondence, or crude economic determinism. The approach I will adopt, following Smith (1987) and Thompson (Thompson, 1967, 1978b, 1991), begins with an investigation of the actualities of TVEI management in the everyday experience of school life. Following Thompson's analysis of The Grid of Inheritance (Thompson, 1976), I will argue that TVEI effected a "grid" of managerial relations that was implicated in the elaboration of a group of mechanisms aimed at securing the enterprise culture within the governance of schools. In this respect, I will focus on describing not only the experience of teachers and administrators in relation to the managerial procedures which TVEI instituted, but how their experience was appropriated and made 'accountable' within an emerging managerial grid. In relation to TVEI, I will argue that management amounted to a contemporary technology of subjectification, or what Smith (1984) has called an
"administratively constituted knowledge" that worked to reconfigure and align educational practices in ways that were consonant with the founding of a moral economy of enterprise in schools.<sup>6</sup>

## A Guiding Thread

What I intend now is to show how teachers and administrators experienced change within TVEI schools between 1985-92. As my data reveal, from their particular standpoints the change process that TVEI set in motion appeared to teachers and administrators to be consistent with existing comprehensive and progressive traditions within English education. By analysing and contextualising their perspectives, I will attempt to show that in fact their experience of the change process was embedded within much broader, historical tendencies in education that had been unfolding for over a century before TVEI. My point is that what teachers and administrators refer to as 'speed-up' under TVEI was in fact a re-ordering of the social relations of secondary schooling.

That TVEI brought change to the schools I studied was not in doubt by the administrators and teachers interviewed.<sup>7</sup> As one headteacher described it:

TVEI was like acid rain on limestone, it brought about small but significant amounts of change [...] it has eaten out fissures, passageways and chambers (HT/8/3/91-2).

Other headteachers argued that of the increasing number of policy interventions with which they were confronted throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, TVEI was central in preparing their schools for change. Reflecting on their schools' involvement with TVEI, the headteachers in Hardy Comprehensive and Peak Grammar observed that:

I think let's put this in the broader context because TVEI has been one of a number of major thrusts of educational development over the last ten years, each of which has sort of fed on the other and interacted with each other. I don't know if I can remember them all but TVEI pilot was obviously an important one and if you like broke the ground [...] So all of these were threads going on there [...] So all these things have sort of gelled together and to actually pick out and say that caused that to happen, honestly, is not an easy thing to do, its a soup with many ingredients in it (HT/10/6/91-2).

I think the process of change if we looked at 1971-82 the amount of change in the curriculum was very small. From 1982-1991 it has been enormous and I think the TVEI had a great part in that [...] It's very difficult to think of what elements there were in 1982 that can be pointed at the TVEI, because whatever gets involved in a school is part of a whole school process (HT/1/2/91-2).

It was acknowledged by other teachers and administrators that TVEI had a central

role within a much broader, multiple policy context - particularly given the funding it

offered. As well as recognising that it 'broke the ground,' it was more commonly held that

TVEI was part of a 'whole school process' that 'gelled together' or acted as a "catalyst"

to accelerate the "pace" of change within schools. It was not one of many 'threads' but the

guiding thread:

What TVEI did was to *change the pace of change* rather than...'This is where I wanted to go but I would have been working at this for another five years'...are you with me? (HT/20/7/91-2)

I think it's probably accelerated a lot of the things that might have been, or were in embryo at the school, some of the ideas that people had in terms of some of their development. I think it's accelerated change much more quickly than would have been possible. For example the Technology area, the Technology teachers had got plans for what they would have liked to have done, to talk about multi-media workshops and re-arranging the workshops to suit developing teaching styles better and before TVEI the funds weren't there to enable them to do that. So I think it's actually accelerated developments (PC/20/5/91-2).

Had TVEI not come we would have developed along the same general lines (HT/20/17/85-88).

TVEI is a combination of constructivist and, in this LEA anyway, child-centred progressivism. It has strains of both [...] TVEI should change teachers attitudes. Some have made tremendous changes, others haven't. TVEI has been a *catalyst* which has changed people's attitudes to the job (T/10/76/85-88).

Before TVEI we had a balanced curriculum and TVEI has enabled us to develop more quickly - to do the kinds of things we'd like to have done anyway (DH/14/10/85-88).

TVEI has been a *catalyst* for making things happen faster than they would have under normal circumstances. It's the same with staff ownership [of the curriculum] (HT/19/8/85-88).

TVEI gave 10 years' equipment and premises in three months. And the budget allows flexibility and development and spread of staff expertise (PC/8/2/85-88).

Without TVEI it wouldn't have happened. Not as it has, it would not have happened, we would not have had the money [...]and I should think all schools that have had TVEI would be saying the same thing. We've been darned lucky because we were a pilot school which means we've had it for virtually twice as long as anybody else. What's that amounted to, nigh on  $\pounds 500,000$  over the ten years? Without that kind of money it just wouldn't have happened (IT/7/2/91-2).

These observations reveal a shared sensibility among teachers and administrators

that TVEI did not so much introduce change as simply accelerated it. ...They also suggest that the Initiative worked to harness developments that were already occurring in these schools - thus the recurrent use of 'catalyst.' With the exception of a minority of teachers, this was the dominant conception of how TVEI effected change within the 26 schools. That is, it was seen as largely unproblematic in providing substantial resources for what they had intended to do anyway.<sup>8</sup> Such a perception of change is not surprising given the responsibilities of teachers and administrators amidst rapid educational transformation. As the principal of Redmond College put it: It's all OK, but it's come at a time when I think the profession, generally speaking people are recognising it, *that there has been innovation overload of a really massive kind* and to be perfectly honest with you I look at my colleagues from time to time and reflect on my own process *and you're just swimming to stay where you are* (HT/7/20/91-2).

In Burke Comprehensive, the headteacher claimed that the only way to deal with

'innovation overload' was to be well prepared for it:

So I mean I think one of the other problems is that if you're sitting in the middle of change and you've been prepared for it, it's nonthreatening, so you don't actually recognise that you're in a change situation and again that's one of the techniques that we became very skilled at actually doing (HT/14/4/91-2).

From within a vortex of educational change, therefore, it was unlikely that either teachers or administrators could generate any analysis other than a dimly grasped sense that TVEI had hastened the process of change itself.<sup>9</sup> Now, while this was their perception of the general impact of TVEI on their schools, I do think that it was inevitably partial, given their place within the change process. I want to emphasise that calling their perspectives partial is not an argument about individual bias. It is rather to acknowledge the extra-local character of social relations within which these teachers and administrators were implicated. That is, when you are 'sitting in the middle of change' it is difficult, if not impossible, to establish a broad reference point against which developments may be evaluated. Further, if teachers and administrators were 'prepared for it' and 'skilled' in its 'techniques' - as TVEI teachers and administrators would have been through the plethora of training materials and courses created for LEAs and schools - then the change process would assume a linear, naturalised or normalised appearance . However, from a standpoint outside of the immediate social organisation of these educational practitioner's experience,

it is possible to situate their observations within a broader, historical-ethnographic analysis of TVEI.

Understood from this perspective, what teachers and administrators were pointing to was the unfolding of an historical process within which their schools had been implicated *before* the implementation of TVEI in 1983. As Donald (Donald, 1981), Finn, Grant and Johnson (1977), Conference of Socialist Economists (1979) and Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (1981) show, the origins of this transformation had been signalled by the Great Debate (1976) and the ensuing green paper *Education in Schools* (1977), which effectively marked "the creation and imposition of a 'new settlement' to replace the old consensus in education" (Donald, 1981, p. 107). Within this new settlement, TVEI was to be *the* constitutive element of a 'new' politics of education that has subsequently become the 'new vocationalism' (Bates et al., 1984).

It is in this sense that TVEI acted as a 'catalyst' in secondary education, in providing a nationally defined policy framework which effectively concerted and coordinated existing developments at the level of the LEA and school. That is, through its aims and criteria and procedures for categorical-funding, TVEI acted to focus and redefine LEA and school initiatives from 1983 under the rubric of enterprise. In this respect, the Initiative represented what may be called a *meta*-policy, in that it not only transformed the ideological terrain upon which curriculum development, school organisation and management were constituted, but also articulated to it existing educational policies and practices to that new terrain. Just as a magnet attracts, aligns, and creates a concentric pattern amongst scattered iron filings, so TVEI exerted a field-of-force on the

development of the managerial character of English schooling throughout the 1980s and early 1990s.

In making this assessment, account must also be taken of the Education Reform Act (ERA) which followed on the heels of TVEI and without doubt has represented the most important legislative reform of British education since 1944. The ERA's imposition of a national curriculum in England and Wales has simultaneously re-focused debate on the curriculum while obscuring the continuity between the ERA and TVEI as managerial initiatives. As a consequence, educational analysis and debate has centred on the content of the National Curriculum as a revival of the bourgeois 'English tradition,' while nostalgically perceiving TVEI as the last gasp of a liberal-progressivism (Gleeson & McLean, 1994). Such a perspective has to be countered in my view, as it misconstrues the combined and complementary nature of both policies as mechanisms of social regulation serving the same ends - despite their respective scholastic and vocational leanings. Approached from the latter perspective, the managerial character of TVEI can be seen to have laid the foundations for a new mode of social regulation within schools which came to be expressed through the nexus of market relations.

### The Market and Social Regulation

In describing how TVEI acted as a *meta*-policy on school reform I have also been concerned to show that the concepts of both 'management' and 'change' cannot be taken as analytical concepts from which inquiry into educational restructuring can begin. Indeed, transformations in the actualities of everyday life in schools tend to be masked and rendered more opaque by the very use of these concepts. Further, I have suggested that

their uncritical adoption and use truncates analysis at the very point it should commence. Instead of management and change constituting the lens through which we observe and interpret the organisational world of education and schooling, we need to make them the subject of critical inquiry. That is, we have to search for ways that make sense of the 'management of change' in education that are sensitive to cultural and historical processes within local, institutional contexts.

Against this background. I will argue below, is that although TVEt was ostensibly aimed at altering existing management structures and processes, it also had a powerful influence over decision-making processes outside and beyond formal management practices. It was not that TVEI wrested "power and control away from local [school ] activity" (Gleeson & McLean, 1994, p. 241) and then placed it in the hands of central government, but that it led to subtle changes in the way that the internal politics of school decision-making was organised and put into effect. This amounted to a significant reordering of the social relations and practices which had formerly constituted the orderly day-to-day running of schools. The effect of this was to create a dynamic, or political space, through which teachers and administrators could actively realise a 'new' or reconstituted everyday order derived from enterprise or business. As Keat and Abercrombie have shown in their study, *Enterprise Culture* (1991), this has involved the remodelling of public institutions "along the lines of the commercial enterprise" and "the acquisition and exercise of enterprising qualities" in the construction of the 'enterprising self.' Significantly, they perceive TVEI as part of the "more positive measures of cultural

engineering [in] constructing an enterprise culture," a claim which has been substantiated by educational researchers in their evaluations of the Initiative (p. 5).

After several years as local evaluators to different LEAs, Dale and Saunders have come to similar conclusions on how TVEI influenced the construction of a market in education. Dale and his colleagues have argued that while in conventional management terms "it is possible to see TVEI [...] as a failure" it nevertheless led to the "subtle introduction of an institutional market psychology" through its "bid and deliver" system of categorical funding (1990, p. 168). Similarly, for Saunders, TVEI was successful as a management strategy in securing categorical funding as the primary mechanism through which LEAs and schools were induced into a *laissez faire* ideology. As he makes clear:

It has transformed resource procurement and nurtured an entrepreneurial culture on the part of LEA officialdom right down to the classroom teacher. The compulsory school sector has been colonised by a new hegemony, a competitive market place ideology with the functioning of a market place, in which effective competitors are massively rewarded (1990, pp. 178-79).

Categorical funding thus prefigured the legislative provisions of the Education Reform Act

(1988), which centred on:

...developing a market system in education by allowing schools to control their own budgets, to encourage parents to select a school of choice, and to allow schools greater opportunity to recruit students without restrictions (of home address and catchment areas) (Lawn & Whitty, 1992, p. 86).

Two issues arise from these observations. First, TVEI cannot be understood as

politically distinct from the provisions contained in the ERA (1988). In this view, the ERA

is comprehended as contradicting the philosophy and practice of the 'liberal' vocationalism

which schools constructed around TVEI. For instance, Saunders and Halpin (1990) argue

that the National Curriculum "offered a hackneyed list of prescribed subjects curiously disarticulated from newer and emerging areas of knowledge" (p.7) which arose from TVEI curriculum development. Making a similar connection (or dis-connection) Dale *et al* assert, "the Education Reform Act and the National curriculum it sponsored owed little if anything to the experience of TVEI" (1990, p.5).<sup>10</sup> Merson adopts a similar perspective when he argues that the combined reforms that constituted the 1988 Act "seemed to owe little to the accumulated experience" of TVEI (1992, p. 25). Finegold agrees with these analyses when he concludes that the National Curriculum undermined TVEI in that it, "represented an entirely different approach to the content and governance of education" (Finegold, 1993, p. 72). Consequently, with the gradual implementation of the national curriculum in English schools from the early 1990s, TVEI is written about in the past rather than present tense; it is understood as passing into an historical *context*. For example, Gleeson and McLean write that "Historically, perhaps, it [TVEI] will be remembered as a *moment* in education policy and practice" (1994, p. 241).

This is a pervasive theme in the literature on TVEI, which I believe systematically misconstrues its relations with the ERA, and particularly the national curriculum. Either it is asserted that there is no connection between these two policies, which not only emanated from different State agencies it is argued (the MSC and DES), but had distinct foci - the one vocational the other a traditional scholasticism. Or the ERA is seen as the dominant policy, superseding and eventually relegating TVEI to an historical 'moment' after which the future of schooling was constructed around the national curriculum. It is precisely at this point that analysis, in my view, gets muddled - whether as Dale *et al*'s

neo-marxism or Finegold's neo-Weberian 'institutional analysis.' This puzzle arises from the fact that attention has been overly fixed on how the national curriculum contradicted and supplanted TVEI curriculum development, while simultaneously neglecting the managerial form of both TVEI and the ERA. Thus, it is not that TVEI became enmeshed in the "cross-fire of competing curriculum policy outcomes" and was ultimately subjected to the "mercy of an invigorated traditionalism" with the implementation of the national curriculum (Saunders & Halpin, 1990, p. 12).<sup>11</sup> If we centre analysis on the market-driven aspects of the 1988 Act, specifically: the local management of schools (LMS); the procedures for opting out; and open enrolment; then it becomes clear that TVEI prefigured the ERA as a *beach-head* policy for establishing new approaches to school governance.

If we talk to teachers and administrators in schools then we get a different picture from the literature. That is, we hear stories of continuity between TVEI and the ERA. In the 1991-2 data that I have used for my study, administrators and teachers frequently referred to the national curriculum as representing a continuation of the work they had already expended on TVEI curriculum deve<sup>1</sup>opment. For them, as the accounts below show, the transition was almost seamless:

Well I think the legacy's fantastic from my point of view but it's hard now to attribute it to TVEI because TVEI finished some time ago but *the legacy I think has come out of the development work of TVEI* in terms of action-based learning, in terms of breaking down courses, in terms of discussing and reporting with students about their performances so that's in terms of now coming on-stream to report about the national curriculum we've got the skills and the techniques there already because we're used to doing it (HT\14\\91-2).

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Every initiative that's coming to us is reinforcing what I thought was the original TVEI concept. One of the technology projects we do for national curriculum is 'Enterprise' and other ones like 'Going Green.' You're getting an outing to industry and business to show the kids what it is that people are doing. So every project has that kind of link [...] So you have to see TVEI therefore as being very, very valuable in terms of national curriculum (Tech/3/ /91-2).

Again really the new national curriculum in technology has picked up I think mainly where TVEI left off. The fact that technology is now delivered through contexts rather than the old-fashioned idea of sitting down and going through note taking on what kind of tools do what sort of thing for four months before anybody can go and build anything. Certainly national curriculum technology if we look back at what we had as a TVEI document in the early days the difference between them is so slight, that of course here in Exeter we sort of looked and said 'Well we've been there and done that before.' As I say in general I'm not unhappy with that, the spirit of TVEI I was well in favour of, and the actual practise that came out of it, you know we made some mistakes, but in general where we were trying to go is effectively where it appears people want us to go now with new national curriculum moves anyway (IT/10/10-11/91-2).

This [TVEI] has been good preparation for the national curriculum. Many staff have got ready for this sort of rapid change and many departments have seen other colleagues going through these rapid changes and realised that it's going to come to them (HT/1/9/91-92).

For TVEI teachers therefore, there was a clear continuity between the 'development work

of TVEI' and the national curriculum; in teaching and learning styles, assessment and

within particular subject areas. Significantly, where discontinuities were felt, it was in the

lack of funding and resourcing that accompanied national curriculum compared with the

heyday of the TVEI pilot.12

Without schools, LEA administrators understood the new forms of decentralised

school governance or local management of schools (LMS) which the ERA imposed as

having a lineage that was traceable to TVEI. As they put it:

There's another one [of TVEI's effects] that people have not recognised and again I was very disappointed didn't come through in the HMI survey, was the contribution that *TVEI has made to whole school management planning*, you know. Here we've had LMS for a couple of years now, there's no doubt in my mind, and I'm sure that if you talk to our LMS coordinator in the LEA he would say to you that *TVEI has had a major influence on helping secondary schools to cope with all aspects of LMS in terms of budgeting, in terms of self-evaluation and so on, it's been a major help and they're certainly finding that when they're trying to implement LMS in primary schools who haven't had the benefit of that sort of experience that we have given them through TVEI (CC/10/16/91-2).* 

So I think that will be the ultimate lasting benefit of TVEI, that it actually made people look beyond each school year and the other thing I forced them to do and had a lot of hassle with....."Why do we have to put our plans in so early?" and I said "Because you're living on financial years, you're not going to get any money for the last term of your five years, you've got to learn to live within the way in which the money appears, so you plan for the following September if necessary." But it's all happened now, in LMS they have to do that. So they've been two quite important developments from TVEI which you would say "Well that's not what TVEI is about" but in fact it's been quite critical what TVEI is about because it's put it in a context of general planning (PC/20/ /91-2).

You've also got a school there which culturally has changed, *through TVEI they were very, very well prepared for LMS*, because TVEI is more than just about curriculum issues and experiences it's about a way of working as well, so some of their working styles and practices have been influenced (PC/11/9-10/91-2).

In this context, the 'bid and deliver' system that TVEI effected was a precursor to

the creation of an internal market in education on to which LMS, opting out and open

enrolment were grafted. It could be said that TVEI was the other side of the ERA, it was

part of an *historical process* that was to effect a system of education and schooling that took the capitalist market as its exemplar. In this respect TVEI curriculum development, no matter how progressive, hinged upon the re-ordering of the zocial relations of management in schools. Once these relations had been rendered effective within schools, only then was the ground prepared for a fundamental transformation of the curriculum and the valuation of particular forms of knowledge within it. What was being constructed therefore was not an educational wall that was to separate and divide by class but an arch, the key stone of which was to become the national curriculum under the ERA. That this key stone was carved from the fossilised remnants of a bourgeois 'English tradition' in education served to compliment, not contradict, the 'TVEI effect.'<sup>13</sup> The point is to recognise that in managerial terms there was an inherent historical continuity, not a contradiction, between TVEI and the ERA as educational policies.

Contemporary educational policy analysis has also focused on how TVEI led to the introduction of market relations in schools and LEAs. As I indicated above, Dale *et al* (1990) and Saunders (1990) saw this as either the insertion of an 'institutional market psychology' or 'a new hegemony, a competitive market place ideology.' The market effects of the ERA have also been comprehended as entering schools through the conduit of ideology. While I think that ideology (though not psychology) is important in explaining the nature of these changes, its use is problematic. That is, TVEI and the ERA were not directly concerned with changing administrators and teachers values and ideas, but with changing the locally organised social practices within which their customary experiences of schooling were situated. Of course, I am not suggesting that the MSC or DES were

indifferent to the transformation of administrators and teachers belief systems, but that this

was secondary to actual material changes in the way that schools were to be managed.

Individuals ideas and values may or may not have changed, but the denser reality of social

practice in which they were immersed was to be radically altered and re-constituted.

Unless we understand ideology as being embodied by social relations and practices, we

end up with a conceptual shell that acts as a gloss and explains nothing. This is why I

prefer to think of ideology in terms described by Smith and Smith:

... we understand ideologies as essential constituents of the processes coordinating government policies and different sectors of government and other ruling relations. The cogency of ideologies is a function of how well they articulate the practice of ruling to the economic conditions confronted by different sectors of the relations and apparatuses of ruling. As underyling economic conditions shift, policies and administravtive practices coordinated by a given ideological frame cease to be practically effective in sustaining or advancing capital accummulation. A new ideological frame is invented [...] Hence, shifts in the ideologies 'ruling' state economic policies and administrative practices serve as 'markers' of underlying shifts in economic conditions confronted by rulers (Smith & Smith, 1988, p.48).

In other words, ideologies are deeply implicated in and constitutive of how and in what

ways the everyday world is put together and rendered sensible from the vantage point of

capital. Methodologically, the focus of analysis then becomes not that TVEI 'colonised'

schools with a market place ideology (or 'psychology'), but how market relations became

a means of concerting and co-ordinating the work of teachers and administrators in

managing change. As the head of Electronics in Riverside Comprehensive succinctly put it:

And at the end of the day this school, in this competitive era...you've heard the talk from the head the other day...this school's future is wrapped up in our performance. And our performance is not going to be evaluated about how good at solving problems the kids are when they leave this place, it's gonna be how many GCSEs or whatever it is that they've got, *that's what this school is going to be assessed on and we're in a market now* (HOD: Electronics/3/8/85-88).

It is difficult to read into this response any sense of a mind colonised by a market place ideology. To the contrary, it suggests that not only is he well aware of the situation that his school confronts 'in this competitive era,' but also that its 'future is wrapped up in our performance.' Further, that performance, or ensemble of *educational practices*, was to be 'evaluated' and 'assessed' within terms set by the 'market.' Thus, it is only through empirical investigations of how such 'performance' was actively effected within TVEI schools that we can better comprehend the capital relation as a lived, historical process.

Finally, the ethnography of TVEI management that I have developed in this chapter (and chapter six) suggests that we do not conceptualise it as a formal, conventional manageria<sup>1</sup> initiative. Rather, it suggests that under TVEI management took the form of a *grid* of relations and practices embedded within processes of capitalist social regulation. Under social democracy this grid was expressed through a form of locally organised educational governance that materialised as a 'partnership' between LEAs, teacher unions/associations, and central government. As I noted in chapter one, this was primarily constituted through the professional/collegial relations of teachers, an ideology of progressivism, and comprehensivism. Under the new vocationalism, this grid has been the focus of systematic policy interventions aimed at its de use and eventual transformation. In particular, it has effected a *managerial* < d that is increasingly less dependent upon the professional judgement and expertise of educators than it is on the

relations of the capitalist market. As I have shown above, it not only fundamentally altered the context in which change was to be managed, but re-defined how it was to occur. In particular, its most significant impact was to effect forms of school decision-making that articulated with a 'managed market' in English education.

Considered in its relationship to market regulation, therefore, it is possible to understand TVEI management as elaborating a form extra-local rule that is mediated through the relations of the capitalist market. This is reflected in many of the developments which TVEI initiated, such as the promotion of senior management teams, school development plans, regular monitoring and evaluation, performance indicators, and forms of school-based financial management. Together, these mechanisms have constituted a managerial grid that has worked to embed the relations of accumulation within the everyday activities of managing change within schools. How particular elements of this grid effected this process within the 26 schools will be the subject of the next chapter.

# **Conclusion**

In this chapter I was concerned with establishing a conceptual framework for comprehending the management of change process that TVEI initiated as embedded within market regulation. This had two parts. First, I argued that the existing literature on TVEI tended to misconstrue it as a form of curriculum development, when in fact its peculiar managerial character was what defined it in terms of its impact on the English educational system. I then proceeded to problematise the concept and practice of the 'management of change' as it has conventionally been conceived in educational

administration. My argument was that conventional approaches to the analysis of this process within schooling were not adequate when applied to TVEI. In particular, it was the Initiative's qualities as a *grid* of social relations, which centred on the embedding of an enterprise culture within schools, that pointed to 'management' under TVEI as the elaboration of an historical process that was embedded within capitalist social regulation. In this context, it was significant that TVEI was not operationalised from a conventional managerial standpoint, but rather it worked through diffuse mechanisms such as the quasimarket relations involved with the 'bid and deliver' system of categorical funding.

As policy-in-practice, therefore, TVEI confounded orthodox conceptions of school management in that it was market relations (behind which lay neo-liberal political economy) that determined its character within LEAs and schools. As Lord Young observes in the epigram that begins this chapter, it was 'enterprise' that was the guiding thread behind TVEI. This is also what connected it, in policy terms, to the ERA (1988) where I argued that both initiatives were to be understood as part of a historical shift towards the embedding of an enterprise culture in English education throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

Finally, I argued that if we considered school management historically, then it was possible to reconceptualise TVEI management as elaborating a form of managerial grid that not only mediated the capital relation through 'market accountability,' but rendered forms of extra-local rule within schools. How this managerial grid materialised in the schools within this study is the subject of the next chapter.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Curtis, J. (1990). *Technical and Vocational Education Initiative Review* : Employment Department, Sheffield (p. 6).

<sup>2</sup> Throughout this chapter my discussion will centre on management, or cognately, the management of change. I do not propose to use received conventions which enshrine the dichotomy between organisation (structure) and management (process). For me to use this distinction would be to contradict the analysis I am developing throughout this work. That is, my standpoint begins with a recognition that the everyday world cannot be separated out into structure and process (or agency). To put it simply, social structure cannot be conceived independent of human action, and human action has, historically, reproduced social structure.

<sup>3</sup> I need to qualify the term "administrator." Within schools, it should not be understood as referring to someone whose role was narrowly defined by administrative tasks. With the exception of headteachers and Deputy Heads, the administrators in the schools I visited combined active roles as senior teachers with their managerial duties. This confirms Hatcher's observation that, "There is a relatively low level of task differentiation between management and classroom teachers - most teachers below headteacher level still spend much of their time doing the same teaching tasks as standard grade teachers, and are involved in the collective administrative procedures that they entail" (1994, p. 54). The introduction of TVEI altered these arrangements in two significant ways. First, the Initiative led to the development of senior management teams which included heads, their deputies, and senior teachers (such as TVEI school co-ordinators). Thus, the work of a new and separate layer of teachers was devoted to managerial questions in TVEI schools. Second, within the LEA a separate TVEI Unit would be established to manage and organise the Initiative across schools. Such units were led by former headteachers and senior teachers, whose work was primarily composed of formulating policy, co-ordinating the development of TVEI across institutions, and advisory in pedagogical and curriculum development. Consequently, in both schools and LEAs, TVEI led to the development of a distinct layer of teachers concerned with issues of management.

<sup>4</sup> On the phenomenon of school restructuring, Kozol (1991) has observed in his study of American schools that: "In each of the larger cities there is usually one school or one subdistrict which is highly publicised as an example of 'restructured' education; but the changes rarely reach beyond this one example. Even in those schools where some 'restructuring' has taken place, the fact of racial segregation has been, and continues to be, largely uncontested. In many cities, what is termed 'restructuring' struck me as very little more than moving around the same old furniture within the house of poverty. The perceived objective was a more efficient ghetto school or one with greater 'input' from the ghetto parents or more 'choices' for ghetto children. The fact of ghetto education as a permanent American reality appeared to be accepted" (p. 4).

<sup>5</sup> This is less true of North American research in this area, where contributions by Campbell *et al* (1987), Tyack and Hansot (1982), and Tyack (1993)have been important in constructing a history of school administration.

<sup>6</sup> Thompson's (1976) notion of a grid of inheritance describes the changing patterns of land ownership and management that came in to being with the emergence of capitalist agriculture and a market in land during the eighteenth century. As he observes, as capitalist property relations came to penetrate the agrarian landscape, and as these were progressively encoded in law, they led to a systematic dismantling of older, pre-capitalist forms of tenure. However, it is important to recognise that what was being inherited was not land or property itself, but use rights, or tenure over property (i. e. 'usufruct'). As Thompson emphasises, inheritance therefore "depended upon not only the inherited right but also upon the inherited grid of customs and controls which that right exercised" (p. 337). In eighteenth century England, capital began to 'free' the land from this moral economy and its 'grid of customs and controls.' The major implication of this was that the older grids of inheritance, and the social groups they were attached to, were torn asunder and replaced by those of an emerging bourgeoisie. That is, from the early nineteenth century capital began to 'rationalise' these grids through the joint stock company, a market in stocks and shares, capital accounting, and ultimately forms of scientific management. For my purposes, what Thompson's analysis points to is the way in which 'management' can be understood as a metaphor for the elaboration of a grid of relations and practices embedded within processes of capitalist social regulation.

<sup>7</sup> For this and the next chapter, 58 interviews were drawn upon across the 26 schools between 1985 -1992.

<sup>8</sup> Stronach and Morris have made similar observations in their review of local evaluation reports on TVEI. What they argue is that references to the pace of change signify an accommodation on the part of teachers to the changes that TVEI had effected. In other words, teachers had struck a "bargain" and had "begun to talk the language of the innovation without irony" as an effect of TVEI being "domesticated" (Stronach & Morris: 1994, p. 14). This is a common theme in the literature on TVEI, which has led to two interrelated questions. First, to what extent was TVEI assimilated and subordinated to existing school practices, and transformed by them? Second, how far, if at all, did TVEI transform these practices in being assimilated into existing school cultures? Hitherto, most analyses of TVEI have addressed the former question in the affirmative, that "an educationalist version of TVEI was constructed" (Gleeson & McLean, 1994, p. 241). Although some attention has also been given over to the second question, there is a consensus that schools simply 'took the money and ran' (Comptroller and Auditor General, 1991; Williams & Yeomans, 1993, 1994a, 1994b), or worked to "civilise" TVEI (as the Headteacher in Hardy Comprehensive put it). This is not my position. I will argue below that it is too simplistic to see schools as being able to accept TVEI funding and then excusing themselves from being accountable for it, particularly if we pose the question 'Where did they run to?' Although some schools may have run with the money, they could not have entirely escaped the new vocationalist forces that swept the educational system in the 1980s, to which TVEI was so central. For example, through procedures for categorical-funding; continual evaluation and monitoring; regional advisers; an insistence on consortium arrangements between groups of schools within LEAs; annual curriculum reviews; school development plans; and performance indicators; TVEI exerted a level of

managerial control which influenced the 'pace' and direction of school reform. Simply put, my argument is that TVEI exerted a distinct form of social regulation that constituted the ground upon which schools were to run with the money.

<sup>9</sup> Hargreaves has noted that with increased pressures of work and diminished opportunities for professional development, teachers have less opportunity to become reflective practitioners (1986, 1990). The removal of teacher training from university departments of education in the 1980s to schools contributed to this process of 'vocationalisation' of teacher training. In higher education similar developments have been noted by Jordan and Yeomans (1991).

<sup>10</sup> As I will show, this was a curiously premature conclusion to draw on the relationship between TVEI and the ERA. The only reason I can think of that might explain this clouded perception in an otherwise excellent account of how TVEI operated on the ground, is that their study was restricted to the pilot phase (i.e. upto 1986).

<sup>11</sup> This approach to the national curriculum also establishes TVEI as a progressive, 'educational' policy, subject to the local control of LEAs and schools. Indeed, Saunders and Halpin (1990) lament the passing of TVEI as the last gasp of educational autonomy against an increasingly centralising State. Their view almost amounts to a 'golden ageism' (Bowe, Ball, & Gold, 1992).

<sup>12</sup> Schools entering the TVEI extension received 12.5% of the funding of the pilot. <sup>13</sup> Several authors (Johnson, 1989, 1991a; Lawton & Chitty, 1988; Simon, 1988, 1991) have persuasively argue that the foundations of the national curriculum were laid in the 1902 Education Act. Aldrich (1988) shows that aside from some name changes, the subject content of the national curriculum is identical to that stipulated by the 1902 Act and the ensuing secondary regulations (1904).

## CHAPTER 6

#### MANAGING THE RELATIONS OF ENTERPRISE IN TWO SCHOOLS

What makes TVEI so different is the contractual obligation which the LEAs and schools freely assume and the joint planning mechanisms to which they have agreed [...] But what it also does, and in a critical and I hope not too indelicate manner, is to introduce the concept of accountability to schools, not in a sense which restricts their freedom to develop as they wish but in the sense of a requirement to respond to the inquiries on TVEI matters, and deliver what was promised and to indicate how the school/college/consortium proposes to develop its TVEI project over its five-year life.<sup>1</sup>

Since its inception in 1982-3, TVEI has not only made substantial advances in elaborating its own managerial grid, it has also worked to undermine and dismantle the grids on which forms of professional and collegial administration were formerly constituted within secondary schools. The primary effect of this process has been to effect a range of mechanisms and practices aimed at displacing the control of teachers over the curriculum and their work processes. Reflecting on the impact of these reforms on schools, Dr Tolley of the MSC confidently announced in a public lecture to the Royal Society of Arts that "the secret garden of the school curriculum is no more. We should not spend any time weeping over its loss" (Tolley, 1990, p. 207). What this statement signalled was the effective broaching and colonisation of the moral economy of progressivism ('the secret garden') that had constituted schooling under social democracy.<sup>2</sup> In this respect, it should be read as a definitive conclusion on the most significant chapter in the long and often volatile struggle over the management, organisation and control of schooling in England.

Consequently, this chapter explores how the managerial grid that was associated with TVEI worked to re-constitute the 'secret galden of the school curriculum.' In particular, it will focus on how selected aspects of TVEI management rendered forms of social organisation and decision-making that mediated the relations of enterprise. It is to an ethnographic investigation of this question, as it relates to TVEI management, that the remainder of this chapter is devoted.

### **Legacies**

We can begin to grasp the managerial character of TVEI from the quote I use at the beginning of the chapter. It is an extract from a speech by Lord Young that he gave to the Royal Society of Arts on the *New Training Initiative* (MSC, 1981), significantly entitled, 'Coping with Change: The NTI.'<sup>3</sup> In this, he makes clear that what 'makes TVEI so different' are two interrelated policy foci. The first, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, is the system of categorical-funding or 'contractual obligation' that was used to prepare LEAs and schools for the introduction of market relations. Second, is 'the concept of accountability,' where schools were required to 'respond to the inquiries on TVEI matters, and deliver what was promised.' Thus, what made TVEI distinctive as a management initiative was its policy objective of constructing a notion of educational accountability within a grid of social relations defined and mediated by the market. This prompts the following question. What practices of accountability did TVEI establish within LEAs and schools, and how were these different from what had existed before?

More precisely, what impact did TVEI have on the politics of educational decision-making within the 26 schools that comprised my study between 1985-1992?

I propose to approach this question by focusing on developments in TVEI management in two of the schools within my study, where tensions between pre-existing cultures of decision-making came into conflict with those installed under TVEI. I will take Scruton High and Redmond College as exemplars for this purpose. What is interesting about these schools was that while both possessed radically different political cultures, their participation within TVEI lead to the establishing of remarkably similar managerial initiatives. My purpose in doing this will be to show that although TVEI enacted a process of change that was uneven across these schools, it nevertheless led to the constellation of a distinctive set of managerial questions that problematised pre-existing practices of school governance.

# Scruton High

My reasons for selecting Scruton High are several. First, it was located within a local authority that had been well known for its commitment to new Conservative social policies from at least the second half of the 1970s. In this respect, it was recognised nationally as having pioneered, even been a laboratory, for many of the policy developments that were to issue from conservative governments throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Second, within the LEA, TVEI was used to resource and legitimate this political orientation in its education policies. As we shall see, this translated into a highly centralised management initiative that teachers in Scruton described as "a top-down

process" and "remote from the chalk face." Third, within this context, TVEI became enmeshed with realising a political agenda that was specifically aimed at displacing teachers from decision-making processes that concerned the curriculum and their work. In its effort to re-assert its authority and control, the LEA introduced TVEI to schools through a central team of peripatetic teachers under the supervision of a project director. As central teams were used by 50% of all LEAs participating in TVEI, it would seem worthwhile to explore this managerial form in some detail.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the transition from pilot to Extension illustrates how an initially centralised and prescriptive management initiative was transformed and embedded within the "custom and practice" of decisionmaking within the school.

Scruton High emerged as a co-educational comprehensive from the amalgamation of two grammar schools in the early 1970s. Located in a inner-city LEA, the school had increasingly come to serve a predominantly working-class, multi-ethnic community. As the headteacher explained:

The school is set in a mainly working-class area, with large council estates and a few owner-occupiers. We have a high proportion of ethnic children - 40% are non-white. There are fairly racist attitudes and a negative community attitude towards the school. We have lots of street-wise kids, but attendance is poor (75-80%) (HT/11/4/85-88).

Because of the catchment area that the school drew upon, and its particular social problems that were reflected in a 'negative community attitude' and 'poor attendance,' the head claimed that by the early 1980s "it became obvious that the existing grammar school curriculum had to go, so we looked at pre-vocational courses" (HT/11/16/85-88). Of key

importance in this search for pre-vocational alternatives to the school's existing curricular

provision was TVEI. When asked why he had taken the school into the Initiative, he

responded that:

When I came here two years ago, there was a strong prospect of the school closing. The image of the school had to be changed within the community. The Authority knew about our problems and was keen to help in changing the curriculum [...] If we hadn't of done something quickly we would have gone under. There is still a risk we may close - one school has got to go in the next year - we are still under-subscribed, although our first choices are rising. There are four schools in the same situation. TVEI has proven to be attractive to parents ... it's brought good equipment and facilities (HT/11/16/85-88).

His perception of the school being under threat of closure was underlined by the TVEI

project director, who pointed out that:

The school is on a downward spiral. It's in a difficult area, which is predominantly working class and has multi-ethnic problems. The majority of kids are average or below average ability. The staff morale is very low. Their present head has been re-deployed there. He is aware of the downward spiral and personalises it - he blames others for this (PC/11/17/85-88).

For Scruton, therefore, the shift to vocationalism and participation within TVEI was not a question of 'choice' but of necessity. It was primarily a response to a perceived threat of the school's continuing viability in a situation of declining student enrolments and school closures. That TVEI had 'proven to be attractive to parents' through improved resourcing in a context where both students and their parents were being defined as 'consumers' in a market by government policy was crucial in ensuring Srcuton's participation. In these circumstances, it was the 'hidden hand' of market relations in a context of declining

resources and increasing competition between schools that made TVEI funding so crucial to the head.

With three other schools, Scruton High was therefore allowed to enter the TVEI pilot in 1984 by the LEA. The defining characteristic of the LEA's TVEI project was its central team of twenty peripatetic teachers and a project director, which made it the largest within the country. Within the context of the pilot, central teams were not uncommon. They usually consisted of five to ten senior teachers and a project co-ordinator who would support and facilitate the work of schools and teachers in developing TVEI. In this respect, their role was advisory in providing the expertise and experience of senior teachers who also had an overview of TVEI within an LEA's participating schools. Central teams were therefore an extension of the in-service training (INSET) that LEAs offered to their teachers for professional development and dissemination of 'good practice' in relation to TVEI. Although this approach was claimed for Scruton's central team, it was evident that its creation by the LEA was connected with a political project connected with re-asserting central control over the curriculum and teacher's work.

That the LEA saw its central team as a means to gain control over the curriculum was made clear by the project director, who argued that it "fits in with the LEA's philosophy for central control. It's about getting the curriculum back into the hands of the education committee and education department" (PC/11/11/85-88). As he uses it, 'curriculum' is a metaphor which refers to a wide range of educational practices that were school based and teacher controlled. Consequently, it is important to understand that

'getting the curriculum back into the hands of the education committee' referred to a social and political process that was aimed at re-asserting the authority of the LEA over the social relations of decision-making within its schools. How and in what ways this was effected leads to questioning of the pivotal role of the central team and other mechanisms by which the secondary curriculum was to be re-constructed under the auspices of TVEI.

Although the central team was the executive arm of TVEI policy within the LEA, it was the 'TVEI Unit' under its project director that defined how TVEI was to evolve and be implemented within the four pilot schools. The TVEI Unit (and therefore the central team) was placed under the authority of a single project director who was answerable to the LEA's Chief Inspector of schools. In this way, TVEI was central to broader policy issues surrounding school reform within the LEA. In interview, the project director made it clear that there were several interrelated strands in effecting central control over the curriculum. In parallel with the central team (which I will come back to below) were three other mechanisms. First, as the project director indicated, "I have total control over finance." In consultation with other members of the TVEI Unit (and Education Committee), this enabled him to define and orient planning and policy in relation to TVEI. This was not without its attendant problems, as a member of the central team observed "The schools don't have control over how TVEI money is spent as the decisions were taken mainly by the project director. That's created bitterness in the schools" (CT/11/13/85-88). Second, this also implied central control over the purchasing

of equipment, which during the pilot accounted for the largest element of TVEI expenditures. As the project director noted:

The second element of central control is equipment. It's uniform across schools. There have been minor variations in building work, but all four schools have a model office, an IT room, and improved engineering workshops. *I personally ordered the equipment* (PC/11/11/85-88).

The third element of central control - which foreshadowed trends toward greater central government control over the curriculum - was the prescription of common TVEI courses for all four schools (in business and information studies, information technology, modular technology, careers counselling, and personal and social development). In relation to this, a central team teacher acknowledged that "There's been little attempt to marry in with the school curriculum. The curriculum package developed by the central staff was created in isolation from the schools" (CT/11/7/85-88). Combined with the central team, these three elements effected a managerial grid through which the LEA proposed to re-establish its authority over the curriculum. Unlike the professional/collegial grid that preceded it, the new grid shifted or externalised processes of decision-making, moving them away from the immediate terrain of teachers work places. In this way, its general effect was to put in to place mechanisms of extra-local control that substituted 'central control' for educational judgement of local and particular personnel, and localised forms of decisionmaking within schools.<sup>5</sup> Put another way, TVEI was used for the purposes of implementing a highly centralised form of educational governance that had as its object the expropriation of the 'curriculum' from the control of schools and teachers.

The experience of this 'new' managerial grid was captured by a teacher of information technology (IT) at Scruton High, who, looking back on the pilot, described TVEI as 'somebody else's conception of what we were supposed to be teaching.' As he put it:

[...] we had all this stuff coming in and we didn't know what we were supposed to do with it because *it was somebody else's conception of what we were supposed to be teaching*, just like the national curriculum is somebody else's assessment of the ways we should teach IT or CDT or whatever, you know, *it's being imposed on us without understanding for us, without us being involved in it, really* (IT/11/2/91-92).

As I will show below, despite the LEA's different approach to the implementation of the TVEI 'extension' from 1986 (which I discuss below), what connected it with the pilot was its 'being imposed' on teachers without their 'understanding' or involvement.

With finances, equipment and courses, the fourth element aimed at regaining central control over the curriculum was the TVEI central team. During the pilot period, the central team was in contact with the four TVEI schools and their respective teachers on a regular (weekly) basis throughout the first 3-4 years of the pilot; acting as a conduit and interface for TVEI policy between the schools and the LEA. Further, it is important to emphasise that all twenty teachers that comprised the central team were formerly senior teachers or school heads of department chosen for their experience and authority.<sup>6</sup> Although the central team had a general mandate to oversee curriculum development within the four schools, its two primary functions were: first, write and develop curriculum materials for the five TVEI courses; second, drawing upon their own expertise in the five subject areas, provide in-service training alongside teachers in the classroom on a regular basis. In this way, the central team (and project director) were responsible for the design and content of the TVEI curriculum as well as its implementation within the participating schools. Operating from its base within the TVEI Unit, the central team therefore constituted TVEI policy-in-practice.

In Scruton High, administrators and teachers were generally critical of the TVEI central team. Both groups expressed a strong sense of distance and alienation from its aims and role within the school. For example, Scruton's headteacher had changed his position on the central team because of its size (twenty), arguing that a smaller team of four, combined with specialists attached to the four schools, would have been a more effective method for TVEI curriculum development.

Initially I was behind it. We had a lack of expertise here which was common to all four TVEI schools. However, the Heads have changed their position. We now think we should have done a central team of, say, four and then made appointments to each school of specialists [...] A smaller central team would then provide INSET. At the moment we feel overdependent on the central team, and we don't feel we can rely upon it. So we want greater loyalty. However, the central team does come in and we create smaller classes, but that undermines INSET (HT/11/6/85-88).

However, it was not only the relative size of the central team that concerned this head.

The substance of his disquiet centred more on the recognition (shared by the other three heads) that the existing central team adversely shifted the balance of authority and control

away from the schools to the centre (i. e. the LEA TVEI Unit). This not only explains his

support for a smaller team and 'appointments to each school of specialists,' but his

emphasis on 'greater loyalty.' In other words, existing arrangements left him with a sense of being 'overdependent on the central team.' Thus, Scruton's headteacher perceived the intervention of the central team as shifting the locus of control away from his school and creating a relation of dependency on the TVEI Unit.

Unlike their headteacher, teachers in Scruton High were unequivocally opposed to the central team. As a teacher of craft design and technology (CDT) put it, "TVEI is very much 'us' and 'them' [...] there is a big conflict between the establishment here and the central team" (CDT/11/54/85-88). The underlying 'conflict' that arose between the two groups was embedded in the central team's attempts to organise and implement TVEI in Scruton High and its teachers' sense of alienation in being marginalised from this process. For example, a teacher of IT observed that there was no "grass roots involvement" in TVEI, while his colleague in Office Practice said of the central team:

I really don't have much of a feeling for them ... they haven't done much for us. Some of them have done some things for us, but at the moment I don't know who's who? I mean, I get a letter around at Christmas saying 'thank you for your efforts' [from the central team] but they don't know who I am. It is kind of silly ... if one looks at what's going on here, there is a need to involve people and for them to know what's happening; a feeling that they belong. And by golly, I don't feel I belong (laughs) (OP/11/9/85-88).

This sense of estrangement from the central team, coupled with the 'need to involve people and for them to know what's happening,' to feel 'that they belong,' reveals further the nature of the breach between the experience of teachers and the particular organisational form that TVEI assumed in the school. This widening gap did not just indicate an awareness of an increasing social distance by Scruton's teachers toward the

central team, but signalled a more profound transformation in their relationship to the 'curriculum.'

The transformatory character of TVEI, however, was only dimly grasped by Scruton's teachers as a re-ordering of the social organisation of their work. While they were aware that TVEI had produced the yoke of the TVEI Unit/central team, this was experienced in relation to the particularities of their work within the school and classroom; not the wider politics of curriculum reform. That is, teachers focused on the work of the TVEI Unit/central team in narrowly pedagogical and curricula terms, rather than as part of a wider social process aimed at dislodging their professional control and autonomy over the 'secret garden' of the curriculum (Lawton & Chitty, 1988). This is why, despite its mandate to provide 'expertise' (i. e. INSET) in the classroom, the central team's role proved to be something of a 'let down' for Scruton's TVEI teachers. Their disappointment was palpable, as the following comments show:

The school expected experts, with brand new courses that staff would learn something new from. But they were a bit of a let down really (Careers/11/10/85-88).

I got this impression early on that the TVEI team were actually trying to take over, to say how things were going to be done and then they weren't actually doing it (Tech/11/11/85-88).

This re-evaluation of expectations extended to the TVEI school co-ordinator:

The central team are a load of fucking wankers. They don't know what they're doing! They do less work than a basic grade teacher and yet they're being paid more than the head of departments here, who have tutor groups, admin and so on. They've not made use of our own expertise here in the school [...] From what I've heard about the central team from other teachers I'd shoot the fucking lot of them (SC/11/7/85-88).<sup>7</sup>



Within the classroom, it was also evident that the central team teachers were considered to

be ineffective at providing either materials or INSET.

There's been no comment on our teaching methods by the central team teachers. So it's all been down to content really (IT/11/9/85-88).

They walk in to teach for an hour and then they go (CDT/11/10/85-88).

We didn't benefit from the central team, we lost ... we both lost, we all lost. I didn't know what he was doing (Tech/11/11/85-88).

I should say, 'Oh, yes, TVEI has made a lot of difference.' But in truth, it hasn't a lot ... I don't think TVEI has made any marked difference to the input of courses here. I mean, we have new equipment but as some of the kids say, 'So what!' (OP/11/42/85-88).

Given these poor relations within and without the classroom, it was also not surprising to be told that "The central team had discipline problems with students, I wandered into a couple of lessons and they were out of their depth" (Careers/11/10/85-88).

Alongside these observations, it is also relevant to record that while TVEI did generate a limited 'rehabilitation of the practical' (McCulloch, Jenkins, & Layton, 1985) in subjects such as technology and business and information studies - its effects on the curriculum were far from radical. What emerged was a form of curriculum provision that appeared to move away from the "grammar school model" but which nevertheless enshrined its social divisions. For example, streaming which was a hallmark of the older academic arrangements was maintained, except that now there existed an 'academic group' and TVEI students banded into groups referred to as 'T1,' T2,' and 'T3' ('T1' being the most able). The rendered effect of the Initiative was to therefore re-organise



existing social divisions in terms of a bifurcation between the 'academic' and 'vocational.' In doing so, TVEI actually formalised what had been a discrete and unstated character of Scruton's educational provision. The same process materialised in relation to gender, where "there's a problem with girls going with business studies and boys doing technology" (IT/11/15/85-88).\* Significantly, both the issues of ability and gender were associated with the central team, as the headteacher explained:

They do pre-voc courses for nine periods out of 30 each week. Coherency hasn't developed between these courses, which we'd hoped for. For example, if you do Technology then you do Electronics and IT. If you do Business Studies, you do Office Practice, Keyboarding and IT. But you can't pick up a bit of each. There's no vertical integration between Technology and Business Studies and no horizontal integration. That's because [...] the central team does not see integration/coherency as a priority (HT/11/36/85-88).

The low priority that gender equity was given by the central team may have reflected the project director's own analysis of it as "an overworked and boring issue." Finally, there was little evidence of attention being given to ethnicity under TVEI - and this in a school with 40% of its population drawn from an Asian background. <sup>9</sup> Thus, despite TVEI's clear commitment to equal opportunities, a member of the central team acknowledged that "Nothing has been done to bring about equal opportunities. The MSC and project director pay lip service to this" (CT-T/11/14/85-8).

For teachers and administrators in Scruton, therefore, TVEI was primarily understood in terms of the failure of the central team to provide a leading role in curriculum development. However, what was less visible from their vantage point was the



way in which TVEI was being used to fabricate a grid of social relations that not only separated teachers classroom activities from their control over the curriculum, but changed the school's relationship to the LEA. In this context, the central team constituted only one element of a much wider process of political reform, that was organised and coordinated from within the TVEI Unit. As I showed above, the TVEI project director was quite unambiguous about the Unit's mission in this respect. Understood this way, TVEI curriculum development turned less on changes in classroom practice than it did on transformations in the social organisation of local forms of governance. It is this I want to emphasise, that while TVEI did initiate curriculum development, it's actual, everyday, character that materialised within Scruton High was concerned more with questions of power, authority, and who had the *right* to make decisions over educational processes. In short, its aim was to re-configure the existing social relations of educational decisionmaking on terms defined by the LEA/TVEI Unit. Thus, while curriculum development is usually presented as a neutral activity associated with 'school improvement,' my analysis suggests that it may transpire as a political process deeply inscribed with the "relations of ruling" (Campbell & Manicom, 1995).

With the transition to the TVEI extension, the mechanisms through which central control over the curriculum was effected changed. This was not achieved by an extension of the existing structure under the pilot, but through the assimilation and embedding of its regulatory character within the practices of schools. The form that this was to take under

the Extension was alluded to by the project director. Asked what was the future of TVEI,

he commented that:

Well, that's difficult. It's still being reviewed. We'd hope that it would remain as a mechanism for self-evaluation, particularly for staff. What is likely is that the TVEI Unit will move in 1987/88. It will become a small curriculum development unit for all LEA schools. We'll have advisory teachers. They will promote curriculum development for TVEI and non-TVEI schools [...] So as dissemination goes, the LEA is keen. We will do it through the Advisory and Support Service (PC/11/15/85-88).

During the second visit to the school during January 1992, it was evident that mechanisms 'for self-evaluation,' or what the new project director referred to as "supporting evaluation," had come to be embedded within the "custom and practice" of schools. What this amounted to was a shift from an assertive, focused, and interventionist policy (personified in the central team under the pilot), to the co-ordinated dissemination of documentary devices that were aimed at ensuring, as the project director put it, "quality assurance" within schools.<sup>10</sup> This implied a role for the TVEI Unit and central team ("ow reduced to five) that was primarily concerned with administering and co-ordinating the implementation of forms of evaluation and appraisal that were textually mediated. This is how 'central control' eventuated under the extension. We need to briefly consider how this transition was accomplished.

The transition to the TVEI extension had two major implications for LEAs involved within the pilot. The first was the much reduced level of funding that they could expect to support their outstanding commitments to TVEI appointed staff, equipment and other resource requirements. Compared with the pilot, the extension was to run on a


'shoe-string' budget.<sup>11</sup> In this new situation, pilot LEAs and schools had to revise their original arrangements for TVEI and adjust to the new financial constraints. The second and most pressing problem, that confronted LEAs in particular, was the incorporation of *all* their schools within the extension. Scruton High, for example, became one of twenty-five schools, not four! This necessitated the establishment of LEA-wide mechanisms that would allow the dissemination of TVEI "good practice" to the new schools, but within a drastically reduced financial regime. Less funding and the increase in the number of participating schools posed the LEA (as it did others) with an intractable problem to which it had to respond with cost-effective methods.

We also have to take into account the changi..g context of the politics of education between pilot and extension. As I have already shown in previous chapters, this was a period marked by the reforms that were to flow from the ERA (1988). Of particular significance, I emphasised, was the introduction of a system of managed market relations that built upon the 'contract compliance' or 'bid and deliver' approach of TVEI. Within this, I argued that a new set of managerial relations, or grid, began to emerge that simultaneously eroded older management structures and processes while instituting new ones. In Britain, this generated policy initiatives aimed at producing greater decentralisation in education, encapsulated in the concept of the 'self-managing school' (Caldwell & Spinks, 1988).<sup>12</sup> Superficially, this has produced pressures to dismantle existing educational bureaucracies at the national and regional levels by replacing them with school-based management.<sup>13</sup> Although TVEI initiated this process with its emphasis

on teacher/school 'ownership' of local projects, it largely resulted from legislative measures introduced by the ERA (1988), particularly related to the local management of schools (LMS), 'opting cut' and 'open enrolment' (Flude & Hammer, 1990a; 1990b; Thomas, 1990; Thomas, 1993).

As a growing number of educational researchers have argued, however, decentralisation and self-management are not necessarily connected with greater school 'autonomy,' 'flexibility,' 'empowerment,' or 'improvement,' as either their organic intellectuals or educational policy-makers have claimed.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, it can be legitimately argued that the term 'decentralisation' is a misnomer which glosses over a complex set of contradictory processes that have the appearance of devolving power and authority to schools, while subjecting them to more intensive and elaborate forms of social regulation (Ball, 1990, 1994). Within this context, the self-managing school does not emerge as either a 'flexible' or more democratic model for education, but can be seen as the outcome of a general re-organisation of the social relations that have historically constituted the local (educational) state in Britain. This is why I prefer to use the term 'administrative decentralisation,' as such policies often mask a profound shift of power and authority to the centre. In other words decentralisation under TVEI and the ERA has actually reduced and contained, not extended the boundaries of local participatory politics (Johnson, 1991b).

Recent ennographic and policy research has pointed to several effects of administrative decentralisation that are of relevance to my analysis of Scruton High in the

context of the TVEI extension. My point is that we have to recognise to the context in which it has been effected. Administrative decentralisation in education has not transpired within a political vacuum. That is, pressure to devolve the role of LEAs in planning, coordinating and providing services to schools, has to be understood as part of the political agenda of the new Conservatism in government since 1979. Within this, the public sector and particularly the welfare state, has been viewed not only as the source of the state's fiscal crisis, but as an obstacle to the re-generation of an enterprise culture in Britain (Thatcher, 1993, 1995; Young, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1992; Lawson, 1984). Consequently, as one of the founding pillars of the welfare state, Local Authorities have been viewed by successive Conservative administrations as an obstacle to the implementation of their political programme. Accordingly, policy has aimed to either circumvent, change, or reduce their existing powers over the education system and schools (Jones, 1989b; Ranson, 1990; Simon, 1988, 1991; Thomas, 1993). To achieve this, successive new Conservative governments have increasingly resorted to an ensemble of policies aimed at 'privatisation' and 'deregulation' that have been aimed at the construction of a managed market in education (Ascher, 1987).<sup>15</sup> The logic underlying this has been twofold: first, to remodel public sector institutions (especially schools) so that they would simulate the activities of commercial enterprises; second, to enact modes of subjectification that would articulate with the construction of the 'enterprising self' (Keat & Abercrombie, 1991; Rose, 1992). Thus, to fully grasp the meaning and practice of 'decentralisation' in education, we have therefore to place it within its particular, historical and local context.

In Britain throughout the 1980s and 1990s, it has been intimately connected to *re*-forming the local educational State as a means of constructing a culture of enterprise in education. As Levacic has noted "changes brought about in the structure of local education authorities management of schools parallel those which occur when a private sector firm moves from centralised to a decentralised structure" (Levacic, 1993, p. 179).

As I showed in the previous chapter, the dominant form that this assumed under TVEI's 'bid and deliver' approach and the ERA's 'opting out,' 'open enrolment' and 'local management of schools,' was the embedding of market relations within the education system. Indeed, the market since the early 1980s has provided a powerful ideological impetus for the re-organisation of local authority provision *per se*. However, as Thompson has argued, we have to be careful in using the term 'market.' As he explains:

Is market *a* market or is market a metaphor? Of course it can be both, but too often discourse about 'the market' conveys the sense of something definite [...] when in fact, sometimes unknown to the term's user, it is being employed as a metaphor of economic process, or an idealisation or abstraction from that process (Thompson, 1991, p. 273).

Market 'as a metaphor' can, in other words, act as a powerful conceptual practice that can either mask or misconstrue the everyday character of 'economic process.' His observation has a greater reach if we also grasp two further points. The first is that since the early 1980s the emerging market in education has not issued from the 'spirit of enterprise,' but direct state intervention in educational policy, such as TVEI and the ERA (1988). It is in this sense that a 'managed market' has been created in the public sector to foster enterprising qualities within schools. Second, the market, as *capitalist process*, has

constituted the primary medium through which decentralisation in public education has been effected (this is why I prefer the term 'administrative decentralisation'). In this way, the state has acted to mediate the capital relation within education and schools through its imposition of a model of social organisation that attempted to simulate the working of the 'free-market.' Third, the market has provided the ideological dynamo from which a wide range of social relations and practices have been remodelled so as to focus cultural change in specific, predetermined ways. Methodologically therefore, educational decentralisation cannot be abstracted from the social and political relations that were involved in the making of an enterprise culture in Britain from the early 1980s.

The insertion of market relations within the education system has been marked by several developments that have reconstituted the social organisation of schooling. TVEI was directly responsible for initiating a number of mechanisms that were to pull the process of schooling closer to the market model. The first, as we have seen, was the system of 'contract compliance' that instituted procedures for bidding of finance within and between schools and LEAs. That is, through the TVEI contract, the MSC was able to establish competition as the means whereby extra resourcing in a period of dwindling resources could be attained. Initially, each contract negotiated between the MSC and an LEA also contained provisions for 'appraisal' of schools and teachers effectiveness in implementing the Initiative. It was for this purpose that MSC established its extensive national and local network of evaluation and monitoring. While this network defined TVEI "as a scheme 'known' to its sponsor to a quite extraordinary degree" during the pilot, its

information gathering was attenuated soon after the extension began to take effect (Harland, 1987, p. 41). What came to replace it was a system of 'self-evaluation' that was imposed on schools and teachers This was formalised with the publication of quantitative and qualitative national performance indicators for TVEI in 1988 (Comptroller and Auditor General, 1991). A cursory glance of the indicators reveals how the 'needs of industry' and the 'world of work' was to construct teachers understandings of what was 'useful knowledge' for their students. Seen this way, the TVEI contract, appraisal, evaluation, and performance indicators provide examples of documentary devices which mediate the vocationalisation of school curricula with the capital relation. Together, they embody a form of objectified knowledge through which otherwise disconnected and diverse sites can be made permeable to the relations of enterprise. That is, these mechanisms worked to produce particular kinds of experience and sense in common among teachers and administrators about how their work was to be made reportable and accountable.

### **Redmond**

Since its opening in 1969, Redmond College had developed a national reputation as a progressive comprehensive (Hannan, 1980). When I first visited the college in 1986 its progressive ethos was very apparent compared with schools I had taught in myself and those I had been visiting as part of my research on TVEI. There were many differences that struck me: the absence of a school uniform; staff and students were on first name terms; the principal's door was always open to staff and students; there was no school bell

to mark the beginning/end of lessons and breaks; students freely entered the staff lounge, instead of knocking and waiting. For some teachers, particularly those with 'traditional' attitudes or who were new to the school, such student autonomy and procedural freedom created some anxiety. When asked what they thought of the college, two substitute teachers who had started work in the school only a week before I arrived responded in the following way:

Well, it's bewildering at first. I don't know if I'll get used to it [...] It's really unusual, you know, no bells, everybody on first name terms, kids just walking into the staff room - it takes some getting used to.

Her colleague had a somewhat more laconic approach:

The first one that tells me to fuck off will soon know about it (goes on to talk about the need for firm discipline) (Subs/7/10/85-88).

The distinctive ethos that these teachers observed was recognised to be rooted in the college's particular history by both teachers and administrators that I interviewed. It was common for both groups to assert that there was a strong, collective sense of the college's educational practices being rooted in the past: "There's a strong feeling of tradition in this school. We're past oriented really" (Ass/7/9/85-88). However, this was not a conservative sense of 'tradition' that derived from the college's long history (it had originally been founded as a grammar school in the thirteenth century), it was rather the "radical

tradition" of the 1960s and 70s. As the principal explained:

I think there is a very distinct tendency for the place to live in the past really. *People say it's sti?! stuck in the flower power era, others say it's a decayed progressive, that's the kind of language which was being used when I first came here, by people outside the institution of course (Prin/7/25 /91-92).* 

This view was widely held by other teachers in the college. For example, a business studies teacher observed that:

You'd probably find that the golden era had been in the '60s between 68-70 and at the moment everything is a threat to that. I don't know, there is a tendency to glorify the past (BS/7/14/91-92).

While this teacher was not sympathetic to Redmond's 'golden' or 'flower power

era,' many other teachers within the college felt a strong allegiance to what they saw as a

legacy of progressivism in the classroom and comprehensive principles in schooling. There

was a particular mentalité, a shared bundle of educational values, customs, and practices

that defined Redmond's institutional identity. Within the college, this was expressed most

clearly in the core curriculum through humanities teaching. A teacher within this faculty

captured something of the progressive ethos of the college when describing his classroom

practices:

- Int What effects does humanities have on the kids?
- T Hope it enables them to *understand the totality of things and place themselves within it.* We feel that skill and processes are more important than content ... Helps them cope in the world.
- Int How does humanities 'help'?
- T First, we see the kids more than anyone else because of the timetable. The way we work with kids *it's decentralised and individualised. Kids take the responsibility for their own work, you're a facilitator and it's problem-solving based. We ought to learn from kids and do ... I have a lad doing a project on multiculturalism and I've learnt a lot doing it with him.*
- Int What about the vocational-humanities relationship?
- T The vocational demeans the value of education ... Vocational skills are too narrow. You can learn them in the work place. It's wrong to

link the two. I wouldn't want humanities to be linked to vocational education.

- Int So is the vocational anti-educational?
- T It can be, if there's a narrow emphasis. But if it arises naturally, it can be educational.
- Int So how is humanities different?
- T It's about breaking down barriers between subjects. Presenting knowledge as it is ... the breaking down of artificial barriers. In humanities we try to put common elements from various subjects together as a package.

Int So subjects are unreal, the real world out there is integrated?

T Yes, sort of (Hum/7/42-43/85-88).

According to this teacher, humanities teaching therefore comprised the following: encouraging students to understand themselves within the 'totality of things;' a childcentred pedagogy; antipathy towards vocationalism; an integrated curriculum that attempted to dissolve subject boundaries. Although he does not refer to it here, humanities at Redmond was also firmly committed to mixed-ability teaching and student selfassessment. Within the English context, all these elements are immediately recognisable as constitutive of the practices of progressivism that emerged in the 1960s and 70s (Avis, 1991b; Henriques *et al.* 1984; Walkerdine, 1983, 1984a, 1984b; Wolpe & Donald, 1983). It was this commitment to an educational practice and as we shall see, a politics, that was to generate conflict over the introduction of TVEI.

From the early 1980s it had become clear to teachers within Redmond that the changing policy agenda in education was not favourable, even a threat, to their identity as

a progressive comprehensive. Within the humanities faculty the new vocationalism, particularly TVEI, was perceived as something of a 'trojan horse.' As one humanities teacher put it, such policies were aimed at "re-introducing tripartism through the back door" (Hum/7/69/85-88). Although this view was acknowledged elsewhere in the college, others pointed to latent tensions in the theory and practice of progressivism at Redmond that pre-dated TVEI.

For example, in science and technology, several teachers I interviewed were concerned that the informal practices of their colleagues undermined the progressive and comprehensive principles upon which Redmond's educational philosophy was founded. In particular, they pointed to ability and social class in producing divisions within the curriculum. A science teacher argued that there were two curricula in effect in the college:

Although we have a 'progressive' school curriculum, in some ways the liberal ideology that we took on with it is suspect. For example, we still have an 'academic' curriculum for the vast majority of kids, while others at the bottom end of the ability grouping are allowed to bricklay and paint bog walls. As long as it keeps them happy. That's the alternative curriculum here! (Sci/7/29/85-88).

That the 'alternative curriculum' was constituted in terms of an implicit division between intellectual and practical skills was also emphasised by a teacher of '3-D' (i e. Design). Although she recognised that most of her students were 'low ability,' she was unsure whether they had willingly opted for her course, or had been subject to subtle pressure by her 'academic' colleagues. In describing her students, she indicated that:

They're smashing! They've got lots of personality, but they tend to be students who other staff won't have, they can't think of what to do with them and so say, 'Do 3-D.' They're low ability - 3-D is. Let me give you an example. This morning I had a big class, a new class



- 27 in that little room you saw. I hadn't even started them off and three students (5th years) came in and said, 'So and so has sent us down from Chemistry, we're not taking the Chemistry exam and he suggested that we come and work with you and do 3-D' [laughs]. Now, I wouldn't dream of sending them up to Chemistry ... Can you see? *This happens in 3-D quite a bit* (3-D/7/36/85-88).

Thus, through their informal selection procedures, her colleagues actively constructed 3-D as part of the alternative curriculum. The effect of this on her classes, she argued, was extremely negative in that "We're left with students who just want to knock lumps of wood around." However, the custom of sending low ability students 'down' was not confined to 3-D, neither was it restricted to ability. The alternative curriculum had a much wider reach, as she explained:

The situation at the moment here is academic, TVEI, and others. If they are bad, they play table tennis. The 'Supplementary Education' groups...the kids are poor, smelly and have enormous problems. The staff who teach on the Supp Ed courses set themselves up as superior to those essentially lower working-class kids. However, they tend to emphasise teaching topics like racism and sexism - i.e. they have a superior morality to pass to the kids is the assumption. But these kids are often brutalised, physically and socially and then come into school and told they are racist and sexist too! (3-D/7/37/85-88).

Beneath the formal 'liberal ideology' at Redmond, therefore, lay a less visible

organisation of educational practices that contradicted progressivism within the college. It had two effects. First, it generated fractures in the formal curriculum, that ostensibly centred on ability but more precisely on 'class.' Such differentiation produced forms of experience - 'painting bog walls,' or 'playing table tennis' - for students that was at variance from that contained within the 'academic' curriculum. It also implied a moral evaluation i.e. they were 'bad.' Second, *within* the alternative curriculum, progressivism



was in tension with the class background of its students. As the 3-D teacher indicated, how relevant was it to teach 'racism and sexism' to 'poor, smelly [...] essentially lower working class kids,' thereby implying that 'they are racist and sexist too!' Her argument was not that these issues were irrelevant, but that they dominated the curriculum of an already 'brutalised' group of students. In such instances, as Cohen has shown, progressivism (and now multiculturalism) can act as a form of social regulation or "as part of a wider civilising mission to the working class" (1988, p. 8). Likewise, a parallel can be drawn with Willis' classic study of the 'lads' in Learning to Labour, where progressive methods were used to pacify and 'manage' the predominately working class students that formed the school counter-culture (Willis, 1977, 1981).<sup>16</sup> The science teacher's reference to keeping 'them happy' can be seen in this context. In this way progressivism, albeit unintentionally, can actually serve in the "subjective preparation of labour power and acceptance of a working class future in a way which is the very opposite of progressive intentions in education" (Willis, 1977, p. 178). The progressive legacy in Redmond was thus contradictory. While espousing a radical educational ideology centred on comprehensive principles, it nevertheless contributed to social processes within the college that created a segmented curriculum shaped by class relations.

Before the introduction of TVEI, commitment to Redmond's progressive ethos was already waning among some groups of teachers who had contradictory experiences of its pedagogical and curriculural practices. However, the changing politics of education in the 1980s and the arrival of TVEI produced yet further tensions in the college that were

perceived as a direct threat to its heritage. In particular, the "Thatcherite" context of educational policy-making from which TVEI emerged was understood to be antithetical to the college's progressive inheritance. The principal of Redmond was acutely aware of this.

There has been a considerable hostility to TVEI simply, no, not simply, largely because of its political origins and the associations with vocationalism and training for jobs in the specific sense. There is quite a range of objectors on political, philosophical, social grounds in that way (Prin/7/13/91-92).

While TVEI, and its progenitor MSC, were regarded with deep suspicion, "enterprise was just frowned upon and it was viewed very much as right-wing dogma" (CC/7/7/91-92). Because of this, the college's submission for TVEI pilot funding had to be, as the principal explained, executed "with less than usual consultation" (i. e. covertly). He continued that the only reason why it was eventually accepted by staff was that "it would be monitored and done with comprehensive principles" (Prin/7/12/85-88). Once pilot funding had been accepted, the mistrust that staff had of the Initiative did not abate. Indeed, the following comments by teachers in history, 3-D, humanities and technology reveal that it was pervasive:

TVEI is not neutral but is a political manoeuvre of the MSC. I've been here only 3 months and *TVEI is not seen as part of the school*. Other non-TVEI staff know nothing about it, they're not invloved. I also don't subscribe to the demands and needs of British industry which TVEI wants us to [...] It's seen as a fundamental change in the way in which British education is organised (Hist/7/68/85-88).

TVEI has a reputation in the school for teaching skills, *it's not seen* as education. Just vocational [...] TVEI is just setting up lower ability kids as unskilled labour (3-D/7/64/85-88).

We are hostile to it [TVEI] because it's mainly vocational and we also dislike ite origins - the MSC and this particular government -

and its effects on the curriculum. So therefore we have no direct involvement with it (Hum/7/67/85-88).

I'm pretty ambivalent [of TVEI] - but the whole school has been ambivalent really (Tech/7/13/85-88).

It is evident then, that TVEI provoked a general unease, even hostility among most staff. The nature of this antagonism was expressed on different issues and changed as pilot moved into extension. Initially, concern focused on the curriculum. For example, teachers in departments within the humanities faculty worried that the Initiative would "skew school finance and resources toward the technical and vocational areas" (Eng/7/69/85-88). In the long-term, it was thought that this would re-define and sanction the alternative curriculum as the 'vocational.' There was also some anxiety that the MSC would use TVEI as a means to develop forms of training within the college. It is important to note, however, that the teaching and learning methods which TVEI promulgated were not questioned, as "teaching methods here, in terms of experiential learning, were already advanced, especially in the humanities" (SC/7/44/85-88). Or in the words of a humanities teacher, "we use those [TVEI] methods anyway" (Hum/7/69/85-88). I shall return to the issue of pedagogy, as LEA administrators viewed it, below.

With the transition to TVEI extension in 1986, it was apparent that curriculum and pedagogy had become secondary issues in Redmond. Attention shifted to how the college was to be managed, particularly as "A completely new senior management team started this Summer [i. e. 1985] and is likely to be stable for 4-5 years and so will get to grips with TVEI" (Prin/7/14/85-88). Significantly, the appointment of a new management team was

not unrelated to the emergence of a new 'management style.' As a teacher of technology

noted:

The school is in a period of transition, mainly in terms of its management style. We [the teachers] feel it's for the worse. Recent appointments to senior positions indicate that the school is moving to the notion of 'efficient management,' specific job briefs and a kind of managerial accountability. So now the school structure has become an issue - whether we have a democratic or managerial form. This transition has also coincided with the move to CPIE TVEI type curricula. At county level we also have a new Director of Education who believes in 'balancing the books' (Tech/7/11/85-88).

Teachers at Redmond were therefore aware of a noticeable 'transition' in the organisational culture of the college which was being initiated from above (i. e. the LEA and college administration). That this was interpreted as a general movement towards either 'efficient management' or a 'managerial accountability' was significant within the political context in which these changes were occurring.

From February 1985 until January 1986 (the time of my visit), teacher unions in Britain had been involved in a pay dispute that had taken the form of a series of one day strikes and other industrial action, such as 'working to rule.' Although pay was at the heart of the dispute, the government (i. e. the DES) were attempting to link future salary rises with teacher appraisal and performance, as well as the restructuring of existing conditions of work (Ball, 1988; Hatcher, 1994; Jones, 1989b; Lawn & Whitty, 1992; Simon, 1988, 1991).<sup>17</sup> Of the teachers' dispute, Jones has argued that:

The action embodied different kinds of relationship among teachers, that were based on consent and solidarity rather than the commanding managerial authority which many saw as a tendency that, government supported, was growing in strength (Jones, 1989b, p. 134).

That the dispute acted to impede the exercise of formal managerial authority in Redmond was clear. The principal, for example, complained how his work had been reduced to dealing with "the petty things rather than conferring with colleagues. The senior management team deliver documents and hope for the best" (Prin/7/71/85-88). Similarly, the LEA co-ordinator for TVEI worried that he had "become divorced from what's going on through lack of contact. I feel cut off from the schools" (PC/7/71/85-88). Yet among teaching staff within the college, the dispute was experienced in a radically different way. A teacher of communications explained that:

Its major effect [the dispute] has been to *increase the level of trade* union awarcness. Staff here have become very involved in and aware of the main issues of the dispute. It's actually *increased* consultation at an informal level between staff and this has greatly facilitated and reinforced collective decision-making. The other effect is that authority and power in the school is really in the hands of basic grade teachers and not necessarily senior management - that worries them a lot (Comms/7/71/85-88).

For Redmond, the dispute's impact was important in several ways. First, it placed effective control over decision-making in the hands of teachers, particularly junior staff. Moreover, this materialised as an 'informal' process that was connected with increased 'trade union awareness.' It needs to be emphasised that this form of decision-making was not unlike that traditionally operated by the college before the dispute through its twice-weekly general school meeting (which I describe below). There were two major differences however. In the context of the dispute, decision-making occurred through the unions represented within the college without any reference to the new management team.

The other effect was that it 'greatly facilitated and reinforced collective decision-making ' Although teaching staff were critical of the official decision-making body in the college (the general school meeting), the dispute served to re-affirm its collective and open approach. As the 3-D teacher put it:

I have mixed feelings about our process where decisions are taken collectively at GSMs. Sometimes it's boring, even frustrating. But at other times they can be elevating. But at least you have the opportunity to be there and listen and have a say (3-D/7/12/85-88).

This ground was not shared by senior management within the LEA and college who began to assert that the GSM was an obstacle to good management within the college. Second, it accentuated emergent divisions between teaching staff and administrators that had not been a feature of Redmond's organisational culture in the past. This did not end with the dispute but was attenuated by its conclusion. In particular, a political struggle ensued over who and how decisions were to be made in Redmond that was still simmering during a return visit in 1991. What was at stake within this conflict, as far as most teaching staff were concerned, was Redmond's progressive inheritance that bequeathed a 'democratic' culture of decision-making (the GSM). That this was perceived as a barrier to managing change under TVEI was apparent from the standpoint of the LEA TVEI co-ordinator:

One of the difficulties in the school was the fact that the management team in the school, who in that sense were responsible for TVEI, were *operating in a situation which was basically a democratic organisation* and they actually had relatively little power (PC/7/34/91-92).

Finally, and most significantly for my purposes, was that TVEI provided the policy environment within which the 'new' management was effected. That this was so is

reflected in my 1991-2 data and a recently published study of the impact of TVEI on Redmond (McEwan, 1991)

McEwan's (1991) account is exceptionally useful in two ways First, he was a teacher in Redmond when he conducted his research between 1984-87 and had been for fifteen years. In other words, we have a discerning account by an 'insider' on developments over a decade and a half. Second, his research draws upon extensive questionnaire and interview data of teaching and administrative staff collected over the three years of his study, as well as participant observation of events up to 1990. Of consequence for my investigations, his research was concerned with "how the teachers of Redmond college are responding to structural changes" that the new vocationalism and other educational policies were generating throughout the 1980s. The main thrust of his analysis focuses on how new vocational policies were exploiting "defects" in progressivism, so that "the very notion of 'progressive' is changing" (p. 218). His analysis of how these policies affected the managerial grid of the college, within which decision-making was realised, is of particular interest to me.

Decision-making in Redmond was based on participatory-democratic procedures that devolved power and authority to its teachers. This was effected within the general school meeting (GSM) to which all management committees (including the senior management team) were answerable. Without question, the social organisation of decision-making that constituted the GSM was unique by any standards in English education and certainly unthinkable in any of the other schools I had visited. It normally

met twice weekly to discuss and vote on college policy on a wide range of issues (during the teachers' dispute meetings were not held). The GSM was composed of all full-time and part-time teaching staff; all ancillary employees, two college governors, and six students.<sup>15</sup> Each group had both speaking and voting rights at meetings. Although the principal had the statutory right to veto any policy recommendation that the GSM approved, McEwan (1991) makes it clear that this had rarely been used. Indeed, the principal recognised that to have opposed a recommendation by the GSM "would be very confrontational and probably extremely damaging [...] it's one of Redmond's icons which won't go away" (Prin/7/26/91-92). To understand the nature of this conflict, we have to situate the GSM within Redmond's broader regime of governance.

Throughout the second half of the 1980s the pivotal role played by the GSM in the decision-making process within Redmond was increasingly called into question by LEA and college administrators, as well as a minority of teachers "committed to a more technological and vocational view of schooling" (McEwan, 1991, p. 230). That TVEI provided the ground upon which tensions over the GSM were exacerbated is made clear by McEwan, who argues that the "involvement of the college in the second phase of TVEI has become the central terrain on which struggles have taken place around both the curriculum and decision-making" (p. 224). My 1991 data suggest this is correct. Interviews with administrators revealed that whereas the TVEI pilot was introduced on terms set by the LEA and college (i. e. using 'comprehensive principles'), the extension

foregrounded a managerial grid that contradicted the GSM. Significantly, the pressure for

this came from within the MSC, as the principal of Redmond revealed:

- Int Moving on a bit, my impression from reading various papers is that the LEA's been trying to adopt slightly more vigorous management if you like towards TVEI extension. Is this something that they wanted to do or is it something that they were sort of pushed into by TVEI?
- Prin I think the latter. As you know I was the LEA TVEI Co-ordinator for two terms [...] and I asked to come off it because it seemed to me that the LEA had got itself into an unmanageable situation. It was an extensive scheme, the autonomy of schools in this LEA is something which is fiercely believed in and frankly the LEA TVEI Co-ordinator in my view was on a hiding to nothing. You had quite a wide measure of responsibility, there was some excitement in the job, but as regards managing the scheme that certainly was not going to be what you could do, so I beat a retreat back into schools [...] But when the extension occurred, yes, the MSC said to the LEA 'We're not happy with the way you're managing, there's got to be a very much clearer management structure' (Prin/7/16-18/91-92).

Thus, the schools' 'autonomy' within the LEA was viewed by many administrators as a major obstacle to realising TVEI objectives within them. In the case of Redmond, this was particularly pronounced in the pilot, where the LEA TVEI co-ordinator indicated that "At Redmond they haven't been innovative enough. Again, it's the schools' insularity and defensive stance...they've been sitting on their laurels since the 60s really" (PC/7/20/91-92). Thus, the decentralised nature of the LEA and Redmond's 'insularity' that stemmed from its history was seen to hinder, if not obstruct, the implementation of TVEI policy. That this contravened TVEI can be seen in relation to teaching and learning methods in the college. In remarking on the teaching staff's relationship with TVEI, an LEA cluster co-ordinator noted of Redmond that:



At the end of the day there wasn't a great deal of difference between the aims of TFEI and the aims of most of the teachers in the college. In many respects, during the time of the pilot the school was very advanced in terms of teaching and learning styles in comparison to many of the schools in the authority. But it was a style that was based very much back in the early '70s and there were a number of individuals and departments who weren't prepared to look beyond that. Then it would be a case of me targeting individuals, departments, talking to them, looking at ways in which they could put forward a bid to the general pool of money which in some way reflected TVEI aims and objectives. As time went on it was more a process of [...] looking forward towards national curriculum (CC/7/6/91-92).

Again, we find that the process of implementing TVEI policy was not hindered by technical impediments, but the sedimented accretions of a particular collective experience from 'the early 70s' that some teachers and departments 'weren't prepared to look beyond.' This not only explains the shift to a more clearly defined system of 'targeting' funding that 'reflected TVEI aims and objectives,' but why a 'clearer management structure' was called for by the Unit when the LEA and college submitted their respective bids for extension funding.

Indeed, the TVEI extension appears to have been characterised nationally by a drift towards a more prescriptive managerial regime. For example, an NFER evaluation on *Project Management in TVEI*, reported that one of the major sources of tension between the MSC and LEAs over the implementation of the extension was the "degree of centralisation expected in educational policy-making" (Sims, 1989, p. 31). The MSC's pressure for a more "centrist approach" partly explains the relatively high percentage of submissions that were not approved in the early years of the extension (1987-1990). Thus,

a National Audit Office report on TVEI found that "30% of the proposals received by the Department have been judged to be of insufficient quality to allow the authorities concerned entry to the extension" (Comptroller and Auditor General, 1991, p. 10). However, Dale *et al* have convincingly argued that the primary factor determining whether an LEA was admitted to the extension "was the ability to demonstrate to the MSC that the project was becoming inextricably bound within the overall LEA apparatus" (1990, p. 172). That is, the notion of 'quality' used by the NAO in assessing LEAs bids for extension funding was whether they conformed to a centralised pattern. This view is sustained by the findings of the NAO inspectors evaluations of four LEAs (comprising 46 schools):

The National Audit Office found that the education authorities visited had sought to ensure the development of their extension projects through the establishment of a strong central management team with responsibility for overseeing the TVEI and co-ordinating it across institutions. Each team member had assumed responsibility for a particular geographical segment of the authority and for particular subjects and cross-curricular issues. This provided a clear focus for the co-ordinated development of the TVEI by the authorities and gave institutions specific contact points. These arrangements were generally mirrored within institutions (Comptroller and Auditor General, 1991, p. 16).

What the inspectors point to, and authorise as "good practice," is the embedding of a managerial grid that was to be replicated on a national scale (to *all* LEAs, schools and colleges) under the auspices of the TVEI extension. This is what defined the character of the extension, as opposed to the TVEI pilot, which was resource-led. For example, Dale *et al* (1990) found that spending on equipment during 1984-5 consumed 60% of an LEA

TVEI budget, but 77% of this was devoted to management and personnel by 1986-7 Further, the MSC contract stipulated that equipment that was purchased under the pilot could not be replaced using extension funds. Thus, "funding was now directed towards staff development and management of the Initiative" (p. 173). In this context, Merson is correct to assert that the purpose of the extension was "rather less to do with exploring solutions but with conforming to practices" (1992, p. 12). We must also remember that by 1990 the reforms that issued from the ERA (1988), particularly the local management of schools (LMS), were beginning to take effect. Combined, these policies produced what Bowe *et al* have called the 'new management' within LEAs and schools, that "is not simply or primarily a structural or administrative change (although new roles and new relationships are created) it is also a profound change in organisational culture" (Merson, 1992, pp. 145-6).

Returning to the example of Redmond, we can see how these developments were to cast a managerial shadow over its moral economy of progressivism. This is most apparent in relation to principles upon which financing was allocated within the LEA. Hitherio, the LEA had been committed to a policy of distributing funds between institutions equally. Redmond's principal described its approach in the following terms:

Because the thing [TVEI] was resourced in the way it was, the butter was spread pretty thinly and so most institutions had been able to do little more than they do under capitation, which only enables you to do bread and butter things really [...] This LEA is classic really, some other places were much bolder, it is always terribly nervous about *positive discrimination* [i.e. targetting], you know, 'All the rest of the institutions are going to be very angry, they're going to moan and I don't want them to moan at me and so

we must make sure that it's ten institutions with  $\pounds 100,000$  each' - so the amount of money that you got diminished (Prin/7/16-18/91-92).

Within schools, it was evident that the same principle applied. As the LEA cluster co-

ordinator observed of Redmond:

There was always a clash within the LEA between those two cultures of decision-making, but it was highlighted in Redmond really and I think the nature of what was the GSM and the committee structure made it very difficult to target funding in anyway. A number of times an amount of money came to the school and bids were made, but at the end of the day it was divided out equally (CC/7/8/91-92).

The TVEI pilot and extension began to fundamentally challenge this customary practice by

creating mechanisms for schools, faculties and departments to 'bid' and 'target' their

funding on projects defined through TVEI criteria.

I suppose where there was reluctance of staff to be involved in TVEI just because of the name, it was me trying to judge where developments were either just beginning to take place or I suppose targeting people that I thought were amiable to TVEI principles [...] Then it would be a case of me targeting individuals, departments, talking to them, looking at ways in which they could put forward a bid to the general pool of money which in some way reflected TVEI aims and objectives (CC/7/5/91-92).

In this way, the criteria acted as a form of extra-local rule that rendered effective a

managerial grid that was to co-ordinate and concert decision-making procedures in

Redmond that would diminish the role of the GSM. That this was a textually mediated

form of social organisation is also of significance, in that the older moral economy of

progressivism that constituted the activities of the GSM was premised on a culture and

organisation that was embedded within the everyday lives of teachers. Thus, we have a

'clash' of 'two cultures of decision-making' that were grounded in not only a different

politics but in managerial grids that were composed of fundamentally different social relations.

McEwan's (1991) study shows that growing staff apprehension over the gradual ascendancy of the TVEI grid within Redmond led to the calling of an 'Extraordinary GSM' in March 1987 to debate whether the college should enter the TVEI extension. As he points out, concern focused on several issues: there had been little consultation on the submission for TVEI extension; the criteria for curriculum development privileged the technical and vocational over the humanities; the extension was to be evaluated "on its own terms and not in its connections with other parts of the system;" ...inally, and most importantly, a "TVEI/LEA management delivery system" was perceived to be usurping the role of the GSM in decision-making (McEwan, 1991, pp. 255-6). Although the extension was accepted after a long and rancorous debate, the decision was clearly divisive as Redmond's principal remembered:

I wasn't here when the TVEI pilot occurred but with the extension I was here and once again we had stormy meetings. I believe I'm right in saying after an extremely muddled and confused and rather bitter debate the TVEI extension was voted in by one vote, I think the votes went roughly 21 for, 20 against, 19 abstentions. So 60 odd members of staff voted, roughly a third for, third against, third abstained. Well in the rules that means that it goes forward, one vote is all that is needed. I do find that very, very difficult to come to terms with. I don't think we can operate like that in the future and that's effectively what I'm saying to staff (Prin/7/22/91-92).

The primary reason why he felt that the college could no longer 'operate like that in the future' was because "circumstances have changed really [...] The crux of the matter is GSM has got to recognise it's position in a very changed society where governors under



local budgets are the powerful group" (Prin/7/23/92-92). In other words, the 'democratic' procedures for decision-making that the GSM practised were no longer sustainable within the political climate of the 1980s and 90s. It was not only that new constituencies (such as school governors) had been given statutory rights to participate in decision-making, but that the managerial grid within which decisions were made was being profoundly altered. Within Redmond, the impact of this was to remove the politics (e. g. the 'stormy meetings') from the decision-making process by transferring the locus of managerial responsibility from the GSM to senior management and the LEA. Or as the LEA TVEI co-ordinator put it "once you start trying to manage the whole system then you generate some degree of tension with an individual school or in relation to an individual issue. Then it's a process of management" (PC/7/29/91-92). The effect of this was to increasingly marginalise teacher politics, indeed teachers, within the decision-making process in the name of greater 'accountability.' Ultimately, the GSM and its "pure theatre" either had to reform or go:

What I've said to the staff, if you've bothered to read it in a recent 'Bulletin' piece, was that governors don't really want GSM to carry on in it's present form, neither do my immediate colleagues in senior management and I think a growing proportion of staff are very alarmed about it as well, and therefore you've either got to reform it or it goes (Prin/7/23/91-92).

Within Redmond, therefore, TVEI set in motion a political struggle that centred on who should have the right to make decisions and how they were to be made.

# **Conclusion**

In this chapter my principal concern has been to explore the ethnographic dimensions of a managerial grid that was effected through TVEI. For this purpose, my analysis focused on two schools (Scruton High and Redmond College) that had been undergoing fundamental reform of their management structures and processes as a result of their participation within the TVEI pilot and extension. As I demonstrated, while the two schools were subjected to quite distinct forms of management, the overall effect of these grids was to exchange the relations of an emerging 'managed market' for those of the 'secret garden' of teacher control over the curriculum.

In Scruton High this process was organised through an interrelated group of mechanisms that were aimed at re-asserting the authority of the LEA over the school curriculum. As I showed, this was accomplished through a range of centralising initiatives, the key component of which was the establishment of a central team of peripatetic teachers who acted to secure central control over TVEI curriculum development. Thus, under TVEI, curriculum development not only generated an emerging breach within the school between its teachers and the central team, but changed Scruton's relationship to the local educational State in subordinating its decision-making processes to the LEA's TVEI Unit. Under the extension, this form of central control assumed an extra-local character as it came increasingly to rely upon textually mediated practices inscribed within 'self-evaluation,' 'appraisal' and 'quality assurance.'

Despite its strong tradition of progressivism and its democratic decision-making process, TVEI generated a similar shift in the managerial practices within Redmond College. As I argued, this transformation was most clearly reflected in the clash of two very different politics of decision-making that were respectively expressed through Redmond's long standing tradition of a general school meeting (GSM), and the emergence of a 'senior management team' sponsored by the LEA and MSC. Although the transition to the kind of managerial grid that TVEI prefigured was more fiercely resisted in Redmond, it was nevertheless apparent that the prevailing political climate would either no longer support or attenuate the democratic procedures of the GSM. As I suggested, the major effect of TVEI within this context was not only to remove political debate and dialogue from Redmond's decision-making process, but to transfer the locus of managerial responsibility to the senior management team.

Finally, with the transition to the TVEI extension in 1986, I argued that we had to take into account national developments, such as national performance indicators for TVEI schools and the market-led reforms flowing from the ERA. Together, these initiatives constituted a grid of social relations through which the internal organisation and decision-making processes of schools were integrated within the managed market. It is in this respect that TVEI connected the management of change within schools to processes of capitalist regulation.

# NOTES

<sup>1</sup> David (Lord) Young, Chairman. Manpower Services Commission (1984).

<sup>2</sup> The notion of the 'secret garden' of the school curriculum was first used by Sir David Eccles (Minister for Education, 1959-1962) to describe the effective control which teachers exercised over schooling (1960; 1991).

<sup>3</sup> The New Training Initiative (1981) can be seen as the new vocationalist equivalent of the ERA (1988).

<sup>4</sup> Half the TVEI projects in this study had central teams.

<sup>5</sup> The difference between these two forms of decision-making was often expressed by administrators within the 26 schools as 'emotional' (educational) and 'rational' (manageria!).

<sup>6</sup> Most of the central team members had been hand-picked by the project director from one of the four TVEI schools. This was a source of tension in Scruton High.

<sup>7</sup> His threat to 'shoot' the central team should not be taken seriously!

<sup>8</sup> This was a phenomenon across all the pilot schools in my study. Other research suggests that this was a national problem in TVEI (Gleeson, 1987b).

<sup>9</sup> Despite the high profile given to 'equal opportunities' by the MSC, there was little evidence that TVEI had made any impact on gender or ethnic relations within schools. Indeed, the Leeds evaluation and my research suggests that TVEI actually reinforced these social divisions (Barnes, Johnson, & Jordan, 1988a; Barnes et al., 1987; Barnes et al., 1988b).

<sup>10</sup> In my sample, this was a pattern that was replicated in the other schools under the extension, irrespective of the existence of a central team.

<sup>11</sup> Schools entering the TVEI extension received approximately 12.5% of the funding of the original pilot.

<sup>12</sup> The movement towards devolving greater responsibility to schools is, as Smyth (1993) has shown, an international phenomenon that has taken root in the U.K., North America, Australia and New Zealand. In other words, it constitutes a fundamental transformation in the nature and composition of the educational state within the English speaking world.
<sup>13</sup> In North America, the decision by the Chicago School Board in 1988 to devolve its budget and other responsibilities to school boards provides a good example of policy-in-practice to this effect. However, it should be noted that in their collection of evaluation studies of the Chicago school plan, Niemiec & Walberg (1993) conclude that "Three years into the five-year trial period, the majority of these indicators [test scores, attendance, drop-out rates] point in the wrong direction" (p. 105).

<sup>14</sup> In Britain (and internationally), Caldwell & Spinks (1988, 1992) have been most influential in developing the idea and practice of the self-managing school. However, as Ozga (1992) and Angus (1993, 1994) show, since the 1980s there has been a profusion of texts on school management (see Murgatroyd & Morgan, 1992).

<sup>15</sup> Hargreaves and Reynolds (1989) have identified two dominant tendencies in the privatisation of British education. First, the commodification of the means of access to a good quality education. Second, the privatisation - or what Whitty (1990) has called the "atomisation" - of educational decision-making through the capitalist market.



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<sup>16</sup> Similar arguments have been made by Sharp & Green (1975) in their study of progressive methods in a primary school.

<sup>17</sup> The pay dispute, or 'teacher's action,' which involved a series of one day strikes from February 1985 to January 1986 led to the imposition of the 'Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act' (1987). This abolished the existing national collective bargaining apparatus that had existed since 1919 (the 'Burnham Committee') and imposed pay and conditions of service determined by the Secretary of State for Education. The 1987 Act was eventually superseded by the ERA's (1988) provisions for opting out and LMS which encouraged schools to withdraw from national pay bargaining and negotiate individual contracts with teachers (Ball, 1988; Hatcher, 1994; Lawn & Whitty, 1992).

<sup>18</sup> Redmond also had a 'School Council' that was composed of students elected from tutor groups and two staff representatives.

#### CHAPIER 7

THE SPIRIT OF ENTERPRISE: BUSINESS STUDIES AND TVEL

At the end of the day we don't expect them all to be entrepreneurs, but we do hope they will have become more enterprising.<sup>1</sup>

Historically, the definition of a technical and vocational education has always referred, in part, to the sytematic study and practice of knowledge and skills that were directly related to the functions and processes of a modern capitalist economy. Meeting the "needs" of industry, as it has translated into curriculum development, has not only involved pedagogical processes which have sought to transmit technical skill, but forms of knowledge and experience which have articulated with commercial or business activity. In particular, the latter has usually required some kind of moral or ethical commitment to a set of attitudes, values and practices concerning correct and proper conduct within business and more broadly, society. Inculcating the "spirit of capitalism" (Weber, 1952) has therefore been a central and overriding aim of vocational education, particularly business education. In this section I intend to show how and in what ways this essentially ideological process materialised as business studies and enterprise elements within TVEI. That is, my analysis will focus on how TVEI 'moralised' the social relations of the school and classroom.

My argument will be that TVEI business studies and enterprise education sought to implicate teachers and students within sets of virtual (or simulated) social relations which attempted to define and legitimate particular ways of experiencing and knowing the world. In this respect I shall also argue that TVEI business and enterprise education was attempting to forge an everyday commonsense, an hegemony, which was aimed at

establishing the ground rules for correct and proper conduct within an emergent enterprise culture. Hence the re-moulding of individual subjectivities, animated through the aura of the enterprise culture, became the locus of systematic intervention in the form of business studies and enterprise within the classroom. My purpose is to explore how and in what ways this emerged within TVEI.

## **Business Education and the Curriculum**

Business education has traditionally held a tenuous place in the English secondary school curriculum, despite the emergence of the new vocationalism from the late 1970s and the advent of TVEL<sup>2</sup> Because of its marginal, even precarious position within the curriculum, it has consequently attracted little attention in the way of academic research. This situation has been attenuated by the gendered nature of business education, as well as the historical subordination of the subject within technical and vocational curricula. Indeed, with the notable exception of a small but growing professional literature on business education (Dunhill & Hodkinson, 1988; Whitehead & Dyer, 1991), and research conducted by feminist and marxist scholars (Cockburn, 1987; Gaskell, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1991; Riddell, 1992), it remains a neglected area of curriculum research. Even now, there is still no systematic social history of business studies as exists for other school subjects such as science and technology (c. f. Cross & McCormick, 1986; Goodson, 1985a, 1985b, 1990; Layton, 1973; McCulloch, 1989, 1995).

Historically, forms of business education can be traced back to the Mechnaics Institutes in the early nineteenth-century. For example, commercial subjects, such as bookkeeping and accounting comprimised key elements of their curricula. With the decline of

the Institutes by mid-century, this role was taken over by the new civic universities whose educational mission was aimed at training local elites for positions in industry and business (Daunton, 1989; Donnelly, 1989; Wrigley, 1986). This work was extended to other areas of technical education during its so called "golden age" (1880-1900), when there was a proliferation of commercial subjects within the newly established and growing numbers of polytechnics, technical colleges, and most significantly, the higher grade elementary schools I described in chapter two. It is from this time, under the auspices of locally controlled school boards, that elements of business education began to creep into the (elementary) school curriculum. However, as I argued in chapter two, because of the negative impact of the Balfour Education Act (1902) and the ensuing secondary regulations (1904), local curriculum initiatives of this kind were severely restricted. Although it continued within the confines of the junior trade schools (particularly the junior commercial schools) throughout the inter-war period, business education was not admitted to the secondary school curriculum until 1944, with the passage through Parliament of the Butler Education Act. We have to remember that this was a gualified admission, in that the legislation established a tripartite system of modern, technical and grammar schools. Whereas business education did find a niche within the curricula of the secondary modern and technical schools, it was excluded from the grammar school curriculum. This situation remained until comprehensivisation in 1966, with the effective abolition of tripartism. From the second half of the 1960s, therefore, the secondary school curriculum was temporarily released from the conservative dead-hand of the "English tradition." As described by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (1981), Lawton

(1980), Simon (1991), Simons (1987), and Grace (1995) this ushered in a period of extensive teacher-controlled curriculum reform in schools which, although focused upon the humanities and social sciences as evidenced in the work of the Schools Council, did allow a modicum of progress in business education. Coincidentally, this period also witnessed the introduction of enterprise education, which as I indicated in chapter four, first appeared in British schools as 'Young Enterprise' (an import from the United States: (MacDonald & Coffield, 1991)).

It is from the middle of the 1970s however, with the ascendancy of the new vocationalism marked by the Great Debate (1976), that business and specifically enterprise education began to make major in-roads within the secondary school curriculum. Thus, what had been a tendency in the 1970s was transformed into a "movement" by the 1980s (Rees & Rees, 1992; Rees, 1988). There is no doubt that not only did TVEI provide a curriculum framework within which business and enterprise education found legitimacy, but that it also provided massive financial support for its development on a scale unknown in the history of British education.<sup>3</sup> In this respect, business and enterprise education were largely dependent upon State sponsorship. Indeed, without direct State support given to enterprise initiatives, it is unlikely that an "education for enterprise movement" would have become so prevalent in schooling throughout the 1980s and 1990s (Rees & Rees, 1992).

Consequently, in what follows it is my purpose to show how TVEI business studies and enterprise education produced a *sense-in-common* in the work of teachers. I do this in two ways. First, I draw upon interviews conducted with business studies teachers about their work in the classroom in developing courses and materials for their

TVEI classes. I then present an analysis of a business studies class discussing the theme of "retailing and security" where I explore the ideological dynamics of the production of knowledge. Finally, I conclude with a brief discussion of the nature of business studies in TVEI and its impact on teachers. As will become clear, my intention is to consider the methods through which TVEI business studies and enterprise education constituted potential technologies of subjectification for the making of an enterprise culture in schools.

## **Business Studies and TVEI**

From its inception in 1982-3, TVEI placed a high priority on enacting both enterprise and forms of business study within the 14-18 curriculum of schools and colleges. Indeed, as its aims and criteria suggest (MSC, 1983), the Initiative's purpose was to ensure a fundamental shift in the balance of the secondary school curriculum away from liberal-progressivism and the Humanities to science, technology and "towards positive support for commerce and industry and the practical application of knowledge" (Hickox & Moore, 1990 p. 134). Data from the 1985-88 study suggests that although enterprise and business studies had a high profile within school curricula, its progress was patchy, uneven and incoherent. By 1991-2 however, this picture had changed considerably. In particular two findings emerge. First, Business Studies had become a relatively high status subject within schools as a nationally certificate GCSE examination. While Business Studies had effected a breach in the curriculum boundaries separating the vocational from the academic, other pre-vocational courses for non-academic students had made significant inroads, including the Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education (CPVE), Royal Society of Arts (RSA), City and Guilds of London Institute (CGLI) and Business/Technician

Education Council (BTEC). Second, although enterprise elements were less visible in 1991-2, this did not signify a rejection by schools of the implicit values or messages with which ideologically, enterprise was connected. The very fact that enterprise had become less apparent as an explicit label of curriculum and pedagogical development reflected not its failure but its success. In my estimation, as I will argue below, although the 1991-92 data reveals that enterprise was in less use within the 26 schools, this was because it had become embedded within the background practices upon which TVEI curriculum development was predicated. That is, enterprise became less apparent because the schools in my study had experienced a subtle but nevertheless profound transformation of their political cultures, away from the dominant ideology of progressivism, to that of new vocationalism which normalised enterprise.

As I noted above, the evaluation studies of the original 26 schools showed the development of both enterprise and business studies to be uneven. Nevertheless, some significant patterns were emerging from the initial flux of curriculum development. Two dominant models emerged within the TVEI business education curriculum which reflected existing, historical tensions (particularly those concerning gender and ability) and which also pointed toward future developments. There was a clear bifurcation within business studies between the 'office skills' and 'business world' approaches (Barnes et al., 1987; Barnes et al., 1988b). The office skills approach comprised traditional courses, such as commerce, typing and office practice, which primarily recruited girls and students designated as less able. Classroom teaching practices consisted of repetitive, routinised, and menial exercises involving students in copy-typing, filing, photocopying and sorting
mail. Students were rarely involved in activities or assignments where work was contextualised or given meaning, so that much of what they accomplished was often abstract and purposeless. The image that best conveys a sense of the learning environment in these classes was the typing pool. Consequently, this version of business studies was perceived as low-status by teachers, parents and students and effectively marginalised within school curricula.<sup>4</sup>

This was not so for the 'business world' approach to which TVEI gave impetus. Courses that conformed to this model were signified by a marked shift away from the skills based orientation of office skills. Emphasis was placed upon the acquisition of a wider repertoire of skills and knowledge that contextualised learning within simulated business activities and tasks. Conventional teaching and learning gave way to informal approaches which relied upon group work among students and a facilitative role for teachers. Significantly, mini-enterprise or enterprise elements within these courses were central to organising student learning. In these situations, students had to work collaboratively on projects which they chose, make decisions as a group, plan marketing and sales of their products, prepare cash-flow forecasts and seek advice from professional people in business and industry. Integral to these activities was the use of information technology, in the form of word-processors, spreadsheets and databases. These courses were notable for achieving a mixed ability and gender balanced intake. Such developments led to a re-valuing within the school curriculum of business studies courses which exhibited these qualities, this being partly reflected in increased student enrolments

(Williams & Yeomans, 1994a). Given these differences, the Leeds University pilot evaluation concluded that there was:

an enormous gulf between the office skills courses and the business knowledge [businessworld] courses in terms of their aims, content, methods and reference groups. The former is derived from a vocational training approach, its essential point of reference is the commercial office and many of the teachers have a secretarial background. The business knowledge model, on the other hand, is based on the academically respectable discipline of economics with its well-defined body of knowledge and theory (Barnes et al., 1988b, p. 13).

While this assessment was accurate, it was only partially so. For example, it should be apparent that where office skills derives from a training paradigm, business world generates its approach from an educational perspective. Such an evaluation is merely descriptive of the impact of the two approaches at the level of the curriculum, but tells us little of the actual changes that were occurring within classrooms. In fact data from both the 1985-88 and 1991-2 studies reveal much about transformations in classroom practice within business studies and enterprise under TVEI. The most striking aspect of this process was the changing ideological character of business studies, especially those I have designated as business world. That is, where office skills courses tended to reproduce class and gender relations through a more passive, instructional mode of pedagogy that was narrowly skills based, the business world approach involved teachers and students acquiring a wide range of investigative skills to explore the social and economic relations of capitalism. As I will show, business world courses enacted a process of subjectification for students that actively involved them in researching and adopting a view of the capital relation that was of their own making.<sup>5</sup>

# Hardy Comprehensive

In Hardy Comprehensive, a business studies teacher marked out the contours of this transition and the way in which it had transformed both the nature of her subject and teaching. Asked if her teaching methods had changed under TVEI, she responded that

Oh yes, decidedly so, I mean I've gone from talk and chalk to much more group type work. Unfortunately where I feel that I am constrained is having a syllabus hanging over me, whereas under the TVEI pilot sort of system the children more or less designed their own sort of curriculum and areas of study. But the underlying principles of assessment were still there, like for example, gathering information, decision-making, problem-solving, so I have brought a lot of that into the areas now that I teach in rather than doing it the traditional method, the formal method of teaching. So I think I have developed as a result of that (BS/10/1/91-2).

Moving from what she calls 'talk and chalk' or the 'traditional method' to 'group type work' represented the salient pedagogical transition in her work. Further, despite the constraints of a General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) syllabus in business studies from 1988, it was still possible to maintain the 'underlying principles' of the TVEI pilot seven years later. Activities such as business surveys, mapping the economic geography of local businesses, group 'decision-making' and 'problem-solving' modes of inquiry differentiated the new TVEI business studies from office skills, at least superficially. However, such changes in pedagogy were not specific to business studies, but to TVEI in general. Indeed, these principles were central elements of the TVEI aims and criteria (MSC, 1983). What was particular to the bus'ness world approach within TVEI was, as I have suggested above, a subtle ideological shift which had quite profound implications for the ways in which students (and teachers) were intended to understand the everyday, adult world outside of school. We can begin to comprehend the nature of these changes in the ways that teachers talked about their courses. In Hardy Comprehensive, the

same business studies teacher went on to describe what happened when "commerce was

phased out and business studies came in."

You see most people see business studies as being the old skills course of typewriting and shorthand and book-keeping. Well it's not, you know, it's a subject in it's own right and it demands a certain level of aptitude to be able to cope with it successfully. There are even those who have found problems in coming to terms with the language of the subject, you know, you talk about enterprise, you talk about capital. I was trying to explain the concept of capital to them this afternoon, they say 'Money' well it's not, it's assets. And investment, what is investment, you know, this sort of thing, but on a day-to-day basis. The language is difficult within the subject, well like every subject, chemistry, physics, there are definitely terms that they've got to know. This one, business studies, develops children that one stage further because what they learn in theory in the classroom they've got to apply, you know, they will apply it, they might not realise it and they've got to be able to evaluate in the subject and do it well, be able to form judgements based on ... well not just their own personal experience, which many children rely on too heavily (BS/10/1-2/91-2).

First, she emphasises that business studies is quite distinct from 'the old skills course.' It's not 'short-hand and book-keeping' but a 'subject in it's own right' which demands a 'certain level of aptitude.' Thus, we can detect a thinly veiled distinction between business studies and vocational courses (i.e. office skills) in her language that turns on an implicit notion of ability. That is, the 'old skills course' is for the less able. She reinforces this distinction through a juxtaposition of the language and concepts of the subject, which are likened to 'chemistry' and 'physics.'<sup>6</sup> But in order for her students to develop 'that one stage further,' just grasping the specialised 'language of the subject' is not enough. They have to know how to apply it, make evaluations and 'form judgements' which should rely 'not just [on] their own personal experience, which many children rely upon too heavily.'

Her emphasis on language acquisition and the posing of personal experience as an implicit problem, suggest a conscious concern with expression and "voice" within business studies. That is, learning the language of the subject, such as 'enterprise, ' 'capital,' 'money,' and 'assets,' entails the adoption by students and teacher of forms of communication which value certain modes of thought and frames of reference - particularly those derived from 'personal experience.' As contemporary developments in socio-linguistics and postmodernism have pointed to, the acquisition of language is deeply implicated within forms of social regulation that define and organise individual experience through what may or may not be legitimately expressed.<sup>7</sup> We shall see how this process unfolds within a business studies lesson at Riverside Comprehensive below, but for now it should be evident that it reveals a pivotal aspect of the everyday formation of subjectivity within schools.

We can see this process of subjectification being extended and embedded within the 'case study' element of the business studies course in Hardy Comprehensive. The same teacher observed that:

So it does indeed stretch them enormously, the way it's been set up, more particularly now with the fact that they've got this case study element which is super. They're given information that they've got to take away and they've got to think how this business organisation is structured and managed, how it can be promoted, how it can be developed, it's really very good (BS/10/1-2/91-2). Thus, the case study does not simply organise and direct experience, but actually *positions* students in requiring them to 'think' as if they were responsible for the future of a 'business organisation.' In this respect, the case study represents a *situated assignment* which simulates business activity within the world of work. Examples of case studies in the 1991-2 visits to schools showed that their underlying aim was to position students as business decision-makers. For example, they included: research on both local and national housing markets; the establishment and operation of mini-enterprises; designing a business-education facility for a school; planning for the start-up of a local business; a design for an exhibition stand and research on a local business. Assignment work, whether as case studies or projects, therefore attempted to simulate and reproduce within the classroom the ethos of the business world. Further, the case study itself was to be contextualised:

I think it should be every child's right to understand the basic economic factors which underlie our economy and not just to take it as a personal point of view of what money they've got in their own pocket, but how the whole works... the macro rather than the micro side of things (BS/10/2-3/91-2).

The point therefore, is not only to encourage students to assume the role of decisionmakers in business, but to encourage them to appreciate this activity within the broader context of 'how the whole works.' Also note that 'a personal point of view' is something to be problematised as inadequate for such a valuation. This statement is given additional impetus when she adds: "So hopefully by the time my students leave me they're not into politics as such but just management" (BS/10/4/91-2). Looking at the world through the lens of 'management' is what this approach to business studies is attempting to embed within the social relations of the classroom.

Conceived this way, the social space of the TVEI business studies classroom can be construed as the focus of cultural interventions concerned with the production and legitimation of particular ways of knowing. I am not suggesting that we interpret such interventions as acts of social control. Rather, my point is that TVEI business studies created for both teacher and students a pedagogical frame, or epistemological template, where it was possible to explore, together, the ways in which contemporary capitalism is fabricated through economic and social relations. In this sense, teacher and students were not lured in to false consciousness, nor were they manipulated into accepting these relations as given, instead they became the authors, the creators of the world they were investigating, through for example, the case study. To some extent, this explains why the concept of "ownership" was so prevalent within the discourse attached to TVEI curriculum development. At the level of the school and classroom, it enacted a process of "ideological re-tooling" that situated teachers and students within the relations of enterprise (Smith & Smith, 1988). Thus, what was being forged across the social territory of the TVEI business studies classroom in Hardy Comprehensive was a commonsense, or a "structure of feeling," which channelled both expression and experience in particular directions (Williams, 1983). There, I think it justifiable to argue, the production of a commonsense was understood as reconstructing 'personal experience,' or a 'personal point of view.' It was about naturalising the everyday world from the vantage point of 'enterprise,' 'capital,' and 'management.' In this way, subjectivity can be comprehended as

the site of struggle over the formation of experience. We can gain a much better picture of this process as it unfolds within actual classroom practice in business studies.

# **Riverside Comprehensive**

Riverside Comprehensive is situated within a large, industrial city in the north-east of England. Originally renown as a centre of heavy industry, particularly ship building, heavy engineering and coal mining, since the 1970s its local economy had spiralled downward with the onset of recession, intensified foreign competition, and government cut-backs. Within the city, Riverside was located in a working-class community which was confronted with rising unemployment, particularly amongst school leavers. At the time of the study, in the Fall of 1985, the school had just begun to pilot the Hampshire Business Studies scheme which exemplified the business world approach (National Design and Technology Education Foundation, 1991). Two teachers were responsible for its implementation. Noting the transition from the old Office Practice course in the school, one teacher in interview observed that, "It's a completely different way, a different approach to teaching [...] We've got to educate the kids into a different way of working and thinking." When asked how TVEI business studies was different, she said that "There's less emphasis on the technical, typing, keyboard skills" and "We get them into groups with group leaders. All their work must go into their folders, including rough work, there's no hard copy from each student at the end of a lesson" (BS/3/1-2/85). Significantly, she also compared the 'traditional teaching situation' of the older Office Practice course with the new Hampshire scheme initiated under TVEI.

You're safe in a traditonal teaching situation to a certain degree and the kids also feel safe. Because lots of our children need that

security of knowing when the teacher says 'I have got to do so and so' and in the Hampshire scheme the teacher doesn't say 'I have got to do so and so.' Rather, 'I've got to go to the teacher and say Miss I've done this.' We are supposed to be in a supervisory position, I mean that's the philosophy behind it (BS/3/3/85).

These comments are interesting in that they come from a teacher who was trained in office skills, was a secretary before entering teaching and who had taught office practice in Riverside for fifteen years until the advent of TVEI. They are also reminiscent of the changes reported in Hardy Comprehensive: the move away from individualised 'technical' exercises, such as typing and keyboarding to group work (with 'group leaders'); correspondingly, the shift to styles of student learning where the means ('rough work') and not the ends (a 'hard copy') are paramount; increased student autonomy; and the consequent redefinition of teaching as a 'supervisory position.' Further, this loosening of the social relations that ordinarily ordered student-teacher interaction in the classroom was not one-way. As she recognised, "A lot of it has been a learning experience for my colleague and  $\Gamma$ " (BS/3/3/85).

Superficially then, the ethos of business studies teaching was dominated by a business world approach that was embedded within child-centred educational progressivism. However, if we investigate this approach ethnographically then we can begin to comprehend how business studies articulated the everyday classroom experiences of teachers and students to the relations of enterprise. My argument is that despite its overtly progressive orientation, business studies in Riverside was nevertheless deeply implicated in a historical process of capitalist social regulation.

What follows is a classroom observation of the Hampshire scheme. The class was composed of even numbers of fourth year boys (8) and girls (9), and was considered to be mixed ability; as the same teacher commented, "A few will not aspire to very much, and there's some excellent students" (BS/3/3/85). In terms of its composition therefore, the class already embodied the salient social characteristics that were to define the dominant business world approach in all TVEI schools by 1991-2, as opposed to the predominantly female, low ability constituency of office skills, which was rapidly declining in schools throughout the 1980s (Williams & Yeomans, 1994a). The theme of the lesson was, "Retailers and Security," that was part of a module that students had been working on for over a month on retail surveys. Thus, it is important to understand that the work being completed by students and teacher was embedded within a much wider project that extended beyond this one, timetabled period. This is evident from the way in which her (male) colleague begins the class by first setting its theme within the context of the work that students have already accomplished.

Т Firstly, I just want to spend a few moments recapping what we did before half-term just to remind you of the scene and then I would like group work and response to particular items within that group work. We want to consider particular problems that arose during the visit. Some of the items require a great deal of observation and I would like your comments on, but as groups. After that particular session what I suggest that we do is have a small sort of reportback from each group and then individuals will begin to present a solution and information about the problems we're going to consider today. So you're going to have to use Edword<sup>8</sup>, unfortunately I know some people would have used electronic typewriters as well but they're not available to us today because of the fact that the electricity supply is off next door, OK. So let's just quickly recap what we were concerned with before half-term. We've been concerned with the retailing survey. What you're primarily concerned with is the identification of different types of retailers. Right, can anyone present different types of retailers.

- P Mail order.
- T Right, mail order.
- P (Inaudible)
- T Give us some of the largest ones, the ones with shops.
- P (several answer at once inaudible)
- P Supermarkets.
- T Right, supermarkets.
- P Hypermarkets, department stores.
- T Right, hang on there supermarkets, hypermarkets, department stores. (writes on blackboard)
- P Markets
- T Markets themselves. Any others?
- P Co-op.
- T The Co-op. The Co-op's a very specialised kind of retailer. Any others?
- T What about the sort that only sells one sort of good?
- P Corner shop.
- T Well, we'll put that down. It wasn't the one I was thinking of. (writes on blackboard)
- P (several answer at once inaudible)
- T Wait a minute. One that sells one kind of good has branches round the country.
- P (Inaudible)
- T Somebody's said it.
- P Multiples.
- T Multiples. (writes on blackboard) OK, so what you've been concerned with therefore is a survey centred round types of retailers, alright. You've obviously been down to Elton Square a number of times ... you've done a number of questionnaires, set up observation situations and you're in the process of compiling that, OK. But you did it as group work, but remember you're going to have to present an individual folder of your findings however, right,

so that sets the scene as a reminder of where we were just before half-term, OK (BS/3/1-2/85).

Although this preamble apparently 'sets the scene' for the class, I want to draw attention to the way in which it also frames and gives a particular direction to the discursive interaction between teacher and students. Michael Polyani's (1958) distinction between "focal" and "tacit" knowledge is useful here, in that if we follow the dialogue that takes place after the teacher's initial 'recap' concerning 'the identification of different types of retailers,' it becomes evident that while particular responses to his questions are deemed appropriate ('mail order,' supermarkets,' 'hypermarkets,' 'department stores,' and 'multiples'), others are either ignored or accepted with some degree of ambivalence ('co-ops' and 'corner shops'). In channelling responses in this way, the teacher is able to focus his students' attention on the recycling of concepts and knowledge which are appropriate to business studies; this becomes the shared, focal knowledge of the class. On the other hand, the personal knowledge which students bring into class of retailing within their communities, such as the co-op or corner store, is excluded from discussion. In this instance, the exchange between teacher and students provides an echo of the kind of problem that we saw the business studies teacher refer to in Hardy Comprehensive. In other words, learning the language of business studies necessarily involved filtering out the contaminating effects of knowledge and experience which students had brought with them into the classroom. It was rendered as tacit knowledge; as not relevant or worthy of incorporation or investigation. Alternatively, in the Riverside business studies classroom, this pedagogical process was framed differently when the teacher proceeded to discuss the main theme of the lesson, retailing and security. What we can see below is not the editing

out of students' tacit knowledge and experience, but it being utilised and channelled in a particular direction.

Before moving to his theme directly, the teacher makes some further introductory comments which are very revealing about the standpoint which he wants the class to adopt in comprehending the problem they are to address.

- T Now, what I want to highlight is certain of those retailers. Let's look at, say, the supermarket and hypermarkets. Can you remember how in fact they sell their goods? How do they actually present goods?
- P Self-service.
- T Right, good, self-service. What's meant by self-service?
- P You can get anything you want.
- T You actually go in and select what you want. Then what do you do?
- P Pay for it.
- T Where?
- P Cash-out, check-out.
- T OK, you've got to go to a cash-out desk. OK and pay for the items you have selected. Right, problems with self-service. What sort of problems are you going to encounter?
- P Travelling
- T Sorry?
- P Getting there.
- T OK. You've got a problem with transport, of actually reaching the destination itself. We had to go down to Elton Square. Huge, attractive centre, would invite a lot of people there anyway but what about within the store itself? Any problems you're going to encounter? Any problems from say, the point of view of the retailers themselves? (BS/3/3/85)

There are two aspects of this exchange which stand out. The first is a continuation of what

we have already witnessed above in what I have described as the production of focal

knowledge. At the point where the teacher asks, 'Right, problems with self-service,' a student simply responds with 'Travelling' and after being prompted, 'Getting there.' Although the problem of transport to large hypermarkets (which are often situated outside urban areas) for these working-class students is acknowledged, it is also ignored and passed over. He responds to these continued distractions by invoking a subtle, but nevertheless very significant, perceptual shift in switching the focus from how his students might view the problems that large stores may encounter to, 'Any problems from say, the point of view of retailers themselves.' Asking students to situate themselves in this way, is an ideological move which I also identified in Hardy Comprehensive. That is, these students were being persuaded to adopt the standpoint of management or enterprise *as if it were there own*. We can see how this becomes ideological when he takes up the theme of security. Continuing to carefully frame his questions, he asks:

- T What might happen because of the fact that you've got a selfservice system?
- P Stuff gets nicked.
- T Right, OK, stuff gets ...

P Stolen

T Right, stuff gets stolen. You come across the problem of pilfering. Now that's what I want us to consider today as separate groups. So what I would like you to do now is this. The set-up we're going to have now is, I would like you to get into your groups, survey groups. I would like you to consider for about five to ten minutes one person is going to have to be scribe, in other words a writer, one person in the group is going to have to be willing to report back to the whole of the group. Right, so separate into your groups. Large sheets of white paper are here. I would like you to consider the aspect of security. Security within stores, particularly as regards self-service, right, not simply restricted to self-service but to the whole area, the whole problem of security, what sort of security methods are you going to have to employ. Now, think of the goods you are likely to be selling and the sort of security methods you can adopt to those goods [...] OK, so can you divide now into your survey groups. (pauses as students form groups)

It's a type of brainstorm situation. Just think of the first things that come into your head concerning security. Just to give you a hint. Right, to get you started. Right, obviously say we were thinking in terms of clothing, OK. We're going to a fashion sort of store. Now, you ready Robert, you go to a fashion store nowadays, obviously one of the things that say, a shopper could do would be ... well let's take an imaginary situation. Say I walk in with a pretty old coat right and I'm intent on walking out with a brand new coat. OK, so we've got a hypothetical situation, a simple situation being set up. I'm a deliberate thief, right. So I set out with the intention of obtaining a brand new coat.

- P (Inaudible)
- T But I'm not going to pay for it, I'm determined on that, right. Now, I'm wearing one certain type of coat when I go in. How can I do it? I want to come out with a brand new one.
- P Take your coat off, put another one on, put the new coat on.
- T Thank you. So there's the obvious solution. I simply take off my old coat, get one of the hangers, something I fancy and walk out. Now, how's the store going to counteract that? What sort of security method can it employ?
- P (Inaudible)
- T Right, so you've instantly got one method, right, you've got some sort of magnetic tag.
- P A security gadget?
- T Right, don't say anymore, you just brainstorm amongst yourselves as to what other sorts of security methods a store could adopt (students discuss problem in groups, teacher circulates: BS/3/3-4/85).

As can be seen, the lesson now moves to group work. Significantly, this is

accompanied by a transition in the pedagogical technique through which knowledge is

elicited from students. Although the teacher uses the example of the "shopper" to frame and focus their attention, they are asked to pool their intellectual resources in addressing 'the whole problem of security, what sort of security methods you are going to employ.' Emphasis is placed upon their having to generate examples of security devices to protect easily accessible commodities which are prone to 'the problem of pilfering,' or petty theft.

Within the aims and criteria set by TVEI and the Hampshire Business and Information Studies syllabus (National Design and Technology Education Foundation, 1991), this exercise would count as vocationally relevant in encouraging students to use "their skills and knowledge to solve real-world problems" (MSC, 1983). But, we have to ask, for whom is this real-world problem an actuality? It is most definitely not for the students, whose predominantly poor and/or working-class background would urge them toward pilfering, not questions of security.<sup>9</sup> It would also seem reasonable to suggest that neither would they be the authors of surveillance techniques, but rather its collective subject. In this way the 'brainstorm situation' with which students engage is framed around a question which inverts their actual, lived, relation to the everyday world. It does not arise from their experience, it is not *their* problem as it is posed by the teacher. In the 'real-world' the issue of security methods for commodities in stores is patently one for their owners, shareholders and management; it is a problem for capital. Indeed, this is why the problem of security is made into 'an imaginary situation' by the teacher, for it could be nothing else to these young people.

Beneath the dialogue then, we can see that as this lesson unravels it is concerned with more than just security and retailing. As I have shown, at one level it is about a

teacher having to simultaneously frame and focus his students' attention on the construction of what he considers admissible knowledge, while editing out their everyday experiences. As a technical, pedagogical issue, this is an interesting but unremarkable finding which other classroom researchers have documented. However, my claim is more than this. I am arguing that the exchange between teacher and students in this class is the rendered effect of a certain kind of moral economy. It is not just that the production of classroom knowledge is being tightly regulated, but that it is being channelled, concerted and organised in ways that are congruent with a bourgeois perspective. Neither is it spontaneous or contingent, in that it is rooted in and arises out of the collision of quite different ways of being in the world, both of which are integral to the capital relation. In this sense, moral economy is not a 'thing' that is simply imposed, as if a form of social control. It has to be worked at, continually fabricated and replenished; it is a mentalite through which these students are encouraged to interpret and give expression to the world as they create it under specific historical circumstances. My argument is that what I have called a moral economy of enterprise is defining the actual conditions and possibilities for exchange between teacher and students within this classroom. However, the mechanisms through which it materialises are textually mediated: in the TVEI aims and criteria (MSC, 1983); the Hampshire business and information studies syllabus (National Design and Technology Education Foundation, 1991); and the inscriptive practices of this lesson. Through this textual chain a preferred mode of being in the everyday world is posited, valued and given substance. It is a form of extra-local rule. Smith puts it like this:

Such textual surfaces presuppose an organisation of power as the concerting of people's activities and the uses of organisation to

enforce processes producing a version of the world that is peculiarly one-sided, that is known only from within the modes of ruling, and that defines objects of its power (Smith, 1990a, pp. 83-4).

There is further evidence of how this 'organisation of power' is realised when the

survey groups in the class finish 'brainstorming' and report back. Invoking closure on the

foregoing activities (and the lesson), the teacher insists on the class 'listening' as individual

students recount their findings. As we will see, he then introduces examples of a

'controversial' or moral nature which intersect with the question of security:

T Right, can we draw to a close on this particular item. Just stay in your groups. We're going to start with the lads in the corner here. Right, can we have the reporter please ... if you come into the central area here. Now everybody else is going to have to have the courtesy of listening to what is being said ... I repeat again, everybody is going to have the courtesy to listen to what is being said. Right.

P Magnetic tags, (inaudible), security camera, store's detectives walking about like customers, two way mirrors, to keep an eye on things in the corners. (Teacher writes on blackboard)

- T Right. OK, let's start again to list what we've got. First thing, we've got the obvious one that everybody ought to have started with because (inaudible) we've got *magnetic tags*. So that's the sort you can obviously use with clothing, right, in other words when you take it to the cash out desk the operator there will remove the tag. If anybody tries to walk out of the store with that tag still attached obviously there's some form of alarm system that's going to be sounded. So the store has countered my idea at the beginning there, alright, of being able to come in, put on a coat and walk out with a brand new coat, right. *There is a different method*. Can anybody again sticking with clothing right, is there any other sort of method that you can adapt and use as a type of a magnetic system? Something to do with coat hangers.
- P (Inaudible)

Т

 $\sim$ 

- Well, it's not what I was thinking of Dawn, but what you could do is somehow link the coat-hangers together.
- P With a chain.

- T Right.
- P Aye, we got that down.
- T OK. Right, good. So there's also some form of *security chain*. Now, the second one, Scott, was *security cameras*. Now, I'm assuming a lot of other groups got the same. What's the normal name given to that?
- P Closed circuit.
- T Right, good. *Closed circuit*. when we went Elton Square, where did we have to report to?
- P Security office?
- T Good. Did anybody notice that when the gentleman there opened up the window, did anybody see what was actually inside?
- P Aye, tellys.
- T Right, OK, there were small televisions. So down at Elton square there must be a closed circuit system through the whole complex and the central security area is able to monitor, right, the flow of people, likely thieves and so on moving through the district. OK, so I'm assuming that a lot of groups got that as well. The third one, perhaps the one that most groups got, store detectives. Now, it's a bit of a controversial area this one, because there are in fact many incidents that you tend to read about in the papers concerning store detectives. Which people do you tend to read about?
- P Young.
- T OK, a lot of young people are caught. What else? Who would you tend to have, perhaps not because it's right but because somebody's reached a certain stage in their lives.
- P Old people.

1 / <sup>22</sup> .

- T Right. Now what about old people?
- P They can't afford to buy it.
- T OK. They may not have such a fancy income and obviously the shops themselves are very attractive. What else about old people? What tends to happen to you when you are becoming old?
- P You don't know what you're doing?
- T Right. OK. You become a bit flustered, you get easily confused. So perhaps this is a bit more of an emotional area of people brought to the court, older people, right, because they've been confused by the system. It's easier for you to adapt to new systems, because

you're young, it's more difficult for an older person who has set ways, right, and is used to living in a certain way. It's much more difficult for them to adapt and they do become easily confused. So it's store detectives.

The fourth one we've got here is *two-way mirrors. Another good* one. I've actually seen these in the Thorn's Bookshop. You go down to Thorn's and what you'll see there is a number of doors with what seem to be mirrors, right, in other words, in fact if you look carefully you can't actually see through it so it is possible for someone to be on the other side there looking through at you, OK. So two-way mirrors are also useful, linked with that they've got set mirrors which obviously again ... why do you need set mirrors? Why should they be established in an area?

- P See round the corner.
- T Why? What corners? Because, say, you're talking about a supermarket, or a hypermarket, how are the goods going to be set out?
- P Shelves.
- T Right, they're going to be on shelves. OK, so obviously you're going to have *hideaway points* aren't you, Deborah?
- P What?
- T Right, exactly, OK, so you need to set mirrors up in the corner so as to be able to see up the aisles. Right. Philip, has your group got any other factors than these that perhaps it can report back on? Have you got any different items?
- P No.
- T Any of the other groups got other items than these that they can report back on. Right, deborah.

Security men.

- T OK. It's obviously linked with store detectives, but yes, you can have set *security guards*. How do you tend to recognize them?
- P Cos they got a blue uniform on.
- T OK, as compared to say, store detectives.
- P Plain clothes.
- T Right, the store detectives are much more likely to be in plain clothes aren't they?
- P Aye, they look casual.

- T Right. What about the other groups?
- P (Inaudible something to do with being followed by a store detective)
- T So you reckon that was a store detective? OK, you've got to remember so, as Dave said before, a lot of people who end up in court are young people.Because obviously, the temptations, do you think the *temptations* are greater for young people are greater? Why may the temptations be greater for a young person, in say, somewhere like a supermarket or hypermarket?
- P Because ... more money.
- T Right. OK, you're not earning an income yet. Any other reasons why the temptation might be there? What about, again, the way the goods are set out? What system are you using of shopping?
- P Self-selection.
- T Self-selection, that's right. It must appear very easy to a young person to simply pick something up and put it into their pockets. Right, so yes the courts do have a tremendous number of young people, OK.

There are several issues that I want to explore in relation to the above. The first

thing to note is an immediate reversion to a didactic method. Although a student reports a list of five security techniques and devices which his survey group have observed in stores, the teacher begins to take control of the direction of the discussion as soon as he finishes. He does this, initially, by introducing an *ad hoc* idea concerning 'security chains' and then, by way of contextualisation, describes the 'closed circuit' cameras which the class had seen on a visit to a shopping mall. Pedagogically, as we have already seen above, this is a familiar framing and focusing technique through which his agenda became manifest. However, what I want to point to in this situation is the way that knowledge produced by students is discursively appropriated, funnelled, and given a meaningful context as part of this process. Thus, what is recounted as a simple list of security devices

and techniques is given meaning, is made *common* sense through the teacher's questions and examples. It is not the answers that students give that count, but the questions posed to them. Understood this way, "The way in which questions are framed [...] may be a powerful organiser of the version of the world that is built from the responses" (Smith, 1990a, p. 75). In this context, questions function as ideological markers, which establish what is acceptable and correct in defining a 'version of the world' to be fabricated.

We can see more clearly how this primarily discursive process is put together when the discussion turns to 'store detectives.' What is curious is that this is handled by the teacher as a 'controversial' or 'emotional area.' This has significance in two ways. The first is in his implicit assumption that the other four methods (magnetic tags, closed circuit monitors, and the two types of mirror) are subject to a technical rationality as opposed to moral considerations. In other words, because these devices are technological, they are 'objective' and simply represent the 'truth.' This assumption, as members of the Frankfurt School have shown, is itself a powerful ideology of our time in reducing technology to an innocent artefact (Habermas, 1971). In this instance, what amounts to an elaborate technology of surveillance is systematically mis-recognised as inherently linked with the internal security of shops and stores. If this was not so, it might have been legitimate to explore how such devices compromise personal privacy or civil liberties in public places. But nowhere throughout this class are such issues investigated. Such an omission is striking when we consider the comment by a student who speaks of being followed by a detective in a store.

This is not all. The long shadow of technical reason also defines how these students were to comprehend why it is that young and old people pose an especial threat to shop security. In the case of old people, it appears that although they 'may not have such a fancy income' and the 'shops themselves are very attractive,' they find it 'much more difficult to adapt.' The problem is a technical one, where old people 'become a bit flustered' and 'confused by the system.' With young people it is not confusion or necessarily the absence of an income but the 'temptations' of a 'system' of 'self-selection' that enable them to 'simply pick something up and put it in their pockets.' This, of course, is to cloud the problem confronting both the young and old. In a poor, working-class community with high rates of long-term unemployed within which Riverside was located, low income and poverty were much more likely to be the compelling reasons for shoplifting and petty theft. Yet such a conclusion would stand outside the preceding logic of inquiry and could not be admitted as a topic for investigation - as indeed it was not.

I wish briefly to make some concluding remarks on the analysis presented above. First, I want to comment on the role of the teacher. In showing how he dealt with the theme of retailing and security, I was not suggesting that the teacher had a biased attitude. It is not that one teacher is biased and another not. It is that the TVEI aims and criteria and the course syllabus provided particular, ideological, methods for producing knowledge within the classroom. This is why there is a tension in the discourse between teacher and students, as students' knowledge and experience continuously threatened to erupt in to and compromise what the teacher understands to be appropriate and relevant knowledge. My second point relates to the nature of knowledge that issues from this process. That is,

knowledge and skills are forged out of constant student interaction with the everyday world beyond the school gates. Through visits, visitors, and research in survey groups, classroom knowledge issues from systematic observation of what has been constituted for the students as the 'real world' and how it works and is organised. This allows, for example, security techniques and technologies to be admitted as legitimate knowledge within the business world curriculum, but not the narrowly skills based approach of office skills or the more theoretically informed orientation of academic economics courses. Consequently, it is not only the methods through which knowledge is produced that distinguishes these courses from others, but what is counted as vocationally useful and relevant. In other words, the business world approach has worked to reconstitute "really useful knowledge" as part of the emerging relations of the enterprise culture within schooling (Johnson, 1979; Johnson, 1988b).

# **Conclusion**

This chapter has shown how forms of business education have been reconstituted by TVEI. In particular, I have argued that TVEI effected a shift in not only the form, but the social organisation and practices of business education which I identified through the office skills and business world approaches. Where the former was embedded within a narrowly skills based approach that emulated developments in vocational education and training, I argued that the business world model operated with a wider repertoire of investigative skills that were framed within an educational progressivism. This transition was most clearly marked in Hardy Comprehensive, where a pre-existing office skills had

been abandoned in favour of a 'business knowledge' course that was embedded within forms of active learning.

However, the aim of my ethnographic investigations of both Hardy and Riverside schools was to show that the rendered effects of the emerging business world approach where highly ideological. As I demonstrated, it was ideological in that it enmeshed students in a group of social relations that concerted and co-ordinated their practical activities in ways that articulated with the standpoint of business decision-makers, even though this was at odds with their own lived experience. In this respect, the ideological force of the business world approach lay in its capacity to 'empower' students to become the authors of their own enterprising perspectives on the 'adult world.'

I also argued that the ideological character of this process could not be understood without reference to its textually mediated form. For example, the underlying dynamic driving the Riverside class on 'retailing and security' was not the individual bias of the teacher, but the Hampshire business studies syllabus (National Design and Technology Education Foundation, 1991) and TVEI aims and criteria (MSC, 1983). That is, it was extra-locally organised. Indeed, the Riverside case may be considered as an exemplar of the way in which the moral economy of enterprise was elaborated under TVEI.

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Bryan Nicholson. Chairman, Manpower Services Commission (1987, p. 812).
<sup>2</sup> Even though the new vocationalism, and particularly TVEI, led to the profusion of business studies courses and examinations within secondary schools, this was slowed by the ERA in 1988. Although the National Curriculum which the Act imposed on schools

does include "Economic and Industrial Awareness" as part of its cross-curricular aims, business studies is not included in either its Core or Foundation subjects.

<sup>3</sup> While the extent of TVEI funding was comparatively lavish compared with other postwar developments (HMI, 1991), its mode of disbursement through categorical funding closely resembled that of the Department of Science and Art in the nineteenth century. See chapter one.

<sup>4</sup> This form of gendered curriculum provision was also a feature of youth training, as evidenced by Cockburn's research on 'two-track training' (Cockburn, 1987). <sup>5</sup> The active engagement of the subject in self-formation (Ball, 1990).

<sup>6</sup> Kessler, Ashenden, Connell & Dowsett (1982) have argued that the development of a technical language defines the "singleness of knowledge" within a subject. They also suggest that this is a characteristic form of "hegemonic masculinity," as opposed to the "oblique and discontinuous" forms of feminine knowledge.

<sup>7</sup> The literature I am referring to here includes developments within the fields of poststructuralism and more broadly postmodernism (Bauman, 1987; Ryan, 1982; Smart, 1992). While this is tangential to my approach of historical ethnography, I have nevertheless found it useful in conceptualising how school subjects mould teacher and students experiences through language. As the socio-linguist, Volisinov has observed, "It is not experience that organises expression, but the other way around - expression organises experience. Expression is what first gives experience its form and specificity of direction" (Volosinov, 1973, p. 85). Or as Marx put it, "As individuals express their lives, so they are" (quoted in Sayer, 1989, p. 22). For an approach to educational administration and policy which uses this mode of analysis, see Corson (1995).

<sup>8</sup> 'Edword' was an early word processing programme produced for the BBC computer. <sup>9</sup> Indeed a little later in the lesson a student describes his problem of being followed by security personnel in shops.

### CHAPTER 8

#### TVEI AND THE NEW ASSESSMENT

The National Record of Achievement (NRA) will enable all individuals regardless of background to present a summary of their achievements to employers and others in a concise and consistent form.<sup>1</sup>

In chapter two, I argued that the rise of *mass*-schooling from the 1830s and 1840s could be understood as an effect of a political settlement that was generated within the English ruling class. This 'political settlement' I suggested, was double-edged in that it aimed to quell independent and popular forms of schooling that were gaining ground from the early nineteenth century, as well as establishing the foundations for 'public' provision (i.e. State regulated). The ineluctable trend toward State provided schooling from these years cannot therefore be simply attributed to the long march of 'progress' and the accomplishment of enlightened reformers. A more accurate picture of the reform process would depict a concerted (and sometimes contested) effort to regulate "much of social life by means of the detailed definition of acceptable forms and images of social activity and individual and collective identity" (Paterson, 1988b, p. 70). As I indicated, this has to be understood as an ongoing *historical* process which continues to shape educational policy and practice. This chapter examines assessment practices under TVEI in this historical light.

Integral to the evolution and continuing viability of the political settlement of the 1830s and 1840s was the administrative reforms that issued from the Northcote-Trevelyan Report of 1853. As Gowan has argued the Report contained an "integrated set of principles offering a highly specific solution to a wide range of administrative, political and

class problems of institutional development" (1987, p. 13). Without doubt, one of the Report's key reforms in this respect was the introduction of individual competitive examinations as an entry requirement for the civil service. The significance of this innovation was twofold. First, it was sponsored by a "new breed" of elite State administrator who began their careers within the Education Department from the late 1840s. The contribution of officials such as Ralph Lingen (Secretary of the Education Department 1850-1870) or Robert Lowe (the author of the 1862 Revised Code) was not only to profoundly affect the character of schooling from mid-century, but more broadly to be concerned with "what type of central state mechanism should be constructed in Britain" (Gowan, 1987, p. 14). Second, in authorising the examination as a key mechanism in the recruitment to civil service posts, the Northcote-Trevelyan Report institutionalised a system of assessment "which was used within a few, upper class settings such as Oxford and Cambridge or by a few occupational groups" (Paterson, 1988a, p. 278). It is in this light that we can begin to comprehend the long tradition and use of the individual written examination as a peculiarly bourgeois technique of individuation. As we now know, whether as the public examination or the internal school test, it has assumed the dimensions of a technology of regulation that has gradually spread and been inscribed within the various institutional sites and practices of modern schooling.

Until the 1960s, the hegemony of the public examination remained unchallenged within English education, particularly at 14-18.<sup>2</sup> While it has continued to dominate the formal or publicly accountable assessment practices of the secondary curriculum, other developments have gathered pace which have produced qualitatively different methods of

school assessment for the average and less able school population. Thus, it is highly significant for my study that the impetus for the generation of what I will refer to as the 'new assessment' practices came from initiatives associated with new vocationalist policies.<sup>3</sup> Within this, TVEI was to have a pivotal role in not only defining but disseminating the practices that sustained the new assessment within secondary schooling. A striking example of this can be seen in the national system of Records of Achievement (ROAs) and pupil profiling that has existed since 1991, which ensures that every pupil is provided with a portfolio of his/her academic and *non-academic* achievements on leaving school. Thus, the emergence of a 'new' collection of assessment practices against the long historical tradition of the individual examination in English schooling warrants further enquiry.

My discussion of the new assessment falls into three sections. In the first, I shall briefly outline the history and origins of the new assessment as part of the social democratic consensus in education that centred on progressivism. In particular, I will indicate how the problem of the 'non-academic' pupil acted as a nexus for conjoining new assessment practices with Social and Life Skills (SLS). Drawing upon data from the 26 schools, I then move on to discuss the impact of TVEI 'profiling' and 'Records of Achievement' (ROAs) on teachers' assessment practices.<sup>4</sup> In doing this I will show how profiling can be interpreted not only as a means of 'surveillance,' but more importantly, as a process of subjectification aimed at the preparation of abstract labour. In relation to this last point, I will conclude with an investigation of how elements of the new assessment permeated areas of school life in preparing young people for the youth labour market and

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مىلىر. ئىمىر ئ training. This will lead into my conclusion that the new assessment practices were fundamentally embedded within processes of subjectification that articulated with the construction of an enterprise culture in Britain throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

#### The New Assessment

Although the individual written examination was the first modern form of assessment to be institutionalised on a national basis within Britain, this is not to imply that its impact was uniform or that it engendered common effects. Indeed, as a specifically bourgeois form of assessment, it worked in class specific ways. For example, the aptly named 'Standards' (examinations) that were imposed on elementary schools as part of the 1862 Revised Code facilitated "the emergence of an institutional profile for individual children, which was silhouetted against a background of class-based understandings" (Paterson, 1988a, p. 297). In this, performance in reading, writing and arithmetic (and needlework for girls) was to count as the only legitimate indicator of success, while other activities were marginalised. Thus, 'individual achievement' and 'ability' in the working class child was constructed upon a much narrower foundation of knowledge and skill than inhered within the 'English tradition' of the public or endowed schools. Historically, therefore, even early uses of school examinations can be understood as a form of social regulation that is productive of particular kinds of subjective experience. Assessment cannot be reduced to an ensemble of technique. It is fundamentally grounded within the social relations of class that are inextricably bound to the everyday exercise of ruling within capitalism. As I will show, despite its associations with a 'progressive' discourse on schooling, this historical tendency was also constitutive of the new assessment in TVEI in

effecting processes of subjectification aimed at the creation of the 'enterprising self' (Rose, 1992).

Since the introduction of the 1862 Revised Code, the individual written examination has remained largely uncontested as the dominant mode of assessment within English secondary schooling. However, within the context of the post-war social democratic settlement and particularly from the 1960s, new forms of assessment practice began to emerge as criticism grew of the academic orientation, inflexibility, and divisive structure of the educational system.<sup>5</sup> This was fuelled by two factors. First, a sustained attack on the concept of intelligence and IQ testing which had produced the 'three types of mind' (Norwood Report, 1941) that had been the bedrock of the 1944 Education Act and the tripartite structure of English schooling. Second, by the early 1960s a range of studies had been accumulated by sociologists of education that purported to show how the tripartite system actually reproduced inequality of opportunity among the school population (Floud, Halsey, & Martin, 1956; Jackson & Marsden, 1966). As the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (1981) have shown, this research contributed to the eventual transition to a comprehensive system of education that was heralded by the Department of Education and Science's (DES) Circulars 10/65 and 10/66. Of equal if not greater significance, however, was the changed character of teacher politics during this period, epitomised in theory and practice by progressivism. As Finn, Grant, and Johnson (1977) argue, not only did progressivism become embedded within the professional identity and ideology of teachers, it was "increasingly presented, via the training colleges, the 'specialists', and so on, as the desirable mode of teaching" (p. 177). The implications

of this for the development of new forms of assessment were considerable. For example, the principal professional body for the promotion of curriculum and examination development until its abolition in 1983 was the Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations. Dominated by teachers, the Schools Council promoted the introduction of a range of teacher-led curriculum and examinations initiatives from its inception in 1963. In particular, its work on developing the Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) as an alternative mode of assessment to the academic General Certificate of Education (GCE) was notable. Originally conceived by the Crowther Report (1959) as a separate examination for the 'Modern' school (i.e. average and less able pupils), the CSE was launched in 1965. Unlike GCEs, which closely resembled the Northcote-Trevelyan model and were dominated by university examinations boards, CSEs were controlled by teachers and assessed through project work and oral testing. Thus, developments such as the CSE, as well as the various curriculum interventions that the Schools Council promoted, opened up spaces within schools for advancing curriculum and assessment practices that explicitly rejected the individual written examination.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, it was the confluence of an expanding education system, growing teacher autonomy from central control, and a 'progressive experimentalism' in the 1960s that made schools, particularly the new comprehensives, receptive to new approaches to both curriculum and assessment. However, while it is clear that there were innovations in profiling at this time, it was also apparent that "little progress was made in the development of profiles and records of achievement for fifteen years or so following the *Newsom Report* [i.e. 1963]" (Hargreaves *et al.*, 1988, p. 136). Such initiatives as there

were tended to be locally organised and restricted to the work of LEA 'consortia' or individual schools. Developments in profiling and ROAs during this time were, in other words, something of a "cottage industry." This situation was to radically change in the 1970s. First, the raising of the school leaving age in 1972 (ROSLA) compelled students who would have normally been 'early leavers' to stay on in school for an extra year. The effect of this, widely anticipated by both government and teachers' organisations with foreboding, was:

... an increase in the scale of the discontented pupil 'problem' and some new attempts to handle it, including special disciplinary units. The change not only increased the number of 'non-academic' pupils but also the scale of their grievances and the ability of pupils to present them (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1981, p. 188-9).

The compulsory retention of an entire cohort of predominantly working-class pupils therefore posed serious motivational and discipline problems for schools. While 'special disciplinary units' were used in certain instances, the most telling impact of ROSLA was to induce schools to search for more subtle 'disciplinary' measures.<sup>7</sup> Pre-empting new vocationalist policies, one immediate response was to make the curriculum more 'relevant' to these pupils' 'needs' through the introduction of work experience in the final year at school.<sup>8</sup> Link courses with technical colleges, as well as an afternoon's community work also served to fulfil this purpose (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1981).<sup>9</sup>

However, the most important developments in profiling, records of achievement, and social and life skills were to emerge from the further education sector (FE i.e. 16-19) when youth unemployment began its inexorable rise in the late 1970s.<sup>10</sup> Prompted by the 'moral panic' following the inner-city youth nots of 1981 - which were perceived as a direct consequence of youth unemployment (Scarman, 1982) - the government empowered the MSC to establish a national system of youth training in which FE colleges would provide the 'off-the-job' component.<sup>11</sup> This presented the FE sector with major challenges in curriculum and assessment reform, as well as in the development of mechanisms aimed at securing discipline and reducing disaffection. Indeed it was from this policy context that student profiling and SLS were to arise as constitutive elements of the new vocationalism. In this respect, FE did not only provide a model for subsequent developments within schools under TVEI, it also established an indissoluble connection between the practices of profiling and 'life skilling.' As Hargreaves *et al* (1988) have observed:

... the principle of it [profiling] has probably been the FE sector's chief contribution to more recent developments in records of achievement at school level [...] though its contribution has served to reinforce the more general principle, still widely accepted, that *some* method should be found to record personal and social skills and qualities in a hierarchical way (p. 140).

Within the TVEI schools I visited, the connection with SLS endowed pupil profiling with a 'progressive' character. That is, in attempting to validate non-academic aspects of students learning, teachers and administrators welcomed profiling as a more rounded and wholistic method for assessing the 'whole child' - albeit a time-consuming one. As one teacher argued "it must move you some way towards looking at the child as an individual" (Prof/1/20/85-88). An LEA co-ordinator for profiling described in more detail what this implied in the classroom: Profiling makes teachers aware of social and life skills in the classroom. With profiling they hit the major issues faster in education [...] We began to see that profiling was making deep inroads into the schools, that in fact you couldn't actually collect information about a youngster's learning if you were a totally didactic teacher, because all you would have then was some written evidence, and that actually an awful lot of the skills you were allowed the opportunity for the youngster to learn, practise and demonstrate them. So on that area you were looking right down into the roots of methodology. You were looking into the whole notion of experiential learning being somewhere in the school (Prof/6/41/85-88).

Superficially, therefore, profiling appears as a technique that focuses upon the *formative* aspects of learning processes rather than 'written evidence.' But as part of a record of achievement over which students were to have 'ownership,' as a *summative* document that is "It's a reference point." These comments point to two issues which I will explore in more detail in the following sections. First, how and in what ways did profiles make 'inroads' into teachers and pupils lives in schools? To be more precise, how might the processes profiling enacted be conceptualised as an attempt at the social mapping of pupils' subjective, or private school lives - and for what purposes? Second, as a 'reference point' for pupils and teachers, what kinds of knowledge, understanding, and experience were being captured in the practices of profiling? In other words, how did it contribute to the formation of student identities? With these questions as guides, we can now begin to investigate profiling in TVEI.

Profiling and Surveillance: 'they're being assessed from every angle'

From its inception in 1982, the TVEI aims and criteria (MSC, 1983) made it explicit that participating schools should make:

Arrangements [...] for regular assessment and for students and tutors to discuss students' performance/progress (MSC, 1983).

Within TVEI schools this policy statement materialised as records of achievement. of which pupil profiling was a central and in many respects defining element. There were two reasons why, without exception, schools chose to adopt this method of 'regular assessment,' First, as I indicated above, secondary schools had not only a history of experimentation with earlier forms of personal recording stretching back to the 1960s, these methods were also extensively used on MSC sponsored youth training schemes within colleges of FE. Consequently, by the early 1980s there existed a records of achievement 'movement' (Baines, Broadfoot, & Nuttall, 1989) whose initiatives the MSC drew upon to inform TVEI and other new vocational initiatives (e.g. the Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education or CPVE). Further, the participation of the FE sector within 'TVEI consortia' (usually five schools and one FE college) ensured a degree of 'spin-off' into schools. Second, these developments were given official backing in 1984 with the issuing of a DES policy statement on records of achievement which aimed at a national scheme for all schools by the early 1990s (DES, 1984). This was realised in 1991 with the publication of the National Record of Achievement (NRA) that "was introduced by the Secretary of State for Employment as an extension of TVEI" (Jessup, 1995, p. 39). Signalling its further subordination to the 'vocational,' responsibility for the development and distribution of the NRA was passed to the "employer led National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ)" in 1992 (Keep & Mayhew, 1994, p. 318). Thus, the nationalisation of records of achievement under the NCVQ unambiguously established a
nexus between the new assessment and the average and less able child in recontextualising three decades of LEA/school-based initiatives within the new vocationalism.

The policy context in which the new assessment emerged during the 1980s was therefore far removed from the 'golden age' of teacher control in the 1960s and 1970s. Although it still proclaimed its original progressive discourse from this period, it was the politics of the new vocationalism that now shaped and defined the actual practices of profiling and records of achievement. This was particularly evident in relation to TVEI which pioneered the 'vocationalisation' of the new assessment in secondary schools. However, that TVEI was sponsored by the MSC and was widely perceived as a new vocationalist policy aimed at undermining comprehensive education, also created some resistance to the new assessment practices among teachers. Of the schools in my study, such resistance was expressed most vividly in Redmond College which, significantly, had acquired a national reputation as one of the pioneers of the new assessment during its progressive era (Hargreaves et al., 1988; McEwan, 1991).

In interview, several of Redmond's teachers pointed to how the politics of education in the 1980s had fundamentally transformed the original aims and ethos of the new assessment as they had practised it prior to TVEI. The observations of the College's assessment co-ordinator on profiling are illuminating on this issue. From his perspective, the new vocationalism and progressivism generated two contradictory approaches to profiling. As he put it:

There are massive dangers in profiling, like the 'City and Guilds 365' approach of ticking boxes. As far as I can see it's like an examination, the teacher's in control, the exam board's in control. I would not be happy with that type of approach. But the Oxford

Certificate of Educational Achievement [OCEA], where the pupil is more involved, is much more like the original spirit of profiling where the student is in control and they can say 'No, I don't like what you said there,' and they've got the power of veto.

New vocationalist approaches to profiling were therefore perceived as shifting decisionmaking over assessment to teachers' and ultimately exam boards, whereas in the example he gives of the 'OCEA' the 'student is in control.' Both determining and beyond the issue of control was what he described as the 'ideological context' of the profiling process. In relation to this he noted that:

Profiling is regarded in an ideological context, as just another means of social control of the students. It's been rejected out of hand as a Thatcherite initiative, as ideologically unsound [...] They tend to see it as serving the labour market and undermining comprehensive education. (Ass/7/59-60/85-88).

His argument was that the social organisation of profiling could not be abstracted from the prevailing politics of education that were associated with 'serving the labour market and undermining comprehensive education.' This sentiment was so widely held among teachers at Redmond that, as the Principal explained, records of achievement and profiling *per se* (including the OCEA) were "dismissed on political grounds that it was social engineering."

The palpable tensions that profiling generated in Redmond were not uncommon in other schools and colleges as other studies have shown (Ainley, 1990; Ainley & Corbett, 1994; Carter & Burgess, 1993; Dale *et al.*, 1990; Hargreaves, 1986; Hargreaves et al., 1988; Hargreaves & Reynolds, 1989; Harland, 1987; Jordan, 1985; Pole, 1993). While all of these authors have recognised the progressive origins and ethos of profiling in schools, they have also argued that under the new vocationalism it has developed a marked

propensity for 'social control' (Hargreaves et al., 1988). Drawing upon Foucault's study of the 'panopticon,' Hargreaves (1986), and Hargreaves and Reynolds (1989) have been most influential in developing this approach in arguing that records of achievement and pupil profiling can best be comprehended as a contemporary method of 'surveillance.'12 In particular, Hargreaves (1986) has argued that profiling works to effect a detailed system of administrative control ('surveillance') which relies upon the systematic observation and collection of information on students lives at home and school. In this way, it goes well beyond the 'normal' parameters of traditional forms of assessment and reporting (such as the examination, the school-based test, and report card) in disclosing the private or hidden attitudes, beliefs, values, and experiences of students to teachers and the school. That it achieves this on a continuous or 'formative' basis throughout the school year makes it a powerful regulatory device for shaping the experience of students both within and outside the formal activities of the school curriculum. For example, the system created by Warwickshire LEA for its schools is indicative of how profiling could act as a mechanism for behaviou: modification among students (see Appendix 3). On this, Hargreaves et al (1988) have commented that it "has very little to do with [the] pupil's interests at all, but a lot to do with the school and its interests" (p.150). In relation to this observation we should remember that in the context of the 1980s and 1990s, the 'school and its interests' were no longer rendered through the social relations of a teacher professionalism or the local educational state, but the 'managed market.'

Unlike Redmond College, teachers in the other schools I visited actively welcomed the introduction of profiling within their assessment practices. They viewed it as an

opportunity to change teaching and learning styles, develop cross-curricular links with other subjects, integrate TVEI work experience within the curriculum, and offer employers a more rounded picture of the candidates they presented for job recruitment. That is, where Redmond's teachers ultimately rejected profiling as a form of 'social control,' elsewhere it was regarded as a primarily progressive practice.<sup>13</sup> It was where the latter perception prevailed, however, that we can begin to appreciate how profiling may indeed have acted as a contemporary method of surveillance.

Contrasting the school's traditional 'record card' system with profiling, the TVEI assessment co-ordinator for Midland Comprehensive made the following comments. On record cards, he implied some dissatisfaction:

Every kid has had a record card over the years. What's gone in that record card, quite honestly, are all the misdemeanours, his school reports, basically. That's your record card. His reading age, his number age, what have you. In this place his misdemeanours go in red, I think it is, something else goes in blue. And that's it.

In this way the record card provided a very perfunctory, even one-dimensional picture of a

pupil's formal school activities - 'And that's it.' The system of profiling that TVEI

introduced was both more ambitious and subtle. As he went on to note of profiling:

Well, it's giving us a picture of the whole child instead of the school child. Let's say that it's also in some cases, giving us a picture of a child who we only see in trouble in court and everywhere and he has got some good points to him.

Clearly then, profiling attempted to work beyond the confines of the school in providing a

'picture' of the 'whole child.' But as I will show below, the 'child' being referred to is

being made the subject of surveillance, not of a child-centred progressivism. This can be

illustrated with reference to the effects that profiling produced in the conduct of students.

Asked if profiling made "much difference to what happens in the classroom," the same teacher replied that:

I think it does, yes. It...it's meant, and I think I've managed nearly, in two and half weeks, to impress on my little group *that we're not just looking at the end product of work and marks achieved, we're looking at behaviour towards staff. We're looking at behaviour amongst themselves and they're being assessed from every angle.* Now, whether that's scared them stiff, or whether they haven't realised what that means, or whether it's just the fact we're running a course that they're enjoying, or whether it's the fact that they're working in small numbers...so far the behaviours been marvellous. (Ass/2/4/85-88)

These observations do indeed reveal profiling to be concerned with the development of the 'whole child,' but not in ways that were anticipated by progressivism. What they point to is a subtle method of social regulation that infiltrated the spontaneous processes of classroom pedagogy to shape students' 'behaviour.' The activity which grounds this regulatory technique does not flow from the authority or coercive capacity of the teacher, but from *looking*, as in 'looking at behaviour towards staff' and 'looking at behaviour amongst themselves.' This 'looking' was neither a casual, or unsupervised activity, but a socially organised practice that originated in profiling. Under these conditions, therefore, profiling was less concerned with developing autonomous, critically aware pupils, than with ensuring that they were 'assessed from every angle.'

We can gain a better picture of how the social organisation of profiling embedded surveillance as an invisible feature of classroom practice in New Town High. As a pilot school for the Welsh National Scheme on records of achievement, New Town had operated a system of profiling for at least four years prior to its participation within

TVEI.<sup>14</sup> In this respect, its system of profiling was not only common to other schools in Wales, but was to have a "powerful impact on the development of records of achievement" nationally during the 1980s (Hargreaves *et al.*, 1988). The Welsh scheme was something of a model or 'beacon' that other schools in England and Wales used to fulfil their contractual obligation to TVEI in creating new methods of assessment. For this reason we may take it as an exemplar of 'good practice.'

Like other developments in the new assessment that arose out of an educational progressivism, the Welsh scheme before TVEI had a distinctly "human, personalised feel" about it (Hargreaves et al., 1988, p. 142). In New Town High this was expressed as a concern with pupil-centred assessment, where "you're asking the pupil to evaluate his own work, or assess his own work, or be part of his assessment," that was "the revolutionary side of it" as the TVEI profiling co-ordinator claimed. However, while pupils were actively involved in the profiling process, it was on terms set by their teachers. This was achieved by the creation of a teacher generated 'comment bank' in which a hierarchy of statements describing student skills and qualities were stored on a computer. During profiling sessions throughout the school year (there were four), students would choose statements from the comment bank that they felt best described their personal experiences and work at school. When they had completed the profile with the statements, it was then passed on to a teacher for verification. At this stage, "if there were any discrepancies between the pupil and the teacher then further negotiation would take place" (Ass/21/67/85-88). Once any disagreements had been resolved, the statements were

entered and processed on the computer to produce a continuous prose statement. It was this final statement that constituted the pupil profile.

Concealed from the reader of the final document, however, was a social organisation of assessment practices that was highly regulatory of students behaviour. We can begin to grasp how this was achieved within an apparently student-centred mode of assessment if we consider Smith's observation that questions "generate a *determinate structure* in their answers" (1974, p. 262). This can be illustrated with reference to the actual structure of the profile itself. After describing the "subject side" of the profile, the profiling co-ordinator explained that:

The next section of the booklet is personal things, *loyalty to the school, cheerfulness, that lot.* That's the difficult side of it. It's difficult to get pupils to assess their own personality (21/Ass/68/85-88).

Within the context of the authority relations of the classroom, questions on 'loyalty to the school' and 'cheerfulness' were obviously aimed at eliciting information from students that were useful to teachers, administrators, and ultimately the school. That they were also to 'choose' statements from a teacher generated comment bank in responding to these questions served to recontextualise and subordinate their knowledge and experience to a version of the world that was not their own. In other words, profiling produced what Smith (1990a) has called "objectified knowledge" on the pupil, which " as we engage with it, subdues, discounts, and disqualifies our various interests, perspectives, angles, and experience, and what we might have to say speaking from them" (p. 80). This may have explained why it was 'difficult to get pupils to assess their own personality.' Certainly, in

interview students displayed some ambivalence to questions such as 'How do you get on with other people?' Asked how they responded to this, one student replied (to the amusement of several of his friends) "you ask the person sitting next to you" (St/21/67/85-88). This is a finding which Hargreaves and his colleagues have observed in their study of profiling. As they have argued, recording the personal and private experiences of students can create the conditions under which:

... judgements are being made from a particular point of view, of an undeclared class-biased nature. In cases like these, profiles could well be not enhancing personal development, but steering pupils into middle class morality. They could be less about care than control (1988, p. 154).

The objectification of students' knowledge and experiences also effected a form of

surveillance that was deeply inscribed in profiling. This was achieved through the textually

mediated practices of the profiling process as a continuous and 'formative' method of

assessment. We can better understand the character of this type of surveillance if we

consider the comments of New Town's profiling co-ordinator on the effects of profiling

on students' classroom behaviour. Asked if he thought profiling to be "worth it," he

replied that:

I think so. The philosophy behind profiling has got to be good. It takes the mystique out of assessment, doesn't it? Gone are the days when we gave students a 'B+.' What does that mean? It's a benefit to have assessment constantly in front of their eyes ... we only print positive comments. But to have this in front of them I am convinced, will increase motivation and I suppose that with the personal side of this they should know what sort of behaviours get the positive comments. It's not a terminal thing that's entirely in the hands of the tutor. They can have a say (Ass/21/68/85-88).

At first glance, therefore, the 'philosophy behind profiling' strikes us as thoroughly pupil-

centred in both its method and organisation. That is, it 'takes the mystique out of

assessment' in allowing students to 'have a say.' Grades are replaced with 'positive comments' where meaning is made explicit. In its elementary premises, therefore, New Town's profiling system exhibited an overt fidelity to progressive principles. However, we cannot abstract these principles from the actual social organisation of 'profiling in the school. For example, although profiling is viewed as a demystifying practice in encouraging student participation, this nevertheless ensures that 'assessment [is] constantly in front of their eyes.' As in Midland Comprehensive, therefore, profiling initiated a form of 'looking' that was embedded within the textually mediated processes of profiling. That this form of surveillance had a regulatory propensity can be seen in its capacity to encourage students to 'know what sort of behaviours get the positive comments.' We must also remember that these 'comments' reflected the concerns of teachers and administrators (the school), particularly as these related to the question of! 'ability.' As the profiling co-ordinator noted:

...we have a bank of comments that covers the whole ability range and the pupil decides which one is appropriate for them and then the member of staff can confirm that or otherwise (Ass/21/67/85-88).

In other words a finely graded system of 'positive comments' had been transposed for the 'B+,' which perpetrated the illusion that 'the pupil decides.' On this point it is worth mentioning the comments of a home economics teacher who remarked on her profiling experience that "A lot of them [pupils] grade themselves below but most of them get it about right" (HE/21/70/85-88). In this context, the active involvement of students within the decision-making process of profiling can be understood as a means of bonding their

knowledge, experience, and understanding within an emerging social relation not of their making. The accomplishment of profiling in this respect was to construct students' 'ability' *as if* it were the spontaneous effect of their own self-evaluations. That most pupils assessed 'themselves [...] about right' was therefore not an outcome of their own untainted reflections, it was the effect of a textually mediated social organisation that was rendered through profiling.

In this section of the chapter I have argued that despite its progressive origins and 'pupil-centred' aims, profiling can be interpreted as a contemporary method of surveillance in the TVEI classroom. Employing this perspective, Hargreaves and Reynolds have gone so far as to argue that under the new vocationalism profiling has been a potent force in transforming the school into a "powerful instrument of state surveillance" (1989, p. 27). Indeed, as I showed in relation to Redmond College, some teachers rejected profiling on political grounds precisely because, as the TVEI school co-ordinator put it, "there was the feeling that some children are pressured into controlled responses" (SC/7/59/85-88). By contrast, my purpose has been to emphasise that profiling - as distinct from the traditional examination or school record card - represents a qualitatively different approach to the problem of surveillance by regulating the social relations of the classroom. In particular, the most remarkable aspect of profiling is its capacity to render the informal experiences of pupils everyday lives accountable to a particular moral economy in the school. As I will argue, this was accomplished through an organisation of textually mediated practices that embedded profiling within the emerging relations of enterprise.

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My analysis of data drawn from Midland and New Town revealed how profiling worked to anchor and recontextualise students' experience and identities within an emerging social relation that, a'though it appeared to be, was not of their making. That is, profiling produced a nexus for connecting the assessment practices of these schools with the politics of TVEI and the new vocationalism. In this respect the launching of an NRA by the employer led NCVQ in 1992 was historically significant in transposing the 'needs of industry' on to those of LEAs, schools, and tcachers who, as we have seen, were the traditional custodians of the new assessment. In this context, the NRA embedded and articulated records of achievement and profiles to the relations of ruling within the context of the politics of the new vocationalism. Thus, it is also my argument that just as the individualised competitive examination that flowed from Northcote-Trevelyan Report (1853) contributed to the way in which British education and society was to be governed from the late nineteenth century, so the NRA and the vocationalisation of the new assessment attests to the advance of a new approach to the problem of social regulation under contemporary contemporary capitalism.

In the next section I will explore what shape this form of regulation was assuming in areas connected to, but outside of the formal processes of profiling. In particular, I will focus on the role that social and life skills had in reproducing forms of knowledge and experience in students that would prepare them for participation in Britain's "freeenterprise revolution" (Thatcher, 1995). In making this argument, I will also be concerned to show that the practices of the new assessment, as they were secreted in other domains

of school life, cannot be separated from the formation of 'literacy' within the TVEI curriculum

# Social and Life Skills: Managing the 'enterprising self'

My argument that the detailed techniques, or 'social mapping,' that constitute the new assessment represent a contemporary method of social regulation in the context of the enterprise culture is strengthened if we understand that its practices have proliferated beyond schooling to other institutional sites. In post-16 education and training, the new assessment procedures have been incorporated within a modular, competency-based system of national vocational qualifications (NVQs) where "whole NVQs and other qualifications can be accumulated and recorded as a portfolio in the National Record of Vocational Achievement (NROVA)."<sup>15</sup> Significantly, under the supervision of the NCVQ, "NVQs are designed by Lead industry Bodies (LIBs), whose activities have been directed by employers rather than educationalists" (Keep & Mayhew, 1994, p. 319). This development has received further impetus by the "enthusiastic support being given to personal 'Action Plans' by both government and employers' organisations," where employees individually negotiate agreements with their employers on working practices or training (Baines et al., 1989, p. 109). Individual Action Plans (or 'development plans' as they are more commonly known) have also formed the basis for the widespread introduction of Performance Indicators (PIs), such as those used by the National Audit Office (NAO) in making TVEI schools accountable to the Department for Education and Employment (Comptroller and Auditor General, 1991). Within education, training and employment, therefore, the new assessment procedures have made substantial inroads so

that now "profiles are commonly used for staff appraisal by Marks and Spencer, for example, and also by MacDonald's" (Ainley, 1990, p.82).

The diffusion of these practices to different sites within education, training and employment in the last decade, therefore, suggests the advance of a 'new' form of social regulation that is reminiscent of the spread of the examination from the 1850s. Although there are remarkable parallels in the emergence and unfolding of these technologies of regulation, what differentiates the new assessment is its connections with the rise of an enterprise culture and the managed market in Britain during the 1980s and 1990s. Within this broader historical context, the new assessment can be understood as an effect of the managerial grid that I described in chapter five and six. That is, it is grounded in a search for a new moral economy of everyday life and individual subjectivity consonant with the contemporary restructuring of capitalist production, in which both market relations and management technologies have increasingly come to play a central role. These transformations have reverberated within education and training, as reflected in the rise of human resource management (HRM) and correspondingly, competency based regimes of learning (such as the modular approach of the employer led NCVQ) which assert the "hegemony of capital over labour as a resource" (Smith & Smith, 1988, p. 32). How capital accomplishes its ascendancy as a subjective process of social and life skilling is what I will now explore below in relation to TVEI.

I have already indicated above that social and life skills (SLS) was deeply embedded within the new assessment practices. In this context, it is important to understand that SLS worked beyond the formal processes of recording pupils'

achievements, or as was often the case in TVEI, a module or subject of study within the TVEI curriculum (usually referred to as Personal and Social Education or 'PSE'). That it did so reflected the MSC's policy toward 'Life skills' which it defined as:

... all those abilities, bits of information, know-how and decisionmaking which we need to get by in life. Most of us take these basic day-to-day skills for granted but many people lack them (Quoted in Ainley, 1990, p.81).

The aims of SLS was therefore twofold. First, it aimed to make explicit and accountable the tacit, everyday knowledge and experience that young people used to 'get by in life' at school, in the home, and ultimately within work. Second, it constructed and legitimated particular cultural traits as a 'skills' deficit among young people which only programmes of pre-vocational education and training could remedy. In this respect, SLS did not only emerge as a preparation for employment, but training for life. As a fundamental element of the new vocationalism, SLS amounted to the imposition of a State sanctioned model of living that was conducive to sustaining the relations of enterprise. Put another way, life skills was ultimately concerned with "governing the enterprising self" (Rose, 1992).

Before discussing how TVEI contributed to the formation of enterprising qualities through SLS, it is important to recognise that life skills teaching did not arise out of the secondary school curriculum, but further education . Within this context, programmes of SLS began to emerge from the mid 1970s as the FE sector became the primary provider of youth training. Two factors were determinant in its rapid ascendancy within the 'new' FE curriculum (Gleeson, 1985). The first I have already alluded to in relation to recording achievement - the 'discontented pupil problem.' That is, SLS emerged alongside the new assessment as a primary mechanism for effecting discipline among predominately workingclass young people on MSC provided youth training (Cohen, 1984, 1990; Jordan, 1985). Second, through 'think-tanks' such as the Further Education Unit (FEU) and the Institute of Manpower Studies (IMS), the MSC endorsed SLS as the 'core' curriculum of its prevocational and training programmes. As I noted above, this was because the MSC adhering to new Conservative doctrine - explained rising unemployment among young people as a result of a life skills 'deficit' (Ainley, 1990; Bates et al., 1984).<sup>16</sup> Thus, when the MSC introduced TVEI in 1982-3 with a requirement that schools should ensure that the content of their programmes encompass the "personal development" of pupils (MSC, 1983), FE experience in constructing life skills programmes was extensively drawn upon. This process was facilitated further by the consortium links that TVEI established between FE and schools. In this respect, SLS was not of the secondary school curriculum, but new vocational initiatives within FE.

The introduction of life skills within the TVEI schools I investigated had a number of distinctive effects. This was most evident in relation to the curriculum, where an FE inspired life skills began to colonise a long and well established tradition of social studies teaching that went back to the 1940s (Whitty, 1985). This process was remarked upon by a social studies teacher of fifteen years experience in Wessex Comprehensive. Now a TVEI peripatetic teacher, he commented that the new PSE courses he was responsible for organising within schools represented a significant shift away from 'traditional social studies.' <sup>17</sup> Thus, when asked 'What is PSE?' he replied:

It's an amalgam of traditional social studies and citizenship and politics and economic literacy, religion and moral education. That's

what it was ... Now there's a whole new process oriented theme of life skills. So there are two distinct styles altogether (PSE/15//85-88).

While he welcomed the "process" oriented approach that PSE introduced through life skills, it was also apparent that this was not without major reservations. In particular, he was disturbed that the life skills syllabus lacked a concern for developing students critical faculties in exploring contentious social, political or moral issues. In the place of these, life skills had substituted what he saw as a self-seeking individualism. As he put it:

The whole life skills approach is 'me, me, me.' We're talking about old areas like sociology that's missed. Another area that's missed is moral education or controversial issues concerning the political, spiritual, and social [...] These issues are not only dodged by teachers but also by materials on the market (PSE/15//85-88).

Thus, the problem for teachers was that life skills tended to embed learning within an approach that centred on a powerful possessive individualism, or 'me, me, me.' This was a widely held view among many teachers of life skills (or PSE) that I interviewed. However, I want to argue that life skills was more concerned with the elaboration of a technology of subjectification that focused on the creation of enterprising qualities, capacities, and dispositions that would allow young people to know and understand themselves within an emerging moral economy of enterprise in schools. This is an approach which is close to that developed by Cohen (1984, 1990) in his research on the role of life skills in youth training.

Cohen's argument is that since its inception, the new vocational agenda has consistently centred on questions relating to skill. That is, notions such as 'skilling,' 'reskilling,' 'upskilling,' or 'enskilling' have constituted the underlying rationale in public

policy for the legitimation and expansion of vocational education and training in Britain since the 1970s. Cohen argues that this has established an ideological currency which has not only forged a direct connection between an apparent skills deficit in the British workforce and economic decline, but has also abstracted skill from its traditional moorings within working class culture. In this context, according to Cohen, skill has historically been constituted by a grid of cultural inheritance embodied in forms of apprenticeship "as the progressive mastery of techniques of dexterity associated with the performance of manual labour" (Cohen, 1984, p. 118).

The transmission and acquisition of skill, however, was never a simple technical process but grounded within a wider moral economy of inherited custom, working practices, controls, and right that have been highly resistant to technical change and innovation initiated by capital. Cohen argues that because of its resistance to capitalist restructuring, apprenticeship and its related grids of cultural transmission have increasingly come into contradiction with employers demands for forms of youth labour that can accommodate contemporary transformations in the capitalist labour process. In particular, he suggests that the systematic introduction of information-based technologies, and growth in the personal and service sectors, has created demand for labour that is *deskilled* in the sense of being 'free' of the historical and cultural pull of apprenticeship. Mediating these tendencies, the aim of the MSC has been to secure the destruction of apprenticeship while substituting for it a system of vocational education and training that will assert the hegemony of capital over 'skill.' It is this process which has produced dominant constructions of skill that appear as abstract, universal properties, of the 'free enterprise

economy' and not as the on-going collective appropriations of experience that are indigenous to working class culture.

In these ways, Cohen asserts, the new regime of skilling that the MSC and other State agencies have implemented (e.g. Training and Enterprise Councils) has been less concerned with the creation of multiskilled workers to meet the 'needs' of an increasingly technological economy, than with the inculcation of malleability and social discipline. The character of social discipline that the new vocationalism has secreted through skilling is, however, of a different kind from that embodied in the master-apprentice or shop-floor relations of industrial capitalism. As Cohen explains:

The shift is from a system of external controls and negative sanctions, towards a more invisible process of regulation aimed at eliciting a voluntary reform of working-class structures of feeling and motivation around a system of personal controls. For youth labour is now to be socialised in and through the *discipline of impression management*. Under this rubric, trainees are taught how to sell their labour power successfully by carefully editing their public image in conformity with dominant representations-of-self. Training in so called 'social and life skills' is essentially training in behavioural etiquettes which concretise in a subject form the general commodity form of abstract labour (Cohen, 1984, p. 114).

He shows that programmes of life skills renders a form of training that eschews the

'external controls and negative sanctions' of the factory system, for a programme of 'self-

improvement.' In this context, young workers are no longer to be prepared for an

occupation or career, but 'skilled' in ways which allow them to meet the requirements of a

"rapidly changing highly technological society" (Jones, 1989a). Thus, the role of social

and life skills is not only to reduce labour power to an interchangeable unit or factor of

production (i. e. to be 'flexible'), but to create forms of "working class individualism

which c articulated within the enterprise culture" (Cohen, 1990, p. 58). Cohen calls this process *'impression management*,' where young workers are called upon to see their own cultural resources as deficient while forging a public identity that incorporated the 'correct' attitudes and interpersonal competencies necessary to sell their labour power. In this way life skills produces an inversion, where "what is in reality a position of class subjection (the selling of labour power) is thus represented as its opposite - a position of individual mastery (the marketing of self-image)" (Cohen, 1990, p. 60).

Cohen's analysis of life skills therefore constitutes a powerful conceptual framework for understanding how students lives are systematically articulated to the needs of capital. However, while I agree that life skilling can elaborate a relation of class subjection in this way, I want to argue that this is better conceptualised as a technology of subjectification and not *impression management*. What the latter concept signifies is a process that is *external* to students in focusing on the presentation of self. In this respect, it resembles a sophisticated version of the concept of 'socialisation' in which individuals subject identities are moulded by the external environment of which they are a part. This is not an approach which is supported by my data (or experience as a teacher of SLS: see (Jordan, 1985) ). As a technology of subjectification, programmes of SLS provide students with a 'do-it-yourself' kit of skills that allow them to actively construct or sculpt a particular relation for themselves to the enterprise culture. In this respect, they become the effective authors of their own identities through a process of subjectification that appears to be of their own making.

My data on life skills drawn from the TVEI schools reveals how this technology of subjectification was enacted through life skills. In particular, it reveals how as the TVEI core curriculum, life skills teaching rendered a classroom dynamic that mediated the 'needs' of employers through the production of particular forms of experience. This relationship was most commonly expressed in encouraging students to reflect on how they would know and produce themselves within the 'world of work.' Consider the description that a teacher gave of the content and activities of a PSE course in Smith Community College:

This is another thing we've set up, the PSE programme which is a follow-on from TVEI. All the kids follow this course through now in their first term [...] Basically, it's an introduction to the world of work. Again you've got a personal action plan and then all the way through here [shows syllabus] is what you're going to do about all those things, so you've got quizzes, topics to discuss, we've tried to present it in a very visual way, lots of pictures, lots of cartoons, you've got a thing about what kind of person are you, the kind of kid teachers hate or love, to be marked by yourself and a friend so that you get the two opinions and they can see what other people think of them, which was next, personal attributes. What are you good at, what do your friends think you're good at. Then, what do you need to know about jobs and pay, etc., covering state benefits, national insurance, pay slips, etc. We're setting up mock interviews through the Rotary Club [employers association] for every single person, so they've got all the things about the jobs they've got on offer, through the Rotary Club or mock interviews, how to do your letter of application, how to do your CV (PSE/9/ /91-92).

While the course contained several elements from the 'old' secondary social studies, such

as 'pay, etc., covering state benefits, national insurance, pay slips,' a 'letter of application,'

and 'how to do your CV,' its primary activities were structured around life skills. Where

the former tended to be organised around 'facts' and taught using a didactic or 'banking'

approach, life skills teaching had its locus in exercises that focused on the formation of students' subjectivity. This can be discerned from the interactive, 'visual' pedagogy it employed in revealing 'what kind of person you are.' However, the shaping of students' 'personal attributes' within PSE did not derive from progressive educational premises, but the creation of a 'personal action plan' that would constitute 'an introduction to the world of work.' In this way TVEI life skills within Smith Community College articulated students personal qualities and development to the interests of the 'Rotary Club.'

Life skills teaching was not, however, restricted to particular curriculum areas (such as PSE). My investigations revealed that its effects permeated the social relations of teaching and learning within TVEI as a whole. In interviews I conducted, this was emphasised by many TVEI teachers (of different subjects) who would argue that life skills was principally concerned with developing students' 'confidence,' or in helping them 'mature.' As a teacher of an SLS course in Baker Grammar succinctly put it, "The Life Skills component of TVEI has [...] increased pupils' confidence in approaching outsiders and assisted in developing their maturity" (SLS/8/42/85-88). However, as a Drama teacher in Riverside Comprehensive observed, the process of confidence building was embedded "within the needs of industry and not those of society" (Drama/3//85-88). That is, it was the 'needs of industry' that were to mediate the definition of appropriate behaviour, attitudes, conduct, and even dress for students within TVEI. This was most apparent in TVEI work experience.<sup>18</sup> For example, as part of Hardy Comprehensive's TVEI work experience, students were encouraged to observe a 'standard format of dress' in their placements. This 'standard' implicitly ruled out certain fashions among young

people, as a female pupil discovered when she was placed in the secretarial office of another school. As her teacher pointed out, her wearing a 'pelmet' to work created something of a stir:

- T We've had one hiccup already, with a child going into school with a pelmet on
- Int A what?
- T A pelmet, you know (indicates short skirt) well it's fashionable you see. But I did warn them 'Please look before you go into these places, exactly what the standard format of dress is.' She was in a school, and I told her to dress in the appropriate fashion for the place you work, and of course she let us down, so she had to be...
- Int Did they send her home?
- T No, but she was asked to come in something more, you know, the next day (PSE/10//91-92).

Learning how to construct oneself through dress in this context permeated other

areas of students' TVEI experience. For schools who had systematically organised close

links with local employers, the 'needs of industry' were impressed upon students in more

direct ways. In Steeltown Comprehensive this involved students appreciating the meaning

of 'punctuality' and 'attendance.' How this was effected in the classroom was detailed by

a TVEI Technology teacher in describing the school's 'Compact event.'<sup>19</sup>

Every term we have what we call a Compact event where year 10 and 11 pupils [15 and 16] are off timetable for the afternoon and we have some sort of a meeting, if you like, with industrialists. It can take a number of forms, we have the mock interviews and the videos, the last event that we had here year 10 actually went out to visit training agencies [TECs], we visit employers, employers come into school to visit us, we do all sorts of little exercises, just to get employers and ycungsters used to working together, it's good in a way. We had one particular afternoon whereby we asked the employers to talk about everyday things such as punctuality and attendance and the kinds of things you expect from young people who come to work for you and we set up a number of scenarios about some kids are on their way to school and somebody says to them 'Let's bunk off today. What would you do?' only instead of teachers running this scenario we had employers doing it. It was interesting really because we had one pupil who said to a guy from ICI [a pharmaceutical company] 'I'm doing really well this term, I've got 83% attendance' and the guy from ICI looked back at him and he said 'I've just pulled two of my apprentices into my office, they've fallen down to 97%, down to 97%!' and he'd brought them in and because they didn't have a very good reason, they had an official warning. This lad couldn't get over this, he's 17% down and he thought he was doing really well and it's opened a few eyes (Tech/20//9192).

His account points to several mechanisms of subjectification that were common to other schools in my study. First, 'mock interviews' and 'videos' of these interviews with employers were used to instil in pupils 'standard' modes of dress, speech, and behaviour. These 'little exercises' - along with visits to employers and TECs - were not only used as a means to 'get employers and youngsters used to working together,' but to create entry points for the 'needs of industry' within the social relations of the classroom and school. In other words, exercises such as the job interview and its video recording, have to be understood as part of a wider organisation of practices that were aimed at shaping students subjectivity in ways that were defined through the capital relation. This process is best exemplified in the employer-led 'scenario' on 'Let's bunk off today. What do you do?'

The choice of pupil truancy was not an arbitrary topic, in that the school was located in a declining industrial town with high rates of unemployment, poverty, and crime. A decaying social environment of this kind did not only confront Steeltown's teachers with severe attendance problems, it also posed questions concerning the

relevance of schooling to students and their community. As the LEA-TVEI co-ordinator put it:

How do you generate a vision amongst kids whose parents have never worked, whose grandparents probably never have, whose values are bound to be very different to all of ours? Who think 'What's the point of school? There's no prospect of benefiting from it?' because they've never seen people in the area, never mind in the family, benefit from it (PC/20/1-2/91-92).

To 'bunk off' therefore was, as he recognised, a practice that arose from 'values' that were 'very different' from those of teachers and administrators within the school. It is in this context that the exercise with employers on punctuality and attendance has to be understood; as were other similar activities in the TVEI 'Enterprise Module' of the school's PSE course which aimed at "building up their confidence" (CDT/20/32/91-92). This can be thought of as expressing a process of moralising the social relations of the school and classroom. That is, the principal problem facing Steeltown was how to "actually get the message to them [pupils] that we'd like them to be here, not because they have to be by law, but because the kids want to come" (PC/20/5/ 91-92). It is significant, therefore, that in attempting to secure the commitment of pupils to being schooled that TVEI effected a 'vision amongst kids' that did not draw upon the cultural resources of their own community, nor that of the school, but the 'everyday' expectations of employers. In rendering the 'Let's bunk off today' exercise in this way, the 'needs of industry' did not only attempt to invalidate students' knowledge and experience of truanting, it rendered the practice in terms of the positive 'skill' of time-discipline.

Combined, these practices constituted a moral economy through which students were exhorted to produce their own subjective identities and come to know themselves.

## **Conclusion**

The argument I have made in this chapter has explored the question of educational assessment as part of an historical process of social regulation embedded within the relations of bourgeois rule. Whether we consider the individual competitive examination that flowed from the Northcote-Trevelyan reforms of 1853, or the new assessment that was constitutive of MSC policy from the 1970s, educational assessment has been not only about the administrative organisation of 'school improvement,' but about the articulation of individual performance to the processes of social regulation and class formation under capitalism.

This analysis has guided my investigations of the new assessment within TVEI in two ways. First, I have argued that the significance of assessment practices cannot be adequately grasped outside of the broader politics of education in which they are situated. Thus, although recording achievement and profiling arose as constitutive elements of a teacher-led progressivism in the 1960s, under the new vocationalism they effected forms of surveillance and subjectification which were oriented to serving the interests of employers rather than the development of individual students. In this regard, I have tried to show that TVEI profiling produced a cluster of practices that not only objectified students' informal knowledge and experience and rendered them accountable within the administrative routines of the school, but also articulated the process of student identity formation to the politics'of the new vocationalism. In this way, the local everyday

decision-making processes of assessment were bound to the production of an enterprise culture, particularly through the imposition of the National Record of Achievement (NRA) in 1991. Second, I have used this framework to guide my analysis of social and life skills within TVEI. I have argued that while life skilling was seen by many teachers to be concerned with pupil empowerment in the progressivist tradition, in the context of the new vocationalism it was practised more as a technology of subjectification; a means to shape the development of student self-identity and self-understanding in ways that reflected the 'needs of industry.'

Finally, I want to argue that the regulatory effects of the new assessment strategies examined here can be understood as constituting a new approach to the problem of creating an educated citizenry. In TVEI profiling and programmes of life skills, we can witness a sustained attempt to enact a "ruling attitude" (Thompson, 1966) through the construction of a new 'social literacy' of enterprise. With its' focus on 'personal development,' 'personal and transferable skills,' and 'skills for enterprise,' TVEI has been deeply implicated in rendering forms of 'literacy' which have articulated with the construction of a culture of enterprise in English education. In this respect, the TVEI policy process reveals itself to have strong continuities with the past, in that the creation of forms of mass literacy since the early nineteenth century have always been connected to social regulation and the problem of how hegemony is to be rendered within the everyday patterns of commonsense (Corrigan & Gillespie, 1978; Darville, 1995; Donald, 1983; Thompson, 1967, 1968). NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Employment Department. Quoted in Pole, 1993.

<sup>2</sup> Taken at age 16, these were the General Certificate of Education 'Ordinary' level (GCE 'O' level) and the Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE). These have since been combined within the new General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) from 1986. The common university entrance examination sat at age 18, is the GCE 'Advanced' or 'A' level. Historically, public examinations in Britain have been regulated by examination boards controlled by the universities since 1920.

<sup>3</sup> Although the roots of what I call the new assessment go back to the 1960s in English schools, as Hargreaves *et al* (1988) show, State support for their systematic development was not forthcoming until the early 1980s.

<sup>4</sup> While my discussion focuses primarily on profiling, mention will be made of records of achievement. There are two reasons for this First, profiles are a constitutive element of records of achievement, along with examination certificates and other relevant information on a pupil's experience while in school. Second, records of achievement became a central element within government assessment policy in education from 1984.

<sup>5</sup> Research conducted by sociologists of education was highly influential in this critique, particularly as it contributed to Labour Party policy on comprehensivism from the early 1960s.

<sup>6</sup> This orientation was most clearly expressed in the Schools Council's Humanities Project which developed a wide range of curriculum materials that were coursework based. In my study, Redmond College's department of Humanities displayed a strong allegiance to this approach.

<sup>7</sup> That is, 'sink classes' create severe classroom management problems for teachers, while also alienating parents and employers in giving the school a 'reputation.'

<sup>8</sup> Work experience for ROSLA pupils was pioneered by the Schools Council-Confederation of British Industry Introduction to Industry Schemes that aimed at prevocational preparation. The 1973 Education (Work Experience) Act was a direct consequence of this venture.

<sup>9</sup> As a 'ROSLA' student myself, I well remember having to spend a Wednesday afternoon calling the numbers for old age pensioners playing bingo.

<sup>10</sup> See (Ashton, 1989, p. 142).

<sup>11</sup> From the late 1970s there were a wide range of youth training initiatives, however, these were brought under a unified system in 1982 called the 'Youth Training Scheme' or 'YTS.' With the eventual demise of the MSC in 1988 'Youth Training' (YT) was eventually placed under the control of Training and Enterprise Councils (TECS).

<sup>12</sup> Surveillance is a regulatory practice in that it involves normalising judgement and hierarchical observation. As Smart has argued, in the modern era its effect has "permitted an intensification and extension of the 'political anatomy of detail' through which individuals' movements and (trans)actions across time and space may be traced, recorded, and governed" (1992, p. 58)

<sup>13</sup> This is not to say that these 'positive' aspects of records of achievement and profiling were not recognised as beneficial for students by Redmond's teachers. It was that as a part

of TVEI and the new vocationalism they felt that the new assessment methods fundamentally contradicted the progressive philosophy of the school. For a discussion of Redmond's opposition to TVEI, see chapter six.

<sup>14</sup> In relation to this, it is important to note Hargreaves *et al* (1988) observation that the Welsh scheme "had a powerful impact" on later school based profiling developments during the 1980s (p. 141).

<sup>15</sup> The National Record of Vocational Achievement (NROVA) has since been subsumed within the National Record of Achievement (NRA), which as I indicated above, has been placed under the control of the Employment Department/National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ).

<sup>16</sup> This particular argument was an inversion of a new Conservative critique used against secondary schools in the 1970s, which asserted that they were not preparing young people for work. In this instance, pupils were said to leave school 'over aspirated' by an academic curriculum.

<sup>17</sup> Where SLS was the generic term used for life skills training in FE, some schools in my study adopted the label of personal and social education (PSE). However, the content and process of PSE courses closely resembled programmes of life skills developed by other schools in my study.

<sup>18</sup> As part of their TVEI programme, students were required to go out on two weeks work experience. See Barnes, Johnson, and Jordan (1988a, 1989).

<sup>19</sup> Compact schemes were aimed at developing closer school-industry collaboration.

## CHAPTER 9

#### CONCLUSION

#### Not so much a programme, more a way of life.<sup>1</sup>

Until the late 1970s, the study of the technical and vocational 'curriculum' was a marginalised, if not neglected, area of research within the sociology of education and more broadly, educational research in general. This situation not only reflected the historical subordination of the technical and vocational to the academic, it also revealed how the social relations of class served to systematically devalue and obscure activities within secondary schooling that were associated with working class children. Consequently, as Donnelly has noted, "The nature of much of the pedagogy and provision in the technical sphere is simply unknown" (1989, p. 147). In the last fifteen years this situation has changed considerably in response to the profusion of new vocational policies and practices that have increasingly come to define the educational landscape of English schooling. In particular, the sociology of the new vocationalism has made significant theoretical and empirical contributions to our knowledge and understanding of contemporary developments in technical and vocational schooling. In focusing on TVEI, this thesis makes several arguments which are intended to advance research in this relatively new and growing sub-field of study.

I begin with the widely accepted premise that the technical and vocational curriculum in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been shaped by the 'needs' of capitalist industry (Dale, 1989; Dale et al., 1990; Donnelly, 1989; Gleeson, 1987b; Gleeson, 1989; Gleeson & McLean, 1994; McCulloch, 1986, 1991). In this context the

overriding claim that I have made is that this historical relationship has centred on the elaboration of forms of social regulation concerned with the production and recomposition of class relations in an educational form. These regulatory processes have been embedded in different mechanisms, practices, and institutional developments that collectively have constituted the English educational State. The nature and character of these State forms have evolved and changed as part of the continued search for appropriate forms of bourgeois hegemony.

In chapter one I introduce the major concerns of my study of TVEI. This has four parts. First, I provide an c verview and outline of the origins, politics, and purposes of TVEI. In particular, I argue that TVEI policy cannot have been analysed outside of its connections with either the new Conservatism, or the politics of the new vocationalism within education. This is followed by a description of the character and sources of the qualitative data used in my study from 26 schools. The third section focuses on the methodology of historical ethnography which I use to generate my analysis of TVEI, and more broadly, technical and vocational education policy. As I use it, the historical refers to a process of becoming, or potential, in which we recognise that the character of the everyday world is constituted through the social relations of the past as well as the present. Last, I provide an overview and summary of the remaining chapters of the thesis.

In chapter two I argue that throughout the nineteenth century the dominant means of regulation reflected the ideology of *laissez faire*, which was expressed as 'voluntarism' in policy and practice within the educational system. This 'hands-off' approach to bourgeois governance did not only imply a minimal role for the national State in

educational provision, it also ensured that education was organised and delivered locally, through the church, private and philanthropic initiatives. When a direct State role in financing education did occur, as with elementary schooling after 1840, this was organised locally by the church, landed gentry and bourgeoisie (Johnson, 1970). In the case of technical and vocational education such a regime of governance allowed both industrial and financial capitalists to heavily influence or control their organisation and curricula (Donnelly, 1989; Wrigley, 1986). Thus, what it is important to understand about this type of social regulation is that its organisation depended upon the direct involvement and presence of the local bourgeoisie in the administration and execution of educational policy. In other words, its *modus operandi* during this period was primarily local in character.

The foundations of a national education system were laid with the introduction of the 1902 Education Act and 1904 Secondary Regulations. The purpose of this legislation was not only to quell the development of local and publicly funded educational initiatives which had moved beyond the restrictive confines of the existing elementary regulations (e. g. the higher grade schools), but to re-assert the predominance of the endowed grammar and 'public' school curriculum over both the elementary and technical. The effect of these policies was to orchestrate a political settlement in education that elaborated and perpetuated the hegemony of the 'English tradition' of a highly segmented education system. In this way the educational State was characterised by its reliance upon a differentiation between the 'secondary' and 'technical' as a means of .egulating the social relations of class. These reforms also acted to establish the conditions within which gender relations were constituted as part of technical education.

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The differentiation between the secondary and technical persisted and was enshrined in the 1944 Education Act, as exemplified in its creation of the tripartite system of grammar, technical and secondary modern that expressed Norwood's notion of 'three types of mind.' In the post-war period this tradition was modified by social democracy and particularly the growing influence of the ideological practices of progressivism. While I did not focus on this much studied era of English education, I have emphasised that progressivism and the so-called 'partnership' between teachers, the local education authorities (LEAs) and central State, was nevertheless subject to processes of capitalist regulation. This became particuarly evident with the advent of the 'Great Debate' on education in 1976 and the subsequent publication of the Green Paper, *Education in Schools* (1977). These developments marked the effective breakdown of the social democratic consensus and its replacement with a new phase of regulation that was embedded within the enterprise culture and new vocationalism.

In chapter three my purpose is to show how the new vocationalism and the relations of enterprise were connected to the 'politics of decline.' In particular, I argue that the notion of British economic decline acted as the underlying dynamic for the exploration of new modes of social regulation. From the late 1970s this tendency was expressed in British politics and society through a renascent new Conservatism. In government from 1979 successive new Conservative administrations have systematically constructed and elaborated a neo-liberal political economy that has proved to be highly corrosive of the post-war institutions of the social democratic settlement. This has been expressed in social policy through the generation of forms of social organisation that have

attempted to emulate the 'free market economy' of nineteenth century *laissez faire* capitalism. Indeed, it is my argument that the existing social democratic or welfare State of the post-war period was being remade in an enterprising form. How the relations of enterprise began to penetrate and colonise the educational State, particularly as this eventuated under TVEI, is the focus of analysis throughout the thesis.

This analysis suggests that TVEI should not be understood narrowly as a policy aimed at re-addressing the balance of the secondary curriculum in favour of the technical and vocational, as many observers have argued (Young, 1986, 1987, 1990; Thatcher, 1993; Woolhouse, 1984). Such a view, I contend, misconstrues both TVEI policy and practice by abstracting it from the politics of education in which it emerged and was embedded throughout the 1980s and 1990s. By contrast, when we approach TVEI in its relations with not only the new vocationalism, but the new conservatism and enterprise culture, then it is possible to construct an analysis of the Initiative which conceives of it as rendering an organisation of social relations that works to insert a 'moral economy of enterprise' within the schools that constitute this study. This has several dimensions, which I explore in subsequent chapters through my investigations of TVEI enterprise, management, business studies, and assessment.

In charter four, my purpose is to analyse and explicate how the relations of enterprise entered TVEI schools through the 'education for enterprise movement.' In particular, I am concerned to show how enterprise was given a concrete expression through classroom and school processes that implicated both teachers and students in the active construction of the capital relation. My focus is not only on how they made sense of

enterprise as it transpired within TVEI subjects, but on mechanisms and practices thrc 1gh which the relations of enterprise were construed as constituting the 'real world.' This, I argue, involved a process of ideological re-tooling under TVEI where schools, teachers, administrators, and students were systematically implicated within an organisation of social relations that emulated those of the business or commercial enterprise. Thus, through my investigations of the micro-enterprise, TVEI subjects (business studies and technology), and policy on information technology (IT), I am able to demonstrate how the existing processes of schooling were made to generate enterprising practices. As I explain, these were concerted and co-ordinated through the relations of 'entrepreneurship,' an emerging 'technological literacy,' and the reconstitution of administrative decision-making processes so as to 'generate wealth.'

In this rospect, chapter four begins to explore and map-out the reiterative character of TVEI in effecting a policy regime that aimed at asserting in new ways the domination of capital over publicly provided schooling. The gradual subordination of the secondary curriculum to the 'needs of industry' was accomplished at the expense of existing educational arrangements and practices within schools. In particular, I point to the way in which the relations of enterprise began to systematically absorb and colonise a pre-existing moral economy of educational progressivism. This assumed a number of different forms. For example, in chapters five and six I show how the 'management of change' under TVEI rendered transformations in the politics of the local educational State (LEA) which not only displaced teachers control over school-based decision-making but articulated this to an emerging 'managed market' in education. This involved the construction of a range

of interrelated mechanisms that introduced market accountability to schools. These included: categorical funding; the introduction of national performance indicators for TVEI teacher appraisal; the implementation of five-year school management plans; and the provisions of the Education Reform Act (ERA, 1988), particularly local financial management of schools.

However, the gradual transposition of professional/collegial relations with those of the market went beyond the reconstitution of existing school-based management practices. Indeed, I argue that the relations of enterprise did not only permeate the activities of school administration, but worked to secrete regimes of micro-management that profoundly altered the social organisation of teaching and learning within the classroom. Through my investigations of the micro-enterprise, business studies, and the 'new assessment,' I demonstrate how this process inserted the standpoint of capital as the basis for school-based decision-making. In relation to the micro-enterprise (chapter four), this was expressed in the qualities required to develop entrepreneurship. The connection that this social relation established for students between 'a greater sense of freedom' and making 'real money' and 'profits,' I argue, clearly appropriated to new Conservative ends the traditional tenets of a child-centred, educational progressivism. I emphasise that while entrepreneurship may have been considered an empowering process for the development of the whole child, this was nevertheless deeply implicated in constructing forms of subjectivity that were immersed in the relations of enterprise.

Chapters five and six are concerned with the management of change under TVEI. I argue that the peculiar managerial character of TVEI cannot be adequately understood

using conventional approaches to school administration and management. Indeed, in many ways, TVEI did not conform to a formal managerial initiative. However, my argument has been that the TVEI aims and criteria provided for a specific form of managerial development and practice that imported capitalist social relations into the everyday processes of schooling. This had two dimensions. First, TVEI mechanisms disorganised the existing forms of school leadership and management which had been introduced under the social democratic era. This depended upon professional/collegial relations as expressed in the 'partnership' between teacher organisations, local government, and the Department of Education and Science (DES). Second, TVEI worked to install in the place of those arrangements a new set of managerial relations and practices aimed at opening up schools to the regulatory effects of an emerging managed market in education. I have drawn upon Thompson's (1976) notion of a 'grid' to conceptualise how this process was expressed as a managerial grid. This, I argued, not only effected new social divisions between teachers, but recontextualised the practices and relations of school management within the politics of an emerging enterprise culture, particularly as this was mediated by market relations. Lastly, I argued that all of this laid the ground for the ERA which was to extend and elaborate these forms of regulation on a national basis.

In chapter seven I focus my analysis on the curriculum area of business studies. I argue that the advent of the 'business world' approach to business education under TVEI named the emergence of a collection of social practices that, while they rested upon progressive methods, nevertheless worked to embed the production of classroom knowledge and experience within the relations of enterprise. This process was not only
reflected in teachers' accounts of the changing character of the business studies classroom. but also in its actual organisation. In particular, my analysis of the class on 'Retailing and Security' in Riverside Comprehensive illustrates how this approach rendered forms of classroom activity which implicated students in decision-making processes that expressed the interests of retailers as owners of capital. This analysis has two implications for the way in which we can comprehend how the social relations of class were being effected under TVEI. First, it reminds us that contemporary regimes of skilling are never purely technical or neutral, but are embedded within an historical relation that has always aimed at the moralisation of technical competence in the working class. In the nineteenth century this was achieved primarily through religion, whereas in the contemporary era it has been secularised through individual skill acquisition within the context of the enterprise culture. Second, it points to the way in which the social relations of class are being reconstituted to produce enterprising individuals in ways that do not recognise traditional class solidarities (or boundaries) that were specific to industrial capitalism. In Riverside Comprehensive this process worked to dislocate students identities from their real, lived, experience of class and reposition them from within an organisation of social relations defined by enterprise.

In chapter eight 1 conclude my exploration of the forms of micro-management that TVEI generated by investigating the effects of the 'new assessment' within classrooms. There are two elements to the argument which I advance. The first is that like the traditional examination, the new assessment practices can be understood as being embedded within an historical process that centre on the social regulation of class relations. The second is that despite its origins within school-based developments and

progressivism in the 1960s, the new assessment is nevertheless colonised and subordinated to the new vocationalism and politics of enterprise. Thus, a set of progressive mechanisms and practices that were originally developed to establish a system of assessment to support the commitment to the development of the 'whole child' within English schools was effectively articulated to the 'needs of industry' from the late 1970s. I explored how this was accomplished in the classroom through pupil-profiling and social and life skills (SLS), both of which comprised 'core' elements of the TVEI curriculum.Profiling, I argue, constituted a contemporary form of 'surveillance' that had the propensity to be both invisible and yet highly regulatory of classroom behaviour. It achieved this effect by making accountable student beliefs, attitudes, and experiences within and outside school that had hitherto been hidden from formal assessment procedures. That profiling began to spread and embed itself within the practices of organisations other than schools (e.g. MacDonald's), I argue, also suggests that it constituted a generalised technology of regulation within English society and schooling in ways that paralleled the proliferation of examinations from the 1850s.

I then extend and develop this line of analysis in relation to social and life skills. My investigations here suggested that as an integral element of both pupil profiling and pedagogy, SLS could be understood as constituting TVEI's 'hidden curriculum.' That is, through its detailed prescription of the types of skill that students should acquire, SLS represented a contemporary technology of subjectification that aimed at the preparation of abstract labour for the 'flexible' job market. This, I argued, was primarily effected through requiring students to actively acquire the skills, attitudes, and attributes necessary for the

construction of the 'enterprising self.' In other words SLS developed and extended what I earlier pointed to as the moralisation of technical competence in that it was concerned with imbuing students' learning experiences with a particular set of values, beliefs, and orientations for proper and correct conduct for young people entering the 'free-enterprise economy' (Thatcher, 1995).

Thus, well before the introduction of the market-led reforms of the ERA (1988), TVEI had already begun to fundamentally alter and re-organise the post-war landscape of English education. While it instituted a decisive break with the forms of educational governance established through the 1944 Education Act and developments of the 1960s, it nevertheless pre-figured a policy regime in schooling that had ideological roots in the voluntarist tradition of local organising characteristic of the nineteenth century. In this respect the reforms that flowed from TVEI clearly articulated with the new Conservative project of establishing the conditions for the growth of an enterprise culture in the British economy and society. However, in the 1990s these forms of local action were coordinated by a managed market that was mandated by the central State. As Prime Minister Thatcher put it, this constituted "not so much a programme, more a way of life" (1993). This thesis is concerned to not only explicate how this 'way of life' materialised under TVEI, but to show how it could be understood as part of an on-going historical relation that has continually worked to secure the hegemony of capitalist social relations in English education.

Overall, the implications of this analysis of TVEI for future research on technical and vocational education are several. This thesis arises out of a long-standing interest in

issues of methodology in historical and social research as they relate to education and schooling. In this context, its major contribution has been to develop and elaborate the approach I have called historical ethnography. While I have primarily been concerned in this thesis to show how this methodology is useful for the investigation of educational processes, it also holds promise for other forms of social inquiry. In particular, it has the capacity to shift the focus of investigation away from reliance upon structural models that are inherently abstract and top-down in their view of the social world. By contrast, historical ethnography centres our methodological eye on an approach which begins investigation within the everyday world. In doing this, historical ethnography allows the construction of a standpoint that throws a different light on how social life is organised and put together. As I have shown, even taken-for-granted concepts, such as 'the State,' 'policy,' 'management,' and 'change' begin to assume a very different character when considered from below.

This shift can be illustrated in how I have treated the issue of policy throughout the thesis. Within the conventional literature on educational policy studies, policy is most often presented as a structural element that is embedded within technical-rational processes that extend outward from the State. Using the approach of historical ethnography, a very different conception of policy emerges which understands policy as a primarily political or ideological intervention in the processes of schooling. That is, policy is conceptualised from a perspective which places emphasis on how it produces, shapes, and re-constitutes the lived experience of the everyday world. This approach is close to Grace's (1995) notion of 'policy scholarship' which represents a conscious attempt to

break with dominant approaches within educational policy studies (Guba, 1984; Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

The study of technical and vocational education policy and practice provides a particularly fertile arena for the exploration of these interests. That is, conventional and structural-functionalist approaches have treated technical and vocational education as primarily concerned with the transmission of a body of knowledge and skills aimed at producing technical competence within the workforce. In this way, forms of technical and vocational provision are seen to be fundamentally connected with the on-going prosperity of a nation's economy in preparing its workforce for technological advance and foreign competition (Confederation of British Industry, 1991). In contrast, by appproaching technical and vocational education from the ground-up (the classroom, the work-site), we can see that far from being a narrowly technical and functionalist undertaking, technical and vocational education is actually infused with a wide array of ideological and moral imperatives that are part of realising the capital relation in a social form. As I argue, these express the capital relation. Understood this way, technical and vocational education policy is better understood as being fundamentally implicated within processes of cultural production that centre on the formation of character, 'ability,' 'intelligence' and more broadly, community life. In short, it is about the moralisation of technical competence as a cultural phenomenon. Approached from this perspective, research on technical and vocational education dove-tails with contemporary developments in social theory (e.g. cultural studies and postmodernism).

Looking beyond the thesis, at least three new areas of scholarly investigation suggest themselves for research. First, the methodological approach of historical ethnography does have applications beyond research on technical and vocational education policy and practice. In particular, its use for forms of educational research that attempt to work beyond the given parameters of conventional approaches is highly relevant. Second, the study I have completed here focuses on developments within the English educational system between 1982-3 and 1992. Not only have trends since then tended to confirm the analysis I have presented here, they have also become evident in North America as well (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1993). This suggests a further, comparative, dimension of inquiry with developments in Canada and the United States. Third, an enduring theme throughout my research has focused on the creation of technologies of micro-management for the regulation of schooling, and more broadly, everyday life under the new Conservatism. Further study of the proliferation of these forms of regulation (e. g. profiling and life skills) and how they are becoming the modus operandi of forms of capitalist rationalisation for the twenty first century would appear to be another useful avenue for social inquiry.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Prime Minister Thatcher, (Thatcher, 1993).

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### GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS

DTEC	
BTEC	Business Technician Education Council
CCCS	Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies
CDT	Craft Design and Technology
CGLI	City and Guilds of London Institute
CPVE	Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education
CSE	Certificate of Secondary Education
CSE	Conference of Socialist Economists
CTC	City Technology College
DES	Department of Education and Science
DFEE	Department for Education and Employment (formerly DES)
EATE	Enterprise Awareness in Teacher Training
EIU	Economic and Industrial Understanding
ERA	Education Reform Act (1988)
FE	Further Education
FEU	Further Education Unit
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GERBIL	Great Education Reform Bill
GMS	Grant Maintained School
GNVQ	General National Vocational Qualification
GSM	General School Meeting (of Redmond College)
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectors (of Schools)
HRD	Human Resource Development
ICL	International Computers Limited
IMS	Institute of Manpower Studies
INSET	In-Service Training
IT	Information Technology
LCC	London County Council
LEA	Local Education Authority
LIB	Lead Industry Bodies
LMS	Local Management of Schools
MESP	Mini-Enterprise into Schools Project
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
NAO	National Audit Office
NCC	National Curriculum Council
NCVQ	National Council of Vocational Qualifications
NRA	National Record of Achievement
NROVA	National Record of Vocational Achievement
NVQ	National Vocational Qualification
OCEA	Oxford Certificate of Educational Achievement
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
PIC	Private Industry Council

Pls	Performance Indicators
PSE	Personal and Social Education
ROA	Record of Achievement
ROSLA	Raising of the School Leaving Age (1972)
RSA	Royal Society of Arts
SAT	Standard Assessment Test
SCC	Smith Community College
SCT	Science of Common Things
SLS	Social and Life Skills
TEC	Training and Enterprise Council
TVEI	Technical and Vocational Education Initiative

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#### METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

This dissertation draws on a large body of data which was originally collected under the auspices of the University of Leeds national evaluation of TVEI (curriculum). It consisted of two separate phases - 1985-88 and 1991-92. I was a full-time field researcher and later consultant on both these studies over a period of seven years (i. e. 1985-1992) and was granted access to the full data archive for the purposes of my dissertation. While I have used data from the original 26 schools visited for the pilot study between 1985-88, I have made a conscious effort to focus on 10 schools which were also part of the 1991-92 follow-up study (pseudonyms are used in the text). This approach not only allowed for a stronger comparative and longitudinal dimension, it also meant that informants in the later study had seven years continuous experience of TVEI to draw upon (i. e. between 1985-1992).

In each school the following were interviewed: the headmaster, deputy headmaster(s) as well as senior administrators within the LEA; the TVEI school coordinator; subject teachers involved in TVEI curriculum development (e. g. Information Technology (IT); business studies, design and technology, SLS/PSE); and TVEI work experience co-ordinators. Classroom observation focused exclusively on the work of TVEI subject teachers/students. In this respect, both studies aimed to solicit the views, perceptions and experiences of a broad range of teachers/administrators involved in TVEI at different levels and areas of school work.

The data for each study was derived from well established methods widely used in educational ethnography, including: individual and group interviews taped with teachers Methodological Appendix, continued

taped; student materials produced in the classroom; a wide range of curriculum, management/organisation documents; and field notes on each project/school visited. As validation checks on the data, follow-up interviews and a 'feed-back' seminar were organised with faculty at the end of visits to each school to report findings. The seminars had a double function in allowing the research team to disseminate their findings, as well as to elicit comment and criticism from faculty. Throughout a visit to a school (the two) members of the research team would also continually share and cross-check data to ensure validity of findings. At a regional and national level, teacher/administrator workshops and conferences were held for a similar purpose. Data collected from each school visit was then housed in an TVEI archive at the University of Leeds.

I have approached the analysis of the data using a methodology I have coined 'historical ethnography.' I have adopted this for several reasons. First, it is important to recognise that both the 1985-88 and 1991-2 studies were designed and organised for the purposes of collecting evaluative data for the MSC. That is, although I directly participated in the collection of data for the TVEI pilot and acted as a consultant for the follow-up study, the questions which these studies posed were those of the MSC, not mine (see Barnes et al, 1986, 1988). In this sense, while both studies had an ethnographic or qualitative orientation, they nevertheless reflected the concerns and requirements of the MSC for information on TVEI. Thus, when I came back to the data for the purposes of my dissertation, I was confronted with an archive that contained a mass of material that was organised in ways that did not speak directly to my own particular concerns regarding technical and vocational education or TVEI. This required that I adopt a stance similar to Methodological Appendix, continued

that of a social or cultural historian examining historical data. As E. P. Thompson (1991) has put it, this entails a relationship to the data where one has to be "listening all the time." In particular, attention is given over to listening for evidences of how forms of 'talk' and experience reveal how certain kinds of social organisation emerge, co-ordinate, and concert everyday life under capitalism. In this respect, ethnography and history share a common focus, the disclosing of meanings-in-context as they emerge as part of on-going historical processes.

However, as I use it, historical ethnography goes beyond the disclosure of local meaning or forms of cultural understanding. Its foci are several. Following both Smith (1987) and Thompson (1967, 1991), it adopts a broadly interpretative stance which is not concerned with proof of a hypothesis, or a fixed truth claim, but focuses on a 'problematic' which is aimed at describing, illustrating, and making visible the underlying organisation of social activity. For example, the problematic which this thesis centres on is the historical relationship between vocational education, social regulation, and class and State formation. Such an approach to social inquiry focuses our attention on forms of questioning that give primacy to 'how' rather than 'why' questions. That is, historical ethnography is concerned with the *making* of social relations and processes over time and the means by which these are sustained and transformed.

This methodology also points toward handling data in particular ways. Because I am primarily concerned with questions of historical and social process, I have made efforts to integrate questions of method and methodology with the data, rather than separating them out as conventional social scientific procedures often require. In this way Methodological Appendix, continued

ethnographic data may be used not only to illustrate a substantive empirical claim as part of the research process, it can also be usefully employed to pose important questions concerning theory, methodology, and the practices of research. In short, this kind of research methodology is not about procedures; it is about training ones judgement to make informed choices as part of the research process and to understand why they are being made.

My use of both historical and ethnographic data throughout the thesis has been to gain "point of entry" (Smith, 1987) to networks of social relations that co-ordinate and define human activity in particular ways. Understood this way, capitalist social relations turn out to be readily available to investigation through the routine actions of everyday life. In this respect, capitalism can be comprehended as being constituted precisely in the on going activities of real, living people. That is, capitalism itself is not something else, illuminated by everyday activity, *it is everyday activity*, organised under particular circumstances, in particular ways.

### APPENDIX I

Source: TVEI Operating Manual Manpowe: Services Commission (1983)

### **TVEI** Aims

- A In conjunction with LEAs/EAs to give young people aged 14-18 in all maintained schools and colleges access to a wider and richer curriculum based on the lessons emerging from the pilot TVEI projects, so that:
  - (i) more of them are attracted to seek the qualifications/skills which will be of direct value to them at work and more of them achieve these qualifications and skills;
  - (ii) they are better equipped to enter the world of employment which will await them;
  - (iii) they acquire a more direct appreciation of the practical application of the qualifications for which they are working;
  - (iv) they become accustomed to using their skills and knowledge to solve the realworld problems they will meet at work, and in adult life;
  - (v) the construction of the bridge from education to work is begun earlier by giving young people the opportunity to have direct contact and planned work experience with local employers in the relevant specialisms;
  - (vi) the construction of the bridge from education to work is begun earlier by giving young people the opportunity to have direct contact and planned work experience with local employers in the relevant specialisms;
  - (vii) there is close collaboration between local education authorities and industry/commerce/public services etc., so that the curriculum has industry's confidence.
- B To undertake (A) in such a way that:
- (i) the detailed aims can be achieved cost-effectively;
- (ii) the educational lessons learnt from the pilots can be applied to all students aged 14-18;

- (iii) the educational structures/schemes established to further the aims of the Initiative are consistent with progressive development in skill and vocational education and training outside the school environment, existing vocational education for under 16-year-old young people, and higher education;
- (iv) emphasis is placed on appropriate arrangements for monitoring and evaluation;
- (v) the extension plans are prepared and managed by the education authority concerned;
- (vi) the overall conduct, progress and development of the Initiative can be assessed and monitored by the Commission, advised by the National Steering Group and the TVEI Unit.

# <u>Criteria</u>

1 The pilot projects selected will represent a variety of approaches to the provision of full-time general, technical, and vocational studies which are adapted to the varying abilities and interests of young people age 14-18. "Vocational Education" is to be interpreted as education in which the students are concerned to acquire generic or specific skills with a view to employment. Projects should cater for students across the ability range, having regard to the need for project courses to lead to nationally recognised qualifications: the balance between what is offered for different ability levels is expected to vary between projects. Consideration should also be given to accommodating some students with special educational needs.

### Content of programmes

- 2 Each project should comprise one or more sets of full-time programmes with the following characteristics:
- 1. Equal opportunities should be available to young people of both sexes and they should normally be educated together on courses within each project. Care should be taken to avoid sex stereotyping.
- 2. They should provide four-year curricula, with progression from year to year, designed to prepare the student for particular aspects of employment and for adult life in a society liable to rapid change.
- 3. They should have clear and specific objectives, including the objectives of encouraging initiative, problem-solving abilities, and other aspects of personal development.

- 4. The balance between the general, technical and vocational elements of programmes should vary according to students' individual needs and the stage of the course, but throughout the programme there should be both a general and a technical/vocational element.
- 5. The technical and vocational elements should be broadly related to potential employment opportunities within and outside the geographical area for the young people concerned.
- 6. There should be appropriate planned work experience as an integral part of the programmes, from the age of 15 onwards, bearing in mind the provisions of the Education (Work Experience) Act 1973.
- 7. Courses offered should be capable of being linked effectively with subsequent training/educational opportunities.
- 8. Arrangements should be made for regular assessment and for students and tutors to discuss students' performance/progress. Each student, and his or her parents, should also receive a periodic written assessment, and have an opportunity to discuss this assessment with the relevant project teachers. Good careers and educational counselling will be essential.

### Qualifications to be attained

3 Students should normally be preparing for one or more nationally recognised qualifications to be gained by the end of the programme. Given the wide spread of ability, a wide range of such qualifications will need to e aimed at, including TEC/BEC (at nonadvanced levels), RSA certificates, CGLI certificates, GCE A-levels and GCE O-levels, CSE and, when available, the proposed CPVE. Some students may seek to gain a qualification at say age 16 as a stepping stone to gaining an additional one by the end of the programme.

4 On completing their studies, students should be issued by the LEA with a record of achievement describing qualifications gained and recording significant elements and attainments which are not readily deducible from the qualification, eg. work experience and personal successes.

### Institutional arrangements

5 Each project should be clearly identifiable and it should be clear how staff and students relate to it. Arrangements should be made so that staff, students and all those involved in the project are aware of its purposes, main features and scope. Each project should also have a co-ordinator who is responsible for the project as a whole.

6 It will be for LEAs to make and operate arrangements for admission to the programme./ These arrangements should permit entry to the project of a wide ability range on the basis of readily defensible criteria. Interested parents, prospective students and their

teachers should be informed of these arrangements, and provision should be made for counselling concerning entry to the programme.

7 Each programme should be part of the total provision of the institution(s) in which it takes place so that the students may take part with others in the life of the institution(s). (The education offered in the institution(s) to those not on the programme should continue to contain technical or vocational elements as appropriate, and those not on the programme should not be adversely affected by the conduct of the programme).

8 In organising the programme the LEA is expected to use existing institutions in whatever combination or adaptation is appropriate. The time-table for projects does not readily permit arrangements which would so alter the character of a school as to require the publication of Section 12 proposals.

It is suggested that each project whether it is within a single LEA or undertaken jointly be several LEAs, should cover between 800-1000 students (ie. between 200 and 250 per year group). The Commission will be prepared to consider projects on a smaller or larger scale but MSC funding will be related to no more than 1000 students. Numbers in excess of this would need to be funded by the Authority. Each programme should be planned on the basis of an intake of four generations of students. The arrangements will need to be flexible enough to accommodate movement in and out, for whatever reason, of some students during the 4-year course, and should address the question whether movement out should be compensated by the admission of students after the age of 14. There will also need to be flexibility between courses within programmes.

10 It will be for the LEA to propose whether each project should have one or more sets of programmes, its geographical spread within the LEA and any departures from the conventional pattern of the school/FE day week or year. Each project should be designed to ensure that there is a significant number of TVEI students in each participating school/college; the participating schools, individually or through consortia arrangements, can achieve a significant widening of the curriculum and of technical and vocational curriculum options; and sufficient resources can be provided for each participating school/college so that adequate facilities and equipment are available for the provision of the new curriculum options.

#### **Resources**

11 Each project should envisage appropriate resources for effective delivery of the programme, including the work experience component, on an adequate scale in particular:

- Part or full-time teachers/instructors, where appropriate from industry, as may be necessary to secure that those teaching in the project have the required qualifications, up-to-date subject expertise, and experience in, or aptitude for, working with 14-18 year olds. The requirement for formal teaching qualifications will depend on the institutional arrangements made in each case, and will need to be subject to any legal requirements as to the qualifications required under such arrangements.
- 2. Accommodation, equipment, and teaching materials appropriate to the age group and, as far as possible, reflecting changes and advances in technology.

### Local support arrangements

12 Without prejudice to existing statutory requirements, each project should be supported and guided locally by a mechanism bringing together, in an effective manner the interests most directly concerned, viz the LEA, local industry and commerce, teachers and lecturers, and, where possible, parents and interested voluntary bodies.

### Content of formal proposals from LEAs

13 Proposals from LEAs put forward formally for the purpose of being selected as one of the projects should:

- 1. Be based on the criteria in 1-12 above.
- 2. Indicate at Annexes C, D, E and F respectively the student throughput, the staff requirements and the estimated costs of the scheme. Cash outturn prices should be used throughout, making the best possible assumptions about movements in salary and other costs.
- 3. Indicate how co-operation with local industry, commerce and the public services would be effected, particularly in respect of the provision, management, and assessment of work experience.
- 4. Indicate the additional vocational education opportunities the project would offer beyond those on offer within the LEA concerned in 1984/84.
- 5. Indicate the arrangements for in-service training before and after the launch of the project for those teaching on it.
- 6. Indicate the LEA's intention for monitoring the project, for appraisal and adaptation in the light of monitoring, and for evaluation for the LEA's own purposes. The MSC will seek some standard elements in monitoring arrangements and will be making proposals, in which LEAs will be asked to cooperate, for evaluating each project, and the scheme as a whole.

**TVEI - September 1983** 

APPENDIX II

Source: Curtis, A.J., TVEI Review, 1990

### The TVEI Focus Statement (1989)

WHAT IS TVEI?

TVEI's role is to help produce a more highly skilled, competent, effective and enterprising workforce for the 1990s. It is a bold, long term strategy, unique amongst nations, for investing in the skills of ALL our young people 14-19 in full time education and equipping them for the demands of working life in a rapidly changing highly technological society.

It does this by:

- relating what is learnt in schools and colleges to the world of work;

- improving the skills and qualifications for all; in particular in science, technology, information technology and modern languages;

- providing young people with direct experience of the world of work through real work experience;

- enabling young people to be effective, enterprising and capable at work through active and practical learning methods;

- providing counseling, guidance, individual action plans, records of achievement and opportunities to progress to higher levels of achievement.

### **Priorities for TVEI in the 1990s**

### THE EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT'S ROLE IN EDUCATION

1. The Employment Department's fundamental role is to ensure that the workforce is equipped with the competence needed in a high productivity, high skill, and high-technology economy. Thus the Training Agency's influence is crucial to the economic needs of our society and the training needs of our people.

### EDUCATION PROGRAMME'S DIRECTORATE

2. The Education Programme's Directorate of the Training Agency therefore seeks to ensure that the Education System operates in a way which supports the Department's main role.

It does this by helping Education to be:

- relevant to the world of work;

- responsive to the needs of employers;

- accessible to adults of any age or stage;
- practical and enterprising as well as academic;
- more flexible in delivery;
- responsive in raising standards of attainment;
- accredited by qualifications or records of achievement.
- 3. The Directorate's interventions and programmes have the following elements in common:

- Involvement of employers directly in Education - through governorships, steering committees, and commitment in cash or kind;

- Involvement of students in the world of work directly through work experience, work shadowing or doing projects in the real economy

- The development of Teaching and Learning strategies which develop enterprise, initiative and capability in the students;

- Involvement of employers in learning, to make it more real, relevant, motivating and work related e.g. through problem solving and work based projects;

- A guidance and counseling strategy which encourages individual action plans with achievable goals and a Record of Achievement.

4. The Programmes which deliver these elements are:

- TVEl extension 1987-97 which influences all 14-18 year olds in full-time Education;

- **Compacts and Partnerships** which are taking much further the close working relationship between Employers and Schools/Colleges with the aim that all those leaving full-time education get jobs which guarantee training and continuing education;

-The Careers Service which has access to all school leavers and provides guidance on careers and education to them;

- WRFE: Work Related Further Education. Further Education Colleges deliver 70% of the training in the country. WRFE influence ensures it is sufficiently flexible and responsive to the needs of employers and individuals.

### HIGHER EDUCATION

- Enterprise in Higher Education is making undergraduates more enterprising and effective when they finally go to work;

**HTNT** - High Technology National Training which is reskilling unemployed people with technology skills, getting them back to work.

### TVEI

5. Against the above background and that of the developments stemming from the Education Reform Act of 1988, TVEI is committed to the following priorities:

- The development of Partnerships between business and education;

- The delivery of TVEI 16-18 curriculum entitlement (see the 16-18 Guidance document);

- The development, promotion, evaluation and dissemination of flexible and open learning approaches, to enhance and support greater personal effectiveness of the learner,

- The development of **the individual** through the acquisition of relevant qualifications, work experience, careers guidance, records of achievement, and individual action plans.

- 6. To support the programme priorities, a planned approach to the development of its own staff, is a feature of the TVEI Unit's operations, ensuring detailed programme understanding, appreciation of the relevant parts of the education and training systems, awareness of complementary programmes, and training in general skills as well as personal development activity.
- 7. TVEI and the whole Directorate subscribes to a general mission to encourage recognition of the principle that every person has a positive contribution to make to the well being of the community and that this principle contributes to the Department's aim of enhancing the competence of the workforce.

APPENDIX III

Source: Pole, C. (1993)

# DESCRIPTOR SHEETS

For use with: A: 2nd and 3rd Years B: 4th and 5th Years

A NAME		FORM STAFF CODE
<b>1.0</b> 1.1	Self	I always enjoy school. I think school's all right. I don't like school much.
1.2		I always take pride in how I look. I am nearly always clean and tidy. I am not bothered how I look.
1.3		I make sure I bring the right books and equipment. I mostly bring them. I often forget to bring them. I don't care whether J have them or not.
1.4		I always try my best, even if the teacher leaves me to work on my own. I need the teacher from time to time to encourage me. I only work when the teacher makes me.
1.5		When I do tests or exams: I produce my very best work. I do about the same as in lesson time. I don't do as well as in lesson time. I'm likely to go to pieces.
1.6		When I have to make my mind up about something: I consider it from all points of view. I think about it for a bit. I do the first thing that comes into my head.

•

- 1.7 If a teacher criticizes my work:
  - I try to do better next time.
  - I am not put off.
  - I am too fed up to bother again.
- 1.8 If something embarrassing happens to me:
  - I don't show how I feel.
  - $\square$  I usually get over it quickly.
  - I get upset or cannot control my feelings.
- 1.9 U I like to tackle something new.
  - I like doing things I am used to.
- 1.10 If I cannot get my own way:
  - I just keep on about it.
  - l I make the best of it.
  - I have a moan.
  - [] I sulk quietly.
  - □ l cry.
  - I go away.
  - □ I get angry.
  - [] I hit out.

# 1.11 I someone really upsets me:

- I forget about it quickly.
- I feel upset for a while.
- I keep on until I get my own back.
- 1.12
   I often suddenly feel miserable for no reason.

   □ Yes
   □ No

# 1.13 Which of these things fits you best:

- I prefer to keep a friend for a long time.
- I prefer to keep changing my friends.

2

# 2.0 Relationships with others

. 1	Which do you	usually like best?:
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- Being with lots of people of your own age.
- Being with several people of your own age.
- Being with one friend.
- Being on your own.
- **Being with adults**.

# 2.2 In the group:

 $\square$  You are the one who is always at the centre of things.

- $\Box$  You join in willingly.
- 2.3  $\square$  You always seem to know how everybody is feeling.
  - U You only really tune in with the feelings of your friends.
  - $\Box$  You don't' seem to bother how other people feel.
- 2.4 Talking to adults in school:
  - $\Box$  You find it easy to hold a conversation with anyone you meet.
  - I You talk best with adults you know.
  - $\square$  You find it difficult to hold a conversation.
- 2.5\* You seem to know how to behave with the following people:

	Yes	No
School staff	Ω	
Visitors to school	<b>[</b> ]	

- 2.6 [] You stick to the school rules
  - U You sometimes don't observe the school rules.
  - □ You often break school rules.

# 3.0 School work

- □ Your interest and attention varies from one lesson to another.
- ☐ You find it difficult to concentrate because you've other things on your mind.

- You find it hard to keep your mind on work and you don't bother to try.
- 3.2 I You pick the right things to do most jobs.
  - 2 You generally need to be told what things to use.

3.3	You can carry out quite difficult instructions spoken by the teacher.
	You usually understand what the teacher tells you.
	You have a job to follow what the teacher is saying.
3.4	You can easily explain anything to anybody.
	You can explain most things to people.
	You find it hard to say what you mean.
3.5	You can easily look anything up in reference books in the classroom and the library.
	You can find out what you want to know from books the teacher provides.
	You have a bit of a struggle with many books.
3.6	U You can use the information you have gathered to present your point of view in writing.
	You can write answers to questions about a passage you have read.
	You find most written work difficult.
3.7	Your work generally is:
	Tidy and attractively laid out.
	Clear and easily followed.
	U Untidy and disorganized.
	Scruffy and messy.
3.8	You seem to do your best work:
	In a group.
	With one other person.
	On your own.
3.9	You prefer to do your own work:
	I In the classroom.
	1 In the library.
	LI At home
	At a friend's house.
	In the local library.

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### B

Personal and social qualities

### 1.0 Cheerfulness

- 1.3  $\Box$  Except for the occasional 'low' is cheerful.
- 1.4 Is easily depressed when faced with problems with either schoolwork or relationships.

# 2.0 Helpfulness

- 2.2  $\Box$  When he/she does see that help is needed, he/she gives it.
- 2.3  $\Box$  When asked for help he/she gives it.
- 2.4 🛛 Is reluctant to give help to others.
- 2.5 Discrete 2.5 Never volunteers to give help to others.
- 3.0 Open-mindedness
- 3.1 I Understands and respects other people's points of view.
- 3.2 Is prepared to reflect upon the opinions of others.
- 3.3 **I** Is prepared to listen to the opinions of others.
- 3.4 **D** Rarely gives proper consideration to the opinions of other people.
- 3.5 Is not prepared to listen to, nor to consider the opinions of other people.

### 4.0 Responding to an emergency

- 4.2 Keeps cool and gives a helping hand in an emergency.
- 4.3 Carries out instructions in an emergency.
- 4.4 I Has never been involved in an emergency but believes he/she will remain calm.
- 4.5 [] Is inclined to panic easily.

### 5.0 Perseverance

- 5.1  $\square$  Always tries to see a task through.
- 5.2 **Tries to complete tasks which interest him/her.**
- 5.3  $\Box$  Needs encouragement to see a task through.
- 5.5 G Shows little inclination to see a task through unless closely supervised.
- 5.6 Unable to persevere with a task for any length of time even when given encouragement.

# 6.0 Punctuality

- 6.1 [] Is punctual.
- 6.3  $\Box$  Is often late.

# 7.0 Reliability

- 7.1  $\Box$  Can be depended upon to carry out what he/she has undertaken to do.
- 7.2  $\Box$  Can usually be relied upon to carry out any task that he/she undertakes.
- 7.3 I Has shown himself/herself to be unreliable on a number of occasions.

### 8.0 Self-assurance

- 8.3  $\square$  With support is confident in familiar work situations.
- 8.4  $\Box$  Is confident in the company of his/her peer group.
- 8.5 Is reserved and diffident in the company of adults.
- 8.6 Shows little confidence in his/her own abilities.

# 9.0 Sociability

- 9.1 A popular and central figure with a wide circle of friends.
- 9.2 **G** Forms and maintains good relationships with fellow pupils and adults.
- 9.3 D Whilst getting on well with small group of friends he/she finds it difficult to form relationships with other people.
- 9.4 Is able to mix well with fellow pupils but prefers to be alone.
- 9.5 **C** Relationships with others can be spoilt by a lack of self-restraint.
- 9.6 🛛 Has only one or two friends.
- 9.7 I Has great difficulty in relating to anyone outside the immediate family.



# 10.0 Sense of responsibility

10.1	Has a mature and responsible attitude to self and others.
10.2	Takes the responsibility for the consequences of his/her own actions.
10.3	Sometimes needs reminding of his/her own responsibilities.
10.4	Occasionally behaves in an irresponsible manner.

10.5 🛛 Often behaves in an irresponsible manner.

### **Out of school**

Comments

□ You manage to get yourself up in good time

□ You need a lot of calling and then have to rush around.

You make your bed and leave your room tidy:		Yes	No 🗌		
	Yes	Sometimes		No	
You help with:					
Washing up:					
Cleaning jobs:					
Repair jobs:					
Family wash:		C			
Shopping:					
Cooking meals:	C)				
Gardening:					

 $\Box$  You have prepared a full meal for yourself.

I You have cooked yourself a hot snack.

□ You make good cup of tea or coffee.