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New Labour: Governmentality, Social Exclusion and Education Policy

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Abstract

This thesis critically explores the broad relationship between New Labour's adoption of social exclusion as a policy concept and the outworking of this commitment within instances of policy directed at compulsory education. It presents and deploys Foucault's idea of governmentality as a perspective from which to undertake critical policy analysis. It considers approaches to policy analysis and posits a layered model that looks to explicate levels and forms of power within the policy system; including a concern to integrate the place and function of policy texts. An account of the main dimensions of New Labour's Third Way politics is developed, together with a broad account of New Labour's attempts to govern compulsory education. Critical Discourse Analysis is applied to interpret and explain two texts posited as capturing a particular historical moment in New Labour's adoption and commitment to a recognisable conceptualisation of social exclusion. A governmentality perspective is employed to analyse policy around social exclusion within the Third Way politics of New Labour following 1997. This analysis has a particular focus on how this social exclusion dimension was accommodated within the broader schematic of Third Way governmentality and how it interacted with and emerged within policy around compulsory education in the early years of New Labour. The analysis concludes that the social exclusion dimension of New Labour's policy ambitions was present, but sublimated within the conflicted policy climate of compulsory education arising from New Labour's distinctive governmentality.

Contents

	Page
List of Tables	4
List of Figures	5
Preface	6
Chapter 1: The Analytical Frame	14
Chapter 2: Foucault's Governmentality	61
Chapter 3: The Project of Third Way	87
Chapter 4: Governing the Excluded	125
Chapter 5: The Third Way State in Compulsory Education	168
Chapter 6: The Intransigence of Exclusion	254
Chapter 7: The Future of Social Exclusion	282
Appendices	294
References	310
Endnotes	325

List of Tables

Table 1.1: Lawton's (1992:10) multilevel schema of educational ideology

Table 2.1: Advantages and Limitations of the Strategist Approach

Table 3.1: The main components of Considine's Policy Systems

Table 4.1: The main components of Bowe, Ball and Gold's (1992) Policy Contexts

Table 5.3: Summary of Giddens' Third Way in relation to classical accounts of Social Democracy

Table 6.3: Essential ideological locations on the political field

Table 7.3: The emergence of new single-issue politics and social movements (sub-politics)

Table 8.3: Modes of Liberal Governmentality

Table 9.4: Chronology of texts

Table 10.4: Word count analysis of two main texts

Table 11.4: Three Paradigms of Social Exclusion. Adapted from Silver, 1995:62

Table 12.4: Three discourses of social exclusion (Levitas, 1998:7)

Table 13.4: Gallup Political and Economic Index.

Table 14.5: Two Aspects of the New Right. Adapted from Belsey (1986:173)

Table 15.6: Earnings Growth for full-time workers 1997-2002

Table 16.6: Pupils gaining expected levels of 5-14 attainment in publicly funded schools, 2003/4

Table 17.6: Successful applications to Higher Education from 17 to 19 year olds, 2000 to 2002

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: A policy cycle model

Figure 2.1: Considine's (1994) policy system

Figure 3.1: Interaction of Policy Contexts (Bowe, Ball and Gold, 1992)

Figure 4.1: A Layered Policy Model

Figure 5.1: Discourse as text, interaction and context

Figure 6.1: Dimensions of Discourse and Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1995:98)

Figure 7.1: Archer's (1984) Model of Change

Figure 8.4: Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis

Figure 9.4: Classical Social Stratification

Figure 10.4: Schematic of Giddens'ⁱ and Third Way Models of the Social Order

Figure 11.5: Governmental Reason and Policy Initiation

Figure 12.6: Shares of total household income by quintile group

Figure 13.6: Full-time weekly earnings at 2008 prices, 1968 to 2008, men

Figure 14.6: Full-time weekly earnings at 2008 prices, 1968 to 2008, women

Figure 15.6: Total wealth, by occupational social class, GB, 2006-08 (£)

Figure 16.6: Key Stage 4 results, by Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index, England

Figure 17.6: Key Stage 4 results, by Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index, England

Figure 18.6: FSM attainment gap from early years to higher education

Figure 19.6: Distribution of primary schools by proportion of FSM pupils (2008)

Figure 20.6: Distribution of secondary schools by proportion of FSM pupils (2008)

Figure 21.6: Pupils registered for free school meals, 2003/4

Figure 22.6: Pupil absence: all school pupils, 2003/4

Figure 23.6: Temporary exclusion

Figure 24.6: Average S4 tariff score by sex, 2002/3

Figure 25.6: Average S4 tariff score by sex, 2002/3

Preface

Johnny's in the basement
Mixing up the medicine
I'm on the pavement
Thinking about the government

(Subterranean Homesick Blues, Bob Dylan)

We also need to change how government governs. (Tony Blair, 1997a)

This thesis arises out of an interest in political power and its expression within education policy. It reports an attempt to critically explore aspects of the political project of New Labour and its expression in areas of policy around compulsory education. In particular the introduction and deployment of the concept of social exclusion in the political and policy narrative of New Labour, together with its expression within education policy, is a focus of study. This project arises out of a firm conviction that the future of education as provided through the State, the state in education or the educational state (Ball, 1990), is inextricably bound to the political field. Currents of thought and ideological orientations coalesce, take hold, come to dominate, and in turn are modified, before relinquishing dominance to new ideological configurations. Such a dynamic is a basic or fundamental driver of change in public policy and in the economic and cultural spheres. Part of this regime of intelligibility centres on how populations, categories or individuals are to be objectified and in particular; how they are to be *governed*.

...if I had wanted to give the lectures I am giving this year a more exact title, I certainly would not have chosen 'security, territory and population.' What I would really like to undertake is something I would call a history of 'governmentality.'

(Michel Foucault, 1st February 1978, College De France)

Foucault's *governmentality* perspective, attention to historically altering rationalities of government or how attempts at governing reveal a shifting character to what renders them both thinkable and intelligible, has provided the main conceptual edge to this project. There is something of a symbiotic relation between modern systems of political reason, between politics as the struggle of competing groups and interests over the possession of power, the exercise of authority, and the development of a rationality of government. One of the most

evident applications of political power, or use of this form of authority, is in 'governing' the territory across which this authority extends; be it the city state, principality, realm, nation or empire. It is in the context of his study of *security, territory and population* that Foucault found himself drawn to uncover the historical emergence of forms of rationality and practices of government; it was the art of government that acted upon the dimensions of security, territory and population in the modern nation state. This perspective gives due deference to the influence and power of ideas or forms of knowledge; significant in the shaping of projects of government and in modern society's organisation and application of expertise in the service of government. A governmentality perspective, in its relation to political sovereignty, can be understood as comprising a narrower or limited sector of the political; understood as comprising that:

...history composed by the invention, contestation, operationalization and transformation of more or less rationalised schemes, programmes, techniques and devices which seek to shape conduct so as to achieve certain ends (Rose, 1999:20).

A number of research aims or directions for investigation have operated to set the course of this project and to establish its horizons. This thesis has a conceptual focus; operating within an approach characterised by the activities of description, interpretation and explanation. Any claims or conclusions which have arisen from this analysis proceed from this hermeneutical ethos and can perhaps be best judged with reference to its own stated logic and aims.

The project has been guided in its efforts by five connected aims:

- To critically interrogate New Labour's adoption of a formulation of *social exclusion* as a policy concept.
- To broadly consider compulsory education policy under New Labour in relation to a conceptualisation of the scheme of governmentality directing New Labour's course of action in its early years in government.
- To critically explore the broad relationship between New Labour's adoption of social exclusion as a policy concept in its early years in office and the outworking of this commitment within instances of policy directed at compulsory education.
- To develop and attempt to undertake an analysis informed by Foucault's idea of governmentality as a productive critical perspective for policy analysis.
- To explore and begin the task of integrating a governmentality perspective within established policy theory currently being productively employed within critical policy analysis.

The combined set of endeavours above, and the questions implicit within them, requires a broad and perhaps ambitious analysis or engagement in attempting to meet the demands of this multilevel frame of elements proposed for investigation. The aims of this project can be disaggregated and stated independently but in practice operate together in formulating the conceptual horizons and ambitions of this thesis.

What is novel in this work, in the main, is a modest attempt to begin to apply Foucault's governmentality perspective to the critical analysis of education policy. The thesis also offers an analysis of New Labour policy in compulsory education under three broad themes. In particular, a critical account of New Labour's adoption, use and departure from a particular formulation of social exclusion is developed. Along the way it also could make a claim to have endeavoured to develop a policy model; linking this with an effort to theorise the position of forms of policy text in the broader processes of the policy system. A good deal of the work undertaken in this project has benefited greatly from discussion and feedback from colleagues and reviewers and has been published somewhat haphazardly in a number of papers and book chapters, in particular see Doherty (2008, 2007a, 2007b, 2006, 2003) and Doherty et al. (2007).

Many in the field of education had witnessed the marketization of compulsory education with a deep unease over its potential to generate inequality and to multiply the advantages of those who were already in possession of greater economic, cultural and social capital. The concept of 'social exclusion' in the title of this project is problematic; its use in no way assumes an acceptance of the assumptions assigned to it by New Labour. However, this concept in the early days of New Labour in government did seem to symbolise for many its willingness and intentions to 'provide for those at the bottom' (Blair, 1998:14). There was disappointment among many with a concern for social justice in education as it emerged that New Labour was intent on leaving the marketized structure of compulsory education unreformed. For some on the Left, New Labour's commitment to 'tackle social exclusion' acted as a new location on which to place the weight of their hopes for equality and reform in education. It is in this context that the consequences or significance of education policy formulated

to address the ‘problem’ of social exclusion becomes a focus for critical analysis. The thesis concludes that the social inclusion imperative of early New Labour was subordinated in compulsory education policy by more dominant concerns within its rationality of government and was ultimately sublimated in favour of a narrower, if notable, range of policy innovations discursively ordered around the aim of reducing ‘educational disadvantage.’

The emergence of place and space, toward the end of this thesis, as a latent critical metric for projects of government, was unexpected and seemed to take on more significance as the work progressed. There would seem as yet to be generous scope for the theoretical exploration and extension of place and space as an explanatory medium in relation to a range of policy issues and sociological questions. The recognition of places and spatially located problematic subjects is apparent in the project of New Labour. Place and space also figure abstractly within the discourse and intellectual architecture of New Labour’s understanding of what is to be governed and the ends to be sought through this form of power. One of the outcomes of this project (for the author) is a conviction over the potential and efficacy of a governmentality perspective to provide a new frame for critical policy analysis. In seeking to understand a historically grounded and evolving art of government, in the context of political sovereignty, new insights are made possible. In providing such a framing, Foucault (2008) was drawn to the task of studying ‘government’s consciousness of itself.’ One of the features of political sovereignty in the modern period is its accompaniment by a changing and altering governmental rationality. This form of reason comes to animate the apparatus of the State and provides a logic that defines what it means to govern, to what ends and through what resources, technologies and practices. Enmeshed in this practice of governing are systems for the production and application of policy. Indeed, policy can be conceived in the modern liberal polity as achieving eminence; of being among the foremost means of governing. The analysis of the government of education, through education policy, can therefore be elucidated, following Foucault, by its insertion within a wider field of governmental rationality.

The thesis has been structured into seven linked chapters of differing intensity and focus. The opening chapter is concerned with setting out the main components and concepts that have been assembled to comprise the analytical frame used in pursuit of the research aims or directions outlined above. This includes conceptualisations of: ideology, policy, critical policy models, policy change, critical discourse analysis and governmentality. The second chapter can be read as an extension of the first; with a focus on developing further the concept of governmentality as a critical perspective. Chapter three moves into analysis and considers two model versions of New Labour's Third Way politics. This reading of the project of Third Way forms a prelude to an attempt to begin to set out a summary account of a distinctive third way governmentality. Chapter four, through the deployment of critical discourse analysis, sets out to elucidate a distinct historical moment in which New Labour visibly committed to a particular conception of social exclusion. This chapter seeks to develop the significance of this formulation of social exclusion as it becomes incorporated into the nascent architecture of New Labour's governmentality. A broad analysis of Third Way's elaboration of compulsory education is presented in chapter five; organised under three themes. Change in compulsory education, across a range of policies, is examined and explained in relation to the shaping effects of what had been previously identified as a distinctive third way governmentality. The third theme in this triplet traces the social exclusion dimension; addressing the outworking of this ambition within instances of policy directed at compulsory education. Chapter six offers a brief evaluative overview of New Labour's endeavours, set within the limits of its own logic, to govern so as to 'tackling the scourge and waste of social exclusion' or to steer the educational state so as to attack 'educational disadvantage.' What could be understood as comprising conclusions within this thesis can be read from the end of chapter five through into chapter six. The final chapter attempts to reflexively draw these conclusions together and to clearly identify what has emerged as significant next steps in this vein of research.

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I would like express my deep gratitude toward two very different groups of people. This thesis has been completed over an extended period due to a whole host of reasons; during this time three supervisors stand out as making distinct and invaluable contribution to its aims and development. As well as recognising and appreciating the support, kindness and interest of the many colleagues with whom I am privileged to work with each day, three individuals have made an essential contribution.

Professor Walter Humes left the University of Glasgow to take up a new chair within months of the commencement of this work. I am very indebted to Professor Humes for giving me the confidence and encouragement to pursue my interest in education and educational policy and to pursue doctoral level study. Professor Christine Forde agreed to taken on my supervision in the final two years of my writing and I want to record my deep gratitude for her excellent supervision, patience, careful reading, thoughtful feedback and hard work in supporting me.

Professor Michael Adrian Peters was my supervisor in the early years of this project before moving to become Professor of Education at the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign). During his time in Glasgow Michael was an inspiration to me and many of my colleagues. He generously allowed us to share and learn from the extensive and dynamic range of work he maintained. This thesis is influenced by his work and I personally have been motivated by his inspiration as a working academic and would like to acknowledge his kindness and generosity towards me as a student.

My family form the second group to whom I must record my deep gratitude and thanks. My wonderful wife Margaret has been constant in her love and humour and has been my foundation. My four daughters Fiona, Megan, Clare and Miriam, have my total gratitude for being patient with my work demands and for in their own unique ways bringing an energy and joy to our lives.

Robert Anthony Doherty

Author's Declaration

I declare that the work recorded in this thesis is entirely my own, except where otherwise stated, and that it is also of my own composition.

Chapter 1: The Analytical Frame

The Analytical Frame

This thesis sets out to critically analyse aspects of New Labour policy on compulsory education with a particular reference to social exclusion. In approaching the task set in this research project an array of conceptual resources have required to be assembled into an arrangement that forms a critical interrogative framework. This includes an attempt to contribute some original thinking to the theoretical resources available for the task of critically analysing education policy. The ground of engagement marked out in this project ranges across education policy, political philosophy and ideology. The choice of different elements or aspects to form an interrogative framework reflects both the interests of the author and a judgement as to what constitutes a critical, practical and effective framework for analysis. The following chapter sets out to explain and justify the constituents of the framework constructed for this analysis. It must be readily acknowledged that the 'analytical framework' is a central concern in policy analysis and that the choice of an alternative framework would direct the analyst towards diverse concerns and provide different epistemic resources (Bobrow and Dryzek, 1987).

One key function of any framework for policy analysis is its capacity to order, to categorise, to suggest patterns, relations and features that simplify and make intelligible the profusion of activities and actors present in the policy field. A layered policy model was developed as part of this project drawing on the work of Considine (1994) and the now well established model developed by Bowe et al. (1992) in relation to education policy. However, additional resources require to be brought to bear, to a measured extent informing the creation of any model, to provide critical purchase on what becomes visible through the medium of the ordering framework. This project attempts to be reflexive while at the same time making use of aspects of the work of the French philosopher historian Michel Foucault (1926-1984). In particular Foucault's idea of *governmentality* is engaged in carrying the load of explanation and interpretation.

Studies that are approached from a horizon of governmentality (see chapter 2) have a deliberate focus on the rationalities and intellectual resources that constitute governmental reason together with all forms of knowledge co-opted

towards the task of governing. Ultimately such forms of reason must be rendered practical, must be materialised in practices, arrangements, spaces and designs. It is unsurprising that Foucault (2007, Burchell and Gordon et al., 1991) is drawn to the task of giving an account of the systems of ideas that constitute 'government reason,' its historical periodization, its evolving nature, its changes and discontinuities. Each new schema, having achieved influence, provides for a novel or elaborated formulation of a practical art of governing. Such a history of government reason maps onto an account of the changing pattern and form of the State's intervention into the lives of its citizens. For Foucault, the State in modernity is characterised by an increasing 'governmentalization' of the social order as the State intervenes on behalf of what it perceives as its own interest, essentially mindful of the need to maximise its resources (crucially what becomes visible by the emergence of population as the object of government).

From 1970 until his death in 1984 Michel Foucault held a specially created chair entitled *The History of Systems of Thought*, at the Collège de France. The Collège de France is an extraordinary higher education institution, located in Paris opposite the historical La Sorbonne. Founded in 1530 with the backing of King Francis 1st of France, this humanist inspired place of learning was to be an alternative to the Sorbonne. The Collège's founding mission was to 'teach science in the making;' to be elected professor at the Collège de France is both highly prestigious and recognition of being counted among the foremost academics of the day. What is remarkable about its constitution and rules is that attendance is free and open to the general public, there are no assessments, enrolments or graduations. Professors at the Collège de France have no students only what are referred to as 'auditors.' They are obliged under the rules of the Collège to provide 26 hours of teaching each year, with the possibility of half of this time being given over to seminars. It is a requirement that each year professors must publicly present their latest research; one consequence being that every course of lectures is different from previous years. Foucault's courses attracted huge audiences, and by the 1970s the availability of cassette recorders meant that his lectures, and some seminars, have been preserved and archived.

Foucault's governmentality neologism was introduced as part of the lecture course he gave at the Collège de France between January and April of the 1977-78 academic year. This course was titled by Foucault, *Sécurité, Territoire, Population* (security, territory, population). This full lecture course was transcribed from the original tapes and published for the first time in 2004, and only recently published in English (Foucault, 2007) in a translation by Graham Burchell. In terms of the exposure to the anglophone world, significance must be given to an essay titled *governmentality*, the text of the lecture of 1st February 1978, published in Italian in a journal called *Aut Aut* and subsequently translated into English in an edited collection titled *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Burchell et al., 1991).

The start of the 1990s marked the emergence of the neo-Foucauldian governmentality literature in English, notably the Burchell et al. (1991) collection. This thesis draws inspiration from various works of a major group of anglophone neo-Foucauldians including British (Colin Gordon, Nickolas Rose, Graham Burchell, Norman Fairclough), Australian (Mitchell Dean) and authors from New Zealand (Mark Olssen, James Marshall and in particular the work of Michael Peters). Within the literature that has emerged in the education field, drawing upon or extending Foucauldian ideas, perspectives and themes, the application of a governmentality perspective to the field is a small but emerging literature (see Peters, Olssen, Weber and Maurer, Masschelein et al. 2007 and mention can be made here to a recent edited collection by Peters et al. (2009) *Governmentality Studies in Education*. The deployment of a governmentality perspective to the analysis of education policy is a new extension to the application of this perspective (Doherty, 2007a, 2006 and Gillies, 2008).

Foucault's engagement with the question of government arises in a particular context and historical juncture, and has an evident relation to the line of his previous research. Gordon (1991) draws attention to the reaction engendered by perhaps Foucault's most publicly recognised book *Discipline and Punish*. Here Foucault explored and sought to explain the dramatic shifts in justificatory rationales and social and organisational arrangements within western penal systems in the modern age. Although *Discipline and Punish* was much acclaimed, critics on the left charged that attention to the 'microphysics' of power had

little to say about large and pressing questions of global import and the relation of the State to society. The representation of the disciplinary society presented by Foucault, under surveillance, pervaded by subjecting power, seemed to diminish the possibility of individual agency and Foucault's emasculation of the impact of humanitarian penal reform led to charges of nihilism and a politics of hopelessness. Foucault's movement, without any methodological change or discontinuity, from the micro to the macro level can be understood as one answer to such criticisms. This switch of investigative attention is apparent in Foucault's analysis of the emergence of population as an entity and object of intervention and his engagement with the problem of security understood in its modern inception as ensuring the wellbeing of the population.

The political circumstances of the late 1960s and early 1970s is another feature, identified by Dean (1999), which served to push questions of government into sharp focus for Foucault and his colleagues. This period coincides with the crisis of the post-war welfare state and the emergence of Neoliberalism; a new combative form of liberalism that became dominant in Europe and the United States. The Left in France had been unexpectedly defeated in the elections of 1978. The intellectual climate that followed the tumultuous year of 1968 was all but dissipated and the eminence and status of Marxism was about to go into sharp decline (Gordon 1991). Foucault was an active participant in the soul searching of the 'second left' occasioned by this confluence of historical-political events. This ideological context gives an added saliency to Foucault's discussion, in the 1979-78 lectures, of the rationality of neoliberal government and its elaborations in France, West Germany and the United States. He was both intrigued and occupied by liberalism's formulation of an art of governing and was keenly aware of the failure of the left to articulate or possess an 'adequate socialist governmentality.'ⁱⁱ

Ideology

Attention to the ideological is another conceptual organising category used to contribute to the framing of this study. The employment of ideology, it is acknowledged, would not have met with Foucault's approval. Foucault perceived ideology to be a problematic and obstructive idea on a number of counts; including the nature of its relation to truth and its over generalisation (Olssen,

2006). Ideology is a much used if complex, conceptually flexible and elusive idea within the social science field. Within political and sociological thought its definition is contested and can be found operating within the literature with a bewildering range of meanings. This array of usage includes classical Marxist perspectives, pejoratively signifying a distortion by contrast with true consciousness, an instrument of class domination, followed developmentally by a range of revisionist neo-Marxist positions assuming the need for and inevitability of ideology (Gramsci, 1971). Across various treatments of ideology, attempts to condemn or to rehabilitate it as a neutral analytical category or explanatory concept can be found. From a symbolic anthropology stance, Geertz (1973) characterised ideology as an interpretive scheme, a symbolic system among other such systems. Adams (1989), from a perspective of analytical philosophy, describes ideology in terms of an illicit union of fact and value resulting in 'pseudo-description' that functions by rendering an account of the world imbued with a set of particular values, therefore, giving a coherence to a view of the world and providing a moral compass that adhere within a logic and system of beliefs. Within this project the concept of ideology will operate in a way similar to the idea of a world-view, a set of fairly consistent beliefs that provides a basis for organised political action. Ideologies tend to offer a worldview or account of the existing social order, reflecting assumptions about human nature, values, moral codes, a model of the desired future (the good society) and a programme for bringing about political change. This position would also tend to follow Giovanni Sartori (1969) in differentiating pragmatic belief systems from ideological beliefs on the grounds that the latter favour and elevate theory over experience. Moreover the degree of ideological sophistication and abstraction will vary from person to person, again drawing on Sartori's conception of ideology being the province of elites. In his attempt to argue a case for a 'value free' conception of ideology as an analytical explanatory concept, Sartori describes a two order effect. Elites are marked out by their capacity to engage with the complex and abstract structure of ideological belief; a consequence being that elites tend to operate directly within the constraints of its structure of logic. The masses by contrast hold a more circumscribed or primitive set of ideological beliefs, mediated through elites, and so tend to have a more indirect, or looser set of constraints.

Reference to the ideological as a conceptual organising device is further extended, perhaps complicated, in framing this study by the inclusion of ideologies of education. In the political field, over time, ideas move from left to right (Giddens, 1998) and vice versa, in the same way educational ideologies are descriptive categories that shift and evolve. Taking a point in time, however, educational ideologies can be detected as a recognisable category with a core composed of a more or less coherent set of beliefs, ideas, values and assumptions about education, its purpose, content and means of effect. Analytically, educational ideologies operate as an ordering or organising device in attempting to arrange the profusion of positions, ideas and commitments contesting influence and control over the formal activity known as education. It is worth noting that educational ideologies are flexible and abstract sets of ideas, but inherent within such a conceptual structure is a kinetic aspect, an orientation to action, to material and purposeful activities.

Raymond Williams (1965) working from a cultural studies perspective gives an account of cultural development in England subsequent to the 'long revolution' of social and political change following the industrial revolution. As part of this study of cultural change Williams considers its relation to the development of the education system and provides an influential categorization of positions; subsequently taken up by Ball (1990) and Lawton (1992). Having provided an historical narrative of education from the medieval period, the struggle to shape the education system emerging amongst the turbulent social changes set in motion by the progress of the industrial revolution is contested by three broad groupings or 'traditions' to use Williams' term, the old humanists, the industrial trainers and the public educators. This triplet of traditions, or educational ideologies, at play in the 19th Century is fundamentally distinguishable by the way in which they each define or conceive access to education, the content or curriculum, and the ends to which education should be intended. Williams explains the form of universal education that emerged at the end of 19th Century as shaped by an uneven and fractious combination of the influence of industrial trainers and public educators. Williams' cultural studies are notable as

an influential example of the use of educational ideologies as an illuminating concept.

Lawton (1992), in recognition of the complexity of what is perhaps often overly simplified in the name of educational ideology, offers a multilevel schema that attempts to extend the conceptualisation of educational ideology to embrace a range of scales of influence. This model ranges from the general/political downward through the group level to the individual. At the general level, ideologies are defined by broad commitments to conceptions of the good society, the essence of the subject and assumptions about the nature of society; at this level there is a clear overlap with political beliefs. At the level of the 'interest group,' Lawton points to the collective action of like-minded individuals in attempting to shape and influence education. At the individual level, the pedagogical level, there is a personal ideology of education held by teachers; embracing such aspects as the nature of the child, teaching methods and the curriculum. An obvious example of such individual orientations is the continuum of beliefs and related practices often delineated on a range from the traditional to the progressive (Trowler, 2003:115). Lawton's (ibid) discussion of the meaning of ideology underlines the shaping effect of such assumptions, values and moral imperatives. Such thinking mediates how education is understood and engaged with and it regularly frames attempts to shape and reform its various dimensions.

<p>General Level</p> <p>Individuals and groups hold views on the good society, human nature, morality and value. Such beliefs can dispose individuals or groups to a particular view of education, its purposes, content and processes.</p>
<p>Group Level</p> <p>Significant at this level is the formation and operation of a recognisable group that has both a clear focus, or concern for education and an allegiance to a particular ideological position.</p>
<p>Individual Level</p> <p>At the level of the individual, teachers practice is informed by a set of beliefs and assumptions about the aims of education, the nature of such aspects as the child, learning, the curriculum and preferences for forms of pedagogy, organisation and discipline.</p>

Table 1.1: Lawton's (1992:10) multilevel schema of educational ideology

The general/political level and the educational ideologies of the individual teacher help to accommodate different scales or altitudes of effect in deploying the idea of ideologies of education as an explanatory concept. Lawton's use of the interest level is not a convincing sector of his model. The influence of group or collective action would seem to have more purchase in approaching the dynamics of educational politics and reform rather than operating as a definer or attribute of a more or less coherent set of ideas, values and assumptions. However, the collective action of groups and lobbies can be understood as ideologically motivated and as particular groups coalesce and form around shared sets of views and in turn become a manifestation of a particular ideological position. Echoing Sartori's (1969) conception of ideology as being the province of elites, the process of coalition formation deserves to be considered. The classic contemporary exemplar of organised ideologically motivated group action is the think tank (Denham and Garnett, 1998). Interest groups act, to use the disease metaphor, for the spread of ideas (Coats and Colander, 1989), as a source of contagion for particular ideological positions, ideas and programmes for action.

A corollary of this aspect of the relation between political and educational ideology is that divergent positions on the political field can share common views and beliefs about education. Conversely, within particular shared ideological positions there can be disagreement and conflict over beliefs about education, its goals and ends, and around questions of reform of its means and organisational forms. Alongside this possibility for divergence must be placed experience of the explicit role assigned to education by ideological projects in the production of desirables such as the good subject, the continued reproduction of the new social order, the release of the oppressed or exploited from a state of false consciousness or bourgeois hegemony or the construction of the creative entrepreneurial citizen consumer or the location of induction into the cult of the leader:

In my school, teaching stopped completely from the beginning of June, though we had to continue to go there. Loudspeakers blasted out *People's Daily* editorials, and the front page of the newspaper, which we had to study every day, was frequently taken up entirely by a full-page portrait of Mao. There was a daily column of Mao's quotations. I still remember the slogans in bold type, which, through reading in class over and over again, were engraved into the deepest folds of my brain: 'Chairman Mao

is the red sun in our hearts!’ ‘Mao Zedong Thought is our lifeline!’ ‘We will smash whoever opposes Chairman Mao!’ ...The daily newspaper reading soon gave way to the recitation and memorizing of *The Quotations of Chairman Mao*, which were collected together in a pocket-size book with a red plastic cover, known as ‘*The little Red Book*.’ (Recollections from the Cultural Revolution in *Wild Swans* by Jung Chang, 2003:368)

As an extension of political ideologies beyond the nation state, the rise of transnational, international and supranational organisations produce policy spaces shaded by particular ideological hues (Jones and Coleman, 2005). As part of the same fabric, many such organisations have a direct or indirect concern for education. The dominant intellectual climate within such institutions can be understood as containing and being motivated by a preference towards a particular composite of educational ideology. In the context of the decline of the nation-state and the nature of the climate of ideas and beliefs operating within increasingly powerful intergovernmental and nongovernmental organisations, Spring (2004) takes up the case for the global influence of another triplet of ideologies. He makes use of a categorical schema comprising of what he claims are the three dominant ideologies of education shaping global society: neo-liberal education, human rights education and environmentalism.

Spring discusses neoliberal ideology and its concern with global economic competitiveness and preference for a State that encourages and regulates private provision of goods such as education, in terms of establishing a tension with more traditional forms of public, or national, provision that acts to bolster and create loyal and patriotic citizens. To this mix is added the growth in human rights education. Intrinsic to human rights principles is a duty to ensure the rights of all people, leading to notions of global citizenship. Spring acknowledges that the relationship between an ethic of global citizenship and the nation state is somewhat ambiguous and potentially hostile. The most oppositional of Spring’s triplet is environmentalism. This third set of beliefs stands in contrast to the industrial and economic growth imperative of global capital. What is conceivably less convincing in Spring’s account is the equivalence in scale. What he terms neoliberal ideology in its various forms simply dwarfs in magnitude and pervasiveness rival projects of education motivated by human rights doctrines or environmentalist principles. What is noteworthy in Spring’s account is the

attempt to map the educational ideologies in play beyond the level of the nation state and carried on the wings of institutions and intergovernmental organizations exemplified by the World Bank. Client nations have a low capacity to resist the implantation of educational ideologies and the attendant organisational and institutional isomorphism inherent in borrowings packages and conditions of aid.

In what is now a seminal work, *The Post modern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, Lyotard (1984) explores the question of legitimation. This is approached from the perspective of an age when the forms of rationality that had emerged from the enlightenment project, and offered succour throughout modernity, have now become discredited and suffered collapse. In exploring this new landscape of judgmental reference, Lyotard makes pejorative use of the concept of 'performativity' in critically mapping a new economy of legitimation. In science the new self-authenticating rationality of legitimation is efficiency and the increase in power arising for the maximisation of output for a given relation of input (Peters, 1995). In education the maximisation of knowledge and skill transfer in the preparation and provision of the human components of the social system become the new datum for supporters of the performativity criterion. Lyotard proposes a new narrative for postmodern science, legitimisation through 'paralogy', the discovery of new knowledge and ideas through the continual sabotaging and destabilising of the current consensus. In education he signals the movement under the weight of a rationality of performativity away from the enlightenment legacy of education as the acquisition of knowledge and the training of minds in an exploration of truth, emancipation and social progress towards the commercialisation of knowledge in all its forms and the realignment of educational institutions as a sub-system of multinational capital.

Lyotard's performativity critique, written in the late seventies, takes on a notable futurological dimension when placed in the historical context of the election of the Thatcher conservative government in 1979 and Ronald Reagan's entry into the White House in 1980. In the outworking of the Thatcher and Reagan projects, the performativity criterion would be markedly utilised in the construction of a new ideological logic of economic, social and political change

and reform. The operation of performativity as a *modus operandi* of governance through the eighties and nineties would become a defining feature of the confluence of a number of streams and currents of political, economic and managerial thought in the United Kingdom and other countries impacted by what has been described variously as the New Right, Neo-liberalism or Economic Rationalism. In Williams' (1962) terms this development could, at the risk of hyperbole, be understood as the post-industrial triumph of the industrial trainers.

One manifestation of Lyotard's new post-enlightenment narrative for education is a set of influential beliefs about education that originate from the field of economics known as human capital theory. A central figure in relation to the resurgence of human capital theory is Gary Becker (1964), his development of human capital situated education as the most significant single determinant of economic success. Becker's human capital is composed of two related aspects, a genetic, physical dimension and a cognitive, or aptitudinal dimension. Aptitudes, be they skills or knowledge, are developed, extended and renewed through education and training and the physiological dimension requires investment in diet, hygiene and health services. It is the private and national returns on such investments, in a competitive market, occupied by rationally choosing, utility maximising individuals, that explains, for Becker, investment in human capital. The OECD (1987) in the mid-1980s sponsored and repositioned this latest form of human capital theory as a rationale worthy of underpinning the policy wisdom it dispensed on national projects of education and training in the context of economic globalisation. This capitalisation of the self opens the door for the extension of the enterprise ethic to the subject; individuals are encouraged to understand themselves as entrepreneurs and their lives as the enterprise. Investment and decisions around education, training and skill acquisition become rational choices, consumption options, in the game of maximising returns in a labour market competition.

Political and Educational Ideologies

The nature of the correspondence between educational ideology and its political counterpart can conceivably be described as discernible if diverse and somewhat promiscuous. If political ideology demarcates a sector of belief systems concerned with the political this then is a different sector from the educational but not exclusively so. Political ideologies will diverge to the extent that they actively incorporate education within their internal logic and moral essentials. Ideologues are influenced by such forces as their own experience of education, its historical meanings and variety within a cultural system, and other forms of knowledge that originate outside the political. Ostensibly there is no automatic educational default position built into political ideologies other than a general requirement, to varying degrees, that education should contribute to the social order and the nature of the subject morally validated and envisaged within its common sense.

Historically, moving through the twentieth century the correspondence between political programmes of the left and right and educational reform has been intensifying in the UK context. This relation took a distinctive turn towards a more direct correspondence following 1979 and the reforms of the New Right. Education policy texts form an authoritative chronicle of the relationship between political programmes and educational reform. Captured in the layers of such texts is a diachronic record of the intensity and scope of attempts to change the educational state in the image of changing political visions. This testimony of the text contains a naturalised, and often overt, intertextual relation to the prior codes of educational ideology. This blending of educational ideology and its political relation is a defining feature of educational policy. The language of education and education policy is in one sense inescapably ideological. Aspects such as normative values, assumptions, social relations and underlining conceptions of the good society are inscribed into the language of education:

Fundamentally, policy is about the exercise of political power and the language that is used to legitimate that process. (Olssen et al., 2004:77)

Education Policy

This study has a central focus on education policy and requires within its frame some conceptualisation of policy and policy making. Policy is often presented as a specification of principles and actions, usually as a written statement or document, which are designed to bring about desired goals. Often it is conceived of as a statement of government intentions. However, this common view, while correct, is somewhat limited and is constantly at risk of failing to accommodate the complexity of the policy field. Policymaking is a *dynamic* process that often emerges from within overlapping arenas of competing views and involves conflict between policymakers and those who put policy into practice or are impacted by its outcomes. Interpreting and evaluating policy are also active processes for policy is open to multiple interpretations and methods of evaluation. The practice of policymaking is always complex and rarely are policy goals or objectives achieved without the risk of unintended outcomes or unanticipated effects that run contrary to the policymaker's intentions. Ball (1994) alludes to the complexity and uncontrollable nature of the policy field:

Policy is both text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enacted as well as what is intended. Policies are always incomplete insofar as they relate to or map on to the 'wild profusion' of local practice. (Ball, 1994:10)

Scholarship within the field of policy studies finds expression in trying to inform, evaluate, model, understand, offer explanations and critique the complex and multifaceted elements that are embraced by policy. Such efforts tend to be expressed through the construction of theoretical frameworks that rest on differing philosophical and theoretical assumptions. Building from their various foundations, such frameworks provide a language, a set of relations and ideas with which to explore, evaluate and attach meaning to the multiplicity of relations, actions, events and outcomes within the field of policy (Parsons, 1995:57). Rational decision-making (strategist approaches) is conceivably the predominant framework within the policy field (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). The cycle below (see Figure 1.1) is typical of this approach; policy analysts have developed and used many variations and forms of such (staged) models. Critics of the rational decision-making approach point to its limitations but its

endurance as a framework reflects its conceptual strengths, including the provision of a rational structure that provides some leverage on the multiplicity of policy activities.

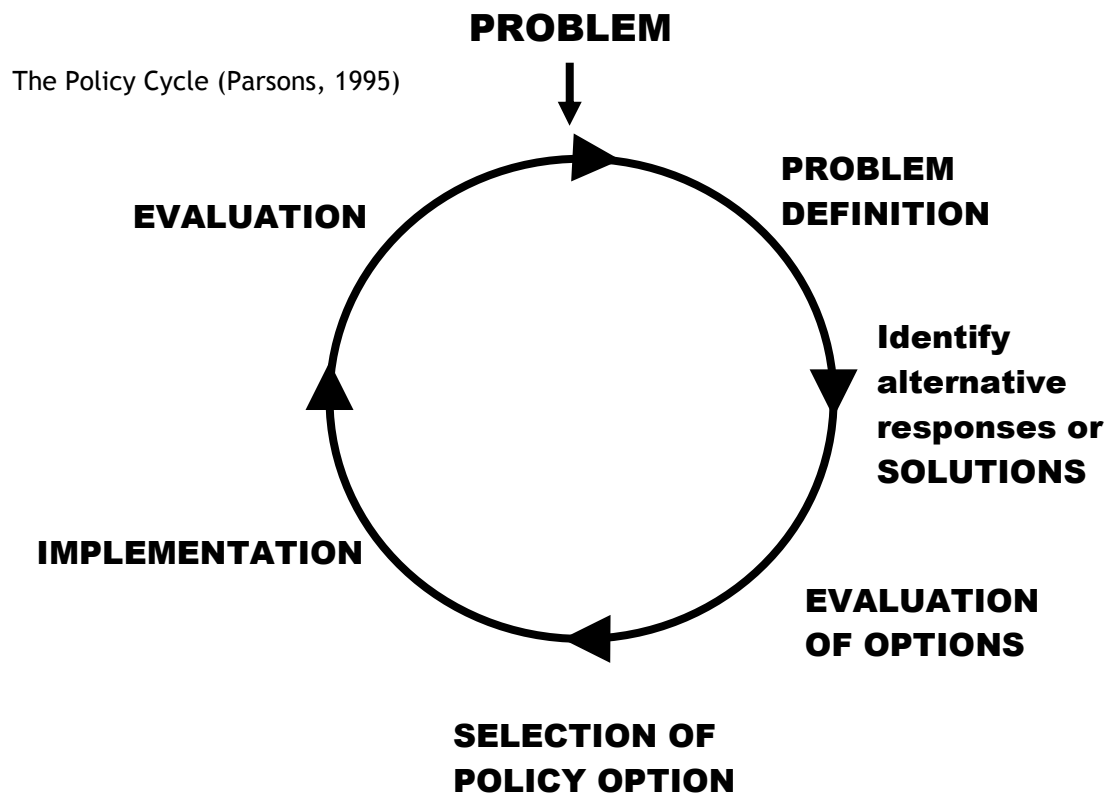


Figure 1.1: A Policy Cycle Model

Advantages	Limitations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is easily understood • Provides a logical structure to the study of policy • Provides a dynamic cycle • Allows other frameworks to be applied around the different stages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offers a weak account of how policy moves from one stage to the next • Tends to assume a top down account of policy making • Tendency to assume a functionalist account of policy making • Fails to capture the multi-layered and interacting cycles within each stage of the policy cycle

Table 2.1: Advantages and Limitations of the Strategist Approach

A Critical Approach

Considine's (1994) 'policy systems' approach to framing the policy field makes use of four components: policy institutions; political economy; policy culture; and policy actors. When approaching policy analysis using Considine's systems theory the policy field is viewed as a system enclosed within a set of boundaries that contain all the elements of the process. Considine organises the main features of the system around his four components (Table 3.1). Political economy, in broad terms, is the existing structure of key relationships within the system. These are represented by the arrows in the general model below (see Figure 2.1). Policy institutions are those institutions at both central and local levels that provide the institutional framework within which policy gets made and implemented. The policy culture is the *intellectual field*, which is concerned with ideas and values. Cultures exist in the social sphere and are shared and influenced by actors within and around institutions in the system. Policy Actors; are policy makers but include, in this system, any individual or group able to exert an influence within the policy drama, they are predominately, but not exclusively, positioned in or around institutional locations.

Using Considine's elements some analytical order can be imposed on the complex world of policy so as to begin to interrogate its operations. Institutions interact in a patterned set of relations, reflecting their relative status, power and authority; this can be understood as a form of political economy. Institutions have their own policy culture that exists in and through the individuals who people the institution. Such actors operate within this climate of values, ideas and views of the world. Individuals and currents of thought from outside of the institution also influence the policy culture. Actors in the policy process are not confined to those within an institutional context, but most players in the policy game play from some institutional or group position.

Using such a systems approach the analyst enters the field of action looking to identify the form, relations and membership of the various components of the system. The policy systems framework is an example of a critical approach that

presupposes understanding is to be found by exposing or revealing the relational connections, sites of conflict, value orientations and the asymmetries of power among actors within the system. Such struggles over meaning and the authoritative allocation of value are inevitably situated within wider and longer running historical conflicts. This can be contrasted with a rational decision making framework that tends to concentrate its interest around decisions that mark or signpost progress through the policy making cycle.

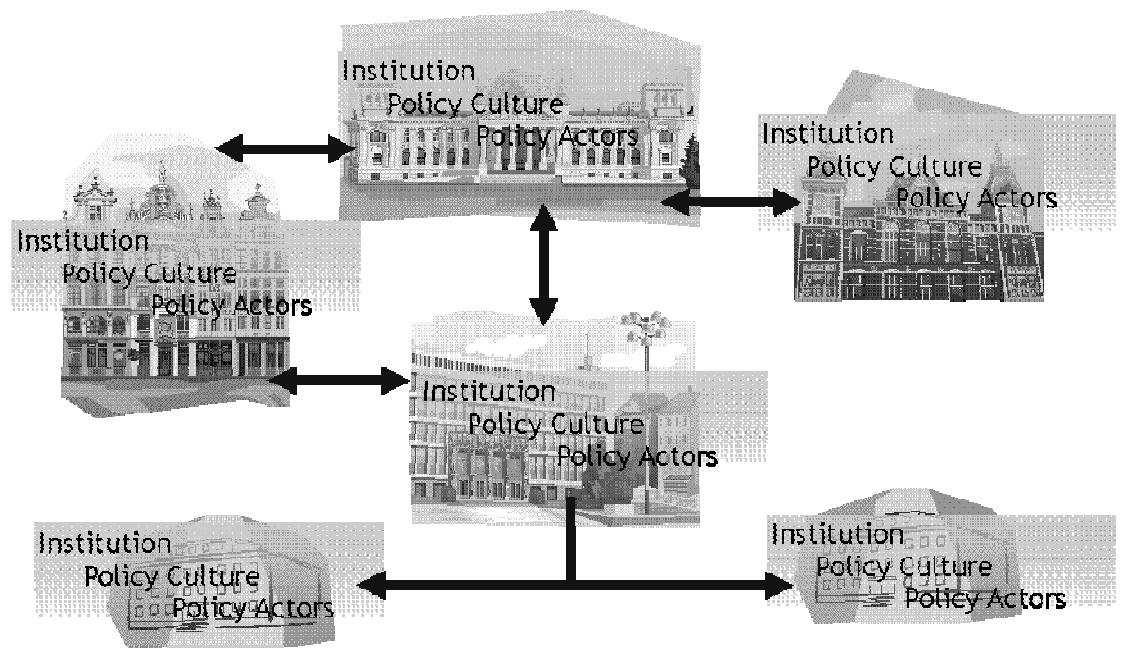


Figure 2.1: Considine's (1994) Policy System

<p style="text-align: center;">The Main Components of Considine's Policy Systems</p>
<p>Policy institutions are those public institutions at both central and local government levels through that provide the institutional framework within which policy gets made: Executives and legislatures; Elections; Budgets; Intergovernmental structures.</p> <p>To this can be added bureaucracy (government departments), the professions, and other organised groups with a shared identity and resources.</p>
<p>In broad terms, the existing structure of key relationships is called a political economy. Political economy is concerned with resources and their flows and distribution.</p> <p>It is the <i>material</i> realm made up of the following features: provision (the relations between producers and consumers); association (the links within each provider and user group); intervention (the role of public agencies); and organisation (the prevailing techniques or technologies).</p>
<p>The policy culture is the <i>intellectual</i> field, which is concerned with ideas and values. Culture in this sense becomes the means for examining the shifting and contested patterns of belief and definitions of what is valued by policy actors. Within policy cultures it is possible to talk about five important categories: values, assumptions, categories, stories and languages.</p>
<p>Simply put, policy actors include policy makers who normally are key politicians and bureaucrats or officials who control and run organisations that must give approval to any decision or programme. Sometimes the leaders of key interest groups are also described as actors. In this framework any individual or group able to exert an influence within the policy drama can be viewed as an actor.</p>

Table 3.1: The main components of Considine's Policy Systems

The four components of Considine's model, influenced by the new institutionalism, throw a strong focus on actors within a patterned institutional economy of power and influence. There is less emphasis on the embeddedness of policy systems in larger economic and political configurations and less attention to the place of the text, its production and language, in the analytical frame.

How is this policy context to be made available to understanding and explanation? The first step is to acknowledge that every policy has some kind of history, and that this history is a story of deals, alliances and attempts at finding solutions. The groups and individuals who have created this context will usually be found to have formed regular patterns of communication and interaction. Very few policies happen only once, and almost none occur by the random collision of novices. Typically the key participants in a policy system are linked through institutions, groups, networks and other continuing relationships. These are based on shared understandings, values, common sources of disagreement, and patterned interactions which can best be described as policy systems. (Considine, 1994:8)

Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992) in *Reforming Education and Changing Schools* develop a comprehensive framework for conceptualising policy making. This framework was expressly developed to analyse policy making in education but arguably its approach is equally applicable to other areas of public policy. They are influenced by a number of approaches to policy analysis (Ball, 1990, Kogan, 1975) and poststructuralist theories of discourse. Bowe and his colleagues suggest three contexts to encompass the policy field: the context of influence; the context of policy text production; and the context of practice (see Figure 3.1, Table 4.1). Each context has its own characteristic activities and actors but the framework is based on an understanding of the interaction and interpenetration of the different contexts in a way that approximates to components of Considine's systems approach. The context of influence is a key arena in understanding policymaking; it is here that struggles over meaning and the promotion of ideas takes place. Fundamentally, conceptions of the aims and nature of the education system are shaped within this context giving birth to new and evolving discourses of education. This is the main source of initiation in relation to policy making or change. What is crucial here is to appreciate the informal networks around members of the government (politicians) and senior civil servants who hold the different areas of policy within their portfolio. It is in this socially mediated world of access, contact and involvement that individuals

and groups of actors endeavour to get their projects and priorities onto the desks of decision makers.

The context of policy text production also contains contestation around meaning and discursive struggles for dominance within the process of text production and dissemination. In this context the work of text production is accomplished through its own processes concurrently with the operation of crucial channels and sites of interaction with the context of influence. For Bowe and his colleagues central to the context of production is language. Sectional or ideological interest may pervade the context of influence but policy must be articulated in the 'official' language and rhetorical styles of the public good. The context of practice tries to capture something of the complexity of policy implementation in the life-world. Policy texts are produced; but it is 'interpretations' that are 'recreated' in temporal responses. Such interpretation has much to do with the social and institutional biography of actors. Texts are not always coherent or comprehensible; in practice they can be diverted, subverted and resisted. The model developed by Bowe and his colleagues is a considered attempt at a heuristic representation of the policy process that takes account of a linked ecology of distinct activities, competing interests, contestation and complexity.

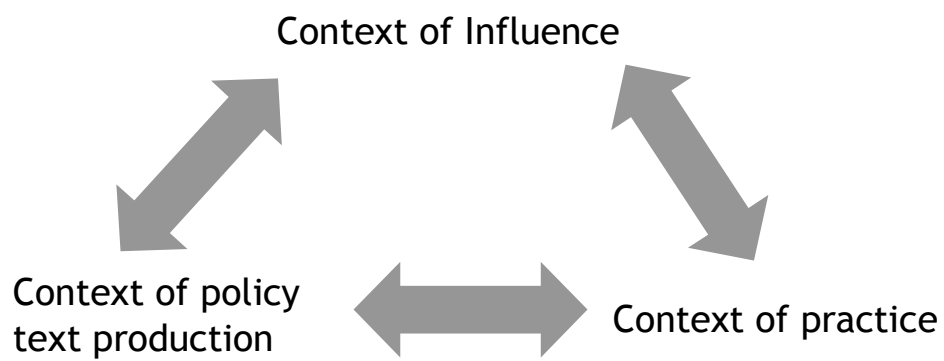


Figure 3.1: Interaction of Policy Contexts, Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992)

CONTEXT	Description
Influence	<p>This is a key arena in understanding policymaking; it is here that struggles over meaning and the promotion of ideas takes place. Fundamentally, conceptions of the aims and nature of the education system are shaped within this context giving birth to new and evolving discourses of education. This is the main source of initiation in relation to policy making or change. What is crucial here is to appreciate the informal networks around members of the government (politicians) and senior civil servants who hold the different areas of policy within their portfolio. It is in this socially mediated world of access, contact, and involvement that individuals and groups of actors endeavour to get their projects and priorities onto the desks of decision makers.</p>
Policy Text Production	<p>Policy texts embody policy. Policy studies recognize many forms of text as containing such an embodiment; official documents, speeches, public engagements, statements, commentaries and guides, exemplar material, videos, CD-ROMs and websites. This context also contains contestation around meaning and struggles for dominance within the process of text production and its dissemination. In this context the work of text production is accomplished through its own processes concurrently including crucial channels and sites of interaction with the context of influence.</p>
Practice	<p>The context of practice tries to capture something of the complexity of policy implementation in the lifeworld. Policy texts are produced but it is 'interpretations' that are 'recreated' in temporal responses; such interpretation has much to do with the social and institutional biography of actors. Texts are not always coherent or comprehensible and they can be diverted, subverted and resisted.</p>

Table 4.1: The main components of Bowe, Ball and Gold's (1992) Policy Contexts

A Layered Policy Model

While acknowledging the strengths of the models discussed above, and the policy theory they sustain, this thesis employs a conceptualisation of policy and policy making in terms of a ‘layered policy model’ (see Figure 4.1). This model contains a synthesis of Considine (1994) and the influential model developed by Bowe et al. (1992) together with a modest attempt to elaborate both frameworks to embrace the structuring effect of the political, economic and cultural context together with a concern to locate *policy texts* and their discursive construction. The wider political and economic context can be understood as the historically structured and conditioned social order, within which institutions exist and perform functions, which transmits forces to the institutional context arising from the dynamics of its operation and connections. The institutional context acknowledges that policy is made within institutions, further recognising that policy is often made in reference to an established and stable structure of other institutions within an economy of institutional relations and patterns of interaction. This *intra* and *extra* institutional set of relations can be conceived (following Considine) as a policy system. The layered model has been developed within this thesis from a concern to critically explicate forms of power.

Power, its possession and scale of effect, is a differentiating dimension of policy theory. Approaches to power include an emphasis on the State, elites, class and wealth, pluralism, corporatism, and the role of experts and professionals (see Parsons, 1995:248 and Hill, 2005:25) Within this model power operates not as coercion or the threat of violence (particular, perhaps extreme forms of power) but as a capacity or potential to bring about significant change in a context of a rational, legal and symbolic institutional structure. The model is layered in relation to the deployment and operation of power as a ‘mode of action upon actions’. The suggestion of *layers* attempts to recognise different locations within the policy system inherent within an institutional structure. Locations or layers, each differentiated by the capacity to exert varying degrees and forms of power, exist within institutions, between institutions, and across their linkages to the wider social order.

When moving from the early to the latter work of Foucault, the theorisation of power emerges as an essential theme. In his final work *The History of Sexuality* Foucault elaborates a theory of power that is striking in its attempt to make explicit the omnipresence, inescapability and diffusion of power relations in the social order. In an interview with Fontana and Pasquino (1980) Foucault rhetorically ponders his earlier work, 'I ask myself what else it was I was talking about, in *Madness and Civilization* or *The Birth of the Clinic*, but power?' (Foucault in Rabinow, 1984:57). Foucault goes on to suggest that the analysis of power was obstructed or limited by contemporary political thought. Power was approached from the right in terms of sovereignty and the constitution; a juridical conception. For the left, Marxism understood power in terms of the State apparatus. Following the tumultuous events of 1968 Foucault relates his movement beyond what came to view as the incapacity of contemporary political thought to theorise the concrete and specific exercise of power. It is possible to trace a number of metaphors of power explored and used to varying degrees of satisfaction by Foucault: the sovereign, war and domination, discipline and bio-politics (Dean, 1999). This engagement with an analytics of power was to lead to Foucault's examination and fascination with the history of governmental practice in the west as an essential, explanatory 'specific albeit complex form of power' (Foucault in Burchell et al., 1991:102).

Let us come back to the definition of the exercise of power as a way in which certain actions may structure the field of other possible actions. What, therefore, would be proper to a relationship of power is that it be a mode of action upon actions. That is to say, power relations are rooted deep in the social nexus, not reconstituted "above" society as a supplementary structure whose radical effacement one could perhaps dream of. In any case, to live in a society is to live in such a way that action upon other actions is possible-- and in fact ongoing. A society without power relations can only be an abstraction. Which, be it said in passing, makes all the more politically necessary the analysis of power relations in a given society, their historical formation, the source of their strength or fragility, the conditions which are necessary to transform some or to abolish others. (Foucault in Dreyfus, 1982:208)

The form of power exercise through the technology of policy is both real and at the same time partial. Policies are not homogeneous, they differ profoundly in the institutional authority they carry, their scale of application and the field of activity they address. Policy can have a very fine grain or be more loosely constructed. Fine grained policy can be understood as visibly prescriptive, tend

to be specific in focus, detailed, attempting to exert close control, to minimise non-compliance or deviation. Loosely woven or orientative policy sets a direction or broader objectives, and can have more latitude for interpretation, innovation and resistance. Policy operates in a social context, orientative or fine grained policies are not two mutually exclusive dimensions of the power of policy but descriptive forms that often exist and coexist together in assemblages of policy in a particular location or field.

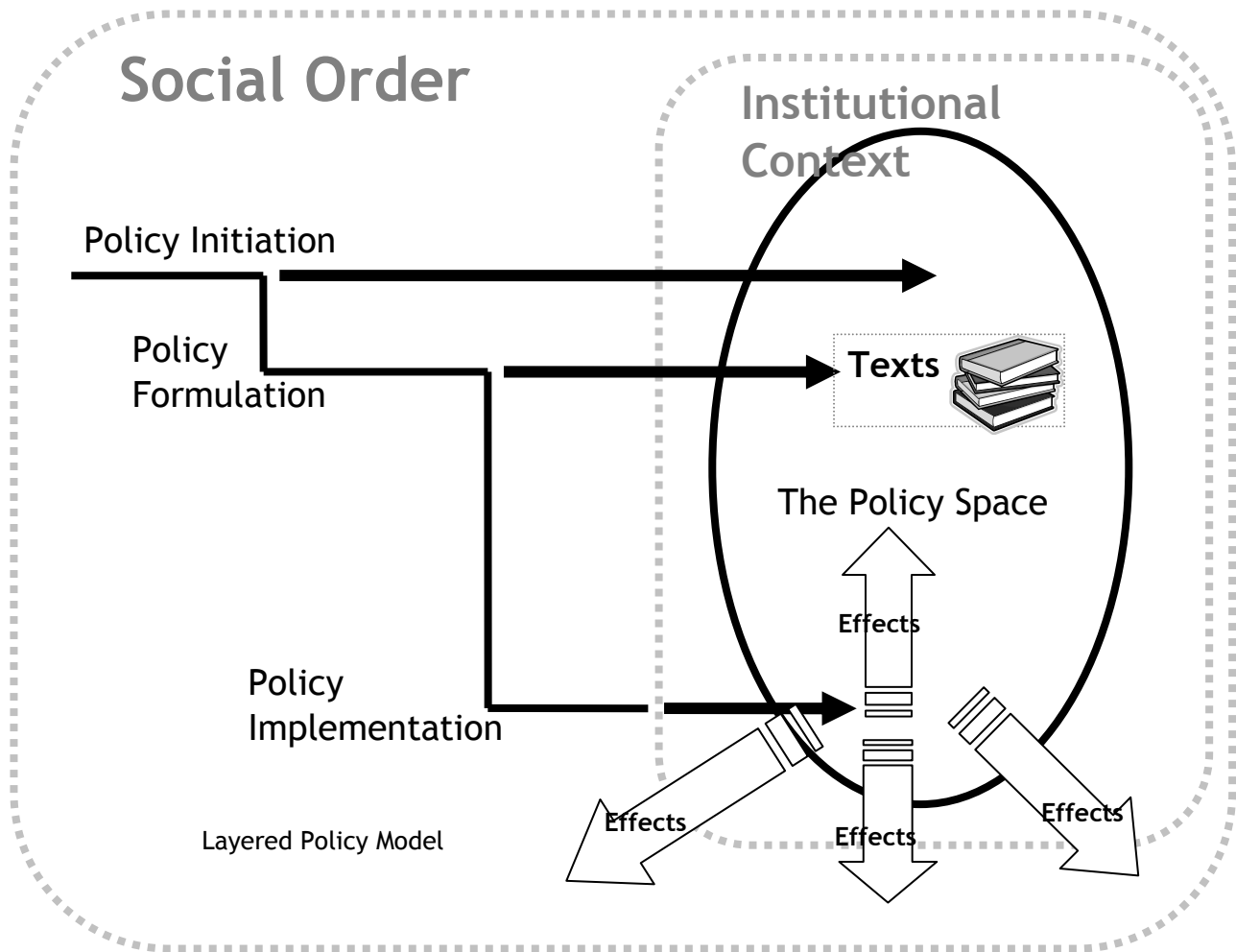


Figure 4.1: A Layered Policy Model

Policy Initiation and Formulation

The layered model brackets initiation and policy formulation closer than is perhaps suggested by the characterisation of the policy process developed by Bowe and his colleagues. In the Bowe et al. (1992) heuristic the context of influence and context of policy text production are located as separate arenas that however enjoy a 'symbiotic' if 'uneasy' relationship. This difference is not significant but one of emphasis and scale. The layered model understands text production (a specific aspect of policy making) as the discursive embodiment or coding of the outcome of the processes between initiation and the conclusion of decisions over policy formulation. This is a significant but lesser aspect of the policy process in comparison to the struggles and processes contained between pre-initiation and the provisional conclusion of formal policymaking in the construction and formalisation of texts. The Bowe et al. (1992) model makes two important observations on text production. The authoring of policy texts is, in itself, an arena of struggle as an understanding of the course of action prevailing in the policy process comes to be coded. Secondly, policy texts can lack coherence, are partial in scope and are open to multiple interpretations and misinterpretation. With reference to Considine's systems approach, the task of representing policy in forms of text is understood as happening within an institutionally mediated space. Public policy is annunciated with a distinctive register, is posited with an assumption of truth, a confident and authoritative language of the public good infused with cultural references and political and ideological inflections.

The layered policy model presents the arena of initiation as smaller in scale than Bowe and his colleagues' context of influence and more closely connected with the processes of policy formulation that, in turn, incorporates what the Bowe et al. (1992) model locates as text production. The context of influence, within the Bowe et al. model, posits an arena of action that embraces everything above the level of text production. The layered policy model presented above attempts to take account of the institutional context and what could be thought of as associational boundaries. If following Considine, policy making is located within a system of institutions then it would seem productive to allow space in any analytical model to explore how policy is initiated inside the boundaries of

distinct institutions (bounded rationality). Institutions at different levels provide the framework within which policy gets made and implemented. Influences that destabilise the policy equilibrium and initiate new courses of action can originate outside, within or across sets of institutional boundaries. Bowe and his colleagues level of influence clearly shares conceptual ground with Considine's idea of policy culture; the *intellectual field*, concerned with ideas and values. The layered model assumes the existence of a dominant policy culture within the boundaries of individual institutions as well as the expectation of clashes between institutions and the penetration and influence of ideas and values across organizational boundaries.

The idea of the intellectual field, the shifting climate of contemporary ideas, theories, values and preferences for operational technologies and routines of action can be considered as a complex matrix of forms of knowledge contained within the social, economic and political domain. Considine's policy system clearly recognises the hierarchical or layered nature of the institutional economy. A corollary of this layered nature is the allocation of diverse quantities and forms of power and influence to institutional actors that provide the means to control aspects of the institutional economy and shape the policy climate. The intellectual field forms the main dimension of what could be termed the *pre-initiation climate*. This centres on intellectual abstractions, ideas, theories and sets of beliefs that both drive and can be drawn upon to legitimate courses of action, making them thinkable and intelligible. The pre-initiation climate invades the policy space preceding the initiation of institutional policy making; forming an essential input to institutional mechanisms of initiation. The pre-initiation climate can be conceived as condensing, post-initiation, into the policy culture within which policy formulation will take place, providing resources, and in due course finding expression in the production of policy texts.

Policy Implementation

The level of policy implementation, while profoundly connected to that of the dynamics of initiation and the process of policy formulation, encloses a different ontological reality. Policy at the level of implementation collides with the complexity and clamorous confusion of the social world of practices, routines,

roles, norms and culture. It is over this material realm that policy seeks to exert its power. The effects of policy are, conversely, far from uncomplicated and eschew capture by simple models of rational correspondence. Policy collides with, and must operate in, a life-world of materiality, subjectivity, established practices, attitudes, culturally-grounded understandings, capacities and psychological needs and desires. Policy texts must be interpreted, translated, and come into play along side an assemblage of other policy imperatives that often compete, contradict and destabilise. However, what makes policy an enduring technology of power is its capacity to govern, to produce, alongside the unanticipated and the unintended, desired effects in the life-world.

The consequences of policy emanate beyond policy formulation to govern spaces of institutional practices and distant areas of activity within recognized social organisations in the social, political and economic order; therein resides the power of policy. The model above attempts to underscore the effects of policy at the level of implementation. It is important to note that feedback into the levels of initiation and formulation is one direction of effect following from policy implementation. In shaping policy, actors at the level of implementation may not be in a significant position in the system, but the interplay of agency, culture and structure at the level of implementation is critical to understanding the outcomes of particular policies in the life-world.

Policy as Text

Within the framework suggested above, the policy text can be understood as an institutionally mediated discursive embodiment (Olssen, 2004) or coding of the outworking or temporary resolution of institutionally defined problems, contests or ambitions. Such resolutions are reflective of wider power struggles, contests and ambitions in operation within the political and economic formation. Policy texts represent policy. It is noteworthy that many forms of text contain such an embodiment: legislation, official documents, speeches, public engagements, statements, commentaries and guides, exemplar material, DVDs, CD-ROMs and websites. The model seeks to place the policy text (understood in its widest sense) as an identifiable product emerging between policy formulation and policy implementation, or policy elaboration post implementation. The model postulates two broad categories of texts:

- Texts that encode policy formulation and object establishment
- Text that encode policy

The production and existence of texts, their accessibility, and in the case of education policy their public character, is posited as central to research in critical policy analysis. The text can be thought of as being cast synchronically; capturing the provisional equilibrium of the policy system at a point in time (or capturing points in the process of formulation and the establishment of discursive orientations). However, methodologically a contextual decoding of policy texts is more easily unlocked by a diachronic reading. The layered policy model can be understood as an equilibrium model in which the policy system is orientated, or is constitutionally disposed, toward the function of achieving equilibrium in conditions of changing demands, conflict and endemic instability. Policy texts can therefore be read as an analogue of institutional intent, action or inaction, moderated toward equilibrium by systemic forces of constraint.

Fundamentally, policy is about the exercise of political power and the language that is used to legitimate that process. (Olssen et al., 2004:77)

Texts encode courses of action, or inaction, authoritative representations of the social world, power relations and manifest and exert a powerful rhetorical dimension. Texts produced within the arena of public policy have a distinctive genre. Such texts also form part of what Fairclough (2003:216) categorises as genre chains, and instances of genre mixing (for example: speeches, policy documents, interviews, public relations material). In understanding policy as integral to the machinery of modern government (an essential conduit of forms of political power in rationalized liberal democratic systems) the operation of text, language and power become central to any project of critical analysis. The policy text (broadly conceived) as an entity, a product within the layered model, becomes a stable reference in a complex and dynamic field of activity. Focusing on education policy, captured in the layers of such texts is a diachronic record of the intensity and scope of attempts to change the educational state; often in the image of changing political visions. The testimony of the text unavoidably includes a naturalised, and at times overt, intertextual relation to the prior codes of educational ideology. The production of policy texts in the layered

model marks the shift from policy formulation to policy implementation and has significance as a marker of process stage and in terms of public symbolism. The production of texts is also significant methodologically as such texts comprise a key element in policy analysis and allows the application of critical discourse analysis.

Policy as Discourse

What has been termed the ‘linguistic turn’ (an emphasis on the significance of language), an intellectual current that has moved through the arts, humanities and social sciences has not left the field of policy analysis untouched. One clear consequence of this movement is a growing use of discourse analysis in the study of policy and policy texts. Discourse, from a mainstream social science perspective, can be thought of as a body of ideas, concepts and beliefs that have become established as knowledge, or as an accepted way of looking at the world. Such discourses form a set of lenses that have a profound influence on understanding and action in the social world. Texts could be thought of as an aspect of establishing, embodying, symbolizing or expressing such discourses. A variety of approaches to the study of texts, across different disciplines, would understand and identify their techniques in terms of being discourse analysis. However, there is no common agreed definition of the idea of discourse or of the nature and scope of discourse analysis, this is an area marked by on going and complex theoretical debates (Gill, 2000). One common assumption underlying various approaches to discourse analysis is an intellectual commitment to understanding discourse as ‘constructing’ the social world, rejecting a realist perspective on language as a neutral medium that allows the describing and categorising of that world. Writing in relation to institutional and managerial control in an educational context, Cookson (1994) illustrates this assumption:

Decoding the power discourse requires a series of understandings about the nature of language as a verbal expression of social relations. Words do not exist in a disembodied form; they have meaning within a social context that is class bound, conflictual and power driven. Those who control this symbolic world are able to shape and manipulate the market- place of educational ideas. (Cookson, 1994:116)

Foucault’s work has been a major inspiration in the growth of interest and engagement with the idea of discourse across the humanities and social

sciences. The centrality of discourse in the work of Foucault is illustrated by its dominance in the intellectual manifesto he sets out in his inaugural lecture upon taking up his chair at the College de France:

Here is the hypothesis which I would like to put forward tonight in order to fix the terrain - or perhaps the very provisional theatre - of the work I am doing: that in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality (Foucault, 1972:216).

The ‘statement’ is a central constituent of Foucault’s analytics of discourse, statements or speech acts or elemental parts of texts are not of interest in terms of a detailed textual analysis, but in discerning the rules by which certain statements, or truth claims, as opposed to others, can emerge, operate, and come to comprise a discursive system: “. . . the term discourse can be defined as the group of statements that belong to a single system of formation; thus I shall be able to speak of clinical discourse, economic discourse, the discourse of natural history, psychiatric discourse” (Foucault, 2002:121).

In the Foucauldian formulation, discourses are productive. An understanding of discourse from this perspective is reasonably straightforward in that it claims to describe or make clear how a category such as the insane or the criminal comes into view, is constituted, under the action of the discourses of psychiatry and penology. Foucault studied the discourse of madness, highlighting its changes over the centuries and its interplay with other discourses such as religious and medical discourses, and how these shifts affect how madness is perceived and reacted to by others. That is not to say that the behaviours that came to be understood as madness or crime did not exist before the emergence of the discourses of psychiatry and penology or their precursors. In contrast to the enlightenment tradition that sought to establish truth and secure knowledge, Foucault’s post-structuralism commits him to uncover how truths are constructed, how current truths replaced older ones, what sustains them and what is their relationship to power. Importantly for Foucault, at a more abstract level, discourses are not just about language or linguistic theory. Foucault’s development and use of discourse theory must be understood against a background of his approach to history and the work of the historian. Central to

Foucault's understanding is a commitment to a materialist conception of language; this goes beyond attention to signs and meaning in language to embrace its influence in the social world. Foucault refuses the neat separation of the material and the theoretical, the discursive and the non-discursive. Discourses emerge and form, shaped by a set of relations (a rule) between the discursive and the material or non-discursive. The material conditions (place, social organisation, technologies, practices and systems of classification) condition the discursive and are in turn changed by it; the material context can be conceived as influencing contingency, allowing one particular statement to emerge rather than others (Olssen, 2006).

Moreover, such discourses go beyond language or texts; they are a conduit of power. For Foucault, power relations cannot be established, maintained, extended, resisted or mobilised into action, or given material form, without the mediation of discourse. Statements may be patterned into discursive formations according to sets of rules, but such formations have a tangible, concrete effect in structuring practices, relations of power and subjectivity; hence the materiality of language. Olssen (2004) points to Foucault's formulation of discourse as functioning as an alternative conception to what is understood as ideology. This formulation of ideology operates, not in a Marxist sense of false consciousness, but with an understanding of discourse as creating forms of subjectivity, establishing social relations, as ordering, framing, making visible, providing ways of seeing and acting in the social order. Discourses act to establish and maintain the normalisation, the naturalization, of values, assumptions and prescriptions for action shared by its adherents and sponsors. The relation of power, ideology and language as discourse combine to mark out a territory of significance and engagement for critical policy analysis.

Discourse Analysis in Critical Policy Analysis

Foucault's development of discourse has provided a powerful critical orientation and line of analysis that has been a major inspiration to those who have attempted to extend and develop discourse theory (Fairclough, 1989, 1995, 2003 and Luke, 1995). Norman Fairclough in particular has developed an influential blend of discourse theory and critical language approaches, what has become

known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Central to this conception is a commitment to understand language as a form of social practice. Language within CDA is understood to have ideological properties; therefore language is an essential element in the exercise of power and in struggles over power. For CDA language is centrally implicated in social and political domination. Fairclough summarises the foundational assumptions of CDA as:

- The conception of language we need for critical language studies is discourse, language as social practice determined by social structures.
- Actual discourse is determined by socially constituted orders of discourse, sets of conventions associated with social institutions.
- Orders of discourse are ideologically shaped by power relations in social institutions and in society as a whole.
- Discourse has effects upon social structures, as well as being determined by them, and so contributes to social continuity and social change.

(Fairclough 1989:17)

Fairclough draws upon the work of theorists such as Foucault and Jurgen Habermas (1984) in pursuit of the CDA's endeavour to unmask relations of social and political domination enacted and contained within language, but notes the inadequacy of such theory for the practical task of analysing particular instances of discourse (Fairclough 1989, 1992 and 2003). Fairclough is interested in actual instances of the exercise of language as discourse (in contrast to Foucault's elaboration of submerged rules of formation, and change) and the need to illuminate the ideological subtext at play. Fairclough makes use of Foucault's idea of orders of discourse (the use of discourse or linked discourses are constrained by demarcated areas of the social order, for example the economic or juridical sphere), along with what he identifies as discourse types (particular discourses or discourse conventions, for example sports commentary, legal argument) and actual discourse (text and spoken language) in building a framework for CDA. At the kernel of Fairclough's use of discourse is the idea of representation. Discourse represents the social world, the material world of things, relations and processes, together with the interior world of thoughts, ideas, values and beliefs. Discourses can and do produce different representations of aspects of human experience. Because aspects of the world can be represented differently, then from the perspective of CDA, the analyst is

always working from the position of having to take account of the relationship between discourses.

Different positions in the political field give rise to different representations, different visions - New Labour's vision of the world is different from that of its political opponents. Looked at from a language perspective, different representations/visions of the world are different 'discourses'. ...a party has to build a coherent and distinctive representation of the world: it is not an automatic effect of position. (Fairclough, 2000:21)

Figure 5.1 presents an archetype used by Fairclough to explain the relation of text (spoken or written statements) and discourse as social practice. Within this formulation, the text is an artefact that is constructed from the process of text production and in turn becomes a resource in the process of interpretation. Discourse therefore includes both the text and the social conditions of its production and interpretation understood at a level of its actual occurrence together with the demarcated or institutional level and the general societal level. The operation of production and interpretation, and their interplay with texts, is mediated or conditioned by what Fairclough labels members' resources. This rather odd classification (underlining a perspective that assumes the analyst must access the text in the same way as any reader or listener) draws its influence from cognitive psychology and artificial intelligence and their engagement with questions of comprehension. Texts are not simply read or decoded from symbols; comprehension requires the active work of interpretation. The dynamics of interpretation operate through internalised models or representations covering the whole gamut of human experience from relationships and objects to the grammar of the social order, narrative forms and conventions. Such members' resources can be understood as cognitive resources or by extension what counts as forms of knowledge.

However, as it stands this account is inadequate for Fairclough. Members' resources, what comes to operate as 'common sense,' are socially determined. Without denying agency to the individual, the capacities which allow comprehension are influenced and conditioned by other non-linguistic aspects of the social order. A central plank of discourse as social practice rests on the dialectical relation of the discursive and the non-discursive. Discourses condition social structures and are in turn determined by them. Behind the three level

model above is an assumption that all of the processes involved are social and must be understood in relation to wider political, economic and institutional dimensions.

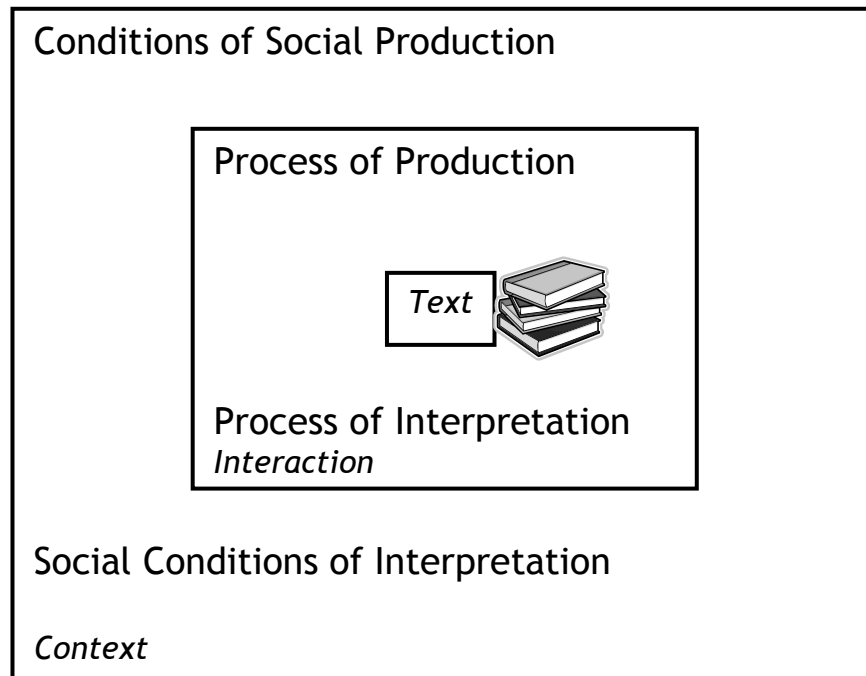


Figure 5.1: Discourse as text, interaction and context (Fairclough, 1989:25)

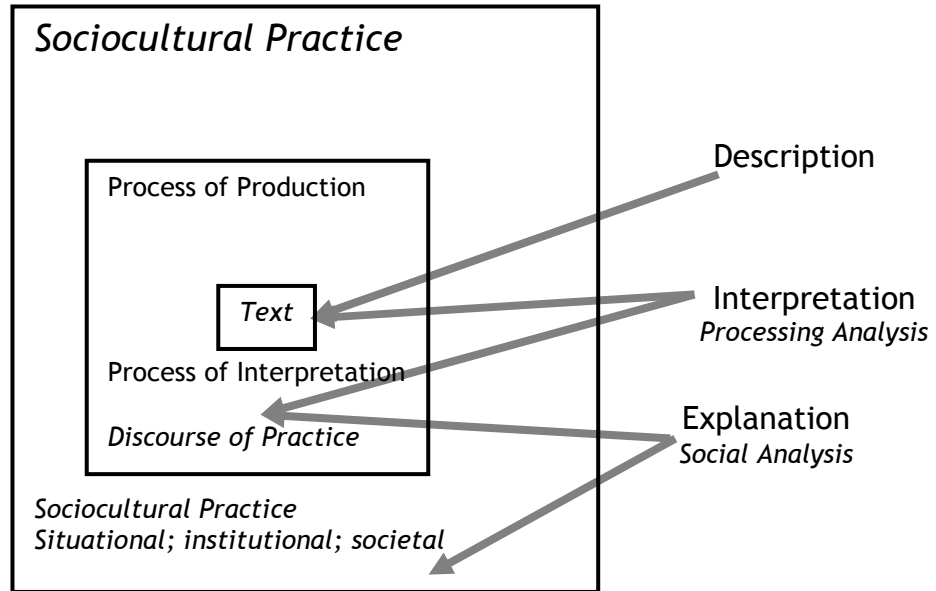


Figure 6.1: Dimensions of Discourse and Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1995:98)

Using the model relating the three dimensions of text, interactions and contexts outlined in Figure 6.1, Fairclough proposes an approach to the actual task of discourse analysis that attempts to embrace the three dimensions across which a reading of 'language as social practice determined by social structures' extends. Corresponding to the three dimensions, this approach has three stages each with an associated form of analysis:

- Description
- Interpretation
- Explanation

At the level of the text description, Fairclough acknowledges that this can be understood as an instance of interpretation, is an analysis of the formal properties of the text, including vocabulary, grammar and textual structures. Any of the techniques and concerns of close reading can be deployed at this level in the service of CDA's interest in elucidating the presence of ideological ambitions and relations of power operating in the text. A second level of analysis is applied at the interpretive stage, concerned with the operation of member's cognitive resources in the production and interpretation of texts and the interplay between 'clues' in the text and members resources. Tracing the effect of discourse within the social order and in particular social practices is what drives analysis at the level of explanation. Such effects are determined by the influence of discourses on social structures, and the ordering effect of social structure on discourse; so accounting for the operation of discourses in maintaining or reproducing structures and in producing change. This is a complex level of interaction concerning the interplay between member's resources and the determining effects of structure and discourse. Fairclough attempts to be reflexive over his clear application of a neo-Marxist frame to the task of interpreting the social order and the operation of discourse within it.

Following Fairclough, it is possible to understand public policy discourse in general, and education policy in particular, as constituting an order of institutional discourse drawing on particular discourse types. Another feature of policy discourse is its functional orientation or the fact that discourses are purposeful (ideological), they aim to do something: persuade, validate, assert, explain, legitimate, govern, control or make imperative. CDA offers a robust set

of positions from which to examine policy texts. The set of theoretical locations that emerge from a critical discourse analysis approach provide alternative leverage points in unmasking the operation of forms of power submerged within policy texts, the policy process, and its relation to broader conflicts and struggles. The correspondence or conceptual compatibility between Fairclough's outline of the social order and its relation to contexts of discourse (text, discursive practice and social practice) and the layered policy model is notable. For Foucault, knowledge and truth are produced by struggles both between and within institutions. It is significant that both Foucault and Fairclough conceive institutions and such regularities (structuring) in the social order as a locus of power in terms of discursive practice and, importantly, in relation to the emergence and elaboration of dominant discourses. Public policy making is a form of social practice, with its own discursive practices, that is demarcated and structure by the same divisions and sectors of the social order that Fairclough has been at pains to incorporate into his framework. This convergence allows an analysis of policy texts, their production and interpretation, using a CDA approach, with reference to the wider economic, political and institutional context in which they are framed.

Discourses are the resources, the very threads, from which policy texts are produced; dominant, complimentary, persuasive, legitimating, contrasting and discordant discourses form the fabric of policy texts. The breadth of this fabric extends to include policy documents, statements, legislation, speeches, events, training materials, websites, and the whole plethora of locations that embody authoritative statements of values, prescriptions, futures, priorities and obligations. Commonly, discourses embedded in policy texts operate to position, make productive, regulate, moralise, govern and constitute the citizen. Such texts are also indelibly marked by hidden conceptions of the art of government, the task of governing, and its associated technologies. Foucault understood the activity of governing as only becoming possible through the development, harnessing, incorporation and active employment of discourse. Policy texts, and their context of production within an incubator composed of the institutional assemblage of the state apparatus, or institutional context, form a primary locus for the forensic analysis of their form, ideological ambitions, components and forms of coding. The work of uncovering the ideological influences and ambitions

of texts, unmasking the social relations of power and domination that they submerge, is a central preoccupation for this conception of critical policy analysis.

Change by Elaboration

One significant aspect of the potency of policy is its capacity to initiate change, to disrupt and alter settled structures and practices in time and space. In approaching the idea of change through policy production this thesis draws upon Archer's (1984) theoretical framework. Archer provides the helpful idea of 'structural elaboration.' Writing from a critical perspective, Archer explains the development of state education systems as taking one particular form as opposed to another because:

Education has the characteristics it does because of the goals pursued by those who control it ... change occurs because new goals are pursued by those who have power to modify education's previous structural form, definition of instruction and relationship with society...education is fundamentally about what people have wanted of it and have been able to do to it. (Archer, 1984:1-3)

Archer's model is useful in attempting to understand the development of social institutions such as education. Its critical approach takes account of the structural determinants as recognised in functionalist and Marxist perspectives, moreover it also makes use of the interpretative, social context insights of interactionist perspectives. Using this combination of macro and micro processes, Archer describes the process of change as having three stages in a continuous cycle (see Figure 7.1).

This model is valuable in conceptualising the nature of change in education as revealed in the modification and revision of policy. The model illustrates the interaction between structures and forms as bequeathed by history (conditioning), forces for change, and the alterations that emerge (structural elaboration) as a result of the interaction and accommodations of these two elements. It is in the rarest of circumstances that policy making takes place on a green field site, addressing a new matter of public concern detached from previous conflicts, disputes and 'social problems.' In other words, every policy

has a history, an ancestry, stretching back through levels of development. Each stratum can be understood as revealing a distinct approach to understanding, defining and responding to policy questions using the ideological, intellectual, and technological resources of the age. The layered policy model positions the text as uniquely placed in capturing the encoding of ‘policy problems’ preserving a record of their construction and the legitimated project of action that should follow. Archer views the present structure as both arising from its antecedents, and crucially, as constraining the forms that can emerge from its interaction with agents of change. Change, as embodied in policy, can be framed as an elaboration or resolution that reflects a settlement of the discontinuities and divergences of new projects and ambitions with the direction, priorities, implementational and material arrangements of earlier projects. One significant dimension of the nature of change forces in the context of this thesis is the influence or power of ideas, systems of belief and the *discourses* that sustain and embody them.

Summary

The chapter above introduced the framing dimensions of *governmentality*, ideology, policy, critical policy models and policy change. The chapter also attempted to set out a layered model with which to undertake policy analysis (a heuristic that attempts to take account of the operation of forms of power in an institutional economy, including a conceptualisation of the significance and place of the policy text, and a productive theoretical approach to the analysis of such texts). The next chapter continues the task of outlining the critical resources assembled to provide the analytical frame for this thesis. The following chapter returns to the concept of governmentality as a perspective and an explanatory concept which in turn provides a source of critical leverage in approaching the project of New Labour and aspects of its education policy in the compulsory sector. Such a perspective has application as an interrogative approach to what becomes visible under an analysis informed by the layered model and can be taken up as a analytical resource for the critical discourse analysis of policy texts informing aspects of the approach developed by Fairclough.

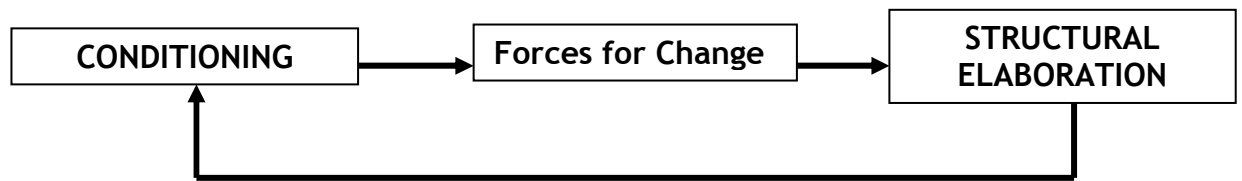


Figure 7.1: Archer's (1984) Model of Change

Chapter 2: Foucault's Governmentality

Foucault's Governmentality

I would like to begin to go over the dimension that I have called by the ugly word "governmentality." Assuming that "governing" is different from "reigning or ruling" and not the same as "commanding" or "laying down the law," or being a sovereign, suzerain, lord, judge, general, landowner, master, or a teacher, assuming therefore that governing is a specific activity, we need to know something about the type of power the notion covers. (Michel Foucault, Lecture of 8th February 1978, Collège de France.)

This chapter aims to introduce the idea of 'governmentality,' as patented by Foucault (1991), and to develop the claim that it offers to critical policy studies a new horizon, and that this perspective is applicable to education policy scholarship. This is a prospect that comes into view through a concern for *government*, both as a conceivable, deliberate, thinkable abstraction and as a practical activity. Policy analysis is a diverse and interdisciplinary field involving many researchers and specialists, in varying institutional settings, working under such banners as policy advocacy, policy research and policy development. There is no map of this field that enjoys universal consent but two sectors have been usefully identified by Gordon et al. (1977): Analysis of Policy and Analysis for Policy. Analysis of policy is subdivided into analysis of policy determination and outcomes and analysis of policy content. Analysis for policy can be subdivided into policy advocacy and information for policy. One sector of the analysis of policy field, 'critical policy analysis,' has emerged around a focus and commitment to unmask or decode the ideological dimensions, values and assumptions of public policy.

A feature of education policy in late modernity is its relentless predisposition to fix the boundaries and horizons of national projects of education at all levels. Such policy production now takes place in an atmosphere infused by the economic, political, social and cultural effects of globalisation. As a consequence, education policy is now cast in moulds that reflect this new complexity in the policymaking climate, a complexity comprised of the interrelation between the supranational, the nation state and the regional. In conceiving a 'critical' policy analysis in the context of the new complexity, this project assumes a political dimension to the phenomena of education policy. Education policy is taken to be an expression of political rationality, and as a

constituent of the scaffolding that establishes and constitutes certain political projects. Government forms the context of policy making and constitutes an essential sector in the exercise of political sovereignty.

Foucault's work on government, in the context of his evolving research project as narrated in the 1978 lecture series (security, territory, population), requires to be set against a wider backdrop that takes some account of the development of Foucault's major ideas and methodological innovations. In a somewhat critical appraisal of his opus, Merquior (1991) locates the context of Foucault's work at a particular juncture in Gallic philosophy. He contends that the French philosophical tradition faced an impasse with the 'exhaustion' of existentialism. In the process of reinvigorating itself 'litero-philosophy' was confronted by the option of turning in a more analytical direction or finding a new dynamic to drive its momentum. Merquior presents the resolution of this predicament in terms of the avoidance, or failure, by Gallic philosophy to embrace the path of rigour, opting instead to turn its attention to the 'social sciences;' which had come to enjoy a high degree of prominence and status in the contemporary intellectual climate. Prominent in this new movement was Jacques Derrida (1976) with his work on 'deconstruction,' but it was Michel Foucault who was to become its foremost luminary. Foucault was to turn his attention to history, in particular the history of ideas within the social sciences, but not in any conventional way. By the 1960s *structuralism*, as a philosophical movement, was at its zenith. Structuralism, as a philosophical approach to social science, owes its origin to the work of a Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913). Remarkably it was his students at the University of Geneva who, after his death in 1913, gathered and published his work (Saussure, 1974). Migrating from linguistics, structuralism as a philosophical approach was taken up and applied to a diverse range of disciplines across the social sciences. Notable is the application of structuralism to anthropology by Claude Levi-Strauss (1963). Foucault was to develop an essentially post-structural approach to the domain of historical rationality.

In seeking to explore the development of decisive aspects of Foucault's thought some discussion of his relation to structuralism is unavoidable. A loose definition of structuralism can be made in terms of an intellectual position characterised by a commitment to examine the relations between entities and structure, in contrast to attempts to describe things in terms of their essence. Gibson in a particularly erudite discussion, whilst acknowledging conflicting accounts of its nature, offers an analysis of structuralism that outlines six foundational ideas or commitments that, operating together, are central to the structuralist position (Gibson, 1984:8):

- Wholeness
- Relationships
- The 'decentring of the subject'
- Self-regulation
- Transformation
- The primacy of the synchronic

Central to the structuralist position is the idea of the whole, the system or structure. This is often expressed in terms of the whole being greater than the sum of its parts. Elements, and their relation, are subordinate to their place in the system. In terms of such elements or parts, the structuralist approach focuses on relationships, it is the relationship between parts of a system that make sense of parts in terms of their place in the overall structure or system. The 'decentring of the subject' can be placed in relation to a broader intellectual current that displaces the human individual from the locus of explanation, and is perhaps the most contentious tenet of structuralism. The assumption of the primacy of the whole or system, together with the focus of relationship leads towards structuralism's decentring of the subject. If the individual is subordinate to the whole, this must apply to the subject, the subject must be understood with reference to the whole; in this case mankind, or as Gibson (1984:9) puts it, '...just as the word gives way to language, so man must give way to society.'

Another feature of systems or structures is their inherent self-regulation. Systems are understood by the structuralist school as having laws or forms of internal regulation that allow them to maintain themselves, to adapt and maintain equilibrium. Having posited a self regulating assumption about

structures, be it systems of language, numbers or cognition, an impression or assumption of a form of stasis can be created. This is dispelled by placing the idea of self-regulation into a larger dynamic expressed in the essential idea of transformation. For structuralists, systems are by their very nature mechanisms of transformation. Such transformations are not random but mediated, regulated by the laws of the whole, to understand such universal rules is to understand the dynamic of transformation. Finding, locating and understanding the laws that from its depth operate to govern the existence of a system is the fundamental endeavour of the structuralist. On a methodological level structuralists have a commitment to synchronic analysis (at a particular point in time, a freeze-frame of the system) as opposed to diachronic analysis (an analysis over time). The principle of synchronic analysis comes straight out of the work of Ferdinand de Saussure (1974). In particular it comes from Saussure's refusal of approaches to the study of language evolution over time in preference to the construction of language as a system regulated by deep structures made detectable by a synchronic analysis.

In spite of his emotive rejection of a structuralist identity in his foreword to the English translation of *The Order of Things* ('In France, certain half-witted 'commentators' persist in labelling me a 'structuralist.'), it is hard to refuse the conviction that Foucault was profoundly influenced by the structuralist movement, was viewed as one of its early exponents, and that his post-structuralism reflects his attempts to move beyond, or overcome, what he and fellow travellers came to view as the inadequacies of structuralism. Olssen (2006) argues that there are at least three orientations in Foucault's thought that differentiate his approach from a mainstream structuralist position. Foucault rejects a structuralist view of history, a history unfolding along a path guided by rules and regularities that determine historical transformation. Secondly Foucault does not blindly share the essential structuralist principle that the whole takes precedence over the parts, the elements becoming intelligible when the nature of the whole has been uncovered. The third of Olssen's markers of Foucault distinctiveness from conventional structuralism arises from his rejection of synchrony, or more precisely the relegation of history that follows from the primacy of the snapshot in any analysis of the system. This ahistorical position is irreconcilable with Foucault's conception of structures of thought and

representation as being historical; varying and changing in particular communities over time.

Matthews (1996) characterises Foucault's historicism as being inhabited by an ethos motivated by a denial of any a priori account of an 'unchanging human nature,' sharing the structuralist insistence that the subject be decentred. The subject as possessor of transcendental consciousness, the founding subject, was indefensible to Foucault. For Foucault the identity of the subject, the nature of knowledge, and how the subject comes to access truth, is formed, shaped by their insertion into a particular historical milieu. As briefly discussed in the previous chapter, Foucault had an accomplished engagement with linguistic theory (see for example, Foucault, 1972, and his essay on discourse and politics, Foucault, 1991). In particular his commitment to a conception of language as discourse; which in turn formed the base unit of his analysis as he turned his attention towards the history of rationality.

The Archaeology and Genealogy

In his engagement with the presuppositions of social science Foucault makes use of a methodological approach which he metaphorically styles as 'archaeology.' What this particular form of archaeology aims to uncover or unearth are the *rules*, the regularities that undergird the formation of a discourse or orders of discourse. In particular, archaeology aims to uncover the submerged or subterranean existence of such rules. Importantly, such rules are hidden from view, this unconscious aspect of the system being vital to Foucault's theory of knowledge. The search for rules is both central to Foucault's theory of discourse and an element with a conceptual resonance that reveals something of Foucault's complex relation to structuralism. Fundamental to Foucault's formulation of the notion of discourse is the statementⁱⁱⁱ, and the nature of discourse as a body of statements that exhibit regularity, as being systematic in nature. Attention to this abstract element is what allows the differentiation of discursive formations, and their relation to other formations, to be established so revealing the rules by which truth claims can be made; permitting one particular statement to be made, to emerge, and not other possible statements. For Foucault the statement operates as a principle of 'differentiation' and to

allocate a range of 'positions' available to the subject. The statement belongs to a formation, is coordinated or located with reference to other formations of discourse. Furthermore, its operation in a location has a material dimension to its existence; its constitution being within institutional and social practices and locations. Attention to the statement permits the charting of the subconscious invisible 'code of knowledge' that conditions its operation in any historical epoch. As Foucault explains in his foreword to the English translation of *The Order of Things*:

But what if empirical knowledge at a given time, and in a given culture, *did* possess a well-defined regularity? If the very possibility of recording facts, of allowing oneself to be convinced by them, of distorting them in traditions or of making purely speculative use of them, if even this was not at the mercy of chance? If errors (and truths), the practice of old beliefs, including not only genuine discoveries, but also the most naïve notions, obeyed, at a given moment, the laws of a certain code of knowledge? If in short, the history of non-formal knowledge had its self a system? That was my initial hypothesis-the first risk I took. (Foucault, 2001:x Emphasis in the original)

The main operative features of archaeology are summarised by Kendall and Wickham (1999:33) in terms of the description of statements, captured in the archive, elucidating what is sayable and what renders objects and relations visible. Working from a non-interpretive standpoint, there is a concern to make the regularities of statements perceptible, the relation between one statement and other statements, and a search for the rules that allow statements to be made again; to be repeatable. Archaeology looks to establish the position of the subject (not in the sense of the meaning intended by some speaking subject or author) which is established or made available by statements. Another dimension to analysing the statement involves illustrating the institutions and social contexts which ground the materiality of statements. If archaeology is made possible by the submerged regularities and hidden rules that establish the order of discourse, this underlying system has global proportions in a cultural location, constituting the arrangement that regulates all forms of knowledge within a particular historical period. Foucault makes use of the idea of the *episteme* as the central concept in *The Order of Things* (2001) to describe this fundamental 'cultural code.' In this most structuralist of his books, Foucault excavates across the human sciences, over three distinct historical periods

corresponding to the renaissance, classical and modern. In doing so he seeks to elucidate change, discontinuities, as the discursive systems of an age, the *episteme*, is transformed.

If archaeology is a methodological approach, employed in the historical archive, by which the hidden stratum that regulates and conditions fields of knowledge in a given period (which in turn determines the conditions that support particular discourses which order thought and make possible truth claims) are brought to light; Foucault's *genealogy* can be conceived of as a methodological expansion of archaeology through attention to the operation of power structures. The influence of Nietzschean^{iv} 'genealogy' is clear in this reorientation of archaeology (Merquior, 1991). Genealogy established a more political aspect to Foucault's historicism. It gives attention to unearth rules that undergird the formation of discourses or orders of discourse and now, importantly, their submersion in any economy of institutions that emerge and change in particular social and material contexts.

In developing his genealogical method Foucault makes use of the concept of *power-knowledge* expressing a concern to present the way in which knowledge, particularly knowledge within the human sciences, is shaped by its interaction with power dispersed in social structures. What comes to be coded as knowledge in a discursive formation such as psychiatry or economics cannot be understood as a simple accumulation of knowledge and techniques but a formation shaped in part by its interplay with power in a cultural milieu and institutional location; its interaction with the non-discursive. An important aspect of such knowledge, coded in discursive formations, is its effect in further buttressing the exercise of power. Such power structures, reflecting the struggles between and within institutions, comprise the primary surface of formation and reformation for the unconscious rules which pattern the order of discourses by which knowledge and truth are produced. Knowledge and truth claims are therefore historically shaped by their coexistence with power, their piecemeal fabrication hidden; they emerge publicly imbued with a countenance signifying them as universal and eternal in nature.

Government as a Mode of Power

The thumbnail sketch above seeks to give a context to some of Foucault's key ideas (archaeology, genealogy, episteme and power-knowledge) while in no way doing justice to the breadth and complexity of Foucault's work or the controversies it has evoked. It was in this latter genealogical phase of his work that Foucault comes to the problem of government. Government comes to take up a significant position in Foucault's theorisation of power, marking out a space between domination on the one hand, and freedom on the other (Dean, 1999). In the course of his lecture of 1st February 1979, Foucault introduces the term 'governmentality,' a term that he defines as having three aspects:

- The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.
- The tendency which, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led towards the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, etc.) of this type of power which may be termed government, resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of *savoirs*^v.
- The process, or rather the result of the process, through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages, transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gradually becomes 'governmentalized'. (Foucault, 2007:108)

Foucault's approach to the concept of government was not problematized within the conventional terms of the State, constitutional theory or political philosophy, but in a broad sense of the 'conduct of conduct,' embracing all procedures, inventions, calculations, tactics and institutions implicated in this 'specific' and 'complex form of power.' In this sense, the practice of government leads to consideration of the multitude of techniques, schemes, structures and ideas deliberately mobilised in attempting to direct or influence the conduct of others. For Foucault, the family, the workplace, the profession, the population, are just some of the many sites within which the operation of government is to be found. In relation to the State, Foucault is concerned with unearthing the evolving rationalities of government, illustrated by his

identification of the movement away from Machiavelli's problematic of reinforcing the power of the prince, to a new rationality for the State in relation to itself and its own flourishing.

But government is not just a power needing to be tamed or an authority needing to be legitimised. It is an activity and an art which concerns all and which touches each. And it is an art which presupposes thought. The sense and object of governmental acts do not fall from the sky or emerge ready formed from social practice. They are things that have to be—and which have been— invented. (Burchell et al. 1991:x)

Governmentality is a prism that illuminates a particular stratum of enquiry, a perspective that examines, with a historical gaze, governing, as a deliberate, rational, purposeful, technicised activity, directed at the subject, the society, or some consciously categorized subdivision of the social body. This activity resides and operates in a conflictual milieu, complicated by the contingent, the unexpected, and continually unbalanced by the outworking of discursive struggles. Governmentality is a perspective that resists systemisation or a neat explanatory theoretical ordering of government or politics, but tends to complexity, silhouetting a multi-dimensional matrix of intersecting problems, ambitions, protagonists, struggles, technical apparatuses, and discursive structures. For Foucault, the central labour around which such a matrix forms, under a liberal mentality of governing, is directed toward the constitution of the self, the configuration of the subject under the action of government.

An examination of political power from the vantage point of a history of governmentality focuses on such strategies, techniques, methods and technologies that have been deliberately employed or incorporated by the State in maximising its resources (crucially, its population). Foucault's attention is drawn to the task of giving an account of 'government reason,' its evolving nature, historical increments, periods of ascendancy, its changes and discontinuities. This analysis is particularly sensitive to patterns of State intervention into the lives of citizens. For Foucault, the State in modernity is characterised by an increasing 'governmentalization' of the social order as the State intervenes on behalf of what it perceives as its own interest. Liberalism, emerging out of the breakdown of the restrictions of feudalism and the dawn of a market capitalist society, is identified by Foucault as the propagator of a

unique form of the art of government. The arrival of liberalism marks the advent of a distinctly modern form of government. Liberal governmentality evolves in reaction to a realisation of the limits and incongruity of a ‘police state^{vi}’ that seeks to know, to see, to govern through an all-pervading inspection, modulation and instruction in every detail of life. The liberal state is made workable by a certain formulation of the citizen, a responsiblized, socialised citizen whose conduct within the imagined spaces of freedom will act to serve the well-being of the State.

Critical to this is the ‘freedom’ of the citizen of the liberal state as they internalise norms and directions to regulate their own behaviour. *Liberty*, therefore, becomes a resource for government. This is a novel understanding of the operation of freedom in the theorisation of how the State can be governed. This theory of governing evolves in reaction to a realisation of the limits of the State to know, to see, to govern through pervasive observation, measurement and the regulation of every detail of life. The liberal state assumes a certain type of citizen, a responsiblised, socialised citizen, who within, and because of, their arc of freedom, serves the well being of the State. Governmentality is as much about what subjects do to themselves as what is done to them. As Peters (2001:1) puts it, “. . . government in this sense only becomes possible at the point at which policing and administration stops; at the point where government and self-government coincide and coalesce.”

The Liberal Tradition

Liberalism has become that dominant political tradition of the modern age, it has both battled and evolved in relation to its challengers, Marxist socialism, and conservatism. Liberalism defines the problem space of ‘governing’ in a distinctive way, the State under the liberal insignia is charged with the maintenance of conditions in which two vital sectors, the market and civil society, can operate and thrive. Critically, Foucault locates the emergence of ‘society’ with the advent of liberalism and its establishment as the culture of government. A key constituent of the intellectual architecture of the liberal art of governing is the identification of the State as the potential cause and agent of harm and oppression. In governing this sphere of the social, the liberal state is

at pains to govern within what it understands as the logic of civil society's own internal systems of regulation and order. The social sphere, together with the market, the free space of economic activity, requires a sensitive governance so as not to unbalance their intrinsic mechanisms for order, success and maintenance. Burchill (1996) describes early, or classic, liberalism in terms of a *naturalism*:

It is in relation to this dynamic, historico-natural, both economic and non-economic domain that government as the exercise of nationally unified political sovereignty comes to define its tasks. Liberal governmental reason does not so much set out what in a particular case government policy should be, as define the essential problem space of government, and define it in such a way as to make a definite art of government both thinkable and practicable. Early liberalism determines the questions of how to govern in relation to an object-domain which is a kind of quasi-nature with its own specific self-regulating principles and dynamic. This natural space is both what must be governed and what government must produce or, at least, maintain in the optimum condition of what naturally it is. Civil society becomes at the same time both object and end of government. (Burchill, 1996:24)

The late 19th century witnessed the emergence of social liberalism, or the 'new liberalism' in response to what perhaps could be described as the failures of classical liberalism to deliver in the realm of the social. It was the fate of the 'masses' under the demands of industrial capitalism that began to undermine the classical formulation of liberalism. It became apparent that the possession of 'liberty' did not compensate for poverty, economic hardship and social disintegration. Older liberal practices of philanthropy and regulation had failed as a response to the plight of the pauperised urban poor. This new strain of state reason was marked by a more 'positive' view of freedom. In defence of this notion of freedom, under threat for a range of social evils, there followed a renegotiation of the liberal art of government. This 'welfare' liberalism, characterised by a more interventionist state, lasted into the early years of the 20th century and echoed beyond. The re-emergence, in the 1980s, of powerful strains of classical liberal thought into governmental reason marks the latest resurgence of liberal thought in the guiding rationality for governing. This emerging and remerging tradition of liberalism is characterised in one respect through the agenda, and importantly, the non-agenda of the State. This

backdrop, of changing political rationality, can form a context for the consideration of public policy as an expression of governmentality.

Rose (1996, 1999) writing from a governmentality perspective takes up the liberal problematic of government, the dilemma over how to govern when there are clearly demarcated sectors across the borders of which government must not extend. The rights of the citizen, the productive equilibrium of the space of economic activity and the space of civil society, fundamental to liberalism's internal logic, are imperilled by the ingress of the State. The innovative liberal solution, that so engaged Foucault, was to govern by and through freedom. Central to this rationality is the necessity to regulate and shape the free individual; altering the ways in which the subject comes to understand the self as a self, and is fashioned to take an active role in governing their own conduct. Rose (1996) highlights liberal rule as a form that operates through a particular relation to forms of knowledge, in particular all manner of knowledge of human conduct that became increasingly available to the State from a burgeoning human sciences. The requisition of forms of knowledge may be a constant feature of the exercise of sovereignty throughout the history of rule and government, nevertheless the modern is made possible and characterised by its insatiable appropriation of expanding fields of knowledge into schemes of government. While simultaneously placing itself at arms length from the spaces of economic and civil activity, delegation to 'expert' authorities is a second feature of the liberal ethos of government. Institutionalised, professionalized authority is licensed to intervene, to ameliorate, to reform and to engage with problem spaces and detrimental conducts. Independent authorities are set at large to actively instigate a mesh of programmes, strategies, regimes and arrangements to maintain the well-being of society, regulating and governing free citizens. This strategy of governing at a distance, at a safe interval from the 'political,' serves to shield the liberal settlement from hazarding its legitimacy.

Our modern or late modern age unfolds under an ethos of government whose architecture remains unmistakably liberal in its form. Historically it is possible to trace a liberal passage that moves forward from a proto-liberal political rationality into full classical liberalism; giving way in the late 19th century to a reconfiguration into a 'new' or 'social' liberalism, further compromising after

1945 into an 'embedded' form of liberalism (Harvey 2005). Rose (1996, 1999) and Dean (1999) have characterised the most recent alterations to the structural design of liberal government in terms of an *advanced liberalism*. What identifies advanced forms of liberal government is a new matrix of arrangements, forms of intervention and strategies of governing. This new phase is represented most clearly by the rediscovery of the market as a mechanism for control and efficiency and its insertion into spaces of activity within a blurring public private domain. Quasi forms of the market are accompanied by the application of new forms of accountability incorporating precise statements of what is to be understood as 'quality' or as a desired output, together with systems of legitimating metrics. Forms of advanced liberal government have seen the elevation of management theories and techniques to become the *zeitgeist* of the public sector, the marker of the modern, and the driver of projects of 'modernisation' together with the extensive introduction and novel extension of older technologies of accountancy and audit (Power 1997).

Rose (1993) argues that the 'state of welfare' has unevenly and in stages given way to a new mode of governing. This 'advanced liberal governmentality' has consolidated into a particular constellation that reflects significant shifts and alterations within key dimensions of the defining rationality of liberal government. Three elements in particular are judged to be characteristic: a resurgence of liberalism's suspicion and anxiety concerning the State exceeding its legitimate limits, the dominance of a new conception of the subject and a new relation between the State and the status and operation of expertise. An increasingly confident neoliberal political project progressively assembled this new form of state reason by amalgamating a 'series of techniques' that responded to the failings and critiques levelled against the state of welfare, and decisively, was able to 'render these criticisms governmental' (Rose 1996:52).

In establishing a new rationality of rule, advanced liberal government has reactivated aspects of liberalism's perpetual critique of the State and apprehension over the limits of its legitimate reach. The State in its attempts to regulate, control and govern is diagnosed as becoming dangerously enlarged, its presence penetrating into an intensifying domain of contact with the citizen. It required to be stripped back to its essentials, law and order, defence from

external and internal threat and assurance of the conditions for the market economy to operate unencumbered. Rhetorically this can be detected in Ronald Reagan's chorus from the late 1970s of getting government off the backs of the people and Margaret Thatcher's (1976), there is too much State living off the people. This reworking, or reactivation, of classical liberal thought had the twin effect of usurping the state of welfare while conditioning the preferences of advanced liberal forms of government for certain schemes, techniques and strategies.

Central to the formation of this advanced form of liberal government is the establishment of a new conception of the subject, that central preoccupation and object of rule. The state of welfare was diagnosed as carrying within its reason the germ of its own destruction; operating as it did on a ubiquitous and detrimental specification of the subject. Individuals required to be understood, and fundamentally come to understand their self, not as the passive and restricted citizen of welfare rights sheltered by the State, but as how they 'really' are, as free autonomous individuals. The health of the social body would be assured in a marketplace of preferences and alternatives pursued through the choices of self regarding individuals. Subjects and their subjectivity therefore required to be governed in such a way as to liberate them from the distortions of the citizen of welfare, affirming them as self actualizing enterprising subjects, the makers of choices in the quest for their own happiness and in the pursuit of their own desires. Where before the State had provided, casting its long shadow over the social, advanced liberal modes of government seeks to provide new patterns for living where individuals assume a responsibility and liability for their choices and calculations in the marketplace of preferences and alternatives.

The growth of the state of welfare witnessed the establishment of custody over and within sectors of welfare activity by professionals and the claims of expertise. Such zones provided shelter from external authority rendering them difficult to govern. Such restrictions and privileges were to be destabilized and supplanted by the new anatomy of advanced liberal government. The influence of the welfare order was broken and disciplined by the application of what were often older and established rationalities, technologies and techniques once deemed alien and corrosive to the public sphere. The defences of welfare

territories were to be breached by a new constellation of government that sought to govern as the architect of a public sector of self-regulating customer centred service organisations. Rule would be exercised through 'steering' rather than 'rowing,' not as provider but as principal in a web of competitive contractual arrangements. Forms of monetarization, marketization, competition, quasi-market arrangements, service agreements, audit (Power, 1997), the transfer of practices of private sector 'management' to the public sector, all operated to distance decisions and responsibility from centres of political calculation. The exponential paternal state was to be halted, rolled back, in favour of the market state which would provide the opportunity for self-regarding individuals to make choices, calculations and investments in their own care and welfare from childbirth to old age. Experts and professionals would need to attract clients, users of the service they offered while proving their efficiency and value through output measures. In a parallel movement expertise, service departments and organisations would procure other auxiliary services and functions in a competitive quasi-market.

Liberal projects of government depend heavily on forms of authority, expertise, and require what Rose (1993:297) has called 'the authority of truth.' The relation between the State and expert knowledge is necessarily different in a market state. The diffusion of the State apparatus, the delegation and dispersion of its functions into new organisational styles and distant centres of responsibility, the subjugation of welfare expertise, can be posited as the most visible manifestation of Rose's advanced liberal governmentality. This is not a retreat from government, a disengagement from sectors of the conduct of conduct, but a new form of governing using alternative modes of expert knowledge and forms of truth elevated to become pre-eminent in a redesigned state complex. The expertise of 'management,' and of the auditor, the accountant, the consultant, the regulator, the statistician, the actuary and the systems analyst would now be called upon to place their authority behind the task of governing.

The politics of the later part of the 20th Century have been marked by this latest incarnation of liberal thought, the emergence of neoliberalism. Peters (2002), drawing on the work of British neo-Foucauldians, offers a very concise anatomy

of neoliberalism. He maps among its essential characteristics such elements as: retaining the liberal commitment to a perpetual critique of the State, the movement from naturalism toward an understanding of the market as an artefact shaped by cultural evolution and a focusing on the legal, regulatory framework of the economic sphere, the extension of economic rationality as a basis for the political, a revival of the rational, self-interest, utility maximising subject of classical economics, the unleashing of the techniques and rationality of business, the commercial, the private, into the public services and operations of the State.

The triumph of the market and the domination of neoliberalism have conspired to evaporate faith in socialism, putting classical forms of social democracy to rout in the process. The 'rediscovery of the market,' as part of what Sassoon (1996) has characterized as neo-revisionism, has centred on a profound shift by the left away from a political economy of common ownership and state provision to one that positively embraced and celebrated the market, a 'modernised' social democracy. Tony Blair's (1998) modernised social democracy claims continuity with the values of the progressive centre left (previously expressed in forms of embedded liberalism), while recognising that the means to achieve them must radically alter in the faced of a new, sociologically distinct, historical condition. New Labour has come to stand for the importance of economic success in the context of market capitalism, 'seeking prosperity for all.' In turn, the welfare arrangements of the Third Way state have been restructured around a new ethic of individual rights and responsibilities. Key to understanding the project of New Labour is its disengagement with the economic sphere, opting for a role as regulator, guarantor of fiscal stability and the conditions in which business can operate successfully.

Conversely, Third Way proclaims a belief in the State as an agent of progress and mechanism for ensuring social cohesion and social justice defined in terms of opportunity for all. The move towards the 'social investment state' (Giddens, 1998) signals a revision of government itself, its purpose and means of effect. Under a politics of Third Way the locations where the citizen, the consumer, encounters the State becomes a key terrain of intervention; consequently, the health facility, the welfare service, the educational institution become

fundamental locations for ‘modernisation,’ the insertion of new practices and regimes of government. Third Way politics can be viewed as a form of advanced liberalism distinguished by a refocusing on the imperative of the economic space and its successful operation in a climate of global competition. In particular the governing of the social space, the disposition of civil society, now operates in relation to the fixed datum of success in the economic sphere. To such an end a form of state reason, under an idealised Third Way schematic, comes to be formulated into a project of government in which the freedom of the citizen must be shaped and nurtured in such a way as to mobilise the populations’ resources of human capital, health and culture. Government of the national community must ensure security and prosperity through supporting and sustaining the social base of economic activity and therein ‘release the full potential of the information economy.’ Rose’s (1996) analysis of advanced liberalism encapsulates the neoliberal strain of governmentality; through which it emerged. It would also accommodate the subsequent project of government put into motion within the UK under New Labour. This particular form of advanced liberalism can be understood as a form of *Third Way governmentality*.

Third Way

In attempting to sketch a Third Way governmentality (developed more fully in Chapter 3), or the reason of state inherent within a modernised social democracy, a trajectory emerges that, under an analytics of governmentality, offers an explanation as to why certain forms of knowledge or products of the human sciences become visible and are appropriated; while other innovations remain obfuscated, or are seen as unproductive. The direction of a Third Way project of governance carries its own instinctive orientation to formulate, to know, what is to be seen as troubling in the social domain and an openness to technologies and forms of knowledge that can in turn be mobilised in response to the need to govern, to bring order, to ensure containment, or to make certain security and productivity.

A concern with knowledge and intellectual resources draws attention to the individuals and assemblages that innovate and act as conduits for new and elaborated forms of reason, those who produce, interpret and speculate in the

marketplace of ideas. The development of a liberal ‘modern’ art of government deliberately involved practices and arrangements that sustain and reap knowledge innovations as part of the machinery of government. The process of ‘governmentalisation of the state’ advanced upon the appropriation and application of forms of knowledge and expertise to the tasks, problems and fields of government variously conceived. An analytics of governmentality is instantly drawn to elucidate the contingent and opportunistic convergence of the climate of ideas and the evolving practice of government. This line of inquiry draws attention to the role of the individual, the intellectual, the academic, the think tank or the epistemic community in the promotion or transfer of forms of knowledge and other epistemological resources into the apparatus and practices of government. This process of adoption is well illustrated by the recent appropriation of forms of ‘social exclusion’ theory within state reason (this is explored in detail within chapters 4 and 6), together with subsequent emergent attempts to govern the locations, activities, and dispositions made visible by such forms of knowledge.

Governmentality studies has a historical orientation, alert for and sensitive to the evolving and changing ways in which the ‘art of government’ is understood, reinvented and rendered practicable. At the core of the Third Way project articulated by Giddens (1998) and Blair (1998) is the reform, or ‘modernisation,’ of the State and ‘government.’ It is in the light of a particular sociological interpretation of economic and social change, which makes truth claims based on having decoded the nature of this new set of conditions, that the need for a shift in the ‘rationality of government’ is premised.

Government needs to build a ‘knowledge base’ that will release the full potential of the information economy. Old-style social democracy concentrated on industrial policy and Keynesian demand measures, while the neoliberals focused on deregulation and market liberalization. Third Way economic policy needs to concern it-self with different priorities - with education, incentives, entrepreneurial culture, flexibility, devolution and the cultivation of social capital. (Giddens 2000:73)

This dynamic, mediated by a Third Way form of state reason, can be illustrated using the example of *social capital*^{vii}. The course to a secure and prosperous State, through the appropriation of social capital, gives a new imperative to the need to govern the social nexus. Notably, this sector of bio-politics^{viii} looks to

the structure and action of relational bonds that exists between the elements of population as a resource and site of intervention. This can be understood as a reflection of advanced liberal government's redefinition of the ethic of citizenship. Advanced liberalism (Dean 1999) is marked out by its remoralisation of the relation between citizen and society. The hapless citizen of welfare rights is eligible for a helping hand from the State in the face of hardships inflicted by uncontrollable structural forces. The citizen in conditions of advanced liberalism is reconceived as, assumed to be, an active agent primarily responsible for making a success of their own life, the self actualising citizen of choices, opportunities and self-fulfilment.

Changing the conception and ethical design of the citizen is clearly not a new innovation. However, advanced liberalism is concerned with a particular energetic citizen who becomes the end of an active strategy of intervention and formation by government. Noteworthy is the rearrangement of the technologies of formation available to government towards the establishment of this new active subject citizen. Attention, through horizontal social capital, to the social bonds and relational networks of the citizen, assumed or implored to be active agents in the space of the economic or the civil, opens up to advanced liberal governments of both left and right an irresistible surface of intervention. It is conceivably a natural expansion of government under advanced liberalism to extend its array of schemes, devices and technologies used to shape conduct towards the maximisation of those policy goods made tantalisingly visible through knowledge of social capital.

Education Policy

Policy is commonly defined as a statement of government intentions. It is purposeful, directed toward a problem, need or aspiration, specifying principles and actions designed to bring about desired goals. The process of policymaking can be modelled in a number of ways, privileging, for example, process, reason or expert knowledge. This project would endorse a view of policy making as essentially conflictual. Olssen (2004:71) and his colleagues define policy in terms of '...any course of action (or inaction) relating to the selection of goals, the definition of values or the allocation of resources,' policy is, therefore, bonded

to the exercise of political power. This assures contestation, conflict, differing interests and competing views, reflecting asymmetries in power, representation and voice, in a political milieu fractured by divisions of class, race and gender. There is an inextricable link between policy, and policymaking, and politics as the art of government. Public policymaking, in essence, is the machinery of the modern state, a vital constituent of state physiology. Engaging in the study of public policy, both in relation to the policymaking process or specific policies, assumes some understanding of the State. The task of critical policy analysis is made possible by approaching the question of the nature and function of the State^{ix} through recourse to a range of theoretical problematizations and the recognition of policy as an expression of political rationality.

In the shaping of conduct, power is exercised through the active construction of representations of the economic and social systems and through the issuing of complementary sets of instructions, requirements and guidance on how subjects should behave and respond. The educational state is both incorporated into such representations and is simultaneously persuaded to understand its identity in relation to such narratives. Approaching the analysis of a field like education policy from a ‘governmentality’ stance can open up a critical space, a space that centres on “ . . . that dimension of our history composed by the intervention, contestation, operationalization and transformation of more or less rationalised schemes, programmes, techniques and devices which seek to shape conduct so as to achieve certain ends” (Rose, 1999:20).

This thesis suggests a *two directional critique* offered by an analytics of governmentality as applied to public policy. When considering the application of a governmentality reading to education policy, individual policies and related sectors of policy can be analysed in a backward direction in search of specific ambitions, deliberate objectives. Policy can be examined in a forward direction, in search of the technical forms, organisational arrangements, practices and forms of knowledge that are mobilised in making political reason operational and material. From this viewpoint policy is read as a technology of government, as an intervention, an initiation and legitimation of a set of practices, as the planting and nurturing of certain screens of subjectivity, and as a retrospective display of ‘state reason.’ Policy is exposed, within a governmentality framework,

as a direct, naked expression of state rationality, it becomes the theatre par excellence from which to view the living, breathing, evolving drama of government's understanding of governing. Policy, on a self-consciously governmentality reading, provides a window onto the troubled and ambitious soul of 'state reason.'

Very broadly, we might say that governments attempt to represent the short-term interest of the temporarily dominant coalition of forces within a social formation; these coalitions are represented in political parties, and party policy reflects, on the one hand, the shifts of interest and the influence between the groups making up the coalition and, on the other, its conceptions of what is required to secure majority electoral support. In one sense, then, the government acts to mediate the State and its subjects to each other. (Dale, 1989:53)

In thinking of 'government' and the State, it is useful to position the executive in relation to the dispersed structures, bureaucracies, institutions and apparatus of the state infrastructure. The executive may in one sense be at the helm of this great vessel, but the state machine is a matrix of institutions and social actors with its own political economy, contestations, rivalries, contradictions and nodes of operation. The gravity around such nodes creates differing intellectual and policy climates through which the executive must prevail in its project of governance. In this context, it is perhaps instructive to ask an important question in relation to governmentality and public policy. Where, it is possible to ask, does governmentality reside? Where, or within whom, is reason of state, rationalities of the art of government, embodied?

Principally, it can be asserted that the knowledge that makes an art of modern government possible is widely distributed in a political and administrative elite. In the liberal state there is a legacy of knowledge and technical apparatuses that make, to use Burchill's phrase, 'a definite art of government both thinkable and practicable.' Nonetheless, primarily the executive of the current political project come into view as the most unambiguous embodiment of state reason. Key components of this mentality of government will include an articulation of what the prosperous, secure, influential state looks like, together with a set of ideas and convictions as to how government must be enacted, operationalised in pursuit of this purpose. It is perhaps possible in attempting to answer this question more fully, to point to hierarchies of actors and networks within and

around the organisational structure of the state. This ferment of intellectual and ideological activity is both a resource for the executive, a provider of technical and intellectual innovations in pursuit of its aims, and a privileged lobbyist and influencer of its project.

At this level, what perhaps could be thought of as the *meso* level of state reason, policy scholarship has developed a range of approaches to conceptualising those spaces where governmental rationality resides. There would appear to be common conceptual ground between the focus of an analytics of governmentality and such mainstream conceptions as policy context, policy climate, policy culture, theories of agenda setting (Schattschneider, 1960), agenda control (Saunders 1975), think tanks (Denham, 1996), networks of influence, advocacy coalitions (Sabatier, 1991) and epistemic communities (Holzner and Marx, 1979, Haas 1990). In applying one dimension of the two directional analysis, it is possible to look back, in relation to a policy event, at its antecedents, looking to unearth the deliberate, purposeful, intentionality behind this expression of political rationality. The trajectory of intention can be traced back through the *meso* level to the principal level of ideological framing. This sector, composed of a political and administrative elite together with the multifarious networks of experts, professionals, researchers, advisors that infuse and surround the apparatus of government, is the main depository of governmental reason. It is here, at this altitude, new mutations and selections of governmental reason, and its technical means of effect, develop and evolve.

The second dimension of this analysis looks to discover the technical character of policy, the disciplines, practices, techniques, conventions, and forms of knowledge arranged and mobilised to give concrete form to political thought. A governmentality reading considers critically the resulting outcomes, implications, distributions, subversions, miscalculations, and alterations of such operationalised political thought. Policy, at differing levels of creation, transmission and implementation, can be approached through an analytics of governmentality. Dimensions of government thought emerge into view under the application of the two directional critique. At the level of policy initiation, 'invention' or creation there is a searching for a 'rationality' that defines a policy trajectory, and shifts into a search for a *techne*^x of implementation. At the

meso level of policy formulation, a replication of the dynamic at the level above is visible. This is a level of refinement, operationalization, a level of rendering practical, of discourse annunciation, text production, a surface of emergence and transmission. At the micro level of implementation, of arrangements, of techniques, all kinds of practices (administrative, bureaucratic, monitoring, auditing, training, performance managing) are enacted. Discourses, rationales and forms of knowledge support these socially mediated arrangements. Again the two directional critique can be applied. Remembering Foucault's conception that power is flexible, exercised, rather than possessed, productive as well as repressive, a governmentality reading has an insatiable concern for the resistance, subversion, penetration, conflicts and failures of operationalised policy.

The global policy climate of developed, and developing nations is now impregnated by the tenets, assumptions, ambitions and operational technologies of a neoliberal ethos of government. When Tony Blair in the most high profile speech of the political calendar, addresses the governed as '*consumer and citizen*^{xi},' then the student of governmentality cannot be anything other than jolted by the implications of this powerful collocation. This observation, on the policy climate, has particular application to the construction of education policy, as it has moved into to a more central position in the strategic thinking of nation states. This movement can be accounted for by a number of factors, notwithstanding, the primarily reason for its prominence can be attributed to the pressure exerted by neoliberal economic and political thought.

From a discourse perspective, it would seem productive to make use of 'government' as a sector, 'a specific activity,' dependent on a particular order of discourse. Foucault (2007) charts, using his genealogical approach, the emergence of a modern discourse of government. He ranges retrospectively over its break from conceptions of the sovereign or its escape from incorporation within theological accounts of rule, its relation to discourses of the pastoral government of souls, the economy of the household and its movement away from Machiavelli's advice to the prince. Foucault chronicles the arrival of liberalism as marking the entrance of a modern form of government reason; resting on new 'rules' that delineate what can be said and thought when

speaking of government, and providing the concepts, images, regularities and resources that condition new statements evolving within the discourse of government. Changing governmentalities are made visible by change within orders of discourse and the discourse types they take up. The illumination of an order encompassing the discourse of government reason, and its relation to other orders of discourse, offers a powerful frame that can be applied to the three dimensional model for CDA proposed by Fairclough (see Figure 8.4). The discursive dimension of a governmentality is applicable to any of Fairclough's levels of: description interpretation and explanation, with a particular salience at the level of explanation.

In discussing the nature of an analytics of governmentality Rose (1999) posits its interest in, 'lines of thought, of will, of intervention, of programmes and failures, of acts and counter acts.' The existence of *failure* and counter acts in rational attempts to govern conduct is not perhaps surprising. A governmentality analysis would seem to offer policy studies a potent interrogative frame from which to examine educational change and reform. A reading of education policy from an advanced liberal governmentality stance centres the use of freedom as a resource of the State, the constitution and regulation of the self, the development of subjectivities, and the active formation of the citizen. It also draws attention to the reformation of the citizen, the modernisation of the citizen of former projects, the reengineering of the citizen to harmonise with current projects of state reason.

Central to the architecture of Third Way is a conception of governing and a reading of what is to be governed that embraces contexts of multiple spaces of conduct; together with a seeking of means to render such a project operable. This chapter has introduced the idea of governmentality and in particular moving to begin to consider a governmentally inherent to Third Way; placing it in a lineage with forms of government reason characterised by Rose (1993, 1999) and Dean (1999) as advanced liberalism. The following chapter explores the project of New Labour, in terms of its self-understanding and its position on the political field. Third Way thinking has infused the policy climate following 1997, driving and conditioning public policy. Third Way thought has been, predictably, a major force for change in the elaboration of the educational state under New Labour.

In relation to the layered model, the layers of policy initiation and formulation have been animated by Third Way thought with significant consequences, at the level of implementation, for the work order within the education systems of the UK. A set of reforms have been enacted in pursuit of educational imperatives that originate in, and must be understood in relation to, the New Labour project and its evolving form of governmental reason.

Chapter 3: The Project of Third Way

The Project of Third Way

Because questions about the future direction that education should take are inseparable from questions about the nature of the good society, the traditional demarcation lines separating political philosophy from educational policy should always be treated with suspicion. Educational policies, though they may be presented and discussed in isolation from any particular conception of the good society, always incorporate a commitment to some normative political philosophy and hence to the view of the good society that this commitment unavoidably entails. It follows from this that political philosophy cannot be expunged from education and it plays a much more central role in educational decision-making than most politicians and policy-makers are usually prepared to admit. (Carr and Hartnett, 1996: 30)

If Carr and Hartnett's observations on political philosophy are to be accommodated, policy scholarship must avoid being enfeebled by a failure to take account of the relation of ideological projects in accounting for change, innovation and reform in state systems of education. In the present-day arena of centre ground political thought the idea of a 'third way' between, or apart from, left and right has received considerable attention. This can be expressed in perhaps a clichéd fashion as the search for a fresh politics of the centre that avoids what is viewed as the outdated assumptions of the old left and rejects the prescriptions and social costs of the New Right. This contemporary ideological outlook has impacted on the political and social landscape through a set of values, assumptions and orientations to action. Public policy has been an area of keen interest for proponents of third way politics with the reform of education being no exception.

This chapter considers a number of texts as model accounts of a third way politics offered by arguably its two leading exponents in the UK context, Tony Blair and Tony Giddens^{xii}. Underlying the layered policy model outlined above is the assumption that education policy, as a mechanism for change in the education system, can only be understood through an analysis that takes account of its relation to a wider social order. Central to this context is the impact of political thought; this is one of the main assumptions woven into this project. The policy climate in which public policy has been initiated and formulated following 1997 has been dominated by an ideological configuration constructed, elaborated and maintained by New Labour. Before moving to consider

compulsory education under New Labour (chapter 5) and in particular education policy formulated under the inspiration of ideas around social exclusion (Chapter 6), a characterisation of New Labour's project is presented. This chapter attempts to explore two allied accounts of Third Way politics, providing some description and mapping out its main features together with its claims to a particular position in the field of political beliefs. It concludes by attempting to set out a summary account of Third Way governmentality; the main components of how an art of government is conceived and understood under Third Way.

The New Social Democracy

In chapter one the concept of ideology was posited in terms of a set of beliefs that provides a basis for organised political action. Ideologies tend to offer a worldview or account of the existing social order, a model of the desired future (the good society), and a programme for bringing about political change. In delving into the essence of any notion of third way politics it is important to establish some of the essential sectors of the political field to which reference needs to be made in attempting to locate Third Way and in interrogating the claims made for the authenticity of a third way politics (see Table 6.3).

Anthony Giddens, arguably the UK's leading sociologist and a man described as Tony Blair's favourite intellectual, produced two books that coincided with the early years of New Labour in government: *The Third Way* (1998) and *The Third Way and its Critics* (2000). Both texts are aimed at what could perhaps be described as an educated mainstream audience. It is doubtful if Giddens himself would be uncomfortable with a description of the two texts as an attempt to popularise a particular formulation of political ideas. *Third Way* is in essence an account of the project of social democracy for the contemporary age; it is a work of reorientation, redirection and positioning on the political field. Giddens purposefully attempts to mark out a coherent intellectual foundation for social democracy in the present-day. In doing so he lays claim to 'Third Way' as a label for the 'modern' centre left. It is worth noting that the idea of a third way has a varied history in political thought, being appropriated as an emblematic expression by a variety of thinkers on both ends of the political spectrum. This is a pedigree that Giddens readily acknowledges while justifying his own decision

to use this term to 'capture a generic series of endeavours' in motion within parties of the left across Europe and beyond (Giddens, 2001).

Giddens draws a line under socialism, which figures in his account in terms that render it redundant or obsolete in relation to the challenges of the present and the events of the recent past; in particular the ending of the cold war and the economic triumph of capitalism. In addition to establishing the independence of the social democratic position from the now out of place assumptions of socialism, Giddens moves on to sketch a broad canvas of the complexities of the contemporary political and social order. He approaches this through the presentation of what he describes as 'five dilemmas;' globalisation, individualism, left and right, political agency and ecological issues (Giddens, 1989:27, see Table 5.3) that in turn, summarise the central issues of the present 'terrain of politics.'

Dilemmas of present-day political economy	Giddens' Third Way	Characterisation of Classical Social Democracy
Globalisation	Globalisation in all its facets is a reality, it must be embraced and managed by government and state institutions so as to maximise the benefits and mitigate the costs.	Internationalism, concern with solidarity and common cause with workers from other nations in moderating the inequalities of industrial capitalism. The world can be divided in two along a communism/capitalism axis.
Individualism	Understands the new landscape of social attitudes, trends and values. Acknowledges the pervasiveness of calculating behaviours but sees the surge of the 'new' individualism as post-material and indicative of a new moral climate.	Collectivism is valued above individualism, the promotion of solidarity as the means to social cohesion. Class based solidarity and identity. Concern for the disadvantaged.
Left and Right	The left right distinction has validity in differentiating the political field, the left being primarily characterised by a politics of emancipation. The 'modern' centre left, however, is radical in its transcendence of left and right in the course it has set toward the good society.	Left and right unmistakably divisible, the left being clearly distinct through its egalitarianism, its commitment to redistribution. The state commands economically, operating a mixed economy, it dominates civil society, it provides protection through comprehensive welfare provision
Political Agency	The need to build and maintain support from a diverse and reflective electorate. Democratic renewal and the reform of government are required for the health of the polity. Government must actively mediate agreement across diverse social alignments in a more complex world.	Assumption of political agency in relation to class and labour market position, class based solidarity and political alignment.
Ecological Issues	Ecologically aware, politically committed to environmental reform, open to ideas from green thought, understands the limitations and risks of a pervasive science and technology as well as the benefits and economic importance. Role for the state in the management of risk.	Minimal ecological consciousness

Table 5.3: Summary of Giddens' Third Way in relation to classical accounts of Social Democracy

1. Globalisation

Giddens acknowledges the contested nature of the concept of globalisation, with views ranging from scepticism over its existence as a valid phenomenon through differentiation in emphasis of its essential characteristics. However, globalisation is an essential and fundamental explanatory idea in his problematization of contemporary politics. Giddens is no stranger to the globalisation debate, being publicly recognised as one of the leading thinkers in this field. Giddens was the BBC Reith Lecturer in 1999, giving five lectures on the subject of globalisation under the title of, *Runaway World*.

Giddens argues that globalisation is a reality, and furthermore, it has evolved into new and intensified forms. A central feature of his analysis of globalisation is change to the relation of space and time, the effects of physical distance are diminished by the speed of communications and transport technology. Events on the other side of the world can have an immediate consequence on the economy and security of a nation or alliance of nations. In the globally connected world, warfare is viewed in real time, events, decisions and their repercussions are no longer cushioned by time and space but impact with a new speed and proximity. Institutions, cultures, and the nation state itself are not immune from reshaping and change in the face of such pervasive and destabilising global forces. Under such conditions of intensifying globalisation the political order of the nation state is changing, and at the same time, the geopolitical landscape is being realigned and evolving new formations. As Giddens puts it:

Globalisation, in sum, is a complex range of processes driven by a mixture of political and economic influences. It is changing everyday life, particularly in the developed countries, at the same time as it is creating new transnational systems and forces. It is more than just a backdrop to contemporary policies: taken as a whole, globalisation is transforming the institutions of the societies in which we live. (Giddens, 1989:33)

2. Individualism

In his discussion of the 'new' individualism Giddens addresses the ever-present conflict within political philosophy over the proper relationship of the individual to society, the contest to assert primacy of the individual or the pre-eminence of the collective welfare. Giddens locates 'classical' social democracy as firmly attached to the collectivist position expressed in a concern for the underdog and a commitment to equality and social justice. The fortune of this dimension of social democracy is described by Giddens in terms of being forced into retreat by the powerful forces of neoliberalism marshalled by the Thatcher and Reagan consensus. Giddens alludes to the anxiety within contemporary social democracy over the fate of social solidarity and collectivism, in particular its state of health as it emerges from the end of the New Right settlement. The emergence of a trend of rising individualism, a 'me first society,' is an analysis that could be assumed to produce disquiet within any project of the Left seeking to establish social democracy. Such concern is not confined only to the Left, it also generates unease within sectors of the right who locate its causation with the moral decline they identify with the permissive 1960's.

Significantly, Giddens offers a different account for the growth of individualism; detectable across trends in social attitudes and values. This 'new individualism' is to be understood as a more complex reality than simply the internalisation of market behaviour and the widespread emergence of the self-interested individual nurtured by neoliberalism. Drawing on ideas such as Ulrich Beck's (1998) 'institutionalised individualism' and Inglehart's (1990) 'post-materialism' (Inglehart contends that as prosperity reaches higher levels people become less concerned with economic needs and become increasingly preoccupied by goals of self-expression, development and self-realisation and are more likely to question the costs of modern living). Giddens interprets contemporary social trends and attitudes not as indices of moral decline but as expressions of moral transition. Emerging out of the fruits of the welfare state, propelled by currents of globalisation, a new moral landscape has emerged manifesting not only individualistic materialism and consumeristic values but also the detectable consolidation of concerns around quality of life, self-expression and issues such as the environment. Materialist individualism is being overtaken by the

‘progressive’ individualism of Inglehart’s post-materialism thesis. It is in this new context, Giddens argues, that social democracy must reconstruct the foundations of it concerns with social cohesion, ‘If institutional individualism is not the same as egoism, it poses less of a threat to social solidarity, but it does imply that we have to look for new means of producing the solidarity’ (Giddens, 1989:37). Giddens’ response to this particular dilemma is given in terms of a new public morality that links rights and responsibilities in an indivisible combination, a principle adopted from communitarian thought that has become ubiquitous across accounts of third way politics.

3. Left and Right

The framing of the political dilemma over the salience of left and right by Giddens is an interesting one coinciding with the period in which the Thatcherite New Right settlement had fragmented and been overtaken by Blair’s New Labour. This creates a social, economic and political context in which the post-Thatcher landscape is terrain reshaped, contoured and profoundly altered by its past exposure to 18 years of an evolving New Right project. It is on this complex new ground that Giddens attempts to place, to its best advantage, his own enterprise of social democratic renewal. Before committing his account of Third Way politics to a location on the political spectrum Giddens briefly reviews the lineage of the Left, Right distinction. He notes the historical mobility of ideas, views and positions as they have commuted across the divide in different periods and times.

Drawing on the Italian political theorist Norberto Bobbio’s (1996) influential analysis of left and right, Giddens affirms the enduring utility of the distinction due to the adversarial nature of politics. Bobbio argues that when the political forces of left and right are in balance then the issue of the relevance of the distinction recedes. Giddens concurs with Bobbio’s characterisation of political behaviour in the event of one side becoming dominant; the conditions then exists for both sides to make political capital from questioning the relevance of the distinction. Taking the example of the Thatcher project, when at its zenith, Thatcher pronounced the death of the left and asserted that there was ‘no alternative.’ In contrast, the left, diminished and exiled from power, responded by incorporating aspects of the successful project of the New Right into its own

position with the dual intention of widening its appeal to the electorate and as the price of preserving aspects of its own position.

Having affirmed the endurance of the left right divide, Giddens moves on to further affirm equality as the distinguishing hallmark of the left. He presents the right as naturally viewing the social order as hierarchal with a resultant higher threshold for tolerating inequality. The historic enterprise of social democracy has held concern for social justice as a constant constituent of its self-understanding and has pursued equality as an expression of this identity. The same could be said about the vital role allocated by social democrats to the 'State' in pursuit of this ambition. Giddens acknowledges the changing and relative nature of definitions of equality through different historical periods and supports the view that, fundamentally, this aspect of the project of the left is more accurately expressed in terms of being a politics of 'emancipation.'

Giddens may have supported the continuing theoretical salience of the left right division but he then moves his argument a stage further by contending that the left had undergone important changes. This is encapsulated in a loss of certainty within the modern project (forward march) of socialism, critically the defeat of the economic theory of socialism and the hegemonic settlement of capitalism. For Giddens the new economic project of social democracy is in the management of, and struggle for, a variety of capitalism compatible with the social democratic enterprise. This is a key element in the ideological structure of Giddens' formulation of a renewed social democracy. The Giddens account of third way politics in relation to left and right is at its most informative and revealing in the act of placing his construction of a renewed social democracy on the left right continuum. Giddens claims 'third way' as a standard for the centre left, not to be confused with the 'moderate left', the third way centre left is a new project for new times, this is a innovative, fresh and far-reaching left of centre politics, a politics that he is keen to represent as 'radical.' The 'radical centre' (a political oxymoron) is the favoured location for Giddens' social democracy, this is not a politics of compromise between left and right, but is claimed to be a transcendent politics, existing in a space between the boundaries of the old left and the right but going beyond both in the ideas,

analysis and value orientations it brings to the task of building the good society (see Table 6.3).

<p>Liberalism</p> <p>Liberalism's fundamental concern is focused on the individual and their freedom. The meaning of human liberty or freedom is not fixable at any one point in time resulting in liberal projects shifting under the influence of their historical milieu. Liberal programmes in pursuit of individual freedom tend to be characterised by an optimistic view of human nature, a belief in reason and an assumption of human progress. The limitation of the state so as not to impede individual freedom is a key concern of liberalism. The economic doctrine of liberalism is traditionally encapsulated in a fervent belief in the operation of the free market.</p>	<p>Marxism</p> <p>A key element in Marxist philosophy is the 'materialist conception of history.' This places central importance on the economic 'base,' the conditions under which people produce and reproduce their means of subsistence. The nature of this production, or the economic system, for Marxists, dictates the political and ideological 'superstructure.' History advances in a dialectical process in which the internal contradictions of each mode of production are reflected in class antagonism. Capitalism, the most advanced form of class society, contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. A proletarian revolution will precipitate from capitalism's failure giving way to the establishment a classless communist society.</p>
<p>Conservatism</p> <p>Historically the emergence of conservatism is located in the late 18th and early 19th century as a reaction to the rapid economic and social change exemplified in the French Revolution. Different traditions of conservative thought can be identified with a divergence, for example, between a European tradition and the form that developed in Britain and the United States. Conservatism has traditionally been sceptical toward theory and abstract political thought, trusting instead to history, tradition and experience for guidance. A consistent theme in conservative thought revolves around society as a hierarchical and moral community, held together with shared values and beliefs and possessing an organic functionality. The conservatism of the United States has tended to harbour a concern for limited government. The more paternal 'one nation' conservatism evident in Britain and continental Europe has overlapped with the welfarist and interventionist beliefs of modern liberalism and social democracy. The post war social reform aspect of one nation conservatism was increasingly displaced from the 1970s onwards by the ascendancy of the New Right.</p>	<p>Socialism</p> <p>The philosophical roots of socialism precede the industrial revolution, but its emergence as a popular politics could be described in terms of a reaction to capitalism. Its appearance coincides with the development of extensive industrial private property and the movement away from a feudal society based on status relations to a society based on contractual relations. Socialism operates with differing meanings across the ideological lexicons of the left. In general, it could be described as a politico-economic system where the state controls through ownership or planning the means of production. Through this process the needs of society are to be met divorced from the profit motive. In addition, all versions of socialism seek to produce an egalitarian society. In 1938, the Fabians described themselves and their mission as follows: The Society consists of Socialists. It therefore aims at the establishment of a society in which equality of opportunity will be assured, and the economic power and privileges of individuals and classes abolished through the collective ownership and democratic control of the economic resources of the community.</p>
<p>Neoliberalism</p> <p>Neo-liberals place their faith in the market and 'small' government, the market is seen as the only reliable mechanism for creating wealth, having the virtues of promoting efficiency, responding to customer needs and preserves both freedom of choice and political liberty. Neoliberalism is a philosophy in which the existence and operation of a market are valued in themselves, separately from any previous relationship with the production of goods and services and where the operation of a market or market-like structure is seen as an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide for all human action.</p>	<p>(Classical) Social Democracy</p> <p>Social democracy came into view as a visible political position around a rejection of the aim to end capitalism or generally marginalise it, in favour of a project that sought to democratically regulate and ameliorate the effects of industrial capitalism. Social democracy has a tolerance for private enterprise and has shied away from wholesale nationalisation (A Socialist Pillar). Evolving out of the socialist tradition, social democracy aims to regulate capitalism and to support the citizen through State provision of goods and services. It can be understood as an attempt to reconcile socialism with liberal values and politics in the context of capitalism. Collective provision, community and equality are concepts which that classical social democrats embrace. Post war social democracy was associated with the notion of a mixed economy and selective nationalisation.</p>
<p>Third Way?</p> <p>Claims to be a fresh politics of the centre that avoids what is viewed as the outdated assumptions of the Old Left and rejects the prescriptions and social costs of the New Right.</p>	

Table 6.3: Essential ideological locations on the political field

In these terms, third way politics is unequivocally a politics of the left. But just where the line should be drawn between left and right has shifted, and there are many political problems and issues that don't fit clearly into a left/right dimension. It is a fundamental mistake to attempt to cram them all into it. The division between left and right reflected a world where it was widely believed that capitalism could be transcended, and where class conflict shaped a good deal of political life. Neither of these conditions pertains today. 'Radicalism' cannot any longer be equated with 'being on the left.' On the contrary, it often means breaking with established leftist doctrines where they have lost their purchase on the world. (Giddens, 2000:39)

4. Political Agency

In keeping with the interests of many scholars in the sociology of politics field, Giddens is interested in the concept of 'agency' (in simple terms agency is a concept that tries to express the capability of social actors for purposeful action, in other words, individuals have the freedom to create, change and influence events). Through this particular present-day dilemma Giddens considers the question of support for the new project of social democracy. The context for this discussion is changing patterns of popular political engagement as characterised by partisan and class de-alignment and the emergence of what Beck (1994) has called 'sub-politics.' Clearly observable changes took place within UK electoral behaviour during the 1970s and 1980s with a decrease in the loyalty given to political parties (partisan de-alignment) and a concurrent break in the established post-war pattern of class based indexing of political support (class de-alignment). This heralds a new context for understanding voter behaviour based around a more complex set of indicators such as lifestyle aspirations, identity, patterns of consumption, reliance on public or private sector services and a drift from principle based voting toward instrumental and calculative behaviours. The new context of political agency has further been shaped by the emergence of 'sub-politics', or politics beyond class, recognisable in the political agency of social actors or social movements. The end of the 20th century has witnessed the growth of new single issue politics and social movements (see Table 7.3).

Giddens is keenly aware of this new context, a new political terrain increasingly recognizable through non-participation and the circumvention of the established institutions and conventions of modern liberal democracy. Having acknowledged

such significant changes to the landscape of political behaviour, Giddens makes a point of recording his belief in the essentiality of the State. In the process he rejects recent arguments for the marginalisation of the nation state in the face of globalisation. In the Giddens account, the State is indispensable, in the hands of his new social democracy it is charged with the task of reconciling multiple interests and building coalitions of support for policies that address the challenges of modern times. This will involve changes in the governance of the State with more devolution and state sponsored partnership and alliance building. This orientation is a defining dimension of Giddens' claims for third way's 'radicalism.' The new 'modernizing left' must enrol and maintain support for its project from a more diverse, fragmented and politically innovative polity. In resolving this particular dilemma Giddens charts politics under social democracy as moving beyond a politics of class, accommodating and reconciling divergent interests, appealing to and building new coalitions of agreement.

5. Ecological issues

In contrast to the Blair (1998) account of third way politics, Giddens identifies the environment as one of the five essential features of the present-day terrain of politics. For him, a renewed social democracy of the modernizing left must engage actively with ecological questions and their concomitant risks, costs and controversies. Giddens acknowledges the influence of environmentalism and the mainstreaming of its ideas as illustrated most visibly by green inspired reforms of Germany's SPD. In a carefully negotiated argument, Giddens discredits solutions to environmental issues by exclusively delegating them to the efficacy of the 'market' while at the same time counselling against the certainty of futurist scenarios of impending global environmental catastrophe. In the Giddens account, a modernized social democracy must embrace such concepts as ecological modernisation and sustainable development however difficult and conceptually diffuse such green ideas are at the level of policy and implementation when faced with coexisting demands for economic growth and efficiency.

Within his discussion of the environmental dilemma Giddens depicts the changing character of the status of science and technology in the political arena.

Where once they existed outside or above by virtue of their perceived expert, disinterested, perspective, today a more reflective public subjects them to scrutiny. The lifeworld of late modern society is so saturated and structured by technology that the border of the 'natural' is no longer fixed but seems to shift under the pressures of modernity. Giddens is in no doubt that the scientific and the technological must be located within the political sphere and be accountable for decisions and assessments. This is in part a response to the complexity of recent issues of future environmental and health threats, a more sceptical public, and in particular, disagreement and uncertainty among experts involved in the computation of risk. The state under the helm of Giddens' modernized social democracy is to be positioned to make possible the management of such risk, not just to avoid dangers, but also to profit from innovation and opportunity.

Growth of new single issue politics and social movements	Examples of new social movements, social cleavages (sub-politics)
Identity and Autonomy	Civil rights, feminist, gay rights movements
The Environment	Green Peace, Friends of the Earth
Security	Anti-war movements, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
Animal Rights	Animal Liberation Front
National Identity Self-determination	Basque Separatists, Scottish, Welsh National Parties

Table 7.3: The emergence of new single-issue politics, and social movements
(Sub-politics, see Giddens, 1998)

The State as Investor in Human Capital

Reform is an essential impulse within Giddens' third way in relation to both governing and the institutions of the State. For the ailments of government Giddens prescribes democratic renewal and for the state apparatus a regime of modernisation. The form of government appropriate for a more reflexive and unconvinced citizenry necessitates a deepening and widening of democratic arrangements and change in the conduct of governance. If, as he argues, 'democratisation is outflanking democracy' the challenge is to respond to such changes in political agency. The Third Way response is a programme of constitutional and governmental reform that will reincorporate the growing flanks back into the body politic. The State under third way must be, and seen to be, capable and efficient, escaping its image as being synonymous with bureaucracy and unresponsiveness.

The existence, health and growth of civil society is a fundamental component in the architecture of Giddens' third way. There is an essentially 'communitarian'^{xiii} belief in the need for an active civil society occupying the space between the individual and the state. Concern is voiced for the problems of this civil space such as social solidarity, community, family and crime. Such concern is supplemented by Giddens with the need for renewal in the face of decline and disintegration. The third way state is orientated to restore the health of civil society through a range of interventions in support of neighbourhoods and families. Civil society will be maintained through the formation of local partnerships with the voluntary sector and through new social policy and policing innovations.

Another fundamental form of Giddens' third way is his positioning of the state as the champion of the competitive, enterprising, economically active nation, and the State as investor and cultivator of human capital. The adoption of this economistic conception of education and its affirmation for incorporation into a future third way educational ideology is noteworthy. In a reworking of the idea of a 'mixed economy,' Giddens' wants to give this term a novel meaning in expressing a fresh relation of public and private that will characterise the third way condition. The potency of the market economy is to be married to, and

become sustainer of, the non-economic social sphere. This is a conceptual rebalancing of the economic and the social encapsulated in the slogan of Gerhard Schroder, 'market economy, not market society.'

Blair's Third Way

Tony Blair became prime minister of the UK in 1997 as a landslide victory carried the Labour Party into office. This was in sharp contrast to the result in the 1992 election which heralded predictions from some political analysts to the effect that the Conservative Party would remain in power well into the next millennium and that Britain had in reality become a one party state. The scale and extent of the change in electoral fortunes, between 1992 and 1997 should not be overlooked (King 1998). The political literature gives evidence of the contested nature of endeavours to situate the New Labour project in a historical and relative position in the political field. New Labour has been described variously as a post Thatcher settlement with neoliberalism (Hay, 1998), as a revival of the one nation political economy associated with post war conservative governments, a middle way, or a revival of collectivist social liberalism. New Labour would express its own new self understanding in terms of a 'Third Way' politics that seeks a renewal of social democracy in the context of globalisation and its recognition of 'new times' marked by profound economic and social change.

An account of Third Way is set out by Blair in a pamphlet *The Third Way New Politics for the New Century* (1998), published by the Fabian Society^{xiv}. The movement from an account of a particular ideological orientation to the production and implication of policies that bring about change and reform is not a simple direct transition. Many factors often can, and do, contribute to the shape and final form of policy. But in understanding the ideological or intellectual foundations of policy makers, observers are better equipped to analyse, interrogate and examine claims that assert particular values, solutions and courses of action. This is as true for the 'work in progress' of Third Way as it was in relation to the project of the New Right.

I want in this pamphlet to explain the Third Way to a larger audience. It does not seek to paint a full canvass: all successful dynamic political projects are a 'work in progress', and our work is at an early stage. But it is important to take the debate forward from what the Third Way isn't to what it is and what it should become. For me the debate starts with the core values on which the progressive centre left is founded. (Blair, 1998:2)

In setting out his vision for a third way politics, Blair organises his exposition around six themes, what could be called, the core values of the 'progressive centre left': the contemporary context of politics, the new economics, civil morality, the role of government and the international order.

Core Values

The progressive centre left will advance along the path toward the good society by pursuing and ‘reconciling’ four core values, values that speak to both the individual and the social condition. All individuals are to be accorded ‘*equal worth*’ essentially defined as being free from discrimination. All are entitled to use their talent and effort and are to be encouraged. Blair signals opportunity as a key value within his Third Way. Interestingly, ‘equality’ is framed in terms of equality of opportunity with any struggle to reduce inequality being understood in terms of expanding opportunity. Whereas the old left would recognize equality in terms of wealth redistribution and the provision of a strong welfare state, Third Way casts the State in the role of ensuring opportunity for all.

‘Responsibility’ is the central value in the third way vision of public morality. While acknowledging this ethic as a more recognizable theme within the civic principles of the political right, Blair claims ‘responsibility’ as part of a neglected legacy of the labour movement. The citizen of Third Way politics is to be responsibilised in the public sphere, entitled to rights only at the price of reciprocal responsibilities. ‘Community’ is another value centred in the Blair account without its meaning being clearly defined. There is an affirmation for the collective nature of social life expressed in the idea of community and its contribution to individual fulfilment, along with a clear role for the State in the maintenance of the ‘national community.’ There is also an important task for civic society in the health of communities. The third way state is to be an enabling and supportive State, building partnerships and opening space for the organic action of neighbourhood and voluntary organisations in building community.

Blair’s discussion of values is concluded by a consideration of the translation of such values into policy in which he signals an *essential marker* in his construction of the ‘progressive centre left.’ The way of achieving the political ambitions that flow from Third Way’s values is to be clearly decoupled from any commitment to particular means. Pragmatism, ‘what works,’ in policy construction and implementation is to be the Third Way approach premised on the belief that if the values are right the correct policies are the ones that

deliver. Essentially, this posture leaves Blair's Third Way positioned to mix and match public and private solutions in its policymaking. "As I say continually, what matters is what works to give effect to our values." (Blair, 1989:4)

A Changing World

In locating Third Way as a project within contemporary politics, Blair weaves a narrative that is threaded through with the same dilemmas identified by Giddens in his analysis of the political terrain of the present day. Through a historical review of the politics of post war Britain the logic of Third Way is established as going beyond the weakness and failings of both right and left. Change is a meta-theme in the articulation of Blair's third way, "the challenge for the third way is to engage fully with the implications of that change" (Blair, 1998:6), reference to change is present in relation to new times, sweeping social and economic transformation, or in negative terms, the inadequacy of old positions, thinking and responses in the face of new dilemmas. Blair foregrounds globalisation together with profound changes in the nature of economic activity, the extension of opportunity to women and change in political agency as central characteristics of the new circumstance.

The New Economics

Since 1945 the economic thinking of the Labour Party traced a path which undulated, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, between commitment to public ownership, full employment, central economic planning, Keynesian macroeconomic management, and redistributional tax and spend policies. As would be expected of a party on the left, the Labour Party's relationship with the free-market has ranged between hostility, ambiguity and limited tolerance. The period of 'modernisation' preceding the 1997 election witnessed New Labour embrace the market, never before had the Labour party endorsed or advocated the market. This unequivocal approval of the market is a defining principle of the economic creed of Blair's Third Way. In addition, there is to be a new relationship between government and business, with government being cast in the role of providing conditions that best support economic success.

The new economics is premised on Third Way's recognition of the 'new economy.' The orientation is toward success in a knowledge economy with government providing fiscal stability and being proactive on the supply side. This is overtly present in the language of Blair's account as he talks of human capital, education, training, lifelong learning, skilling and reskilling.

I fully recognise that the private sector, not government, is at the forefront of wealth creation and employment generation. Yet government has a vital role in promoting competitive markets, encouraging long-term research and investment, and helping citizens with the skills and aspirations they need to succeed in the modern economy. Dynamic markets and international competition are vital spurs to economic growth and innovation. ... The main source of value and competitive advantage in the modern economy is human and intellectual capital. (Blair, 1998:10)

Civil Morality

Blair's modernised social democracy, in common with the old left, has a concern with social cohesion and the wellbeing of the social order. Third way's guarantee of a healthy social order is presented in terms of a strong civil society, composed of active responsibilised citizens, who are imbued with shared values and a sense of responsibility towards others and the collective good. As with Giddens, there is a clear adoption of communitarian thought into this dimension of third way. The limits of the State in undertaking this task is recognised, rather than taking sole charge of the health of the social order the third way state will share this enterprise. The State will provide support, and where necessary, enforce civic behaviour, assuming the dual posture of the enabling and authoritarian social state. The social state under the helm of a modernised social democracy is to be active, looking to form partnerships with groups and initiatives within the civil space, and at the same time, enforcing, requiring and insisting on observance of the civic moral order. This is expressed in terms such as, 'the rights we enjoy reflect the duties we owe' and being, 'tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime.'

The Role of Government

The seeking of a path toward democratic renewal is another claim made by Blair for the social democracy of Third Way. Third way is presented as redesigning government as it seeks to devolve power to the local and searches for better forms of decision-making. The State under classical social democracy tended to be characterised by expansion as it sought to manage the economic and widen the form and provision of welfare entitlement. The new right was ideologically committed to the small state, rolling back the public in favour of the private and the eminence of the market. The 'reinvented' third way state discards any alignment with the two positions above in favour of a 'delivery' state. Free from any such association the third way state is active in government, but the variety or form of government can be drawn from a continuum associated with both left and right. Across the social field the state will intervene in 'inverse proportion to success' with the creation and observation of a field of judgement being a key element of its activity. Government is to be judged by its success divorced from its preference for means. It is free to be, partner, provider, or market regulator, adopting solutions from both the public and private spheres. Flexibility over the form of policy is matched by certainty over the State's role as agent of national prosperity, security and social progress.

The New Internationalism

The foreign policy orientation of Blair's third way is expressed using the idea of internationalism contrasted with isolationism. This is a reworking of the internationalism of classical social democracy; expressing the international common cause of labour in the struggle to moderate the excesses of industrial capitalism. The 'new' internationalism addresses issues of geopolitics and the world order. Change in the geopolitical landscape is to be faced positively and seriously engaged with. Acknowledging the numerous issues that transcend the nation state, Blair positions third way foreign policy as actively looking to work with partners (EU and the 'only one super power'), and within geopolitical institutions, in order to engage with and manage such international and global issues. The third way state will engage 'co-operatively' on economic, environment, political and security issues looking to secure national and

international peace and prosperity in an international sphere impacted by the destabilising forces of globalisation.

Summary: Third Way - A New Political Commonsense?

Roger Dale (1989) in exploring the relation of government and the State offers a helpful distinction between the institutions, bureaucracy, apparatuses and extensive functional resources of the State and that branch known as government. Government is often centred in this relation, but cannot account for the totality of the State and its institutions.

Very broadly, we might say that governments attempt to represent the short-term interest of the temporarily dominant coalition of forces within a social formation; these coalitions are represented in political parties, and party policy reflects, on the one hand, the shifts of interest and the influence between the groups making up the coalition and, on the other, its conceptions of what is required to secure majority electoral support. In one sense, then, the government acts to mediate the State and its subjects to each other. (Dale, 1989:53)

For Dale then, an essential function of 'government' is to be understood in terms of its mediation between the actions and activities of the State and the constituency who have legitimised it through electoral support. The great ship of the State must be outfitted and piloted by its executive in such a way so as not to fatally collide with the interests and concerns of the coalition of support it gathered as a prerequisite to gaining office. The executive branch of government must, therefore, reconcile the operations, capacities, prerogatives and activities of the State with the expectations of its citizens. The successful outcome of this process can be broadly characterised in terms of establishing or maintaining a political consensus.

In this sense we can consider the generally moderate left or centre left political programmes of post-war social democracy (the social democratic consensus) as being replaced by the New Right. Thatcherism established a new form of consensus characterised by the political belief that individual rights should be protected by maximising freedom of choice, the limiting of the State, and the promotion of the market. The essence of any political project, such as New Labour's Third Way, is only discernable in its relation to its forerunners, the

preceding political consensus of the past, and in relation to what is new or politically novel in its construction (see Table 6.3). The third way politics of Blair's New Labour has, in its turn, been successful in displacing the consensus of the New Right and had its programme endorsed in three successive UK elections.

In this context there would seem to be a reasonable argument for characterising Third Way as encapsulating the accommodation of social democracy with an enduring global context of economic neoliberalism. It follows that the third way politics of Blair and Giddens can be credited with making available the intellectual architecture that has allowed the new consensus to come into being. This architecture has allowed a stable and powerful coalition of interests to become established around a new economic and social settlement. The social, governmental, ethical and economic elements of Third Way have been ordered so as to take the form of a persuasive new commonsense around which such a coalition can coalesce. It is no surprise, therefore, that much of the thinking of Blair and Giddens is given over to staking a claim to have understood and grasped the significance of 'new times.' This is a central underpinning for Third Ways claims to authenticity, a legitimacy premised on the virtue of its authoritative understanding of a changed world and its capacity to chart a course to the good society through waters disturbed by the turbulence of globalisation. An essential element of the intellectual architecture of the project of New Labour can be understood in terms of the consolidation of a guiding governmental reason or a third way governmentally.

Third Way Governmentality

A governmentality perspective has a concern to make apparent forms of state reason, state rationality, together with how the object and means of schemes of government come to be made both conceivable and material. This assembly of aims, ideas, forms of knowledge and technical means, evolves, consolidates and ruptures as one form of state reason gives way to another. Third Way can be defined by its own formulation of an art of government or form of rationality that comes to animate the conduct of the State and the wider social order. What is notable about the analytical resources employed by Rose (1999), Dean (1999) and Peters (2001), in attempts to explore an anatomy of modern liberal

governmentalities, is the use of a nomenclature of political concepts and ideas drawn from other conventional fields, for example economics, to classify and differentiate between forms of governmentality. This is perhaps unsurprising when the unit of analysis is population or polity and the agency in question belongs to the institutional assemblage of the State. Foucault's working definition of governmentality draws attention to 'political economy' as its 'principal form of knowledge', and apparatuses of security as its 'essential technical means.' At the centre of modern liberal forms of governmentality, focused on population as the embodiment of the national community, is an abstraction centred on what is to be governed, to what end, and by what means.

As a way of summarising this chapter, the following section presents in more detail a schematic of third way governmentality. An idealised third way governmentality is represented by drawing on the formulation of Third Way found in the accounts of Giddens and Blair discussed above. In addition, the anatomy of a third way governmentality is marked out using a taxonomy of aspects of state reason (political economy, conceptions of the State, the social, the subject, the ethical design of the subject and preferences for technologies of power) that make visible Third Way's disjunctures and continuities with the project of government that evolved under the New Right and preceding modes of governmentality (see Table 8.3).

Aspects of State Reason	Classical	Embedded Liberalism Harvey (2005)		Advanced Liberalism Rose (1993, 1999)	
	LIBERALISM	SOCIALISM	CLASSICAL SOCIAL DEMOCRACY	NEW RIGHT ECONOMIC RATIONALISM	THIRD WAY NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRACY
The Economic	Classical Liberal Economics	Keynesianism Mixed economy	Keynesianism Mixed economy	Open Markets Neoliberal economics Human Capital Chicago School	Open Markets Social Model Neoclassical endogenous growth theory Human Capital Knowledge Economy
Conception of the State	The limited and self limiting State Watchman	The Welfare State	The Welfare State	The Market State	The Social Investment State The Delivery State
The Civil	Space of individual freedom between the economic and the State. The Public Philanthropy	Subsumed by the State Equality Community Class identity	Dominated by the State Opportunity Democracy Class identity Community	Space of individual freedom between the economic and the State. Traditionalism Institutions	Vital sector for economic success and social cohesion. Social enterprise Participatory
The Subject	Autonomous individual, free under the law. Homo economicus	Welfare Citizen of rights	Welfare Citizen of rights	Homo economicus Individualist Aspirationalist Enterprising Consumer	Active New individualism Entrepreneurial Consumer Citizen
Technology of Power	Law, regulation, devolution to professional and technical authority. Bureaucracy	Planning Central Control Law and Policy New Public Administration	Planning Central Control Law and Policy New Public Administration	Law and Policy Deregulation, the Market form, New Public Management	Law and Policy the Market form New Public Management Partnership and third sector.
Ethics	Freedom, Rule of Law	Rights, Collectivism, Concern for the disadvantaged	Rights, Collectivism, Emancipation	Tradition Respect for Authority Rule of Law	Rights and Responsibilities Self-determination and Communitarianism
Society	Spaces of Economic and Civil Freedom Hierarchal	Class Society	Class Society	Hierarchal Individualistic Nationalistic	One Nation Inclusion v Exclusion
Identity	Social position The Nation The Empire	Class, neighbourhood	Class, neighbourhood	The Nation Social position Patterns of Consumption	National, local Community Self actualisation Reflexive Cosmopolitan
Broad Conception of Freedom	Negative	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive

Table 8.3: Modes of Liberal Governmentality

Political economy

Third Way consciously demarcates itself from the political economy^{xv} associated with classical social democracy. The mixed economy as a strategy for governing the economic under classical social democracy is manifestly abandoned as being outmoded for contemporary times. Following the election defeat of 1987 the Labour Party under Neil Kinnock pushed forward a process of policy reform, initiating seven review groups. The outcome of this process, published under the title *Meet the Challenge, Make the Change*^{xvi}, ended the party's commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament, high taxation and Keynesian inspired forms of nationalisation. Deeply significant in this policy review was the movement of the party's outlook on the economic to one in which 'the market had a vital role to play.' This could be encapsulated in the idea of moving from the focus placed on the redistribution of wealth by Labour's post-war thinkers to a concern for wealth creation. This shift was to be a foundational aspect of New Labour's approach to the economic domain, the market was to be enthusiastically embraced, but in conjunction with other imperatives focused on the successful conduct of the economic. This additional set of imperatives serves to set the new economics apart from the form of political economy adopted by the New Right. The restructuring of the economic sphere by the New Right, following 1979, can be thought of as operating in two simultaneous modes. There was a radical edge leading the rolling back of the institutional and regulatory apparatus that had evolved to support the post-war Keynesian welfare settlement, together with its replacement by a regulatory, infrastructural and cultural apparatus to support the normalisation of market forms. Influenced by the Chicago school of economics the Thatcher government was determined to advance individual and entrepreneurial freedom, free trade and free markets, and to overcome inflation by controlling the money supply. Ramsay (2002:40) lists reforms to the financial sector by the Thatcher government between 1979 and 1982 as including:

- The abolition of exchange rate controls
- Changes to the regulation of building societies, leading the way to their conversion to banks, and the credit boom of the 1980s
- A liberalisation of restrictions on bank lending
- A liberalisation of the regulations governing the ratio of bank lending to the possession of a range of liquid assets
- The abolition of restrictions on hire purchase

New Labour's understanding of what is to be governed, and to what end, within the economic sphere demonstrates a fundamental revision from the political economy associated with Old Labour, alongside a continuity with the foundational form of economic rationality adopted by the New Right. In common with the New Right there is a reading of the economic in which the role of the State is to govern by maintaining the regulatory and institutional framework essential for the operation of the market. This posture of the State would provide business with the conditions to operate successfully in a climate of global competition and so produce the wealth and prosperity that was needed. However, an additional set of significant imperatives serves to mark the new economics as distinctive from the neoliberal tenets enthusiastically enacted by Conservative governments following 1979.

In governing the economic the Third Way programme of New Labour has been influenced by a set of essential concerns that have arisen from adaptations of endogenous growth theory (Dolowitz, 2004 and Wiggan, 2007). The fundamental idea driving endogenous growth theory (Romer, 1990) is that long run economic growth when considered in terms of income for each individual is dependent upon investment decisions. This is in contrast to more traditional explanations of growth resulting in exogenous (originating from outside the system, or due to external factors) changes in for example, technology. Endogenous growth theory supports a view that policy measures do in fact have an influence on the growth rate of an economy in the long-run. For example, State investment decisions on compulsory education, in higher education and research and development, and regulatory and supply-side policy, can provide incentives for innovation and increase growth rates. This form of knowledge has been integrated into the rationality that has come to encompass New Labour's understanding of how the economic domain should be governed. There is an active role for the State in an idealised Third Way schematic of governing the economic in pursuit of wealth creation. This is in contrast to a more passive role of maintaining an appropriate legal, regulatory and financial regime, the State being charged with the limited task of guaranteeing the conditions necessary for markets to operate, characteristic of the New Right's form of neoliberal economics.

The new economy - like the new politics - is radically different. Services, knowledge, skills and small enterprises are its cornerstones. Most of its output cannot be weighed, touched or measured. Its most valuable assets are knowledge and creativity. The successful economies of the future will excel at generating and disseminating knowledge, and commercially exploiting it... as the Comprehensive Spending Review demonstrated with its significant shift of resources to education and health -£40bn over three years - within a disciplined overall spending total. Moreover, micro-policy- education, training, access to capital and labour markets, product market competition, investment in infrastructure and science and technology- holds the key to long-term prosperity... (Blair 1998:8)

Fundamentally the political economy of Third Way fits within the boundaries of advanced liberal forms of governmentality (outlined in chapter 2) focusing on the imperative of governing the economic space informed by an analysis of economic globalisation, a commitment to knowledge capitalism (Peters, 2006) in a climate of global competition and, in particular, a response informed by a rationality shaped by what seems to be on offer to the State through an endogenous growth strategy. This rationality of the 'investment state' has shaped the policy system under New Labour, influencing actions and conduct at the levels of initiation, formulation and implementation. What is noteworthy about this aspect of government rationality is its movement beyond the economic, its claims to order multiple areas of public policy, in particular education, employment and welfare, in pursuit of success in governing the economic domain.

Conceptions of the State

At the core of the Third Way project of government articulated by Giddens (1998) and Blair (1998) is the reform, or 'modernisation,' of the State and its functions. This aspect of third way governmentality operates within its own internal logic as a marker of distinctiveness in relation to the proceeding disposition of the State desired by the New Right and the understanding that had previously animated the traditional left. The assemblage of institutions, administrative arrangements, services and forms of power that had come to constitute the 'welfare state' had been reformed under the New Right into a new post-welfare settlement, what Philip Bobbit (2002) describes in terms of the 'market state.' This understanding of how the State should be structured

operates in line with a set of convictions (influence by rational choice theory and classical liberalism's inherent or permanent critique of the State) that the over reaching, inefficient, self-serving and morally hazardous welfare state had to be rolled back, thus creating a space in which free individuals can pursue their own needs for welfare, security and services organised and efficiently provided by the discipline of quasi-market arrangements. Over the course of successive administrations, New Right thinking influenced the establishment of arrangements for governing at a distance, the adoption of the metaphor of the State steering as opposed to rowing, the restyling of the institutional and regulatory apparatus from bureaucratic command to contractual relations, devolved responsibility and performance standards, control being exercised through a network of intermediate organisations and quasi-market arrangements.

Third Way's understanding of the State and how it should be ordered accepts much of the critique of the New Right, conceding the inevitable inefficiency and corrupting influence of a bureaucratic welfare State. At the same time Third Way claims continuity with the Left in clearly affirming an active and essential character for the State. Having rolled back the State, the New Right stood accused of assuming that 'civic activism will automatically fill the void' (Blair 1998:14). Third way thinkers point to the failure of Thatcherism to understand and resolve the contradiction between individualising liberalisation and the dependence of the market on social and cultural foundations. Third Way makes claims on a continuity with the lineage of social democracy through its commitment and concern for social cohesion and its conviction that the State has a role in maintaining and shaping civil society. It follows that the State must be modernised to avoid the incompatibility of traditional welfare models historically favoured by the left in an age of the market state. The State under Third Way is to be an active State, supporting and enabling civil society, the social base of economic activity.

The Third Way State is postured to keep much of its market form together with arrangements to govern at a distance, but tempered with new 'partnerships' between state institutions and agencies and the voluntary and private sector. If big government is to be avoided, Third Way presents strong government as 'light

on its feet' responsive, modernised by embracing the organisational styles and technologies of business. Standards benchmarking, the elimination of hierarchy, with responsibility delegated to lower levels, and the ubiquitous focus on customer needs are emblematic of the guiding rationality that will direct the project of modernisation. Giddens (1998:117) advocates a range of investment strategies, 'positive welfare', harmonising with the new economics, that focus on making individuals active, responsible and required to exercise their own agency, the State providing a 'hand up' into education and work rather than a 'hand out.' What is clear in the project of third way as expressed by Blair and Giddens is a desire to positively orientate the assemblage of institutions, arrangements and agents that constitute the state apparatus towards a new set of goals and ambitions. However, this was to be made operational not by any significant degree of Third Way innovation in the practices or technologies of government, but by the orthodoxies and continued employment of forms of management and administration introduced by the New Right (Horton and Farnham, 1999).

Technology of Government

A governmentality perspective is not only concerned with the forms of reason that produce differing forms of the 'art of government,' but looks to elucidate the practical means, the devices, techniques and arrangements, that are deployed in attempts to govern numerous spaces within the social order. One concept, 'modernisation,' within the language of New Labour has come to represent and express a recurring theme of reform, the urgent need to make arrangements, services and organisations fit for new times and conditions. Third Way is a modernising project essentially focused on the State and government itself; be it education, health, welfare, all required change to meet the requirements and ambitions of Third Way. An essential aspect of New Labour's modernisation is the deployment of new 'modern' technologies, organisational forms and practices. The primary technology of government employed by classical social democracy was forms of planning in combination with aspects of progressive public administration (Hood, 1995). The emerging 'advanced liberal' governmentality of the New Right was identified in part by Rose's (1996) detection of a signature change in the techniques and technologies of governing.

The *new public management*^{xvii} (NPM) witnessed the sweeping transfer of management practices, assumption and technologies from the private sector into a sector that had operated under an ethos of bureaucratic, incrementalist style of management focused on process and procedure, at pains to remain at arms-length from the political sphere. The fundamental nature of this new form of rationality was a shift from a public service ethos to one of private management. The Blair government inherited a public sector and state apparatus profoundly altered by the application and establishment of this style of management and organisation. New Labour's selection of a complex of technologies for government displays a noteworthy continuity with the reforms of the New Right (Barnett, 2002). The rationality, techniques and practices of third way governmentality have consolidated, built upon and refined aspects of NPM in its attempts to govern and regulate multiple spaces of contact between State and citizen.

Undoubtedly Third Way operates with a vision of the good society, its modernised social democracy reaches towards a social order that is primarily adapted to economic success in 'new times.' It lays claim to a social democratic heritage in its intention to link economic success with social justice (defined as opportunity). From a perspective of governmentality, Third Way emerges as a clear innovation in political government and as a clear shift or alteration within the framework of advanced liberal governmentality. Essentially however, it is the State itself and government that are to be changed; this is the primary site on which Third Way will seek to effect transformation. This is observable in the multiplicity of places and sites of reform within the apparatus of the State. It is the health service, the welfare agency, the civil service, the system of criminal justice that are to be the points where modernisation is wrought. The meaning and template for New Labour's mission to modernise draws its inspiration from prevailing rationalities of management and organisational theory. The State will avoid the twin dangers identified under Third Way (a wasteful self-serving state bureaucracy and the minimal state of neoliberalism detrimental to civil society and social cohesion) by embracing the forms of technology and organisational styles present in up to date business practice.

Finlayson (2003) perceptively points to ‘post-downsizing’ management theory, citing the significance of thinkers and ‘gurus’ such as Charles Handy’s (1998) ‘discontinuous change,’ Rosabeth Moss Kanter’ (1985) and the ‘Change Masters,’ and Huseman and Goodman’s (1991) idea that the corporation must compete in the realm of the ‘Red Queen’^{xviii}. Corporations also came to place new value on investing in and developing human or ‘intellectual’ capital (Stewart, 1997). Successful business organisations have evolved using such ideas to operate in a context of discontinuous change, to be responsive, flexible and reliant on a smaller core workforce structured within learning organisations with flatter hierarchies. In this way Giddens illustrates how government and state institutions should be reformed. He cites the dramatic ‘turnaround’ of the US Postal service through redesigning the organisation, focusing on the needs of customers and incentivising desired performance (2000:59). In a policy document published in 2002 by the Office of Public Services Reform^{xix}, *Reforming our Public Services*, the language of contemporary business pervades, structured under chapter headings such as: Putting the customer first, Standards and accountability, Devolution and delegation, Flexibility and incentives and Expanding choice. At the kernel of what it is to be modern, how to ‘modernise,’ third way governmentality is conditioned by its incorporation of contemporary management theory (McLaughlin et al. 2001, Entwistle et al. 2007).

The Conception of the Subject

Any governmentality contains a set of assumptions and convictions about the nature of the political subject; a central object of government. The model subject may be explicitly elaborated in the formulation of an art of government or may operate implicitly in its schema. What is clear about the advent of the modern and its liberal ethos of government is that it proceeds on a particular conception of the citizen. As previously discussed (see chapter 2) what marks out the citizen under an ethos of liberal government reason is a dependence on the freedom of the citizen as a resource for government. Liberal government moves beyond a limited field of politics and the State to influence culture; giving a shape to the ethical and perceptual disposition of the citizen. The liberal citizen requires to be formed in such a way as to possess a subjectivity that ensures desired forms of conduct and self-regulation in the open spaces of

the civil and economic. Under an idealised Third Way, the freedom of citizens and their common subjectivity require to be shaped and nurtured in such a way as to marshal the national community's resources of human capital, health and culture towards the prize of economic success.

Dominant in classical social democracy was a conception of the citizen as communal in orientation and in need of emancipation and protection from the restraints of industrial capitalism. Wrought by the collective experience of the Second World War (Marshall 1985), the citizen of welfare rights came to expect to be able to call on the State for essential services, protection and insurance against the hardships and vagaries of employment and illness. Under the form of governmentality animating the ambitions of the New Right the reform of this citizen came to be understood as essential to its success. The constitution of the citizen became a target for the New Right, motivated by a desire to establish a new identity for the citizen that would harmonise with their wider project of cultural change. This new advanced liberal citizen required to be embossed with a new understanding of the relation between government, State and the individual. This new post-welfare citizen was to no longer look to the State as a shield from risk, but would take responsibility for managing their own risks and opportunities in the market state. Third Way thinkers would come to point to the destructive tension between the idealised conservative subject (respectful of tradition and authority, patriotic, law abiding, self-reliant, thrifty and hard working) and the individualist consumers of the 1980s, described by Marr (2007:318) as an age of 'unparalleled consumption, credit, show-off wealth, quick bucks and sexual libertinism.'

If the New Right's anthropology had an economic deflection with the revival of *homo economicus*^{xx}, Third Way's conception of the subject has a sociological refraction with its concern for the growth of forms of individualism and the reflexivity of late or high modernity. Giddens, perhaps unsurprisingly with his engagement with such sociological questions, provides Third Way with a model of the citizen that can accommodate the social attitudes and values concurrent with the rise in individualism clearly present in contemporary social trends. The 'progressive individualism' of Inglehart's post-materialism thesis posits a citizen seeking self-expression, development and self-actualisation. The social and economic ambitions of Third Way can therefore be realised by governing the

citizen as an active agent primarily responsible for making a success of their own life, the self-actualising citizen of choices, opportunities and self-fulfilment. Arguably, aspects of New Labour's conception of the citizen align seamlessly with a market state. The New Labour White Paper, *Modern Markets: confident consumers* (1999), is unambiguous in its re-orientation of the citizen under the conception of consumer sovereignty. The citizen consumer is not merely a recognition of a new social reality by New Labour but is understood as a positively desirable aspect of the character of citizenship and beneficial to business (Peters, 2004). Consumers are to be 'equipped', through education programmes, with the skills, knowledge and confidence to obtain a 'good deal:'

[Government will] Improve consumer education and the usefulness of consumer information. The OFT is developing a consumer education strategy, with better co-ordination between both public and private sector bodies that deliver consumer education programmes. (DTI, 1999)

If the citizen of the high modern period is conceived as acting in a way that is less tied by the constrictions of tradition and living with the consequences of being confronted by a bewildering context of possibilities and risks, third way governmentality is not motivated by the need for a counter thrust in the direction of collectivist ideals and ethics. The ethical architecture of the third way citizen is none the less significant, with both Blair and Giddens insistent that government must act to give a moral shape to society. Social cohesion can be assured by the establishment of a new public morality an ethical architecture, communitarian in form, which links rights and responsibilities. This form of communitarianism as an intellectual movement developed and surfaced across the 1980s and 1990s, its history is broadly coextensive with the emergence of Third Way. Ideological communitarianism is closely associated with the work of Amitai Etzioni (1993) who, along with his collaborators, established a network to promote communitarian ideas with the ambition of creating a movement for social change. The core of communitarianism can be understood as a critique and reaction to aspects of liberal theory, in particular liberalism's emphasis on rights and its conception of the individual as a disembodied self. Communitarianism contends that rights need to be balanced with responsibilities; furthermore the abstraction of the individual existing in isolation is misleading. The atomised individual ignores the social reality of

individuals embedded in communities and shaped by the culture of such locations.

Without a stable civil society, incorporating norms of trust and social democracy, markets cannot flourish and democracy can be undermined. We need to reconnect these three spheres by means of a new social contract appropriate to an age where globalization and individualism go hand in hand. The new contract stresses both the rights and responsibilities of citizens. People should not only take from the wider community, but give back to it too. The precept 'no rights without responsibilities' applies to all individuals and groups. (Giddens, 2000:165)

There is a clearly detectable communitarian inflection in the ethical character of the citizen desired within an idealised third way governmentality (Calder 2004). In a meeting arranged by Geoff Mulgan^{xxi}, Blair met Amitai Etzioni, much to their mutual satisfaction, during a trip to the US in 1995 (Seldon, 2004:126). The rhetorical communitarian discourse of Blair, 'the rights we enjoy reflects the duties we owe,' comes straight out of Etzioni's (1993:144) *The Spirit of Community*. Such attempts to govern the ethical disposition of the citizen looked to produce or shore up solidarity and to ensure the health of civil society. New Labour is clear about the need to give shape to the ethical form of the citizen, to revalorise norms and attitudes to community, and civic virtue. Giddens is even more ambitious in setting out an ethical disposition required by Third Way. National identity and its relation to the nation state, in conditions of pressing globalisation, generates a range of strains and stress points concentrated on locations characterised by difference across markers of identity, ethnicity, migration and origins. In this age of ethnic and cultural pluralism complicated by the changeableness of modern culture, Giddens (1998:129) argues for the need for a cosmopolitan nation composed of cosmopolitan citizens. This form of national identity combines a commitment to a nation state and a capacity to accommodate ethnic and cultural pluralism resting on an ethic of inclusivity and tolerance of difference.

Social Theory

Foucault's concept of governmentality sought to capture the historically conditioned and changing face of 'state reason,' or 'art of government,' a blend of rationalities, practices, techniques and arrangements that alter and shift over time. In coming to power in 1997 one notable aspect of third way governmentality was its incompleteness; the ongoing search for a coherent social theory or model of stratification (this observation is discussed more fully in the next section). This active construction of a guiding model of the social and concomitant attempts to govern the locations it reveals was resolved in favour of a particular formulation that rested primarily on the concept of *social exclusion*. Essential within the schematic of a distinctive third way governmentality is this theoretical shift, a process of distancing, from theories of stratification and class identity central to classical social democracy in favour of a new model of social differentiation. The classical liberal arrangement of the abstraction of the social order into two quasi-natural interdependent domains of the civil and the economic operated within the thought of classical social democracy; but in a role subservient to the most essential of explanatory concepts, that of social class. The social democratic 'art of government' in the context of an embedded liberal settlement relied on a rationality that took class interests and class conflict as foundational.

The incorporation of social exclusion into the architecture of Third Way, informing New Labour's understanding of how problematic aspects of the social are to be governed, stands out as one of the starkest contrasts to the form of state reason that drove the project of the New Right over four successive administrations. At its most elemental this representation of the social operates on a dual strata model. Society can be understood as dividing along a cleavage that separates off the 'strong active community of citizens,' (Blair 1997, Stockwell Park) the 'one nation', or for Giddens^{xxii} the 'mainstream.' This undifferentiated block sits above those who have become detached, separated, located on the other side of the cleavage among the category of the excluded. This element of the rationality of Third way governmentality, above all, is the key to understanding the contexts at the level of policy initiation and formulation that were to result in a plethora of social policy initiatives

underpinned by the inclusion/exclusion binary. Education was to figure as a central location for policy inspired by New Labour's adoption of social exclusion as a means of interpreting the social. Early examples included concerns with truancy, from school exclusion and additional support to keep pupils in school. New Labour's attempts to exercise forms of government with the ambition of ameliorating the problem of the excluded, so opening avenues for this problematic constituency to re-enter the mainstream, has a clear ideological thrust. Such policy ambitions could only be mobilised or set in motion through the construction and deployment of a discourse of social exclusion.

Three strands of third way governmentality emerge from this analysis as being both significant and essential as explanatory dimensions within this thesis in seeking to locate the concern of the State over what becomes visible through an exclusion-inclusion model of the social, and the implications this has for education policy aimed at 'tackling' social exclusion. The first strand is evident as Third Way's theory of the social, but what also emerges as salient explanatory dimensions are Third Way's conceptions of the economic, the 'new economics' and the subject, the 'citizen consumer.' Both the new economics and the third way citizen articulate with what it means to overcome exclusion, to rejoin and be reincorporated into the economic and a civil society that is understood to operate in relation to the fixed datum of success in the economic sphere. In this exercise of political power the role of language must be understood as fundamental in attempting to analyse how education policy came to be influenced by conceptions of social exclusion. As a prelude to a discussion of how New Labour's attachment to the concept of social exclusion has resulted in the casting of particular forms of education policy (see chapter 5), the following chapter presents a critical discourse analysis of two policy texts and extracts from a third. When viewed from the perspective of the layered policy model (Figure 4.1) the texts record and code a significant moment in the assemblage of the intellectual structure of New Labour's governmentality around the concept of social exclusion.

Chapter 4: Governing the Excluded

Governing the Excluded

This chapter presents a critical discourse analysis of two policy texts, with reference to a third text, as a means of making explicit some of the ideological representations they establish; with a particular emphasis on social exclusion as the main thematic that links them together and marks their significance. The importance of the selected texts rests on the claim that they capture and span the historical moment in which New Labour visibly committed to the conception of social exclusion. This set of representations of the social order was to become a dominant element in the policy culture that condensed around New Labour in government; influencing the intellectual climate that surround the pre-initiation and initiation layers of the policy model, translating downward through policy formulation to restructure and condition wide sectors of activity across the public sector. In terms of a third way governmentality, and its inherent abstract model of the social, a discourse of social exclusion comes to mark out two distinct domains; one being that of the normalised (mainstream) social order, the second being the problematic domain of the excluded, composed of a sector of the population that exists in a detached relation. What is significant about the two texts presented in this chapter is that they become public only in the early stage of the first New Labour government and mark the public emergence of this significant element in New Labour's project of government. The incorporation into the architecture of Third Way governmentality of a representation of the social order based on the inclusion-exclusion binary was to have significant consequences in determining the meaning of government, the reason of state, within the project of New Labour and in locating the spaces of its intervention. The domain of the excluded was to become the object in relation to which broad sectors of Third Way's public policy was to be defined and legitimated.

The critical discourse analysis presented below is informed by Fairclough's approach to CDA (see chapter 1) and is structured in two parts. The first will combine description (concerned with the formal properties of the text) with interpretation (the interplay between 'clues' in the text and cognitive resources brought into play by readers of the text). The second section offers an explanation of the texts in the context of the wider sociopolitical order.

Technical terms and analytical concepts are explained in the endnotes for this chapter in an attempt to maintain a focus on the tasks of description, interpretation and explanation. A full glossary of the codes used in the analysis can be found in appendix 4. All of the texts under analysis are policy related speeches. The speech is a particular genre of policy text that operates within a range of social practices (Fairclough, 1995, Franklin, 2001) and is common to the field of politics. The two policy speeches under investigation can be understood as a deliberate attempt to establish aspects of a third way rationality of government and to frame an area of adversity that demands a response through policy.

Language and politics are inseparable; the practices of politics are in the main linguistically constituted. CDA assumes that politics, and the exercise of political power in particular, can be critically elucidated from the perspective of language. In relation to the study of policy this perspective centres the struggle over policy discourse. Policy texts can be understood as establishing, defending, embodying, symbolizing or expressing certain discourses. Political actors can be understood as actively attempting to shape and influence the framing of issues and the language used to construct problems that are in turn to be addressed by policy solutions (Edelman, 1988). Fairclough (1995) in considering political discourse in the media, following a distinction developed by Bourdieu, makes use of two contexts of discursive struggle. In attempting to achieve discursive dominance political actors need to succeed internally and externally. The internal context is manifest in the political system, the world of political parties and professional politicians. The external context goes beyond the political system to include an array of intersecting fields, institutions and the wider sociopolitical landscape. This distinction can be applied to the third way governmentality of Blair and Giddens. The internal context of the Labour Party constituted the opening location in which a discourse of Third Way required to be established as the prevailing and conventional political discourse of Labour. This is perhaps another way to express or interpret the 'making' of New Labour. Victory in the 'internal struggle' then opens the door to the 'external struggle' (Fairclough 1989:147). The achievement of internal dominance is never a permanent settlement and even when the main efforts of political actors are

focused on achieving ascendancy in the wider external context there remains a variable level of internal or internecine contestation.

Locating the Text

The first text under analysis is a speech made by Peter Mandelson, in his capacity as the Minister without Portfolio, on 14th August 1997 at the Fabian Society. The second text under examination is a speech given by Tony Blair at Stockwell Park School, South London, on Monday the 8th of December 1997. Both of these texts can be productively analysed in relation to a third significant text, the first speech by Blair as Prime Minister on Monday 2nd June 1997, at the Aylesbury Estate, Southwark (the full text of the three speeches can be found in Appendixes 1-3, each line being numbered for reference). With reference to the layered policy model (developed in chapter 1, see Figure 4.1) the two policy texts under analysis can be located at the level of policy initiation and formulation. The texts can be categorised as encoding aspects of formulation and object establishment. In more precise terms the texts can be seen as emerging and operating in parallel to a range of activities within a distinct phase of the policy initiation and formulation activity of the first New Labour government. In positioning the two texts under analysis in relation to the layered model, they can be broadly interpreted as the announcement, to differing audiences, of a particular framing of issues around social cohesion and the welfare field that had recently coalesced at the level of initiation and was beginning to be operationalized at the level of policy formulation. The chronology of the texts is essential in any attempt to position them within the layered model (see Table 9.4).

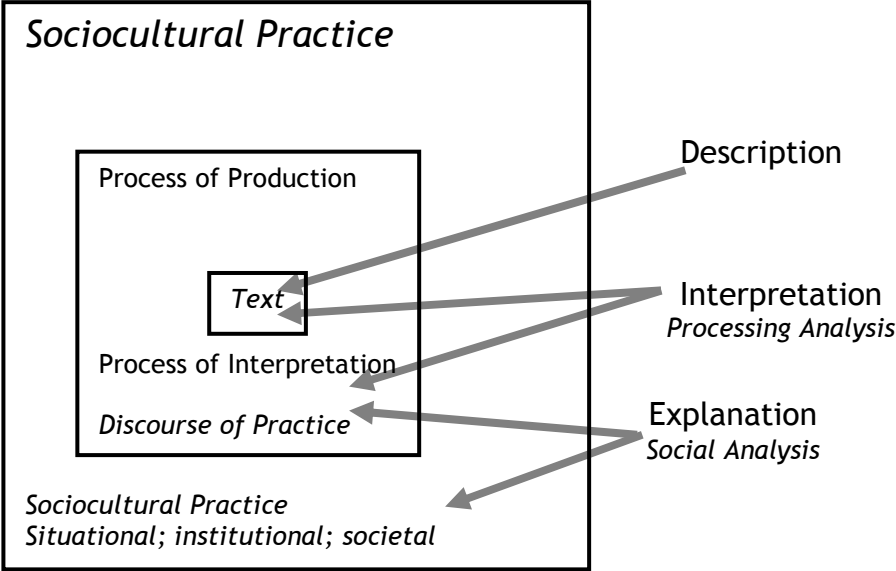


Figure 8.4: Fairclough’s model of Critical Discourse Analysis

Title of Speech	Date of Delivery	Location
<i>The Will to Win</i>	Monday 2 June 1997	Aylesbury Housing Estate, Southwark London
<i>Tackling Social Exclusion</i>	14 August 1997	Fabian Society London
<i>Bringing Britain Together</i>	Monday the 8 th December 1997	Stockwell Park School, South London,

Table 9.4: Chronology of texts

There has been no shortage of accounts of the birth and evolution (the ‘rise,’ the ‘making,’ the ‘unfinished revolution’) of New Labour, including insider narrations (Mandelson and Liddle, 1996, Gould, 1998) and outsider accounts emanating from varying degrees of critical relation to the Labour Party (Jones, 2001, Rawnsley, 2001, Ramsay, 2002). What is common to this entire corpus is some attempt to give an account of aspects of the movement from Old Labour to New Labour; to explain and chronicle the shift from classical social democracy to what was identified under Third Way in the previous chapter. This literature reveals something of the active searching for ideas, approaches and the construction of a coherent intellectual framework prior to May 1997 and importantly, the continuation of this process after the party had been elected to power. What is notable about the period covered by the three texts dating from 1997 is their revelation that the key formulators of third way governmentality were still composing and finalising aspects of the rationality that would guide the matrix of State institutions and arrangements constructed to engage with a array of ‘problems’ located in the social domain. In particular this unfinished schematic of ‘government reason’ was exemplified by the search for a innovative way, a new discourse, to conceive of problematic aspects of the social that were coded in classical social democracy with such terms of disadvantage, poverty, deprivation and inequality.

Launching Social Exclusion

The text *Tackling Social Exclusion* (TSE) is a speech made by Peter Mandelson^{xxiii} (Appendix 1), recently appointed Minister without Portfolio in the first Blair government, to the Fabian Society. This speech on the 14th August 1997 is significant as the first recorded public deployment of the concept of social exclusion by the Blair government. It is in fact only the final section of the speech (under the headings: tackling social exclusion and conclusion) given by Mandelson to the Fabians. This final section of the speech was later to be made available^{xxiv} for public access on the website of the newly formed Social Exclusion Unit^{xxv} (SEU) during the early months of its existence. The audience for the speech is noteworthy in understanding its structural, intertextual and rhetorical aspects. This speech was addressed to an essentially internal party audience. The Fabian Society is in many respects synonymous with the

leadership and intellectual class of the Labour Party; holding a symbolic significance as an august forum for debate and the establishment of new ideas and policy directions. *Bringing Britain Together* (BBT) is the text of the speech given by Blair (8th December, 1997 Appendix 2) at Stockwell Park School South London to officially launch the Social Exclusion Unit. Dissectors of the New Labour project consistently identify and enumerate on the significance of its relation to the media and its attempts at media management together with the employment of techniques from public relations and marketing (Osborne, 1999, Jones, 2002, Finlayson, 2003). The BBT speech can be interpreted as a discursive event choreographed to incorporate the choice of location in its message to a media audience. Stockwell Park is a London housing estate that had suffered from poverty, crime and drug use, and can be seen as emblematic of the troubled 'estates' that inspired the creation of the SEU.

Analysis: Description and Interpretation

The structure of TSE can be organised into a number of sections, bearing in mind that it formed part of a larger speech, each crafted for a purpose as well as contributing to the coherence of the speech as a whole:

- Introduction: Social Exclusion as scourge and waste (1-3)
- Listing Conservative Failure (4-8)
- Contrasting New Labour with the preceding conservative government (8-19)
- Exposition of the new Economics (20-30)
- Repudiation of Internal Critics (30-36)
- Establishing the frame of Social Exclusion (37-56)
- Trailing the establishment of the Social Exclusion Unit (57-62)
- Conclusion; Social Exclusion and the mission of New Labour (63-72)

In a similar way BBT can also be divided into notional sections that subdivide the structure of the text:

- Introduction (1-4)
- Setting and managing expectations (5-14)
- Contrasting New Labour with the preceding conservative government (15-29)
- Return to Setting Expectations (30-34)
- The good society and the central purposes of New Labour (35-39)
- Identification of the problem (40-42)
- Establishing the frame of Social Exclusion (43-47)
- What must be done: joined up solutions (48-53)
- Introducing the Social Exclusion Unit (54-64)
- Social exclusion and educational failure (65-78)
- Conclusion: bringing Britain back together (79-90)

It is perhaps unsurprising that an analysis of word incidence in both TSE and BBT displays an excess or loading in favour of the social exclusion term or linked references to the excluded, or exclusion. In the text of TSE, apart from its collocation^{xxvi} with 'exclusion,' there are nine other occurrences of social or socially and two occurrences within BBT. While BBT in announcing the SEU makes four references to the SEU, the text of TSE makes one reference to a 'special unit' (Appendix 2:58). It is worth noting the 14 references to 'school' within the content of BBT.

Word Occurrence	TSE	BBT
Social Exclusion	10	2
Excluded	1	3
Socially Excluded	0	1
Exclusion	1	1
Poverty	2	3
Deprivation	2	0
Underclass	2	0
Estate/s	3	3
Social Exclusion Unit	0	4
School	4	14
Education/al	3	2
Hope/lessness	1	1
Work	8	14
Machine/ry	4	0
Government	7	13
values	0	5

Table 10.4: Word count analysis of two main texts

In TSE Mandelson introduces the term ‘social exclusion’ into the text in a way that operates to naturalise it; there is a tacit assumption that its appearance is uncontroversial or conventional. There is no attempt in TSE to make explicit its newness or attempt to make evident that this is the authoritative introduction of a new concept, drawn from the academic and political discourse of the European Union, intended to be extensively put to work within Labour Party thinking. Against this observation, and the TSE text in general, can be set a line of reasoning that would suggest that less accommodation^{xxvii} is required in this speech as it is aimed at a circumscribed audience positively attuned to the discourse of policy and the Labour Party. The text opens by dramatically setting the condition by which New Labour would ‘deserve’ a second electoral victory in terms of ‘tackling the scourge and waste of social exclusion’ (TSE;1). The transitive verb ‘tackling’ is conceivably informal, alluding to a range of sports and involving physical action that is both kinetic and defensive, or signifying the action of starting or getting on with a difficult or necessary task. The object to be tackled is social exclusion and the establishment of the ‘tackling social exclusion’ combination has been attributed by Fairclough (2000:62) as demonstrating an intertextual relation with the output of the think-tank DEMOS^{xxviii}. The first characterisation of social exclusion presented by the text, ‘scourge and waste,’ works to establish it as undesirable and unproductive. The next section (4-8) presents a list of statistics on unemployment, homelessness, truancy and single parent families all marshalled as evidence to support an argument for ‘Tory failure.’

This list concludes with the final statement that there ‘are 3 million people living in the worst 1,300 housing estates expressing multiple deprivation, rising poverty, unemployment, educational failure and crime.’ Such concepts as multiple deprivation, poverty, unemployment and their detrimental nature were well established in the lexicon of classical social democracy preceding the arrival of social exclusion. Their use can be understood as an interdiscursive linkage that also operates to signifying them as elements, equivalences,^{xxix} that are now to be subsumed under the more powerful idea of social exclusion. The housing ‘estate’^{xxx} (referenced is made 3 times in both TSE and BBT to the estate) is signalled, denoted^{xxxi}, in both texts as the location where such phenomena are concentrated and therefore, the space in which social exclusion

is at its most visible and corrosive. It is clear in both texts that the ‘worst’ housing estates are both emblematic and the actual location where social exclusion is glaringly manifest. Mandelson goes on to describe the picture he has painted by listing ‘Tory failure’ as manifesting a loss of ‘hope’ (overtly establishing a direct reference to Blair’s Southwark speech) and a resultant ‘fatalism.’

This description of the psychological and cultural state of those ‘trapped’ on the estate can be read as both explanatory and to an extent as a mitigating portrayal. Any sympathetic ethos or pathos established by this interpretation is quickly endangered as the individuals in question become ‘today’s and tomorrow’s underclass, shut out from society.’ The choice of the term ‘underclass,’ with its moral connotations, to an audience of Fabians and political activists is significant. It seems hard to refute that the potentially pejorative implications^{xxxii} of this term, associated with the American sociologist Charles Murray (1984), would be lost on this audience. The term underclass is not replicated in BBT. The text moves on to locate the economic context under the previous conservative government as a key source of the growth of social disintegration. The conclusion from the arguments developed in the preceding section is that ‘for a significant minority at the bottom of the social ladder, who are at best on the edge of the labour force, the result is social exclusion’ (TSE;14). The excluded are thus framed at the bottom of society, and importantly, inactive or loosely coupled to the labour market, this was to become a recurring formulation in New Labour’s discourse of social exclusion.

As the text of TSE develops (see outline above) it attempts to establish a number of preliminary positions and accounts as explanatory reference points (TSE;4-36) before returning to its exposition of social exclusion. The text goes forward to give an exposition (TSE;20-30) around the new economics, contrasted with the monetarism of the New Right and its toleration of high unemployment, reinforcing the important linkage between the economic, economic activity, participation and social exclusion. Before moving on to develop further his exposition of social exclusion, Mandelson rhetorically precedes this section by rehearsing a significant criticism of New Labour by the senior Labour figure Roy Hattersley. The former deputy leader of the party, who had worked with

Mandelson in the past, would be placed by most analysts as being on the right of the party. Conspicuously he emerged at this time as a critic of New Labour from the left arguing that the Labour Party had turned away from its concern for the poor and focused instead in placating the 'suburban middle classes' (Hattersley, 1997). The essence of Hattersley's critique was that New Labour and its adoption of a third way politics has resulted in the abandonment of much of its historical drive towards a more equal society understood in terms of equality of outcome. The Fabians, party insiders and political activists would not be in any doubt as to the implication of the rhetorical question over the party's commitment to being a 'force for a more equal society' (TSE;32). Mandelson makes use of this charge in positioning the enterprise of tackling social exclusion as the 'resounding' rebuttal to such accusations. This section can be read as a clear illustration (following Fairclough) of Mandelson working to accomplish 'internally,' within the dominant discourse of Labour, the establishment of social exclusion as constituting the new essence, the new touchstone, of any struggle for a more equal society.

The following section of the text (TSE, 37-56) attempts to establish a distinctive framing of social exclusion and in the process continue the task of internal engagement toward the founding of the objective of conquering social exclusion as the orthodox canon of New Labour in government. In attempting to both make a claim on the heritage of classical social democracy and at the same time establish the essence of the difference between Old Labour and Third Way, Mandelson makes use of a logos that diminishes and simultaneously incorporates the welfare rationality of Old Labour within a much grander ambition around tackling social exclusion, the 'greatest social crisis of our times' (TSE, 62). The use of the State as a means of accumulating and redistributing wealth was an established part of the rationale of classical social democracy. New Labour will, within the constraints of public spending, look to help the 'badly off,' protect the 'poor' from the impact of inflation, introduce a minimum wage, and assist disadvantaged groups such as 'poor pensioners' and the chronically sick. While conceding a role to levels of welfare support, a nod towards the earlier symbolism of redistribution, Mandelson is at pains to subordinate this rationality to the fundamental problem of people 'becoming disengaged from society' (TSE,39).

But we must concentrate effort on helping individuals who can escape their situation to do so, in the knowledge that personal skills and employment are the most effective anti-poverty policy in the long run. That is why the top priorities of our government are welfare to work and tackling the problems of bad schools and low educational standards. Preventing the growth of social exclusion, wiping away the poison that seeped through the Thatcher years and corroded our society, starts with these programmes. (TSE, 43-44)

In the text social exclusion is represented as ‘dropping off the end of the ladder of opportunity and becoming disengaged from society’ (TSE, 39), being on the ladder is therefore established essentially as being active in the economic sphere and by extension this becomes the point of reference for inclusion within society. In the rhetorical lexicon of contemporary politics ladders of opportunity allude to the possibility of upward mobility. Mandelson’s socially excluded are located at the bottom of the ladder or as being in a place of detachment from it. This circumstance is constructed as a more fundamental condition than any problem of low income or poverty. However, some of the excluded can ‘escape’ from their captivity with help; in particular State sponsored programmes that provide skills for employment and assist entry into the labour market. The significance attached to education in New Labour’s early thinking on social exclusion is evident. This linkage would reoccur within New Labour’s discourse around social exclusion, with low standards and ‘bad’ schools being clearly centred as both a cause of exclusion and as a location to be reformed to prevent the future exclusion of those at risk.

Social exclusion is represented as a ‘scourge and waste’, it is something that can grow and spread, it is toxic, virulent and ‘corrodes society’, it is a pestilence characterised by detachment from the integrating virtues of labour market participation and low levels of employability. Having framed the character of social exclusion the text proceeds to herald the extension of the scope of New Labour’s policy response beyond the central pairing of economic participation and education to presage the reform of ‘public health’ and housing, ‘youth justice’ and regeneration strategies in pursuit of the ‘end of social exclusion.’ This policy agenda serves as a link to the next section of the text; trailing the establishment of the Social Exclusion Unit. Mandelson overtly takes up the position of spokesperson for the ‘Prime Minister,’ arguably the implication of

this proximity to power would not be lost on his audience, reinforcing his exposition by drawing on the ethos emanating from the then hugely popular Blair. Uncoordinated projects and efforts of the past ‘spent a great deal of money,’ but are judged ineffective, their failure tellingly presented in terms of not primarily ‘improving’ the ability of the excluded ‘to participate in the economy.’ The task may be ‘difficult’ and governments of earlier periods may not have been successful, but the speech text presents the innovation of a new organisational form, a new arrangement for government that ‘will harness the full power of government to take on the greatest social crisis of our times’ (TSE, 63).

Mandelson makes known to his audience that a ‘special unit’ is being setup and chaired by the Prime Minister with a coordinating role across departments. The text presents what could be seen as a technical organisational change within the committee and administrative structure of Whitehall in pursuit of a new policy priority as ‘the most important innovation in government we have made since coming to office’ (TSE, 62). Mandelson makes use of the metaphor of machinery (there are 3 occurrences of ‘machine’ or ‘machinery’ in this section of the text, TSE, 57-59), to convey a new and purposeful application of the apparatus of government, more precisely to present a new decisiveness in directing and controlling the ‘government machine.’ This new organisational arrangement is presented to the Fabians as symbolic in itself of the centrality of the focus on social exclusion and constituting the means by which the process of social change will be governed effectively. In concluding the final section of the speech the text returns again to position engagement with the ‘task of tackling social exclusion’ as essentially definitive of the social ‘vision’ of New Labour and as a ‘test,’ the principal metric by which progress should be measured.

TSE is the first public introduction of the concept of social exclusion, only recently embraced and put to work in policy formulation. Its presence in this text and in this context can also be understood as illustrative of the messy complexity of the policy system. The exposition of social exclusion to the Fabian Society it can be argued owes much to the personal circumstances of Peter Mandelson. Macintyre (2000) recounts how at this point in time Mandelson, while in a vital coordinating role in the centre of the New Labour government, was making his first attempt at being elected to Labour’s National Executive

Committee and was giving a string of high profile interviews to newspapers, radio and television. His willingness to address the Fabians and the leaking of his TSE text to the *Independent* newspaper can also be seen in the light of his election campaign. The revelation of the SEU and the project of tackling social exclusion invoked an indignant response from Geoff Mulgan head of the Number 10 Policy Unit. Interestingly Macintyre (ibid) credits Mulgan with the idea of the SEU as a response to social disintegration and ‘sink estates.’

By the end of October 1997 the SEU had begun to function within the Cabinet Office but was to have its official launch on the 8th December 1997 with Stockwell Park School in Lambeth South London the chosen location. The short launch speech *Bringing Britain Together* (BBT) was delivered by the then Prime Minister Tony Blair. The audience of the day was in the main composed of the political press corps and local government and education personnel. However, this primary text was intended for a wider public than TSE and its crafting reflects a particular constellation of factors some seven months into the first year of the New Labour government. Following Fairclough (2000) it can be read as for the most part focused on achieving dominance in the wider external struggle to represent and establish in the sociopolitical landscape, ‘social exclusion’ as an entity or problem requiring to be governed. The choice of Stockwell Park Lambeth^{xxxiii} an area that has a history of socio-economic disadvantage (convenient for access from Whitehall) and significantly the selection of a secondary school as the location within which the speech would be delivered are both informative and can be interpreted as part of the wider coding intended by this deliberate discursive event.

We are here today in the Stockwell Park School in Lambeth to launch one of the most important new initiatives of this administration. It is an experiment in policy-making that is vital to the country’s future. The Social Exclusion Unit will yield results over months and years not days, but its purpose is central to the values and ambitions of the new Government. Its role reflects a new mood in the country and the values of a new Government. (BBT, 1-4)

The opening lines underscore the location of Lambeth and the setting of Stockwell Park School. The text opens with the pronoun ‘we,’ identified by Fairclough (2000:164) as a key New Labour word that has an ambiguous quality which could be interpreted as encompassing all who are present/listening or

meaning the New Labour government. Later within the text 'we' is used in its exclusive sense to indicate the government, 'We don't believe that Whitehall knows best.' Notably in anticipating the SEU the text suggests a subtle change, moving from Mandelson's 'the most important innovation in government we have made since coming to office' (TSE, 62) to Blair's representation of the SEU as 'one of most important new initiatives of this administration.' When followed with a description of the SEU as 'an experiment in policy-making' there is degree less overstatement in the tone of BBT; the idea of an 'experiment' can be read as a description that suggests a level of uncertainty. There are three references to the government in the opening four lines. The term administration is used once, with perhaps a certain dissonance from its association with the US, 'government' appears twice in this opening section each time collocated with the adjective 'new' (new occurs four times in the opening four lines). The SEU is presented as both 'vital' to the future and emblematic of the 'values' of the 'new government.'

Two sections of the text (BBT 5-14 and 30-34) address the question of expectations, specifically the level of anticipation around what the public could expect from the 'new government.' The fact that this message appears so early in the text, and is returned to again after a passage which contrasts New Labour with the previous Conservative government, is perhaps a measure of a concern not to inflate public anticipation of the impact of the SEU. The message that 'we can't do it all at once' may also reflect a wider unease within New Labour that their unexpected landslide election victory had generated a 'new mood in the country' characterised by high expectations of change. Between the two passages that address explicitly the question of expectations Blair makes use of a list weighed down with New Labour investment figures each articulated in tandem with a repetitive mantra of no Conservative investment. The rhetorical impact of this listing device on the listener is to convey a representation of extensive activity. The section differentiating New Labour from the preceding Conservative government mirrors the segment in TSE (4-19) which attempts to give the same account using a list of figures cataloguing social disintegration and policy around the new economics.

The text (BBT, 35-39) in moving forward constructs a representation of Third Way's good society, a 'one nation' communitarian vision that motivates a

mission for 'national renewal.' Inclusion is conspicuously represented in terms of having a 'stake,' having 'opportunity' and citizens having a 'chance to develop their potential.' This section of text is heavy with symbolism and signifiers of political values. It looks to convey an active progressive pathos using a combination of images and ambitions ('heart of all our work...Britain re-built...our national purpose') that together serve as a postulate for the 'creation of the Social Exclusion Unit.' Having articulated an essentially 'one nation' communitarian vision of New Labour's good society the text moves to represent a crisis that must be overcome by the action of government (BBT, 40-42). A society 'that is falling apart' is depicted firstly by intergenerational unemployment, but also by 'crime-ridden housing estates,' 'truancy' and 'young people hanging round on street corners.' It is this wayward subset of the population who stand in need of being brought back in from their condition of exclusion. Although the reference to unemployment harmonises with New Labour's consistent principal conception of exclusion or risk of exclusion, other images and allusions in the text draw on common fears. The collocation of crime and ridden is an emotive and powerful image that mimics the more common usage of 'disease-ridden.' Again the 'housing estate' is centred as the physical location of this unwanted contagion. In the early thinking of New Labour the issue of truancy from school emerges as a symptom of and predictor of exclusion. Truancy is included but in combination with the image of youth 'hanging round' on streets, an image that taps into a familiar fear of gangs, of anti-social youth roving the streets. This is followed by the use of listing as a device, including, 'inequality, hopelessness, crime and poverty' as hazards that threaten the foundation of a good society.

The text moves from representing locations and forms of disorder in the social domain to a section that works to establish a frame for how social exclusion is to be understood (BBT, 43-47). Blair effectively defines social exclusion by obliquely weaving together a combination of aspects, consequences and indicators. There is a nod toward the redistributive totem of classical social democracy in, 'social exclusion is about income,' but this, in a reproduction of the formula of TSE, is subordinated for his audience by the claim that 'it is about more.' The 'more' of social exclusion includes the operation of prospects, networks and life-chances. In an exposition that depends on the negative

features of social exclusion it is presented as ‘harmful to the individual,’ ‘damaging to self-esteem,’ and ‘corrosive for society as a whole.’ Controversially Blair claims that the intergenerational reproduction of exclusion is ‘more likely’ than that of ‘material poverty,’ a move that can be read as establishing social exclusion as a more pressing social problem than the left’s traditional concern with income. Notably social exclusion is presented in terms of being a ‘very modern problem.’ This is perhaps an ambiguous claim that could be a reference to the development of the modern age dating from the industrial revolution, but from its position in the text the declaration seems to operate as a referent in the explanation of the present. In anticipation of a more extensive development of this idea in the next section of the text, Blair signals that the solution to the disturbance of the social fabric caused by exclusion is to be found in ‘getting government to act more coherently.’ A succinct summary is provided at the end of this section of the text. It conveys a pathological characterisation of the trajectory of the excluded from ‘failure at school’ to ‘joblessness’ and into ‘crime;’ a pathology that is located within individuals and collectively present in the reoccurring motif of the ‘housing estate.’

In the culminative section of the text, the SEU is represented (BBT, 54-64) as a manifestation of a new more effective way of governing in response to the crisis of exclusion. By working ‘across departmental boundaries’ the SEU is held up as emblematic of the notion of government refashioned. In developing its description and exposition of the SEU, and the mode in which it will operate, what would become familiar Third Way formulations and tenets are evoked. The unit will be staffed by members drawn from the ‘voluntary sector^{xxxiv}’ and ‘business,’ in addition to various levels of government and state agencies providing ‘practical experience’ and ‘insights’ from the ‘sharp end.’ The SEU will be ‘forward looking,’ and have an innovative and pioneering character searching for the ‘best projects,’ and ‘most promising initiatives.’ It will work with communities as well as holding out the vague promise of ‘hearing from the socially excluded themselves.’

In the subsequent section of the text the tasking of the SEU to engage with the problem of ‘truancy,’ previously signalled in the text, with the addition of from ‘school exclusions,’ is used to shift the focus from an exposition of the nature

and mode of operation of the SEU itself to a noteworthy passage on the relation between social exclusion and educational failure. This passage (BBT, 65-78) exemplifies a logic linking New Labour's certainties over the relation of exclusion to education that would subsequently come to operate as a longer-term driver of streams of education policy (Kingdon, 1984). Essentially, the course of the excluded (from 'failure at school' to 'joblessness' and into 'crime') must be altered by preventing educational failure. As if to reinforce this certainty, BBT is delivered with a secondary school forming its backdrop and makes a repetitive 16 allusions to school or education. David Blunkett,^{xxxv} the first Education Minister under New Labour, receives a mention by name and in a rhetorical underscoring of coordinated government the text draws attention to Blunkett as 'announcing new measures today.' In painting a broad portrait of responses to the crisis of exclusion across public policy, education clearly emerges as the area of policy concretely present in the text in terms of immediate actions.

The education section of the text displays a formulation of moral reasoning, arguably comforting to the floating voter, which would become characteristic of Third Way; courses of action are right but also self-interestedly advantageous. In this formula children blighted by educational failure 'pay a high price' but 'we all end up paying for it as well' (BBT, 68-69). In the TSE (20) text the monetarism of the new right is rejected for being 'neither economically efficient nor socially just.' Again this formulation can be found in the conclusion of BBT (81) where the focus on exclusion is presented as not being 'just about compassion' but can be understood as 'also about self-interest.' There is an inclusion 'dividend' promised in the justificatory ethos of the anti exclusion thrust of New Labour. The text concludes with a focus on the morally compelling and economically expedient task of bringing a fractured country back together again. It is in the context of this 'chance to bring Britain together' that the SEU innovation is presented and its engagement with social exclusion is to be understood.

There is a case not just in moral terms but in enlightened self interest to act, to tackle what we all know exists - an underclass of people cut off from society's mainstream, without any sense of shared purpose. (Blair, 1997: see Appendix 3:19)

The Signification of Social Exclusion

In attempting to offer a form of explanation for the two texts outlined above, and in particular the way in which they work to establish a representation of the abstract idea of social exclusion, productive use can be made of two explanatory dimensions: the discursive and the sociopolitical. In surveying the order of discourse that encloses the progenitor elements from which representations of social exclusion are made possible, an attempt can be made to argue a relational set of positions for different discourses of exclusion. Such discourses intersect and adhere within the boundaries of this order. It would be this order of discourse that would provide the fundamental elements on which New Labour would draw in ordering the configuration of its chosen discourse of social exclusion. The governmentality of Third way is an intellectual construction assembled at a particular historical confluence of political and social factors and struggles. This set of circumstances finds expression in conditioning the limits and ambitions of any practicable political project. In attempting to offer an explanation of the texts above, their relation to the conditions of their production therefore form an essential dimension. The two dimensions outlined above will be engaged in attempting to explain the choice of social exclusion as an element in New Labour's form of advanced liberal governmentality and its representation and expression in policy. The SEU is but one manifestation of New Labour's adoption of social exclusion. It was however, the innovation around which the promotion of a particular formulation of social exclusion was first advanced; both to an extent within the party and outwardly towards its establishment in the wider sociopolitical climate. This representation was to bear the weight of a project of government that took as its object the 'excluded' and sought to bring a new order to those spaces manifesting the severest symptoms of this condition.

Discourses of Social Exclusion

The literature around social exclusion is consistent in attributing a Gallic origin to this concept. Hilary Silver (1995) credits its coining in 1974 to Rene Lenoir, while Secretary of State for Social Action in the Chirac government. Lenoir made use of this term in relation to disadvantaged and marginal groups in French society, not protected by social insurance. Silver also acknowledges its prior emergence during the 1960s in French political and academic circles in the context of ‘vague and ideological references to the poor as the *excluded*.’ It seems creditable to argue that the concept of exclusion had an earlier province in French intellectual discourse; most likely a reflection of the influence of republican thought. Tangentially this can be illustrated by reference to Foucault (without in anyway making claims for him as an instigator or elaborator of this concept), for instance in his early book *Madness and Civilization* (1977) he takes up the motif of the leper and in particular the social and spiritual ‘meaning of his exclusion.’ In *Discipline and Punish* (1977) he returns once again to the leper, contrasting their ‘rituals of exclusion’ with the disciplinary responses mobilised to combat the plague.

The proliferation of the concept of social exclusion, what O’Brian and Penna (2007) have described as the ‘rise and rise of the discourse of social exclusion,’ can be traced through its currency within the language of French politics and, importantly, its transmission to, and adoption within, the European Union (EU). France is a major player, and one of the big two founder members of the EU. By the mid 1970s the economies of the EU were changing as the period of sustained economic growth that followed the Second World War came to a shuddering halt, giving way to a painful and dislocating restructuring that in turn destabilised the foundations of western welfare settlements. It was in this context that social exclusion was to emerge and gain salience within the international policy climate of the EU. By way of illustration Room (1995:2) provides a brief history of poverty research in the EU over three programmes (1975-80, 1986-89 and 1990-94). By the launch of the third programme he concludes that social exclusion had displaced poverty and other terms to become the ‘fashionable terminology.’ The early 1990s also witness the establishment of an EU ‘Observatory’: a network of institutional collaborations monitoring social

policy aimed at combating social exclusion. Silver (1995) also draws attention to a resolution passed by the EU Council in 1989 to ‘foster integration’ and a ‘Europe of solidarity’ to be achieved by fighting ‘social exclusion’. Within academia two influential edited collections (Room, 1995, and Rodgers, 1995) serve to testify to the internationalisation of engagement with the conceptual and methodological issues of social exclusion; and that this field of research was well established by the early 90s.

Such points along the historical lineage of the social exclusion concept serve to locate and contextualise the significance of its adoption by New Labour in the period that followed May of 1997. By the June of 1997 Blair gave his first speech as Prime Minister. It was delivered in the Aylesbury Housing Estate Southwark London, an area of acute social disadvantage. The speech was given the title, *The Will to Win*^{xxxvi} (WTW: see Appendix 3), and opened with the line, ‘I have chosen this housing estate to deliver my first speech as Prime Minister for a very simple reason. For 18 years, the poorest people in our country have been forgotten by government.’ This speech was intended as a significant statement, a manifesto, of New Labour social policy priorities and ambitions. The logos, language and themes of WTW are instantly recognizable in TSE and BBT. Its focus on the ‘estate,’ on the need for a new ethic of responsibility, of the need to reintegrate the ‘underclass’ into the economic and mainstream of the country, along with the need to transform the structures of government, unmistakably sets out a direction that is replicated in the texts of TSE and BBT.

Fairclough (2000:52) perceptively highlights the significance of the total absence of the social exclusion concept from this speech, drawing attention to the use of the ‘workless class’ (this term appears seven times in WTW). This term was not to be used again by New Labour. Subsequently it was Mandelson’s speech to the Fabians (TSE) that would preview and herald (not without internal controversy) the adoption of the social exclusion concept by New Labour. This chronology implies an active decision at one point in time to adopt and deploy the exclusion concept by those within the party elite with a locus in constructing and sustaining its project of government. Fairclough’s pinpointing of the debut of social exclusion illustrates the dynamic construction of third way governmentality. The detection of such discursive decisions raises the question

of motive in relation to the selection and presentation of the constituents of a particular political discourse. Why then did New Labour, in common with other social democratic governments (Gray, 2000), opt for social exclusion as opposed to some combination of other related ideas such as poverty, deprivation, disadvantage or 'workless class?'

The social exclusion term and its associated forms have become well established in the language of New Labour in the period following the delivery of the two speeches above, appearing more and more in the official statements, priorities and objectives of public sector organisations. This increasing proliferation in government discourse would suggest that the precise meaning of this term was somehow evident and unproblematic. This assumption can be contrasted with the views of researchers working in the field of poverty and social exclusion. Even a cursory inspection of the literature reveals a lack of agreement over the meaning attached to this term. 'As yet there appear to be no unique, formal definitions of social exclusion that would command general assent,' (Room, 1995:235). There is also tendency among some writers on social policy to use the terms 'social exclusion' and 'poverty' synonymously, whereas many of those involved in research and engaging with the technical issues in this field would argue that the notions are related, but certainly not one and the same concept. Atkinson and Hills (1998) observe that the meaning of the term is ambiguous, but this has not been an impediment to its widespread usage. They speculate that the term has become established precisely due to this ambiguous element that permits its flexible use across divergent positions. Atkinson and Hills go on to propose three elements as essential to any definition of social exclusion: relativity, agency and dynamics.

Social exclusion must have a relative aspect built into its meaning. To be excluded can only make sense in relation to exclusion from a particular society or subgroup within that society, in a particular cultural and historical context. Exclusion can be the experience of an individual, but often it is groups or whole communities who experience exclusion. The notion of agency relates to the idea that the act of exclusion is transacted through an individual, group or institution within the society. Atkinson and Hills (1998) illustrate this conception with the example of individuals excluded from work as a result of the actions of other workers, unions and employers or through government action. An individual can

also be the agent of his or her own exclusion from the labour market through non-participation. Through the idea of dynamics, the dimension of time is incorporated into the conceptualisation of social exclusion. Exclusion occurs not just because an individual is without employment at one point in time, but also because there is little prospect of gaining employment in the future. This can also include the notion of inter-generational exclusion, where exclusion is passed on between and across generations of families and communities.

The idea of 'deprivation' is an attempt to map out the extent of need or deficiency in terms of material and social resources. Low income, for example, becomes more detrimental when combined with poor housing, health problems and a lack of social services. Deprivation indicators are used as a means to capture and quantify in some way the multi-faceted nature of material and social disadvantage together with inequalities in services and amenities. Leaving aside disputes as to whether poverty should be measured in absolute or relative terms, some relative notions of poverty suggest that there is shared conceptual ground between conceptions of poverty, deprivation and social exclusion. Consider Townsend's (1979:31) influential definition of poverty for example:

Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or at least widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which they belong. Their resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are, in effect, excluded from the ordinary living patterns, customs and activities.

Duffy (1995:5) defines social exclusion as:

... a broader concept than poverty, encompassing not only low material means but the inability to participate effectively in economic, social, political, and cultural life, and in some characterisations, alienation and distance from the mainstream society.

Room (1995) in discussing the conceptualisation of notions of social exclusion suggests that they have a:

... focus primarily on relational issues: in other words, inadequate social participation, lack of social integration and lack of power. Social exclusion is the process of becoming detached from the organisations and communities of which the society is composed and from the rights and

obligations that they embody. These communities may, on the one hand, involve particularistic loyalties - to fellow workers in a trade union, to a local neighbourhood, to a professional organisation; or they may, on the other hand, involve membership of a national community, as expressed, for example, in the egalitarian social rights of modern welfare systems, (Room, 1995:243).

In considering social exclusion and notions of poverty it is possible to identify two distinct concepts, but concepts in which there exists considerable overlap in the frameworks from which they are constructed. At a simplistic level, notions of poverty could be said to be concerned with a shortage of resources, particularly disposable income, while social exclusion engages in wider issues of participation in the principal social institutions and structures of a society and the denial of rights of citizenship be they civil, social or political. Room (1995) attributes such differences in approach as reflecting the different intellectual traditions that have produced divergent paradigms of research and thought. Poverty research has its roots in a 19th century Anglo-Saxon liberal vision of society. Social exclusion, on the other hand, is located as developing from the republican and social democratic traditions of continental Europe. Preceding any theoretical imprint in the definition and operationalisation of the concept of social exclusion within a social science research context is a conditioning that originates in the political sphere.

Hilary Silver (1995) in exploring a topology of this concept identifies three distinctive paradigms of social exclusion, what she terms as *solidarity*, *specialisation* and *monopoly* (see Table 11.4). Each of the three paradigms makes a different response to fundamental questions such as the nature of the social order, what is meant by social integration and its mechanisms or what is it that people are excluded from? The ideologically grounded descriptive topology offered by Silver is perhaps best described as broad and parsimonious. Further analysis into each of the three positions, it could be argued, would produce a more complex and untidy set of positions. Within liberalism, for example, there is a fissure between a classical and social reading of exclusion. The corollary to the existence of this array of standpoints on social exclusion is that to embrace any one of them necessitates the adoption of the theoretical and ideological 'baggage' that they contain.

	Solidarity	Specialization	Monopoly
Conception of Integration	<i>Group Solidarity Cultural Boundaries</i>	<i>Specialization/Separate Spheres Interdependence</i>	<i>Monopoly Social Closure</i>
Mechanism of Integration	<i>Moral Integration</i>	<i>Exchange</i>	<i>Citizenship Rights</i>
Ideology	<i>Republicanism</i>	<i>Liberalism</i>	<i>Social Democracy</i>
Seminal Thinkers	<i>Rousseau Durkheim</i>	<i>Locke, Madison Utilitarians</i>	<i>Marx, Weber, Marshall</i>
Model of new political economy	<i>Flexible Production Regulation School</i>	<i>Skills Work Disincentives Networks, Social Capital</i>	<i>Labour Market Segmentation</i>

Table 11.4: Three Paradigms of Social Exclusion, Adapted from Silver, 1995:62

While acknowledging the conceptual ambiguity and plasticity of the social exclusion concept across and within national boundaries, Silver (1995:65) attempts, from a reading of the literature, to present an organising account. The first of the three model forms she identifies is what she terms as solidarity, an approach to understanding exclusion from the tradition of French republican thought. This tradition comes directly from France's revolutionary heritage with its emphasis on a secular and universalistic civic identity. Foreshadowed in Rousseau and present in a more systematic way in Durkheimian social theory, the solidarity paradigm looks to the moral order and civic virtue as the fundamental locus of social integration. This set of positions looks to the operation of a common culture, (in recent times more of a post-modern pluralist notion of culture) consensus and shared background. This approach draws heavily on the social sciences and is conscious of the way in which difference, cultural boundaries and social groups set up binary categories in the social order. Its response to the problem of exclusion is understood in terms of 'insertion,' seeking ways to reintegrate those who have become detached from the dominant culture.

The specialisation outlook approaches the nature and operation of social exclusion from the perspective of Anglo-American liberalism. From this perspective the fundamental locus of social integration is to be found in 'exchange' relations. This is an individualistic approach that assumes at its foundation that individual differences, capacities and preferences are reflected in the economic and social sphere; leading to specialisation. The social order is therefore shaped by the institutional and economic arrangements of competing and collaborative individuals pursuing their own utility. Its intellectual suppositions are drawn from classical liberal thought, and can be found across a range of thinkers from Charles Murray to the Chicago School of Economics. This set of assumptions links liberal and neoliberal approaches towards understanding exclusion in terms of 'discrimination.' Exclusion appears in the form of illegitimate boundaries or barriers to exchange, participation and movement between groups and spheres or as a violation of the natural order or the imposition of inappropriate rules preventing individuals from seeking their interests across different domains.

Manifesting itself in the thought of the European left, monopoly is the third paradigmatic sector identified in this framework. This perspective on exclusion is informed by an understanding of the social order as being coercive in character, reflecting a formation of power relations that are hierarchically structured. The asymmetrical operation of power across class, ethnic and gender dimensions guarantees conflict and the possibility of one group protecting its advantages by the exclusion of others. Silver elevates the social theory of Max Weber (1864-1920) as the main foundational exemplar of this perspective. Weber's ideas on social stratification and in particular his notion of 'status' groups and 'social closure' are important in understanding the boundaries that cause exclusion. For Weber a conflictual social order, structured into classes, is animated by competing individuals and groups struggling for scarce resources. Weber understood social class position to be economically determined corresponding to its relationship to the market; different skills and services offered by different occupations had differing market values. Moving beyond the economic and class Weber also proposed the power of status, or the existence of distinctive status groups, arising from qualities such as social honour, prestige and religion. What is significant about such groups is that they can work to monopolise material advantages and other desirable goods. Social closure is a mechanism by which such advantages are protected and maintained in the face of subordinate groups attempting to access them. By shutting down access to such goods by a wide range of strategies and obstacles (be they legal, procedural or grounded in cultural, ethnic, linguistic or religious differences) this social arrangement can operate to establish inequalities and maintain exclusion. The protection of such advantages through forms of social closure leads, from this standpoint, to social exclusion. This tendency can be tempered by the establishment of strong social democratic citizenship of the form advocated by T. H. Marshall^{xxxvii}.

Three Discourses of Social Exclusion

Another way in which to conceptualise the topographical contours of the social exclusion concept is to look toward the discursive. The interrogative framework for this project presupposed that it is not possible to establish a particular ideological position without the constitution and mobilisation of a sustaining discourse. In a notable illustration of the potential of a critical discourse analysis, Levitas (1999) offers a productive reading of the discourses of social exclusion. Using this approach she identifies three distinctive discourses: *redistributionist* (RED), *moral underclass* (MUD) and *social integrationist* (SID, see Table 12.4). Each of Levitas' discourses is differentiated (resembling Silvers paradigms) by its understanding of the origins of exclusion and the implicit response or orientation that it contains; signifying the necessary course of action required for its reduction or remedy. The three discourses identified by Levitas are idealised and do not claim to reflect the complexity of political discourse. It is possible to point to instances of political narration that conform closely to RED, MUD or SID. In actuality, political discourse is more often characterised by some combination of the discourses above with the social exclusion concept acting as a 'shifter' or slider between them.

Redistributionist Discourse (RED)	This discourse understands poverty as the main cause of exclusion and it would characteristically use increases in benefits to reduce levels of poverty. It tends to construct citizenship as the opposite of exclusion. It is not confined to material inequality, but critically highlights inequality across themes of social, political and cultural participation. This discourse includes attention to unearthing the processes that give rise to inequality.
Moral Underclass Discourse (MUD)	The roots of exclusion are located in the cultural deficiencies of those who are excluded. This implies a response to exclusion that is underpinned by efforts to engineer cultural change. This discourse draws upon underclass discourse and cultural explanations of poverty.
Social Integrationist Discourse (SID)	The detrimental outcomes from a lack of participation in mainstream society and its institutions and practices is the focus of this discourse. The fundamental and overriding participation is that of the labour market. Moving people from unemployment into paid work is the central response of this discourse to integrating those who are detached from society.

Table 12.4: Three discourses of social exclusion (Levitas, 1998:7)

This analysis highlights the discursive flexibility of the exclusion concept enabled through its ambiguous nature. What then does the New Labour's representation of social exclusion reveal when examined using a framework of RED, SID and MUD or Silver's triplet of paradigms? Significantly, the analysis of both Levitas (1998) and Fairclough (2000) present New Labour's discourse as primarily consisting of a dominant SID in combination with aspects of MUD. This orientation offers an insight into the function that social exclusion plays in the schema of New Labour's governmentality. The scarcity of RED exposes New Labour's retreat from egalitarian aspirations of equality, as equality of outcome, characteristic of Old Labour, towards a conception of equality as equality of opportunity (Brown, 1996). The presence of MUD is indicative of the influence of communitarian thought on New Labour's and, in contrasts to Old Labour, a new willingness to seek to govern the cultural and moral order.

Considering two of Atkinson and Hills (1998) dimensions of exclusion, relativity and agency, spotlights another aspect of the discursive flexibility contained within the concept of social exclusion. Through the construction of discourses of exclusion it is possible to present exclusion as a status relative to some datum or as a process that foregrounds causes or agents of exclusion (Berghman, 1995). For example, it is possible to represent helping the 'unemployed' back into work as a remedy for exclusion, or to represent the shortage of suitable employment as the reason people experience exclusion from the job market. This capacity of the exclusion concept to slide between exclusion as social status or process is important in understanding its use in policy narratives. In relation to Levitas' three discourses it is possible to generalise SID and MUD tending to construct exclusion in terms of status or condition while obfuscating considerations of agency. RED contains a relationship to critical social analysis with a focus on agency. In common with the prevalence of SID and MUD in New Labour's policy narratives, social exclusion is present within its discourse predominantly in the guise of status or condition.

In considering the two texts under analysis, together with WTW text, in relation to the triplet of paradigms distinguished by Silver, all three operate in harmony to represent what exclusion is, what it is that individuals are excluded from, its consequences and antidotes. The texts operate discursively without fitting neatly into any of the paradigms elaborated by Silver. At the surface level SID

would seem to correspond to elements of a solidarity position, monopoly would in the main align with RED and key elements of MUD can be drawn from sectors of the specialisation paradigm. There would at face value seem to be a stronger relation between classical social democracy, monopoly and RED as outlined by Levitas. The desirability of insertion and the active role of the State in this process unite SID and the Solidarity paradigm. However, unlike French republicanism's emphasis on a moral political community of citizens, New Labour's use of SID would seem to rest more on the integrating benefits of participation in the economic, drawing more from endogenous growth theory and supply side economics than an abstraction of the social order as 'external, moral and normative' (Silver, 1995:66). The form of MUD outlined by Levitas would seem to align more closely to the morally deficit underclass position associated with Charles Murray. In the texts, the third way state reveals itself as willing to enforce civic behaviour, assuming a dual posture that is both enabling and where required authoritarian. The form of MUD that is present in the texts above would seem to articulate with the softer communitarian aspects of specialisation and its emphasis on the need to balance the interests of the community with individual rights. A second aspect of communitarianism that finds resonance in the depiction of the estate is a belief that the cultures and values of communities condition the individuals who live in them.

The basis of this modern civic society is an ethic of mutual responsibility or duty. It is something for something. A society where we play by the rules. You only take out if you put in. That's the bargain. In concrete terms that means:

- Reforming welfare so that government helps people to help themselves and provides for those who can't, rather than trying to do it all through government.
- Where opportunities are given, for example to young people, for real jobs and skills, there should be a reciprocal duty on them to take them up.
- We should encourage people like single mothers who are anxious to work but unable to, to get back into the labour market. This is empowerment not punishment.
- We should root out educational failure, because it is the greatest inhibition to correcting poverty.
- We should enforce a new code of laws that crack down on crime and other antisocial behaviour (WTW, Blair, 1997)

Levitas (1998) is at pains to locate the New Labour turn to social exclusion within a Durkheimian concern for social integration, cohesion and solidarity. The twin concerns of social integration and moral regulation in the schematic of New Labour's governmentality have a strong Durkheimian inflection. New Labour's revision of social democracy, the 'new social democracy,' repudiates the social disintegration and growing separations in the social fabric viewed as a consequence of the programme of the New Right. This orientation is both objectively, and in terms of New Labour's narrative around its own identity, a continuity with, and source of claim on, the heritage of classical social democracy. The centrality of the importance attached to understanding and maintaining social cohesion in the thought of Durkheim, his concern for solidarity and the dangers of anomie, find a clear echo in the themes of the texts above. Etzioni (1993), in his articulation of communitarianism cites Durkheim, indeed Levitas (from the left) characterises Etzioni's concern for the moral order in maintaining the social as a reading of Durkheim from the right. Without contesting the sources of New Labour's social theory: in its reading of the social order New Labour has arguably turned towards a set of Durkheimian concerns and has responded by incubating a particular form of government reason, a third way governmentality.

In summarising New Labour's construction of social exclusion it is productive to return to Giddens (1998), a guiding light for the architects of the New Labour project. The concept of social exclusion is central to aspects of Giddens' articulation of Third Way politics. What the use of the social exclusion concept permits and facilitates for New Labour is a movement from a position of equality, the reduction of social inequalities stance in the narrative of Old Labour, to this new flexible term that allows greater scope in narration. Giddens argues that in the context of globalisation there is no possibility of electoral success on a platform of redistribution. He therefore sets out a role for government in redistributing what he calls 'possibilities.' Whereas the discourse of Old Labour painted a canvas of the social world marked by inequality, and therefore remedied by some shape or form of redistribution, social exclusion in the narrative of New Labour allows a range of treatments to be prescribed for social inequality that do not foreground or draw attention to questions

concerning the origins of social inequalities or redistribution as an essential counter.

Social exclusion at the bottom is not the same as poverty. The majority of those who are poor at any one time would not be ranked among the excluded. Exclusion contrasts with being 'poor', 'deprived' or 'on a low income' in several ways. It is not a matter of differing from others in degree-having fewer resources-but of not sharing in opportunities that the majority have. In the case of the worst urban areas or neighbourhoods, exclusion can take the form of a physical separation from the rest of society. In other instances it may mean lack of access to normal labour market opportunities (Giddens, 2000:105).

In the Giddens' formulation of social exclusion it is possible to clearly discern a discontinuity among those at the bottom of society in terms of income and disadvantage. It is not that the excluded are the poorest of the poor. Simply living on a low income, to the extent of being in poverty, does not confer the status of being excluded. Individuals may live lives characterised by multiple deprivation, but again this is not the same as being excluded. A defining element in Giddens' conceptualisation is the operation of 'opportunities.' In his construction of a Third Way social theory, the two central opportunities are employment and education (Giddens, 1998). This Third Way model of society presupposes that citizens can be poor, technically in poverty, but have access to civil and political rights, have a way into wider social institutions and have a hope of some future participation in education or labour markets. The excluded, in comparison, are marooned on an island off the coast of the 'strong, active community of citizens' (Blair, 1997), separated by having no future prospect of rejoining the mainland. Giddens' solution for their release is to construct a temporary bridge by the redistribution of opportunities.

Notably, Giddens (2000:106) follows his discussion of exclusion by approving the New Democrat formulation of welfare; that it should offer a 'hand-up and not a hand-out.' New Labour's retreat from redistribution and egalitarian aspirations of equality is neutralised and made less contentious by establishing a new representation of the social. This shift is detectable in the way the three texts above work to signify the social order. The heritages of socialism and social democracy have been fashioned by their dependence on, and employment of,

what could be term classical stratification theory. This tradition was founded on the identification, within modern industrial capitalism, of class categories by Marx, and their development by Max Weber (Edgell, 1993). Weber agreed with Marx's fundamental distinction between those who owned property for exchange and those who did not. Both theorists demarcated in their writing a more extensive hierarchy of classes. Weber acknowledged the primacy of social class but sought to accommodate the advantages of skill and education into the social structure, along with other qualities that served to endow 'status' and produce status groups (see Figure 9.4).

While it must be noted that Giddens is something of an authority of social structure (see Giddens, 1979) the model of the social inherent in his exposition of Third Way shies away from class, or a more elaborated social hierarchy, in favour of an uncomplicated mainstream/exclusion model. This can conceivably be placed in the context of populist political texts (Giddens, 1998 and 2000) and the undertaking of providing Third Way with a coherent and creditable intellectual framework. Having said this, it is important not to simplistically equate Giddens' thinking with New Labour's policy stream around exclusion. There has, for example, been no attempt by New Labour to constrain elite self-exclusion (Young, 1999), an issue of concern to Giddens. The texts above work to establish an uncomplicated dualistic social order that constructs the excluded as detached from 'mainstream of society' (See Figure 10.4). At the same time the nature of stratification within the mainstream is obfuscated under a political vision of 'one nation.' This representation became the settled formulation in the early period of New Labour's administration and can be understood as a significant abstract element of third way governmentality. The establishment in the wider societal and sociocultural context of the perception of a dualistic representation supports, for New Labour, a revision of the responses of classical social democracy to a structurally unequal social order.

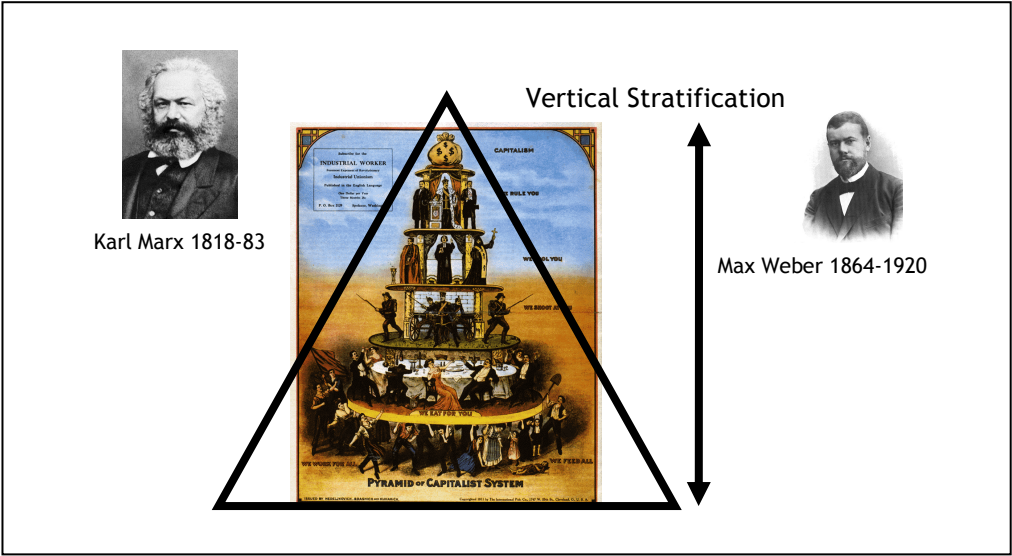


Figure 9.4: Classical Social Stratification

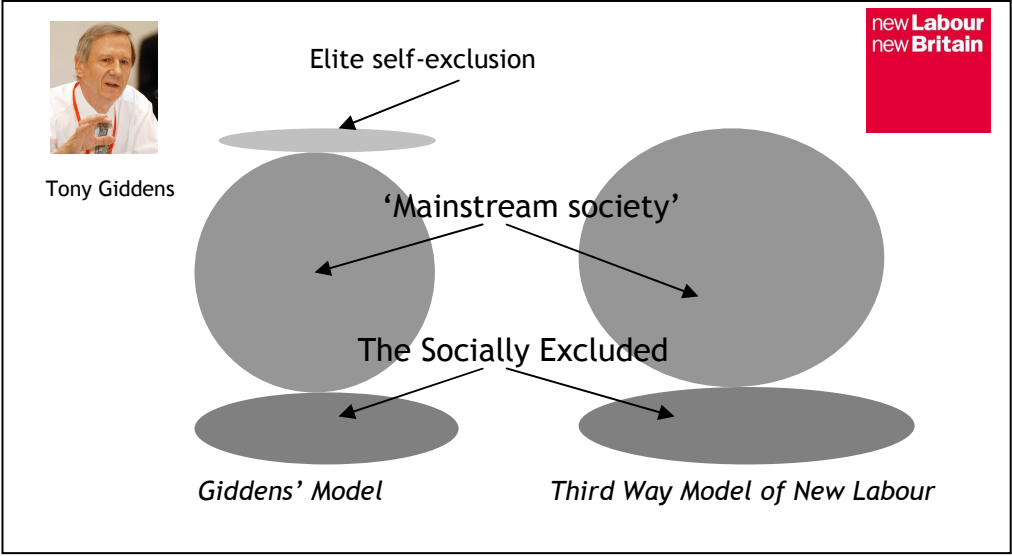


Figure 10.4: Schematic of Giddens^{xxxviii} and Third Way Models of the Social Order

The Sociopolitical Condition and the Text

The governmentality of Third way is an intellectual construction assembled to operate at the convergence of an array of political and social factors. There is within any political project a detectable dialectical process of fitting a shared ideological trajectory to a practical art of governing. The success of New Labour has been credited in part to its capacity to gain support by recognizing and responding to the concerns of a broader constituency of the electorate. The limits and aspirations of any practicable project of contemporary government are tempered, in this process, by the burden of communication. Peter Mandelson, with conceivably a degree of overstatement, in a speech delivered to a conference on modernising the policy process in the month following his *Tackling Social Exclusion* speech to the Fabians, sets working within this constrain as a requirement of statecraft:

If a government policy cannot be presented in a simple and attractive way, it is more likely than not to contain fundamental flaws and prove to be the wrong policy. Once those flaws surface, the unattractive alternatives are sticking with it or overturning policy in which significant political capital might have been invested. We do not intend to fall into that trap. (Mandelson, 1997: cited in Franklin, 2001:131)

One way of conceptualising political discourse is through the metaphor of story or narrative. The notion of a political narrative is not an attempt in any way to trivialise political discourse but has utility in its ability to foreground the conscious work of building and maintaining a representation of the social world. Political parties tell stories. Through their story they aim to achieve many purposes, not least of all the maximisation of voter share and legitimated political power. Such narratives must be descriptive, evaluative and orientative, they must signal priorities and positions across a continuum of issues and concerns. What is not included in such a narrative is also significant. What the story obfuscates or omits often reflects both a particular view of the world, or a combination of ideological and strategic thinking aimed at electoral success. In the politics of a 24-hour media society it would seem hard to contest the need for any credible narrative to address such themes as economic stability and prosperity, social cohesion, identity, social well-being and the provision of

essential services. Another notable aspect of such narratives is their dynamic nature. A representation of the social world cannot be fixed, permanently anchored. It must be maintained, defended and expanded in the face of changing circumstances and unforeseen events.

A further defining feature is that such discourses are aimed at a mass audience, and mainly delivered through the intermediary of a media who, in turn, are able to place a layer of representation on the narrative through the processes of selection and presentation. The business of politics can be viewed through the narrative metaphor as a process of struggle to achieve the dominance of one narrative in competition with others. Having succeeded in gaining ascendancy, the effort of the narrators must then focus on holding onto primacy within the discursive arena. The work of narrative is therefore central to the political task of gaining and exercising power, or perhaps what Herman and Chomsky (1994) would recognize as 'manufacturing consent.' The effort of narrative creation and maintenance serves to spotlight language as the very medium of struggle. The selection and use of language is the craft that underpins successful narration, ideas, concepts and metaphors must be chosen like different building materials and arranged to form a coherent representational edifice. New Labour's adoption of the social exclusion concept, as part of a distinctive discourse of exclusion, can be elucidated from a narrative perspective.

New Labour's integrationist discourse of social exclusion can be understood as a prime example of a policy narrative that is both compelling and flexible. It has an appeal in its close articulation with the emancipatory and anti poverty thrust of the left. The 'one nation' orientation of New Labour's discourse of social exclusion holds an attraction for the centre ground of British politics. By holding out the promise of reducing the cost, the social burden, of those on the 'estate,' along with a willingness to set conditions and compel movement from welfare to employment and training, the social exclusion narrative is made palatable to sections of floating voters. New Labour's representation of social exclusion, and of the response required to govern the excluded, work to establish a narrative that is both persuasive and accommodates to the sociocultural landscape of the late 1990s. This depiction becomes an element of third way governmentality and can be understood as a response from the moderate left to the establishment and hegemony of neoliberal economics.

Educating the Excluded

New Labour, not without a degree of internal astonishment, won the 1997 general election with a landslide victory. One among many factors contributing to the downfall of the Conservative government was a perception in the public mind that they could no longer be trusted to deliver public services such as education and health. Table 13.2 presents data taken from the monthly Gallup poll in which voters are asked to state the two most 'urgent problems facing the country.' Between 1992 and 1997 concern about the health service more than doubled while the number of people who were concerned about schools and education almost trebled. In this context it is not surprising that education figured prominently in *The Will to Win* text; notable in the discursive significance of this text being Blair's first speech as Prime Minister. In particular education was present in terms of rooting out 'educational failure,' 'dozens of failing schools,' 'turning around failing schools.' There is an overt intertextual relation between the three texts discussed above and the way in which they work to represent education. This theme can be interpreted as a clear indication that from its earliest days in power the climate of policy initiation and formulation within New Labour, as it came to oversee education, had coalesced around school failure as one foundational dimension of social degeneration.

Year	Health	Education	Law and Order	Unemployment	Cost of Living
1992	18	11	5	66	25
1993	22	8	13	72	19
1994	26	11	18	65	16
1995	33	15	15	55	14
1996	32	22	16	48	10
1997	41	29	14	36	4
Net change 1992 - 1997.	+23	+18	+9	-30	-21

Table 13.4: Source, Gallup Political and Economic Index. Cited in King, 1998:194.
Figure s relate to the annual percentage average of respondents

In education we have shown that we will have zero tolerance of failure. We have shown that we will not hesitate to close the worst schools, and provide something better. We have published ambitious targets for literacy and numeracy. We are moving to abolish the Assisted Places Scheme and cut class sizes. Good teachers will be supported, bad ones removed more quickly. And parents will have to play their part too: home-school contracts will be made compulsory in all schools. Why are we so keen to raise standards in our schools? Because the quickest route to the workless class is to fail your English and maths class. In today's world, the more you learn, the more you earn. (WTW: Blair, 1997)

Any third way governmentality would be required to provide within its constitution a form of guidance as to the conduct of education, or how the posture and arrangement of that sector of the state apparatus concerned with education was to be governed and to what ends. A concern for responding to an integrationist reading of social exclusion was to become only one dimension of New Labour's policy priorities around compulsory education. Significantly, since Labour last held control over the State in education the objectives, arrangements and structures pursued through policy had profoundly altered over almost 18 years of conservative government. Over this period the education system had been restructured by the impact and application of the characteristics of an emerging novel advanced liberal governmentality; constituting a new settlement with its accompanying practices and cultural assumptions. In terms of Archer's model (see Figure 7.1) of change; the State in education had been conditioned through the interaction between the structures and forms inherited in 1979 by the new Thatcher government and the structural elaborations that had emerged as the result of the New Right's efforts to bring about change. It was this new settlement elaborated under the project of the New Right in education that New Labour was to become heir to. The following chapter endeavours to provide a broad analysis of key aspects of third way governmentality as it came to be applied to compulsory education. This account makes an effort to place the subsequent elaboration of this sector under Third Way in a wider context of educational reform. Within this broad characterisation of New Labour's reforms in compulsory education an attempt will be made to locate the outworking and impact of New Labour's adoption of an integrationist discourse of social exclusion.

Chapter 5: The Third Way State in Compulsory Education

The Third Way State in Compulsory Education

New Labour policy around compulsory education has come to be shaped and animated by the rise of what has been previously identified as a distinctive Third Way governmentality. A broad analysis of Third Way's elaboration of compulsory education is presented in this chapter under three organising themes. This analysis makes no claims to be comprehensive, rather it selects a range of policies from the early years of New Labour in government that exemplify how the ends and problems of education came to be defined and represented and how an array of schemes, tactics and interventions were mobilised in pursuit of such ambitions. Education policy is examined historically in relation to a distinctive form of state reason that emerged in the UK; advanced liberalism. Embedded liberalism (the state of welfare; see Table 8.3) was superseded by this new form of governmental reason. Education policy is conceived (see chapter 1) as providing a principal means of illuminating shifts within rationalities of rule; elucidating altering practices of governing and ways of conducting conduct. Policy from this perspective can be thought of as revealing and establishing instances of 'contingent lash-ups,' following Rose (1999). Such bespoke responses are constructed within the emergent margins of a broader direction of travel; the limits of which became set by a certain rationality or form of state reason. Drawing on critical discourse analysis, the preceding section attempted to identify and offer an explanation for New Labour's adoption of an integrationist discourse of social exclusion. This chapter will attempt to argue that under examination, in spite of the early prominence of compulsory education in the launch of social exclusion, schooling and the excluded emerges as a subordinated policy ambition. The following section elaborates New Labour's government of compulsory education under two descriptive categories: *the new knowledge vocationalism*^{xxxix} and *consumer democracy*. A third category, *schooling the excluded*, is proposed as completing a descriptive triplet that attempts to portray New Labour's policy formations across compulsory education. Consumer democracy, together with the new knowledge vocationalism, is conceived as acting coextensively to comprise a larger field of reference. Some insight into this context is essential to any attempt to begin to understand the outworking in compulsory education of Third Way's attempt to govern the socially excluded.

...the various tactics enacted by the British Conservative government under Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s were not realizations of any philosophy - whether it was Keith Joseph reading Adam Smith or one of his advisers reading Hayek. They were, rather, contingent lash-ups of thought and action, in which various problems of governing were resolved through drawing upon instruments and procedures that happened to be available, in which new ways of governing were invented in a rather *ad hoc* way, as practical attempts to think about and act upon specific problems in particular locales, and various other existing techniques and practices were merely dressed up in new clothes. But, in the course of this process, a certain rationality, call it neo-liberalism, came to provide a way of linking up these various tactics, integrating them *in thought* so that they appeared to partake in a coherent logic. And once they did so, once a kind of rationality could be extracted from them, made to be translatable with them, it could be redirected towards both them and other things, which could now be thought of in the same way... (Rose, 1999:7 Emphasis in the original)

Rose's (1999) understanding of governmentality refuses any simplistic notion of political thought being translated into programmes of action or administration. On the other hand it seems implausible to dismiss the contribution to the Thatcher project of political economy or schools of thought such as Chicago economics or public choice. While acknowledging the effect of theories of government or expositions of political economy, Rose is concerned to include the contingent, the pragmatic, to centre the use and reuse of existing and earlier technological and epistemological resources and techniques in the practical activity of governing. Perhaps without elaborating the dynamic involved he contends that this process of 'contingent lash-ups' seeks or tends towards the crystallisation of a 'certain rationality' that provides coherence and legitimacy. This emerging intellectual architecture becomes in turn a conditioner, a resource and source of innovation and extension for the activity of governing. It is in this sense that an effort at description can be made, detecting periods and changing styles of government or in Foucault's terms, successive governmentalitys.

Governing is an active enterprise. Attempting to demarcate forms of government is a potentially productive organising device in critically exploring change and the particular locals and applications subject to this form of power. Nonetheless, there should be a tentativeness over the density, limits, permeability and the metrics of any identifiable governmentality. A cautionary note should be sounded over any endeavour to indelibly mark out changing styles

of government. There is a need to make some accommodation for the dynamic, to presuppose transience, instability, the operation of contingency.

Notwithstanding such a caveat, a governmentality perspective is essentially historical in its gaze; approaching the political with a sensitivity to the detection of what Rose (1993: 297) has called 'historically specific mentalities and technologies of rule.' Three model governmentalities, spanning the modern into the late modern (see Table: 8.3), were outlined in chapter three. Each of the three crystallisations of 'state reason,' together with their attendant technologies of rule, is understood as essentially *liberal* in their ethos (and to varying degrees overlapping with the existence of their predecessors). In approaching an analysis of New Labour in compulsory education it may be helpful at the outset of this chapter to recall the three successive forms of government reason, formulas of liberal government, previously outlined.

Rose's (1993, 1999) analysis and description posits four markers of rule under early liberalism. Knowledge, from the human and social sciences, is taken up in a new and intensive way in this formulation of rule. The ordering and regulation of a whole host of spaces and conducts within the social order is made possible by the application of such knowledge and the claims on truth that it supports. Secondly, and foundationally, the liberal subject is understood to be one who comes to exercise 'freedom' in the normalized spaces of the social. This makes necessary the formation of the self regulating subject, achieved in the main through a range of intermediate institutions: the family, the school, the clinic, the prison. Related to Knowledge is the legitimating capacity of 'expertise.' The maintenance of a circumscribed domain of the State constituted a perennial anxiety for liberalism. However, a lattice of interventions is mobilised under liberal rule, ranging across multiple sites of disorder and threat, supported by the 'authority of expertise' and distanced from the exercise of political control. Political liberalism holds freedom and individual autonomy as foundational ideals. This serves to explain something of another marker of liberal rule, what Rose (1993:292) has described as a 'continual questioning of rule itself.' Within a burgeoning liberal ethos of government resided a perpetual apprehension over governing in itself. This unease is born from a conviction that there can be too much government, that it is possible to over govern, that the State is a danger as well as a necessity. This continual fretting over the exercise of rule results in

a permanent attention to the limits of rule and in the answers given to the question of ‘who can rule?’

By the end of the nineteenth-century this liberal formula of rule was entering a crisis of efficacy, no longer able to contain the inexorable social forces in motion it was forced to shift, to accommodate, and to concede into being a new reason of state. The relations and limits of the economic, social and political, the public and the private, were reformulated into a new ‘state of welfare.’ This formulation of government reason, what Harvey refers to as ‘embedded liberalism’ (see chapter 3), would require a rapprochement of liberal government, a forced retreat from its primal impulse to limit the State and to imagine the economic as a semi-natural enclosure that must operate unencumbered. At the centre of this new state reason was a conviction that the risks and vagaries of an industrial capitalist market system must now be moderated by government. The State would extend to dominate the civil, to guard against ill health, unemployment, to collectivise protection from risk. Expert authority; wielded by social and technical professionals of all hues was to become increasingly appropriated into the recognizable apparatus of the State. As it reached its zenith in the decades after the Second World War, this welfare state operated on a new formulation of the limits of rule, use of knowledge and expert authority. Government sought to rule through the social in multifarious places in which human needs, deviance and private troubles brought individuals into contact with the matrix of the State. The liberal citizen, now the citizen of welfare rights, would come to be endowed, in the exercise of regulated freedom, with a new subjectivity conditioned within the bounds of this state of welfare.

By the 1970s the UK state of welfare had come to be afflicted by dilemmas of its own characterised by a mounting critique of its inefficiency, profligacy and moral hazard along with the impact of wider economic failure and industrial strife. In the UK and across the developed world the socioeconomic order was shaken by the fallout from what many on the left would identify as a ‘crisis of capital accumulation’ (Harvey 2005), a turbulent restructuring of the form of industrial capitalism that had come to dominate the period following the Second World War. The search for a response to the growing destabilisation of central aspects of the post-war order was to provide the conditions in which a new form

of state reason would arise, consolidate and come to frame the conduct of conduct. This period of change and restructuring came to be shaped by, and allowed the emergence of, the beliefs and arrangements of what Rose (see chapter 2) has categorized as an advanced liberal governmentality. In political terms what emerged has come to be identified as neoliberalism, however from the perspective of government neoliberalism is characterised by an elaboration of state reason, a new formulation of the art of liberal government.

Central to such advanced liberal forms of governing is a manifest shift in the positioning and operation of the authority of expertise, a fundamental slimming of the machinery of the State in favour of more dispersed and diffused forms and styles of organisation, towards a public sector architecture composed of semiautonomous service organisations competing in quasi-market arrangements. Drawing inspiration from classical liberalism, governing in an advanced liberal way rests on a new conception of the subject, now self actualizing, enterprising, responsible, and a return to liberalism's suspicion and anxiety concerning the legitimate limits of the State. Conversely, advanced forms of liberal government can be contrasted with its classical forms by the magnitude of its scope, ambition and interventions. The tangible operational machine of the State may be reduced but its reach remains extensive and its spheres of intervention are obligated to be multiple in the society of late modernity. Essentially advanced forms of liberal government can be encapsulated in a strategic movement toward an intensification of the governing of government. Chapter three posited the Third Way governmentality of New Labour as a form or variant of advanced liberal governmentality sharing broad continuities with the New Right. Commonly, at the risk of over simplification, New Labour was convinced of the requirement to govern in an advanced liberal way. The political project of Third way shared with its predecessor a conviction over the need to successfully govern the economic; and that such an ambition could only be realised by embracing the free market. Third Way also carried ambitions for the health and vitality of civil society. In contrast with the New Right, Third Way operated with a conviction over the efficacy of the State, the 'investment state,' and a fretful concern for social cohesion and levels of inequality. Third Way's reason of state, its abstraction of how to govern towards what ends, emerges from its beginnings as constant in its commitment to a form of advanced liberal governmentality,

and in power, as being an innovator and champion of the development and extension of this form of governing.

The power of government, whether exercised as a form of embedded liberalism or its advanced derivative, required in conditions of modernity, or for some late modernity, to include the educational state in its calculations and strategies of rule. From a governmentality perspective, the answers to questions of how, and to what end, 'education' was to be governed by the State, and what came to be understood as problematic in this field, the recognition of problematizations^{xl}, are of central import. Each successive form of state reason, or rationality of government, would turn its gaze toward education and take up such questions with a differing intensity, responding within the limits of its own formula of rule. It is essential for any attempt at explanation, directed at Third Way's mode of governing education, to place it in the context of the proceeding period of change. The structural elaboration that took place under the newly emerged form of advanced liberal governmentality nurtured by consecutive Conservative governments is fundamental to any effort at explanation or interpretation. In addition, it is worth acknowledging the significance and degree of revision inherent in Third Way's adoption and adaptation of a form of advanced liberal governmentality. This requires that the forms of government reason associated with the Labour party before 1979 are taken into account. The following section makes use of a governmentality perspective on education policy with reference to embedded liberalism following 1945 (the state of welfare) and the emergence of advanced liberalism under the New Right and its subsequent consolidation under Third Way.

The Emergence of the New Right and an Advanced Liberal Governmentality

There is a tangled and symbiotic relation between political ideology and subsequent forms of state reason or governmentality. These two schemes of thought can perhaps be conceptually separated to an extent by suggesting that ideological projects tend to provide the answers to questions of what constitutes the good society and its moral order, while arising from political sovereignty, a separate set of questions about what is to be governed, towards what ends and by what means, can be resolved with a looser relation to ideological imperatives. The conditions for the rise of an advanced liberal governmentality become clearly discernible in the surfacing of the New Right evident in UK politics, and beyond, from the 1970s onwards. Central to this political project was the transformation of neoliberalism from a marginalized and little known set of ideas into ‘the central guiding principle of economic thought and management’ (Harvey 2005). In the UK neoliberal principles and corresponding ideas became a rich deposit to be mined by sympathetic individuals and alliances within and around the Conservative Party to support the construction, maintenance and articulation of a new project of government. This logic would carry and underpin a far-reaching agenda of change and reform throughout the period of the Thatcher and Major administrations. The divination of the nature of this New Right was, unsurprisingly, to become a subject of analysis and an area of academic contestation (Levitas, 1985, Bosanquet, 1983).

The project of the New Right in the UK depended essentially on a foundation constructed from a revival of liberal political economy. Key constituents of this constellation of ideas were drawn from doctrines of economic individualism, elements of libertarianism, and other philosophical and theoretical ideas; notably the Austrian and Chicago schools and the Virginia school of public choice (Gamble, 1986). One of the brightest early stars in this constellation was the monetarism of Milton Friedman^{xli}. Neoliberalism, in common with its predecessor Keynesianism, is an ideology forged from the alloying of economic and political ideas. Included in this new dominant combination was a measure of public choice theory, fused into a set of political ideas, an ideology described by Self (1993) as, ‘government by the market’. The only contender for coronation as the

central intellectual figure associated with the resurgence of neoliberal thinking is the liberal economist and political philosopher Friedrich von Hayek (1899-1992). Hayek is perhaps the most celebrated member of the Austrian School of economics associated with Carl Menger, Eugen Boehm-Bawerk and Ludwig von Mises (Moser 1997). In 1944 Hayek published his influential *The Road to Serfdom* warning, in the established tradition of the Austrian school, of the manifest threat to freedom posed by socialism and the innate flaws of the planned economy.

However it would be myopic to ignore other fundamental elements of this tension riven settlement. Belsey (1986) for example presents an analysis of Thatcherism that uncovers an anatomy comprising of both strong neoliberal and neo-conservative aspects. Prominent in the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher was reference to heartfelt traditional beliefs and attitudes around personal responsibility, hard work, thrift, respectability and patriotism. In an interview with LBC Radio in 1983 Mrs Thatcher was forthright concerning her conservative views of how the ideal self-regulating subject should be taught to exercise their freedom:

I was brought up by a Victorian grandmother. We were taught to work jolly hard. We were taught to prove your self; we were taught self-reliance; we were taught to live within our income. You were taught self-respect. You were taught to give a hand to your neighbour; you were taught tremendous pride in your country. All of these are Victorian values. They are also perennial values. (Crewe 1989, quoted in Denham and Garnett, 1998:134)

The presence of traditional conservative positions on a range of political, cultural values and commitments contrasts sharply with their orientation in mainstream neoliberal thought (see Table 14.5).

Neoliberalism	Neo-Conservatism
Minimal government	Strong government
The individual	The nation
Freedom of choice	Hierarchy and subordination
Market society	Disciplined Society
Laissez-faire	Social authoritarianism

Table 14.5: Two Aspects of the New Right. Adapted from Belsey (1986:173)

The elemental and contrasting complexity of what came to be established as the New Right became dominant in part due to its success in combining and managing the inherent tensions of its two competing faces within a populist and reforming project. Important to both elements within this alloy is the operation of concepts of 'law and order.' The enforcement of 'order' is a marker of the more authoritarian tendency associated with the conservative elements of the New Right. Interestingly Belsey (1986) argues that the claims for liberty made by its neoliberal face mask another form of social authoritarianism. In developing this argument Belsey posits as an archetype the manifestly authoritarian position of the conservative philosopher and lawyer Rodger Scruton^{xlii}. The Austrian school's motif of 'markets good, government bad,' can be contrasted to the entrenched neo-conservative views expressed by Scruton proscribing a social order as axiomatically comprised of strong government and idealised citizens who expect to be ruled in the interests of 'order' and the preservation of the nation. In Scruton's (1980) text *The Meaning of Conservatism* there is little requirement for close reading or the techniques of literary criticism to uncover its authoritarian ethos:

In politics, the conservative attitude seeks above all for government, and regards no citizen as possessed of a material right that transcends his obligation to be ruled. Even democracy- which corresponds neither to the natural nor to the supernatural yearnings of the normal citizen- can be discarded without detriment to the civil wellbeing as the conservative conceives it. Scruton (1980:16)

Drawing on Hayek's (1983) text, *Knowledge, Evolution and Society*, Belsey (Ibid) directs attention to a strong authoritarian theme present in the implications of Hayek's thought on the nature of the social order, or what he calls the 'extended order of human action.' In the Hayekian narrative what has come to emerge as modern civilisation can only be maintained by obedience to the market, the order of capitalism, for the market is in its essence 'an ordering mechanism.' The main threat to this order is the influence of primitive behaviours that owe their existence to the operation of small social groups in a primitive society of hunter gathers. What are these dangerous behaviours? This evolutionary past has disposed individuals towards a solidarity with kin and peers together with forms of altruism directed towards the wider group. These primitive 'socialist' instincts gradually gave way to a market order and the more

complex society it supported through the evolution of more abstract rules and ethics for exchange and trade. Over time family would become the site of primary socialisation into this set of cultural norms and values. For Hayek it is only this order that can maintain and reproduce the form of civilisation that has emerged as the modern. However, the socialist disposition to human nature has not gone away and poses a constant threat to the market system and the form of order it provides. The market is a mechanism that provides 'signals' which must be obeyed, the demands and strictures produced by the market must be followed, the consequences of rejecting this discipline is a breakdown in the order provided by the market, so endangering 'the spontaneous order produced by the market.' For Belsey, it is at this point that Hayek's authoritarianism comes into play, law and a strong state must exist to uphold the market order. The market requires obedience, the following of abstract rules: this is not optional, attempts to distort, rationally plan, or intervene must be strongly opposed.

An important medium for the promotion of Hayek's political economy was the formation in 1947 of the Mont Pelerin Society. Named after the Swiss spa where its members would meet this small elite band was to eventually enjoy extraordinary influence. The Mont Pelerin Society came together around the declared intention of protecting the 'central values' of western civilisation, a manifesto conceived as being only possible under the protection of a competitive market and strong private property rights in accordance with the free market principles of neoclassical economics. In the early post-war period, dominated by Keynesianism and collectivist policies, the neoliberalism of this assembly positioned them on the very margins of established economic thought. The Society included Hayek's former tutor Ludwig von Mises and many influential economists of the future including: Milton Friedman, James Buchanan, Gordon Tullock and Gary Becker.

Antony Fisher^{xliii} was another member of the Mont Pelerin Society. After reading a summary of *The Road to Serfdom* in the Reader's Digest, an enthused Fisher sought out Hayek, then working at the London School of Economics. The Eton educated Fisher had been intent on entering politics to pursue his anti-statism beliefs but, in what was to prove a significant encounter in the history of

neoliberalism in Britain and beyond, was persuaded by Hayek that the real battle against the dangers of socialism and central planning was to be fought by influencing the ‘climate of opinion.’ In 1952 Fisher visited the fledgling Foundation for Economic Education^{xliv} in the United States. Subsequently Fisher founded, in 1955 with Ralph Harris, the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) as a research and educational trust. This prototype think-tank developed from obscurity to become the most significant UK institution in the promotion of neoliberal ideas and principles; ultimately contributing to its hegemonic triumph in the 1980s.

As the 1970s drew to a close, a decade of stagflation and economic and social unrest resulted in the public imagination being pervaded by a sense of decline and economic chaos. Observers started to write about the UK as being ‘ungovernable.’ This sense of crisis culminated in the ‘winter of discontent’, characterised by strikes and industrial turmoil. James Callaghan's weakened Labour government failed to hold onto power in the election of 1979. The Conservatives under Margaret Thatcher were propelled into office marking the end of the post-war consensus, and a turning point in state reason. The Conservatives did not come to power in 1979 with a detailed blueprint for economic, political and social change, for dismantling the ‘state of welfare.’ Rather there was a broad commitment to a project informed in part by the doctrines and principles articulated by Hayek and Friedman together with more traditional conservative concerns.

Why choose a middle way between socialism and capitalism when it was capitalism you wanted all the time? Hayek had long argued that there was no secure resting place between mild intervention and full socialism. This idea was adopted by Joseph. It enabled him to interpret the whole post-war period as a steady progress down the road to serfdom, which the Conservative party had failed to halt. (Gamble 1986:49)

Keith Joseph, mentor and confidant of Margaret Thatcher, became convinced of the failure of the Keynesian consensus and renounced the Conservative party's post-war attempt to steer a middle course between capitalism and the demands of socialism, its form of embedded liberalism, as nothing short of defeat. Joseph and Thatcher, together with the leadership that coalesced around them, seized the intellectual framework provided by neoliberalism as a location from which it

became possible to mount a fatal assault on socialism and to extract the Conservative Party from its past involvement with the Keynesian consensus. The involvement of the State, the economy, the management of the unemployed, health, housing, delinquents, criminal justice and youth where just some of the many points of abrasion where this new project found the 'conduct of conduct' intolerable and a site of problematization. The reshaped public policy that emerged as the recognisable face of the New Right sought to substitute Beveridgism and Keynesianism with markets forms as the pre-eminent social arrangement for distributing goods and services. This would require a new 'common sense' displacing the assumptions and certainties of the post war consensus and its assumed relation between State and citizen of welfare rights. By appealing to a selective version of a past history, and drawing legitimacy from the economic failure of Keynesianism, the New Right sought to build a new constituency around an altered set of cultural and social assumptions (Hall 1988).

Advanced Liberal Forms of Governing

This project evolved, in the face of organised resistance, over the 1980's propelled by the work of intellectuals and activists. Essential to this development was the significant influence of think tanks^{xlv}, such as the IEA, together with calculations of electoral support. Neoliberal inspiration, drawing on 'public choice theory,' made available a new form of governance and organisation for the public sector; what has subsequently become known in the critical policy and management literature as the *New Public Management* (Horton and Farnham, 1999). Historically this shift forms a defining feature of the new reason of state, an essential datum for the identification of the advanced form of liberal governmentality claimed by Rose (1993). The fundamental nature of this new form of governing was a shift from a public service ethos to one of private management, the sweeping transfer of management practices, assumption and technologies from the private sector into a sphere that had operated under an ethos of bureaucratic, incrementalist and particularist style of management.

The US was to be the origin for many of the ideas that would be determinedly imported from the private into the public sector. A harbinger of this trend can

be found in the career of Robert S. McNamara, the controversial Secretary of Defence from 1961 to 1968 under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. A graduate of the University of California, Berkeley, and Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, McNamara had a short spell working for the accounting firm Price Waterhouse. He then returned to Harvard as an Assistant Professor in the Business School. With the advent of war he taught business analytical approaches to officers of the Army Air Force. He then joined the Army Air Force as a captain and was heavily involved in the analysis of bombing 'effectiveness' using forms of statistical control. After the war McNamara entered employment with the Ford Motor Company. The company was in dire straits and McNamara was to become the foremost of the band of ex-service technical and managerial personnel credited with implementing up-to-date planning, organization and management control systems so reviving the company; leading to its expansion and future success. McNamara became the first president of Ford who was not a member of the Ford family. In 1960, after only weeks in this role, McNamara left to become Secretary of Defense in the new Kennedy administration. During the Vietnam War McNamara instituted a new 'systems analysis' approach to the management of the war effort. Notable is McNamara's development of a statistical strategy for victory in the war. Based on the assumption that as the Viet Cong fighters in Vietnam were finite in number, they were to be defeated by a war of attrition. This included 'targets' for the 'body count' as a metric of success. McNamara came to disagree on the direction of the war with President Johnson and resigned, subsequently being appointed by Johnson as head of the World Bank. Over thirteen years at its helm, he led its restructuring and focused the Bank towards targeted poverty reduction. A notable and recurring aspect of McNamara career, transversing business, the academy and the public sector, is the emphasis on quantification and mathematization, the use of numerical and statistical technologies for management and control.

Numbers have achieved an unmistakable political power within technologies of government. An initial inventory might distinguish four sorts of political numbers. ...numbers determine who holds power, and whose claim to power is justified. ...numbers operate as diagnostic instruments within liberal political reason. ...numbers make modern modes of government both possible and judgeable. ...numbers are crucial techniques for modern government. (Rose, 1999:197-98)

The cold war exercised another significant US seedbed for ideas and technologies of government that would be taken up in the private and subsequently the public sector. McNamara as Secretary of Defense made use of the highly influential think-tank, the RAND^{xlvi} corporation (Research AND Development). This think-tank has many areas of expertise including: civil and criminal justice, education, energy, the environment, health and international policy. However, from the 1950s RAND has played a leading role in devising and advising on US military strategy. During McNamara's tenure it was instrumental in the development of the nuclear doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction which depended on the theoretical work on game theory undertaken at RAND. A notable aspect of the intellectual climate of this period was RAND's commitment to rational choice theory, and the methodological individualism that accompanied this perspective. Many RAND employees came from an economics background, including Alain Enthoven who can be viewed perhaps as a concrete exemplar of an influence on state reason as it developed under the New Right in the UK. In 1960 Enthoven left RAND, where he had worked since 1956, to join the Department of Defence as an Operations Research Analyst. In 1965 he rose to become Assistant Secretary of Defence for Systems Analysis (Systems Theory) working under McNamara. During his time at RAND Enthoven had worked on the economics of health, when he left the defence department he took a number of senior positions in health related companies between 1969 and 1973. Enthoven then moved to the academy as a professor of public and private management at Stanford University.

In the early 1980s Enthoven was in the UK on a preliminary visit before taking up a fellowship funded by the Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust. He was to later publish a book based on this experience, *Reflections on the management of the NHS: an American looks at incentives to efficiency in health services management in the UK* (Enthoven, 1985). At this time the new second term Thatcher administration was struggling with the reform of the UK's National Health Service, having ruled out proposals for a system of private insurance as a way to cut public expenditure on the grounds of its deep unpopularity with the electorate. Two future conservative MPs, John Redwood^{xlvii}, and David Willetts^{xlviii} had been working on policy initiation within the *Centre for Policy Studies* (CPS), a neoliberal think tank founded by Joseph and Thatcher following

the 1974 election defeat, on how the market could be introduced to the national health service. Redwood and Willetts met with Enthoven during his visit to the UK and discussed the CPS proposals. Enthoven advocated an 'internal market model' and the use of the US form of Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs). The internal market was a means to introduce competition and incentives, and as an advisor to the Thatcher administration, drawing on systems analysis, he was a keen proponent of incentives, targets and the use of technologies of quantification. In an interview reported in the British Medical Journal, in response to questions on information systems Enthoven asserted that:

Management information is important, and the NHS must get on with producing it. My impression in 1985 was that there was a remarkable lack of information in the NHS. For instance, the NHS does not know the cost per case of a coronary artery bypass in one hospital compared with another or the risk adjusted mortality in one hospital versus another. Such information is important because there are wide variations in costing and mortality. ...One cannot prove that systematic collection and analysis of data on quality and cost is worth the money. But I notice that every successful company in a competitive service or manufacturing business finds it worthwhile. There isn't one that doesn't do it. Why should the health service be different? (Smith, 1989:1168)

The impact of Public Choice theory deserves acknowledgement as another significant element in the intellectual climate that condensed around the policy making of the New Right in the 1980s. This set of ideas was to provide momentum to a far-reaching revision of the forms of government that had been applied to the public sector under the state of welfare. Public choice theory has its origins in attempts to offer solutions to what are perceived and identified as the inadequacies and deficiencies of representative democracy. In its essence public choice theory addresses problems of decision making with a set of presuppositions, techniques and forms of rationality that are drawn from the field of knowledge known traditionally as economics. Public choice offers a set of solutions for what are in effect essentially problems and questions of a political nature. Mainstream Public Choice theory rests on an application of neoclassical conceptions of the market operating in conditions of perfect competition. Whatever the deficiencies of such a premise, the whole political system is recast as a market for the provision of public goods.

Political behavior can be modeled in public choice theory from a number of perspectives, including the use of game theory (sharing the theoretical perspectives dominant within RAND), decision theory or standard constrained utility maximization. Within this new construction voters become consumers and customers, politicians equate to self-interested agents and political parties resemble vendors, branded companies offering packages of services, policies and value positions. Politics becomes a competition for voter support, interest groups, unions, the state apparatus and other large social actors are viewed as sectional interests, distorting the market, attempting to extract advantage while simultaneously working to avoid the costs of their concessions by distributing them more widely. In the political economy of Hayek the collectivist instinct, the primitive socialist tendency, was presented to a degree as natural if still dangerous to the social order. Public choice theory contributed a harder edge to the reforming project of the New Right. It provided impetus to the dissolution of the status and protective enclosures of the public sector by presenting the behaviour of its actors, revealed under the harsh light of public choice's quantification and mathematization, as fundamentally self-serving, empire building and provider focused. Interestingly a Scot, Duncan Black^{xlix}, is credited as a contributor to the foundations of this approach by developing median voter theory in 1948. The key figure in the field of public choice is academic economist James Buchanan. He coauthored a text with Gordon Tullock, *The Calculus of Consent: Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy* (1962), that would become seminal for adherents of public choice. Buchanan's work on public choice theory along with collaborators such as Tullock centered around a number of Virginia universities including George Mason University, Virginia Tech and the University of Virginia, this location gave rise to the application of the name, *The Virginia School of Political Economy*.

Two examples of the transmission of public choice theory into the state reason, policy initiation and formulation activities of the New Right can be found in the activities of the IEA and *The Adam Smith Institute* (ASI). A noteworthy example of the uptake of public choice is its early adoption and promotion by the IEA. For example, in 1976 it published a text by Gordon Tullock, *The Vote Motive*, providing a short introduction to public choice economics or the economics of politics. Another illustration can be found in the work of the ASI; a free market

think-tank founded by Madsen Pirie and Eamonn Butler in 1977 with the assistance of Antony Fisher of the Institute of Economic Affairs. Madsen Pirie, Eamonn Butler along with his brother Stuart Butler had been students at the University of St Andrews, Scotland. Following graduation Pirie and the two Butlers spent time working in the US coming into contact with the work of the Virginia school and becoming influenced by public choice theory. Just as significant was the insight they gained into the work and modus operandi of the conservative think-tank, *The Heritage Foundation*. Public choice calls for the design of political arrangements and institutions that maximise individual freedom. What this tends to mean in effect is the limiting of the ability of politicians to spend public money, therefore reducing the need for taxation, along with a perennial ambition to remove or minimise any monopoly in the public sector. The approach developed by The Heritage Foundation was to look to devise and put forward practical and specific policy proposals that would achieve the goals of public choice theory in very specific contexts. The Foundation operated (with reference to the layered model) in the activities of policy initiation and in particular, looking to provide innovative and practicable solutions to policy formulation.

An attachment to public choice theory, along with commitment to classical liberal principles, was to become central to the ethos of the ASI. Significant also in the US connection was the replication of an orientation to policy formulation as an approach to operationalising the aims of the ASI. Within the ASI a range of techniques for the task of policy formulation were developed, and were promoted under the collective title of ‘micro-politics’ (Denham and Garnett, 1998). At the heart of micro-politics was the ‘creative’ task of rendering ideas practical, workable and readymade for those with authority to implement them. This approach can be seen in the production of the *Omega File*. This presented the outcome of the Omega project undertaken between 1982 and 1985 by the ASI. The project consisted of a wide-ranging review of government activity, and had at its core the aim of promoting the comprehensive privatisation of central and local government activities, the use of the private sector, extending choice and contracting-out. This project was described by Levitas (1986:82) in terms of constituting ‘the main articulation of the liberal New Right’s utopia.’ What is notable, in terms of micro-politics, within the omega file is that its ideas and

proposals were accompanied by a section containing proto legislative texts designed to assist civil servants in speedily progressing such proposals towards implementation (Denham and Garnett, 1998).

The New Public Management

As noted above, the academic fields of critical policy analysis and management comprise another observatory from which the changing strategies and techniques of governing can be detected. The consolidation in the 1980s of an advanced liberal form of government in the UK, and to differing extents internationally (Hood, 1991), has in part been conceptualised in the fields above with the descriptive term, The New Public Management (NPM). Under the NPM a business mind-set would replace the conventions of bureaucracy, planning would be relegated by competition and the logics of the system would be rendered redundant by the 'logics of the market and the demands of customers' (Rose 1999). Hood (1995) identifies the 1980s as the period in which the paradigm of progressive public administration gave way to the NPM. The progressive era of public administration embodied a response to a particular set of concerns and assumptions. Foremost in the dangers posed to the administration of the public sector was corruption, the danger of politicians using the power of office to their own advantage or under the inducement of others. The use of the private sector was also viewed as a danger, it being open to abuse in the contract awarding process, or vulnerable to the activities of organised crime. Hood (ibid) describes two 'basic management doctrines' that constituted the essence of progressive public administration in its construction of public accountability. The first, evident in the state of welfare, was to maintain a clear division between public and private sectors. This was reflected in such dimensions as institutional structures, recruitment, remuneration and career paths. This included the creation of a public sector identity and ethical code that demanded that the conduct of public servants be impartial and principled. The second defensive strategy was to create distance between administrators and politicians or other such agents by means of 'procedural rules,' rational bureaucratic procedures with checks and balances. The shift in the ethos of public sector administration towards NPM is characterised by Hood (1995:94) as, 'reversing the two cardinal doctrines' of progressive public administration. The private was reconceived as

the source of efficiency, effectiveness and innovation, while the public sector was maligned as bloated, inherently bureaucratic, unresponsive, profligate and self-serving. Rather than defending a distinction, the NPM demanded a transformation in the practices and culture of the public into a mirror of private management. The second reversal involves a loss of faith in procedural rules and a public service ethic, in favour of the application of technologies of accountancy and a focus on outputs and performance. A reoccurring theme in the rise of new strategies and tactics of rule under advanced liberal governmentally explored above is the use of technologies of quantification and mathematization. Hood (1995) describes 'accountingization' (Power and Laughlin, 1992) as a central marker of the consolidation of the NPM. Accountingization is a description for the process of moving from a regime of aggregated or undefined cost accounting to one in which the fine grained disaggregation and control of costs becomes the norm within public sector accountability regimes.

Managerialism is another descriptive concept articulated with the NPM. At its core managerialism recognizes the task of management as a fundamentally generic activity and understands organisations as being similar in ways that allow the application of generic management skills and thinking. Generic management can be contrasted with particularist forms that reflect assumptions over differing contexts and sectors. The rise of managerialism can also be seen in the context of a renewed focus on management and management theory as a response to the economic crisis of the 1970s and the restructuring that was taking place as a response to the impact of increasingly globalized markets and competition. One aspect of this was a new emphasis on economy, efficiency and effectiveness, the uptake of business 'quality' philosophies and the introduction of mission statements and business plans. The new managerialism can be identified as a distinctive feature of the New Right's response to problems of governing, from the reform of the civil service to a reformed health sector:

...the essence of managerialism lies in the assumption that there is something called management which is a generic, purely instrumental activity, embodying a set of principles that can be applied to the public business, as well as in private business. (Boston, 1996:25)

The redesign of the educational state would take place in an atmosphere infused by the wider intellectual climate formed by the gravitational pull of the Thatcher project of the 1980s. The elements illustrated above, the rolling back of the State to re-establish the market, the redesign of institutions and arrangements under the inspiration of public choice, the turn to 'management,' and its breach of the public sector, recreating its ethos as a mirror of the private, the introduction of new regimes of accountingization, audit, targets, incentives, competition, and enterprise, together with the new modes of subjectivity they fostered, would come to bear on the conduct of education. In turning its attention to the educational state the developing ideological framework of the New Right revealed the conduct of compulsory education as an area of significant dysfunction. Compulsory education would, in its turn, come to be elaborated into a new regime of practices under the action of a developing advanced liberal governmentality. A lattice of interconnecting problematizations of education circulated and coalesced within the developing state reason of the New Right in the years proceeding 1979, taking on a new intensity within the policy initiation and formulation of the New Right in government.

Education Policy under the New Right

Education was to make a significant contribution to the Conservative Party's programme of social and cultural change. This new importance attached to education must be understood in the wider context of the Thatcher government's project aimed at addressing what it perceived as the reasons underlying the decline of the United Kingdom. This incorporated aspirations toward economic efficiency and wealth creation, a reassertion of 'Great' Britain on the global stage, the dismantling of the post-war consensus and the destruction of socialism. Carr and Hartnett (1996) identify education as making the transition from low to high politics during the Thatcher years, while Ball (1990:43) places education in 'the mainstream of the political ideology and policies of Thatcherism.' In contrast to past Conservative administrations, this period would witness an unprecedented level of education policy development in relation to the state school system.

The struggle to influence the shape of education policy had begun in the years preceding 1979 and intensified through the 1980s as reform gathered momentum. Central to understanding the dynamic of educational change under the New Right is the interaction and tensions among a coalition of intellectuals, politicians and policy actors within the Conservative party. Allegiances within this New Right group were aligned with active satellite think tanks reflecting their educational priorities and philosophical concerns. Hoover and Plant (1989) describe the main cleavage within this epistemic community in terms of traditionalists (preservationists, authors of the black papers, concerned with such areas as culture, continuity, elite education and respect for authority) and modernizers (the free marketeers, concerned with efficiency, consumer choice and enterprise). Unsurprisingly this cleavage reflected the tensions created by more traditional conservative positions on a range of cultural and political values and their orientation in mainstream neoliberal thought. The traditionalists had a number of focal concerns in relation to the protection and promotion of private education, merit and standards of excellence had to be upheld along with elite culture. A fundamental aim of the free marketeers was the realignment of education to contribute towards their ambitions of economic growth. This

cleavage would shape and influence education policy in England, Wales and, in a vernacular form, Scotland, under successive Conservative governments.

Market competition was to be the foundation on which this aim would be realised. The IEA had long been an advocate of the 'educational voucher', an idea developed by Freedman in 1955 (see Peacock and Wiseman, 1964). The provision of a voucher to cover the cost of schooling, or part of the cost with the option of parents making additional contributions depending on the 'price' of the school they desired, was seen as a market solution that would dismantle a 'totalitarian system of education' (Harris and Seldon, 1977). The fact that a voucher scheme was never introduced by any Conservative administration is testament to the political and administrative obstacles that dissuaded even Keith Joseph who had declared himself 'intellectually attracted' to the voucher. If the revolution required by an education voucher was politically a step too far, the Adam Smith Institute advocated a covert approach that sought to attain the benefits of the voucher while avoiding the costs in political capital. This approach centred on open entry, local management of schools, and the funding of schools based on enrolment. Alongside the ASI, the No Turning Back Group of Conservative MPs and the Hillgate Group (associated with Roger Scruton) advocated similar ideas contributing to a policy climate that would ultimately give birth to the 1988 Education Reform Act (Denham, 1996).

Marketization

The neoliberal restructuring of the State schooling settlement of the post-war consensus is most clearly demonstrated in the mechanisms contained in 1988 Education Reform Act (England and Wales). This legislation was to be the high-water mark of the New Right project in education, containing provisions seen as essential for the marketization of State education:

- ◆ Open Enrolment;
- ◆ Financing of schools based upon the number of enrolments.
- ◆ A National Curriculum;
- ◆ National Testing and Attainment Targets;
- ◆ Grant Maintained Schools;
- ◆ Local Management of Schools.

It would be the market, not the State, which would bring about improvement in the educational system. The market rewards the efficient and productive, with competition overcoming mediocrity and promoting excellence. In order to introduce such pressures, parents were given the right to place their children in any State school that had the capacity to accommodate them, a national curriculum was required to standardise education nationally and national testing was required to assess pupils according to national standards. This would open the way for schools to be measured by their performance, the introduction of league tables would allow the market to operate by providing market information. The assumed effect would force poor schools to improve while allowing successful schools to expand. A coordinated New Right alliance of intellectuals and politicians, ambitious to reform education, were extremely adept and successful in developing and maintaining a new educational discourse that reverberated with ideas such as freedom, choice, standards, excellence, tradition and parents' rights.

In addition to competition and markets the New Right sought to make schools more accountable and better managed. The role of headteachers and senior staff was reconstructed as a managerial one. This change was characterised by a move away from the headteacher as leader among professionals to that of chief executive, charged with the local management of the school and responsible to a board of governors. New organisational forms emerged in schools as they became responsible for the vast majority of their own budget and were delegated many of the functions and decisions previously located or taken by local government. The Conservative reforms of the 1980s heralded a new regime of governance in education, what could be described as a climate of performance was initiated with responsibility and the locus of performance located at the level of the individual school. The local State was undermined, bypassed, as control was grasped and held firmly by the centre. The Education Act 1980 had made it a requirement that local government hold open days for parents and publish examination results. Audit was deployed in the service of performance and control; in 1983 the Audit Commission was established as an arm of central government and devoted substantial energies into school related work including management and the development of performance indicators.

The voice of the Audit Commission through its official publications has had a considerable influence in the educational field, shaping the nature of institutional management and delineating what was to be considered as 'good practice.' The Education (schools) Act of 1992 buttressed the place of League Tables in the field of measurement and reinforced external control by giving the Audit Commission a new partner in the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED). The Office for Standards in Education represented a new regime of inspection, a new expansion to the field of measurement, using a standardised procedure all schools would be inspected on a four-year cycle. Each inspection would result in a public account of the health of a particular school and had to be responded to in the form of an action plan, produced by the school, setting out how it would respond to the issues uncovered by inspection. Such OFSTED reports became a major preoccupation for schools within the new marketized form of state education. The outcome of such inspections served as a disciplinary device for schools, or they provided a source of endorsement for the promotional and marketing activities of 'successful' institutions. In 1994 Chris Woodhead¹ was appointed head of OFSTED by John Patten. Part of the attraction of Woodhead to sections of the New Right's educational networks was his tough talking, derision of progressive educational theories and promotion of traditional teaching methods. He was to become a hate figure within the teaching profession while many on the right saw him as the scourge of a complacent and self-interested educational establishment. Much to the discomfort of many in the inspectorate, he used a percentage of lessons judged to be unsatisfactory to make the headline catching claim, in his 1996 Annual Report, that the education system could contain '15,000 incompetent teachers.' Woodhead was deliberately provocative and media conscious in his mantra of low standards, problematic teachers and underachieving local government, and was effectively supported in a discourse of inadequacy by sympathetic sections of the media.

The election of a Conservative government in May 1979 is recognised by many commentators as marking a new period in the politics of educational disadvantage. The focus of policy shifted, no longer concerned with questions of disadvantage, moving instead to a concern with overall standards against a backdrop of Chicago School inspired anti-inflationary public spending control. Economic problems were seen as general rather than as affecting specific areas.

In the new policy climate it became more important for schools to concentrate their efforts on helping pupils to achieve highly and not to immerse themselves in the surrounding social problems. With the embedding of marketization came new subjectivities, not just for parents but importantly for schools. League Tables, inspection reports and reputation became the main currency as schools strategically positioned their image and promotional energies towards the localised market (Gewirtz, et al. 1995, Woods, et al. 1998).

As the UK approached the 1997 election, following four successive Conservative administrations, an appraisal of state education in England and Wales would reveal a system profoundly altered by the application of a burgeoning advanced liberal governmentality. In Scotland change inspired by the same governmental project produced related reforms, but filtered by the peculiar Caledonian character of the policy system (Doherty and McMahon, 2007c). A new topography of competition, measurement, surveillance, control, and the spectacle of public valuation had been established. The structural and organisational forms and conduct of the post war settlement had been radically reshaped by theories of market efficacy and the tenets of New Public Management. Before developing an account of New Labour's elaboration of education under Third Way, some exposition of the conduct of education under the Labour Party within the state of welfare is required. This form of government reason and its application to the educational state forms an important reference in locating the measure of alteration of direction inherent within New Labour's reform of compulsory education and too many of the resulting tensions over education within the Party.

Labour and the State of Welfare

The foundations of the British post-war welfare state have among their antecedents, Victorian social reform, the rise of socialism in the late 19th century and the new social liberalism of Asquith and Lloyd George. During this period the idea that the State should take a more active role in providing for the well-being of the masses gained in salience. Politicians across the political spectrum were haunted by the specter of unemployment, mass social unrest and the rise of revolutionary politics that had followed the First World War. The experience of total war following 1939 was another foundational dimension of

the British Welfare State. The social change that took place within a national war effort, the ‘principles of pooling and sharing,’ the State direction of the wartime economy, the coordination of welfare and the triumph of central planning combined to hallmark the British Welfare State (Marshall and Rees 1985). Remarkably, even before the fighting had ended the architecture of a post-war society was being drafted; underpinned by a new governmental reason. The state of welfare was foreshadowed in the Beveridge Report (1942), a social policy blueprint that set the State to combat the five ‘giant evils’ of: squalor, ignorance, want, idleness and disease. Beveridge’s arguments not only satisfied the socialists but part of his genius lay in making his proposals palatable to conservatives and other sceptics by stressing the benefits for industry in the post-war period. This collectivist turn positioned government as responsible for the welfare of citizens ‘from the cradle to the grave.’ The Beveridge blueprint was in place as Clement Attlee’s Labour government was swept into power on a landslide victory in May 1945. Proudly proclaiming the provision of care ‘free at the point of use’ a National Health Service was created in 1948 forming the centerpiece of the Welfare State.

The post-war settlement

There are perhaps two prominent dimensions that emerge from a consideration of post-war education policy. The first marker of the policy climate in this period was the broad political consensus on education as a public and social good and important contributor to the post-war project of national renewal. The 1944 Education Act in England and Wales received cross party support in initiating the universal provision of secondary education. The post war period also witnessed a subsequent expansion of further and higher education. A second marker of this period was the location of education policy among the lower order of political concerns and the tripartite and consensual nature of the policymaking process that emerged. In contrast to issues of economics, defence or foreign policy, educational matters rarely appeared on the agenda of the central State. Policy and implementational arrangements for change and reform in this period were negotiated on the whole by local government, teachers in the form of unions, and the responsible departments of central government.

In classic policy-analysis terms, education policy making up to the mid 1970s could be described as a 'clientist' system (Ashford, 1981), with the teacher unions and LEA lobbies wielding considerable influence. ...the office of Secretary of State was very much a political backwater or way station for new or up-and-coming politicians. (Ball, 1990:7)

In reviewing the development of the Labour Party, Lawton (1992:23) notes the, 'little discussion of socialist education throughout the history of the party.' Historically the Labour party has travelled the winding road to socialism with a dearth of intellectuals able to provide something resembling a coherent socialist educational ideology. What is constant within the educational discourse of the Left is a set of concerns around access and the extension and equitable provision of education within the institutionalised arrangements of the time. In power, or out of office, the early Labour Party displayed a limited concern with education, reflected in a modest desire to alter the existing system to make it fairer to the working classes. The post-1945 settlement in education was an essentially modernist project embarked on with a confidence that education was capable of contributing to the construction of a better society and the defeat of 'ignorance.' There was a clear egalitarian motive to the restructuring of national systems; extending opportunity to all, for others it maintained what was seen as a more meritocratic order. The extension of secondary level schooling to all following 1945 was the main progressive feature of restructuring. However this reform had a regressive aspect in that it institutionalised what was called the Tripartite System; the selective nature of secondary schooling in the UK following 1945. This was still the age of psychometrics and this form of expertise had been easily appropriated into the educational state. The selection examinations for this new system were developed under the guidance of Cyril Burt^{li} a leading British advocate of psychometrics. The structure of Secondary schooling in England and Wales was organised around three forms of school: Grammar schools (with an academic curriculum), Technical schools (uncommon due to their cost) and Modern Schools (providing only a general education).

A second and essential phase of egalitarian reform emerges in the 1960s with the movement towards comprehensive schooling. The Labour party following 1945 had its supporters of selective education, the Fabian grouping within the party favoured meritocracy. The ethical socialists argued for a policy of comprehensive schools on both educational and social grounds. The attraction of comprehensive schools was that they provided secondary level education, but

did not select on the basis of academic ability. This reform drew Inspiration from the US high school system and the success of comprehensive type schools in Sweden. The Labour Party came to champion comprehensive education and its many supporters were able to capitalize on increasing dissatisfaction among sections of the middle class opposed to the idea of selection on principle or anxious over the fate of their children if they did not gain access to the local grammar school. Comprehensive reform was also paralleled by a movement in favour of progressive approaches to teaching and curricula inspired by liberal theories of education. The decisive breakthrough came in 1965 when Anthony Crosland^{lii}, secretary of state for education in a Labour government, issued Circular 10/65 instructing local government to reorganise secondary provision along comprehensive lines. When in 1970 Margaret Thatcher became secretary of state for education in a Conservative administration, she moved to free local government from this obligation and cancelled Circular 10/65. However, restructuring had advanced to such a stage that Margaret Thatcher enjoyed the unwelcome distinction of having more comprehensive schools established under her tenure than any other education secretary.

Within the post-war period, the 1960s stands out as a significant decade in the emergence of policy around educational opportunity and attempts to use the state of welfare to remediate the unequal distribution of educational achievement (Widlake, 1986). Modernity had not yet passed away as the spirit of the age and within the intellectual climate around education ideas such as class subcultures (Hargreaves, 1967; Sugarman, 1968), speech patterns (Bernstein, 1961) cultural deprivation, and compensatory education had gained salience. Within the state of welfare various educational programmes came into being aimed at establishing patterns of action to remedy disadvantage. In the United States, arising from President Johnson's war on poverty, such thinking can be seen as animating Operation Head Start. In the UK the Educational Priority Areas programme was established after the publication of the Plowden Report (1967), and was designed to divert extra resources to schools in the most deprived areas. This emergence of the spatial into governmental thought in relation to the educational state is noteworthy (see chapter 7).

Initiatives also included Urban Aid (1968-69) and an expansion of nursery education. Early education was highlighted as crucial in effecting change; early

educational achievement was believed to be significant for changing life chances. In the beginning of this period, schools and formal education were assumed to be the central agents in such initiatives. Where parents and the community were identified as important, this was in supporting the efforts of the schools. Some of the projects developed during this early phase displayed a wider approach to combating disadvantage but in general the projects conducted during this period gave education a central position. The compensatory approach, which included positive discrimination to redistribute resources, could not, it was recognised, be applied in a simplistic way, economic factors being crucial with some seeing these as the prime cause of disadvantage. The period from 1975 is described by Nisbet and Watt (1984) as representing a second phase of programmes designed to ameliorate educational disadvantage. A number of pre-1975 projects continued, such as Urban Aid, but the reports and evaluations of projects were indicating that achievements tended to fall short of the high aspirations and expectations of the early programmes. Project outcomes were not wholly negative, but the policy climate changed as it became clear that there was little hard evidence of success despite the enthusiasm of those involved. Although there were calls for more resources, many recognised the implications as pointing to a larger reality in that 'education cannot compensate for society' (Bernstein, 1970).

It is almost as though some people would wish that the subject matter and purpose of education should not have public attention focused on it: nor that profane hands should be allowed to touch it... I take it that no one claims exclusive rights in this field. Public interest is strong and legitimate and will be satisfied. We spend £6bn a year on education, so there will be discussion. But let it be rational. If everything is reduced to such phrases as 'educational freedom' versus state control, we shall get nowhere. I repeat that parents, teachers, learned and professional bodies, representatives of higher education and both sides of industry, together with the government, all have an important part to play in formulating and expressing the purpose of education and the standards that we need (Callaghan, 1976).

The Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan's Ruskin College Speech (1976), in the context of a pronounced national anxiety over the severe economic decline of the United Kingdom marks a defining moment. The speech marked a rising disquiet over education and a rise in its political saliency. What is remarkable about this intervention was its break with the past; until then prime ministers

did not make speeches about education. This speech, from a Labour prime minister, seemed for many to mark the disintegration of the post-war educational settlement, opening the door to a 'new vocationalism' (Ball, 1990) and marking the emergence of a more interventionist central state. The mandate to govern was removed from the Labour party in 1979 (not to be regained for 18 years). At this moment its broad educational thought was marked by a new economically motivated concern with the effectiveness of the state in education together with a more settled view that the educational state should be structured and governed so as to eliminate inequality and to have a concern to ameliorate the educationally disadvantaged. This heritage of government reason around the state in education was carried in the biographic continuities and cultural memory of the Labour Party out of office. This precedent of government reason forms an inescapable dimension in the working out or elaboration of any new alteration of the educational state under a Labour government. The context of Third Way governmental reason as applied to the educational state, as outlined below, must be approached with an awareness of the cultural memory of the Labour Party, together with its significance.

Advanced Liberalism under Third Way

In the years preceding the first Blair government, the governmental reason that was to animate Third Way was decisively worked into a recognisable intellectual architecture. This process took on a new urgency following election to office in 1997. In the context of the ‘competition State’ (Cerny, 2005) political parties need ideas, theories of society, policy concepts and descriptive and diagnostic metaphors and images that articulate with their historical and ideological origins and that create a credible narrative for a contemporary public. Moral claims provided the intellectual foundation for post-war Social Democracy’s moderation of the excesses of capitalism and a politics of redistribution. The ideas and precepts of neoliberal economic and political thought were harnessed by the New Right in constructing the ideological underpinning for its assault on Socialism, its triumph over Keynesianism, and its acute alteration of the assumptions of the social and political landscape. Confronted by the new restructured form of global capitalism, and coupled shifts in the social and cultural milieu, leftist intellectuals had been engaged in rethinking a ‘future of socialism’ in ‘new times.’ In an unlikely twist in its journey toward political ascendancy the ‘New’ Labour project of Blair and the modernisers was able to draw from the ideas emerging and condensing in response to the crisis of the left (Finlayson, 2003). A central animating element of New Labour’s alterations to its foundations rests on a sociological reading of ‘new times;’ encapsulated in such ideas as knowledge capitalism, globalisation and the growth of individualism.

As part of this active ‘rationalisation of government practice’ (Foucault, 2008) attention was focused on that sector of the domain of governmental activity signified by compulsory education. It is possible to offer an interpretation, drawing on historical and biographical accounts, of the consolidation of ideas, ends and strategies that came to dominate the pre-initiation climate from which policy making on education would unfold. From a governmentality perspective such an account attempts to elucidate the conditioning of New Labour’s project in education within the prevailing logic of its overarching architecture of state reason. In chapter two, an outline analysis of third way governmentality positioned this form of state reason in clear continuity with the emergence of an advanced liberal form of governing while making a claim for a distinctive

alteration around the idea of the 'new social democracy.' Third Way state reason is a form of advanced liberal governmentality distinguished by a number of dimensions. At the centre of Third Way governmentality is the imperative to govern towards the essential and primary objective of economic success in a market economy. This certainty has been accompanied by an abandonment of social policy as a counterweight to, or melioration of, the socially dislocating effects of industrial capitalism. The task of governing under Third Way becomes concentrated around the ordering of the matrix of the State to intervene in the 'fabric and depth' (Foucault, 2009:145) of society in order to sustain the market and to provide for its changing requirements. Public policy shifts from a concern with public goods or the alleviation of the negative social consequences of capitalist production to become the handmaid of the market. What marks out neoliberal government from the liberalism of the nineteenth century, or *laissez faire*, is a willingness to intervene, a conviction over the requirement to intervene in order to support and protect the existence and operation of market competition and the price mechanism. A species of this rationality of economic government had taken root in the UK during the 1980s. This new orthodoxy of economic government marks the most obvious and pervasive continuity between New Labour and the preceding project of Thatcherite conservatism. The evolving governmental reason of the New Right had been habituated by more traditional conservative conceptions of national identity, history and moral references; this uneasy set of ideas interacted to give shape to its eagerness for aligning aspects of public policy with the market's optimisation.

Blair's 'modernised' social democracy claims a continuity with the values of the 'progressive' centre left, while recognising that the means to achieve them must radically alter in the faced of a new, sociologically distinct, historical condition. April 1995 witnessed the most symbolic demonstration of New Labour's adaptation as the modernisers emerged triumphant from the internal Party struggle to abolish clause IV of Labour's constitution; its historic socialist totem of commitment to the 'common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.' The Third Way politics of Blair (1998) and Giddens articulates a belief in the State as an agent of progress and mechanism for ensuring social cohesion and social justice defined in terms of opportunity for all. Importantly, Third Way assumes a new relation of public-private, a blurring

of the boundaries that characterised classical social democracy in favour of a form of 'entrepreneurial government' (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992). New Labour in terms of its political economy, and its presentational self-narrative, proclaims a pragmatic approach to means, embracing market mechanisms as 'critical' to pursuing the public interest, linking 'entrepreneurial zeal' to social justice. In operationalising projects of modernisation New Labour has exuded a project management ethos, looking to business and contemporary management theory as the arbiter of ideas and practices that define the modern and render it functional. The move towards the 'social investment State' (Giddens, 1998) signals the revision of government itself, its purpose and means of effect, under a politics of Third Way. A key nexus is where the citizen, the customer, encounters the State. Therefore, the hospital, the welfare service, the university or school become fundamental locations for 'modernisation.'

What is notable within the new social democracy of Third Way is the embrace of a guiding form of government reason that subordinates the government of the social to serve the economic. However, an insistence that the rewards that flowed from economic activity must be made accessible to all, understood as equality of opportunity, combined with recognition of the need to provide for the weak and economically incapacitated, formed what could be understood as an emancipatory thread. This continuity was understood by New Labour as unifying its state reason with the historical lineage of the progressive left. What was central to Third Way state reason nevertheless, was its concern to govern the economic successfully, actively, confident it could be more assiduous than its predecessor in the pursuit of growth and prosperity. The fruits of such economic success would be married to a conception of social justice by an enabling State organised to provide to the many the opportunity to obtain the rewards of economic activity in tandem with the compulsion of the reluctant to become economically active, to up-skill and prepare for participation. The governmental reason of Third Way is permeated by the conviction that the social must be governed to provide for the sustenance and flourishing of the economic. Towards this goal the complex and heterogeneous apparatus of the State, and in particular those sectors governed through public policy, must be 'modernised' to become the equivalent of a strong social biosphere within which the economic can be supported and grown. This biosphere also included the requirement to

strengthen civil society, the building of social solidarity and a role for government in providing a moral character to the social order.

We seek a diverse but inclusive society, promoting tolerance within agreed norms, promoting civic activism as a complement to (but not a replacement for) modern government. An inclusive society imposes duties on individuals and parents as well as society as a whole. (Blair, 2008:12)

In his impressive historical analysis, *One Hundred Years of Socialism*, Sassoon (1996) charts the impact of the collapse of Soviet Communism on the left in Western Europe. The triumph of the market and the domination of modern conservative capitalism have conspired to evaporate faith in socialism routing classical forms of social democracy in the process. From Spain to Belgium, the 'rediscovery of the market' was accompanied by the discarding of utopian visions of a socialist society and a feverish changing of party names and motifs. In discussing this 'new revisionism' Sassoon narrates an account of the 'modernisation' project of the British Labour Party as an archetype of this process. The essence of neo-revisionism centred on a profound shift from a political economy of common ownership and state provision to one that embraced and celebrated the market; to establish the 'new social democracy' as more competent and concerned with national economic competitiveness than Conservative capitalism, accepting a new orthodoxy of neoliberal certainties in the process.

Neo-revisionism is not a finite doctoral corpus which can be easily analysed. It implies that markets should be regulated by legislation and not through state ownership. It means accepting that the object of socialism is not the abolition of capitalism, but its co-existence with social justice; that the regulation of the market will increasingly be a goal achieved by supra-national means; that national - and hence parliamentary sovereignty is a limited concept; that the concept of national roads to socialism should be abandoned. It means that the historic link with the working class, however defined, is no longer of primary importance... Neo-revisionism entails accepting important aspects of the conservative critique of socialism- including the association between collective provision and bureaucratic inertia. (Sassoon, 1996:734)

The despondency and crisis of the left over what seemed as the inexorable abandonment of 'national roads to socialism,' has an equivalent in education. Leftist leaning educationalists have responded to New Labour's education policy

and government of state education with critiques characterised by conclusions around the forsaking of egalitarian reform and pointed accusations of betrayal. From the perspective of the politics of education, or ‘policy sociology,’ the abandonment and betrayal account of New Labour’s policies in education are manifest in descriptions of ‘bastardised Thatcherism’ (McKibbin, 2003), ‘disguised’ Thatcherism (Chitty, 2002), the legacy of Conservative reforms being ‘safe in Labour hands’ (Holloway, et al. 1999) or the influence of ‘Blair’s right-wing advisers’ (Lawton, 2005). A governmentality perspective offers an alternative explanatory standpoint on the same field; comprising New Labour’s policy around compulsory education. From this perspective the desertion of leftist values, the bastardised Thatcherism thesis, provides a less creditable explanatory position. A governmentality perspective looks to understand what follows from recognising the convictions of New Labour’s inner leadership over the need to govern in an advanced liberal way. The intellectual and political climate that enclosed New Labour’s policy initiation and formulation was not characterised by a grudging trade-off over traditional Labour values and policy ambitions in return for electoral success and a broader appeal to a new individualistic public. While the critique of the educational left can identify and point to a range of incontestable revisions or ‘betrayals,’ these cannot simply be attributed to a lack of leftist moral fibre among Blair and his inner circle of modernisers. Rather, New Labour’s policy formations across compulsory education can be understood as moves in a game structured by the overarching logic of a positive and purposeful attempt to govern. Education would be governed within a rationality of state reason that sought to ‘arrange things so the state becomes sturdy and permanent, so that it becomes wealthy, and so that it becomes strong in the face of everything that may destroy it’ (Foucault, 2008:4).

One clear manifestation of the governmental reason of Third Way in education is the imperative of ‘the new knowledge vocationalism’ (Doherty, 2007). The existence of vocationalism in education policy (the design, content, organisation and provision of school education in relation to the anticipated needs of the economic system, or in relation to future employment, Pring, 1993) can be traced back to the earliest days of mass systems of state education and beyond. The ‘new vocationalism,’ was a term coined within the sociology of education

literature to reflect the changing focus of education policy during the 1970s through into the 1990s. Across the political spectrum, as the UK's economic fortunes sharply declined, concerned voices were raised over the contribution, or failure, of education in contributing to economic prosperity. In the Labour government Green Paper that followed Callaghan's Ruskin College speech there was an overt linking of 'economic recovery,' the performance of manufacturing industry and the contribution to be made by government policies, education being clearly identified, to improving industrial performance and increasing national wealth. In the years that followed, through successive Conservative governments, the new vocationalism was to strengthen under the influence of the freemarketeers. Education was given a higher profile due to its perceived economic importance, with the needs of industry and employers becoming the important touchstone. This imperative is exemplified in such policies as the 1981 Youth Training scheme in the post-compulsory sector and the 1982 Technical and Vocational Education Initiative in the secondary sector. In higher education there was a clear attempt to breach the autonomous enclosures of the academy and to align third level education with the 'needs of the economy.' The Conservative government's white paper of 1987 is unambiguous in this direction of reform:

Meeting the needs of the economy is not the sole purpose of higher education, nor can higher education alone achieve what is needed. But this aim must be vigorously pursued. The achievement of greater commercial and industrial relevance in higher education activity depends on much closer communication between academic staff and people in business at all levels. These connections can lead to more suitable teaching, to research and technology transfer. They also help to foster the positive attitudes to enterprise which are crucial for institutions and their students... The government will do all they can to encourage and reward approaches by HE institutions which bring them closer to the world of business. (DES, 1987, quoted in Pring, 1993:61)

Knowledge Capitalism and the New Knowledge Vocationalism

In the years preceding the election of New Labour, the evolving political economy of New Labour was elaborated in an intellectual climate pervaded by ideas around 'new times,' the importance of markets, of human capital, post-fordism and changes in the nature of work. Such diagnostic and explanatory forms of knowledge were appropriated into the emerging form of state reason

that would accompany Third Way. One archetype of this process is the relationship between Ed Balls^{liii} and Gordon Brown. Balls was economic adviser to Brown as shadow chancellor from 1994-97. He was appointed secretary to the Labour Party Economic Policy Commission, 1994-97 and following the election, was economic adviser to Brown as Chancellor of the Exchequer. As shadow chancellor Brown had the dubious honour of winning a foot in the mouth award (awarded by the Plain English Campaign for a baffling comment by a public Figure) for a reference to post neo-classical endogenous growth theory; credited to the influence of Balls. New Labour's engagement with endogenous growth theory is not casual. Dolowitz (2004) argues that by adopting an endogenous growth strategy New Labour sought to achieve the long-term prosperity that would in turn allow the State to be postured through an 'activist policy regime' to promote equality and social justice. Wiggan (2007) explains New Labour's reforms to the structure and administration of welfare, notably Jobcentre Plus and the Department for Work and Pensions, as emerging from its ambition to pursue an endogenous growth-inspired strategy.

The idea of the new knowledge vocationalism is an attempt to capture both the continuity of the vocational imperative in education policy under New Labour following 1997 while signalling the significance of a marked intensification under the inspiration of Third Way's political economy. The new knowledge vocationalism underscores the recognition of knowledge as the fundamental economic factor in advanced economies. This shift in the fundamentals of economic activity, away from the centrality of raw materials, energy, plant and labour to industrial capitalism, towards a new form of production signified by descriptions such as knowledge capitalism (Burton Jones, 1999, Peters, 2003) or technocapitalism (Suarez-Villa, 2000). In this new mode of production, knowledge, information and creativity comprise the 'intangibles' that have become central to its operation. A knowledge economy in the 21st century required to be supplied with 'knowledge workers,' with elevated levels of education and a disposition to 'lifelong learning.' For New Labour, in the economy of the future, 'knowledge, human capital, is the future' (Blair 2003). The new knowledge vocationalism highlights the turn toward the importance of intangible capital, and its linkage to learning, in framing education policy. Following 1997, education at every level becomes a pre-eminent concern in order to meet the demands of what New Labour perceive as a profoundly altered

economic condition. The inescapability of globalisation and the recognition of the emergence of a knowledge-based economy are central to the Blair-Giddens articulation of Third Way's claim to legitimacy.

But we know it's not enough, not in the economy of the future. The fight for a fair future must begin with our number one priority education. At every age, at every stage, education is the surest guarantee of a fair future. At every age and every stage we are breaking down the barriers that hold people back... And then throughout adult life, new opportunities through Learn Direct to learn more - a language, new skills - every individual the chance to fulfil their potential. At every age, at every stage, opening opportunity not for a privileged few but for all. And we need a modern industrial base, doubling investment in science, leading Europe in the biosciences and technology, more high tech spin offs from universities than ever before - not just world beating British ideas but world beating products, British profits, British jobs. And yes new manufacturing jobs - high skills, high tech, exactly the kind of jobs we need for the future. In the economy of the 21st, knowledge, human capital, is the future and fairness demands it is open to all. (Blair 2003)

Governing in a Consumer Democracy

The emerging governmentality literature has little to say on the relationship between voter behaviour under forms of representative democracy and the formation of historically identifiable rationalities of state reason. Essential to Foucault's analysis of liberal forms of government is the very exercise of forms of responsibilised 'freedom' of conduct in designated spheres of liberty.

Notwithstanding this somewhat unexplored dimension, the exercise of political sovereignty within forms of liberal democracy is dependent for legitimacy on the support of a constituency who endow this character to authority by means of electoral support. At a fundamental level governments of a liberal character must achieve a degree of popular support to govern and must maintain such support in continuing to hold on to power following future plebiscites. Changes in voting behaviour, the disalignment of class origin and household voting patterns, together with the growth in 'swing' or 'floating' voters, was a social trend that emerged and intensified in the UK during the 1980s. This trend was contemporaneous with the advanced liberal governmentality emerging and animating the project of the New Right. A synergistic relation can be proposed as existing between such shifts in cultural attitudes, popular narratives of the self, and the active promotion of an archetype of the subject by government.

The popularisation of an individualistic, autonomous, utility maximising self, a reactivation of a form of homo economicus, together with the exhortation toward the idealisation of a self regarding, entrepreneurial citizenry, unsurprisingly began to find expression in political behaviour and conceptions of democracy. One essential consequence of this change was the need within forms of state reason to adjust to a new cartography that charted the wellsprings of popular support.

This is Labour's next challenge: to hold on to power not just for one or two terms, but to build a progressive coalition which dominates the next century as the Conservatives have commanded this one. ...Labour lost the last century because it failed to modernise, and lost connection with the people it was founded to represent. It was a party trapped by its past, even at the moment of its birth. If Labour is to win the next century it needs a new progressive politics: welcoming change; reaching out to the new middle class; reshaping the political map. (Gould, 1999:393-4)

In a social order characterised by trends towards forms of individualistic and calculative behaviour, reinforced by consumerist and commercial discourses of choice, aspiration, and service expectation, political ideologies become shaped in the dialectical process of fitting and maintaining a political narrative to the location where a winning coalition of support can be gained. The process of constructing a 'big tent' in such a way as to allow individuals with diverse political priorities and views to stand together becomes a pervasive part of the fabric of the policy culture or context of influence. New Labour is disposed toward a big tent approach not only from an electoral strategy position, but as the unavoidable mode of operation arising from the ethos of Third Way. New Labour's success can be accounted for by its broader appeal, attracting sections of the electorate that were not traditionally supporters of Old Labour. In a revealing collocation of terms, Blair as Prime Minister (in his 2002 speech to the Labour party conference, in the Winter Gardens, Blackpool) links the application of progressive politics to modernisation and '...taking the great progressive 1945 settlement and reforming it around the needs of the individual as consumer and citizen for the 21st century.' This is a powerful rhetorical representation from a Labour Prime Minister to the party faithful and beyond to a wider citizenry. In addressing both activists and a wider public the subject of Third Way is acknowledge as being an 'individual' with needs, and evocatively co-constructed as first 'consumer' and then 'citizen.'

Bobbitt (2002) describes the 'market state' as the constitutional order superseding the nation state as the innovative basis for legitimacy in the face of the new capitalism. The market State proceeds on the basis that its role is to maximise the opportunities available to the members of its society, to allow the citizen to find what they need in the market, in contrast to the disposition of the welfarist nation state to redistribute and provide for public goods. Arguably, New Labour's conception of the consumer citizen aligns well with such a market state model. The New Labour White Paper, *Modern Markets: confident consumers* (1999), is unambiguous in its orientation of the citizen under the conception of consumer sovereignty. The citizen consumer is not merely a recognition of a new social reality by New Labour but is understood as a positively desirable aspect of the character of citizenship and beneficial to business (Peters, 2004). Consumers are to be 'equipped,' through education programmes, with the skills, knowledge, and the confidence to obtain a 'good deal.'

[Government will] ...improve consumer education and the usefulness of consumer information. The OFT is developing a consumer education strategy, with better co-ordination between both public and private sector bodies that deliver consumer education programmes. (DTI, 1999)

The Third Way of Blair and Giddens is constructed with a particular sensitivity to the class and party de-alignment trends of contemporary political agency. In government Third Way has sought to mediate the State, with its heterogeneous activities, institutions, arrangements and prerogatives, in such a way as to retain the support of an extended electoral base. This constituency of support is both abstract and quantifiable. It is conceptual in that it occupies a place in the governmental reason of New Labour while being at the same time possessing an empirical quality accessible through a range of devices such as the opinion poll or focus group. Mediating the posture and functions of the State to a diverse population produces a policy culture that is complex, contradictory and characterised by compromise, deals and calculations of state craft. Nevertheless, Third Way seeks to govern, understands the task of governing, in relation to the demands and expectations of what it imagines as a 'progressive coalition.' The new middle classes, the swing voters, are of

particular concern for New Labour, leading to an empathic disposition to the educational values and needs of this predominately aspirational and consumer orientated constituency. The attitude of such floating voters toward education tends to be characterised by a traditional concern with access to high status schools and the securing of credentials for their children.

Third Way and Compulsory Education

Within that region of Third Way's intellectual architecture concerned with education the primacy of the new knowledge vocationalism combined with attention to the preferences of the citizen of consumer democracy came to shape how compulsory education was to be understood and governed. In office, and the years immediately preceding 1997, this twin set of concerns would come to dominate the environment in which policy was initiated and formulated. A shift in the scheme of governmental reason is clearly detectable in the changes that followed the death of John Smith and the election of Blair to the leadership of the Labour Party. The alteration from Labour to New Labour, or in terms of a favoured insider metaphor the 'revolution' (Mandelson and Liddle, 1996, Gould, 1998), has an identifiable education dimension. The election defeat of 1992 was particularly traumatic for the Labour Party coming as it did in the face of a general optimism for victory. Following 1992 the Labour Party attempted to regroup under the leadership of the much respected Smith. Labour's thinking on compulsory education under Anne Taylor (as shadow secretary) can be read as reflecting a different schema of governmental reason. This conception of state reason had been evolving in the years between 1992 and 1994 under the painful constraint of electoral failure and continuous opposition. This context habituated Labour thinking on education which, unsurprisingly, was characterised by a reactivity in relation to the shifting agenda of reform pursued by successive Conservative governments.

Lawton (2005) identifies the Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR) as a significant contributor to Labour thought on education in the early 1990s. Its publications give some insight into what the Labour Party understood as difficulties within the educational state. During this period critical attention

was focused on the inequalities of market arrangements, the over prescriptive nature of the national curriculum and the shortcomings of its assessment. There was also work undertaken by the IPPR on the post 16 academic-vocational divide and on the issue of early selection and low participation within the education system. Anne Taylor's *Opening Doors to a Learning Society* (Labour Party, 1994) stands out as the most comprehensive account of how Labour intended to govern education prior to the election of Blair as party leader. This consultation document looked to affirm the need for quality and effectiveness within the state system of education but was at pains to locate this ambition in a grander vision that took inspiration from a set of values long associated with liberal education. Education required to be understood as contributing to the health of a modern democratic society, a learning society. That nature of this learning society was not to be limited to a vocational or functionalist view of education, to support an enduring economic participation, but looked to the development of the individual and the enrichment of society. However, the most significant aspect of this consultation document, in relation to changes to governmental reason, is its clear opposition to marketization and its rejection of competition as a driver of educational improvement. A combination of more traditional values associated with Labour's educational thought, the egalitarian 'best for every child,' was brought together with aspirations for equality of opportunity and affirmed as the values around which education should be structured. The consultation document premised Labour's intention to govern in ways that would roll back market competition and look to posture the educational state so as to seek a more equal distribution of educational goods. Various areas of New Right policy in education were highlighted as standing in need of revision and reform on the way towards a more virtuous education system. A measure of restoration to the standing of teachers was signalled. England's National curriculum would be revised to make it less restrictive, assessment would be realigned with learning rather than accountably demands and to provide more coherence post-16, and there was clear opposition and an intention to end selection.

Education and Third Way's Governmental Reason

Following the election of Blair in 1994 there is an obvious step change in educational ideology within the Labour Party's governmental reason. This alteration of course is marked by a switch of leading actors, significantly from Taylor to Blunkett, and unmistakably within the production of policy texts; moving from *Opening Doors to a Learning Society* to *Diversity and Excellence* (1995), *Excellence in Schools* (1997) and *The School Standards and Framework Act* (1998). Alongside the appointment of Blunkett to the shadow post in education, Michael Barber would become a key policy actor together with Blair and his own advisor on education Andrew Adonis. Pollard (2005) dramatically presents Blair's change of direction over *Opening Doors to a Learning Society* as the very first public action of the newly elected Blair.

Blair's first act as leader - on the Monday after his election - was a huge political signal of the changes that the party was about to undergo, marching into and taking control of a press conference by Anne Taylor, the then Shadow Education Secretary. ...Blair's actions made it perfectly clear that things would be changing, effectively dismissing the very document that Taylor was supposedly launching at the press conference and then removing her from her post in favour of Blunkett. (Pollard, 2005:178-9)

A particular understanding of what constituted 'education' coalesced among the principal actors with a hand in shaping the governmental reason of New Labour as it touched upon education. Blair as leader exhibited a self assurance over the question of education for New Labour. He had travelled the path, in his own educational biography, of a traditional, privileged academic education (boarding at Fettes College, an independent school in Edinburgh, then studying jurisprudence at St John's College, University of Oxford). Blair seemed to possess an instinct for what represented good education that was in sympathy with the middle class voters who had become a focal point for New Labour. Another indicator of Blair's conception of education can be detected in his choice of advisor, Andrew Adonis^{liv}. The product of a broken home, Adonis spent much of his childhood in local authority care, becoming a boarder at Kingham Hill School, a Church of England tradition school, around the age of 11. Kingham Hill operated in much the same way as England's public schools. This secondary education was followed by the study of modern history at Keble College, Oxford

and a higher degree at Christ Church. Adonis then had a period in academia as a fellow at Nuffield College Oxford. Adonis began his involvement in politics with the Liberal Democrats but joined New Labour in 1995.

Blair's choice of David Blunkett as first shadow and then Secretary of State for Education and Employment reflected a confidence in his calibre as a politician suitable for high office and as someone whose instincts on education aligned with his own. Whereas Anne Taylor was seen as closely associated with the teacher unions, in particular the NUT, Blunkett is presented by Pollard (2005:181) as a traditionalist 'who gave short shrift to the progressive theories that dominated the educational establishment.' Blunkett's biography, in a way that parallels Adonis, is a testimony to the power of education to transform lives that begin in what seem unpromising circumstances. Born in Sheffield, poverty was not the only disadvantage Blunkett had to contend with. He became blind at a very early age. In this biography Blunkett recounts an episode in his own educational career that has much to say about the value he placed on education and his less than warm disposition to progressive approaches. At 16 Blunkett went to a school for the blind called Albrighton Hall. Its regime was deliberately non-academic and the principal Dr Langdon, a caricature of progressivism, was opposed to the boys sitting exams, seeing this aspect of education as harmful (Pollard, 2005). This regime was detestable to Blunkett who harboured an ambition to go university. In the face of disapproval and with no support from the principal, Blunkett organized a group of five other boys who wanted to get qualifications. This required the group to make a demanding journey, after the school day, to the local college night school. Blunkett (1995:54) was clear that 'such an attitude angers me to this day because he had a PhD. I wonder how he thought he could become head of a college without qualifications.'

Michael Barber^{lv} was to become a key actor in determining New Labour's outlook on education. Barber stands out as the most prominent educational intellectual at the heart of the modernising circle shaping the New Labour project. Having been a teacher, union official, national spokesperson for the teacher unions and establishing a public profile as an academic, Barber came to the attention of David Miliband, at that time education adviser to Tony Blair.

By 1995 he was working with David Blunkett, becoming the main advisor on the initiation and formulation of future New Labour Education policy. The appeal of his approach to the consolidating governmental reason of Third Way is illustrated by his use of the *Times Educational Supplement* keynote lecture in March 1995. The title he chose was, *Imagining an End to Failure*, Barber used the speech to make the case for ‘closing down failing schools.’ In 1996 he published a book, *The Learning Game: Arguments for an Education Revolution*. Explicitly acknowledging his connection to New Labour, the book described what was termed the crisis in Britain’s education system and set out a range of solutions.

Two other policy actors deserve to be noted, Tim Brighouse had been a director of education in Oxfordshire, then professor of education at the University of Keele (to be succeeded by Barber), and in the early days of New Labour he was director of education for Birmingham. Brighouse was a New Labour advisor recognised as being in the progressive camp. As such his presence can be interpreted as a signal to the teacher unions and the wider Labour Party of New Labour’s recognition of long established concerns over the direction of the education system under the Conservatives. The second, Chris Woodhead, was inherited for the previous government. The retention of Woodhead is a clear instance of New Labour’s concern to send reassuring signals to the consumer citizen. In May 1997, Blunkett set up the National School Standards Task Force, controversially appointing Brighouse and Woodhead as joint chairs. The two chairs represented very different positions on education and had often clashed in the proceeding years. Blunkett later recalled, ‘...there was no way I could not appoint Tim Brighouse without most of the liberal/left-wing newspapers interpreting this as an insult to the teachers, and there was no way I could not appoint Chris Woodhead if I wanted to demonstrate rigour and toughness in achieving high standards’ (Blunkett, 2006:19). Notable in the symbolism of Woodhead’s retention (opposed^{lvi} by Blunkett) is the direct influence and logic of Blair and his inner circle of modernisers (Pollard, 2005).

The settled outlook on compulsory education that came to dominate the state reason of New Labour was comparatively traditional; combining the academic with the functional. The dominant point of view across the main policy actors above could perhaps be abstracted as being characterised by a conception of

education akin to a form of ‘banking’ (Freire, 1970). In its rudiments the educational state was required to ensure children and young people gained some obvious essential skills, and received, filed, stored and could reproduce ‘deposits’ of appropriate knowledge. To the minds of the main policy actors standards could be set for the acquisition of the contents of education, the deposits. Not only could the outcomes of education be benchmarked, but such measures were understood as being accessible to verification through established practices of testing. As this form of governmental reason consolidated it would locate the horizons from which New Labour would gaze upon compulsory education. What emerged into vision from this viewpoint was a system standing in obvious need of Third Way’s modernisation. The nature of this reform required that policy be less concerned with the content and meaning of education, in favour of an overriding preoccupation with driving improvement in efficiency of delivery, technical and organisational practices and measurable outcomes.

Yes I am a fundamentalist when it comes to education: I believe in discipline, solid mental arithmetic, learning to read and write accurately, plenty of homework, increasing expectations and developing potential - all the things which are anathema to many modern children. (Blunkett, 1995:48)

The Standards Imperative

What has come to be known as the ‘standards agenda’ stands out as the central education policy direction for New Labour in taking office. In 1997 Blunkett coordinated the writing of a white paper, *Excellence in Schools*. The meaning of excellence was presented as the establishment of arrangements in which high standards were achieved over the entire system. The 1997 manifesto promised to ‘attack low standards in schools,’ and that there would be, ‘zero tolerance of underperformance,’ government would intervene in inverse proportion to success. New Labour’s first major education bill was given the title *The Standards and Schools Framework*. It was to be the means by which a government eager to reform could begin to ‘raise standards, thus the use of targets throughout the system, from ministers down to individual pupils’ (Hargreaves, 2004:93). Whereas Conservative governments had put their faith in

choice and competition, New Labour would complement this strategy with its scheme of quantification, measurement and target setting.

Rose's (1999:20) exposition of an analytics of governmentality draws attention to its essential interest in 'programmes, techniques and devices which seek to shape conduct so as to achieve certain ends.' From the perspective of an analytics of governmentality policy and policy making can be understood as a form of meta-technology that operates to frame such ends and to condition a process for the selection of operational means. In the language of New Labour (Fairclough, 2000) the setting of such courses of action into policy, together with innovations to the assemblage of techniques, practices and administrative arrangements constructed to transact them, constitutes the essential task of 'modernisation.' In his elaboration of advanced liberal governmentality Rose clearly identifies as one of the markers that distinguish this variety of state reason as being the mobilisation of an array of techniques including: 'monetization, marketization, enhancement of the powers of the consumer, financial accountability and audit' (Rose, 1993:249).

This feature of advanced liberal government is a conspicuous attribute of Third Way governmental reason comprising the very essence of modernisation. As part of this rationalisation of government practice New Labour devised novel metrics to legitimate the nature of reform in public services. Results on such metrics became a central policy concern, perhaps most clearly symbolised by the establishment of a 'delivery' unit inside number 10 to drive forward public sector reform (Seldon, 2004). New Labour's governmental reason should not be understood as a grudging concession to a public sector mode of operation previously transformed under the project of the New Right. Rather, the regimes of control, steering and management of conduct made possible by the NPM, together with the application of assumptions and techniques made available by managerialism, are taken up as a deliberate and positive element in Third Way's rationalisation of government practice. Significant within New Labour's thinking on how to pursue its policy ambitions for education is its accommodation and acceptance of the market reforms and restructuring introduced by the project of the New Right. In tandem with this continuity, New Labour (in its approach, its organisational style and its managerial orthodoxy) embraced managerialism and

extended the techniques of the NPM. A panoply of targets, league tables, accountingization regimes, regulation, external inspection and output focused development planning was mobilised, forming the very microphysics of modernisation.

New Labour's standards agenda located assessment outcomes as the main metric of delivery in school education. Lawton (2005:122) parodies Blair's 'education, education, education' with 'targets, targets, targets,' as he laments the target culture introduced into education by New Labour. From the perspective of governmentality however, the use of this arrangement of techniques becomes predictable, conventional, as New Labour took office. The use of measurement, quantification and target setting in governing education only mirrors its ubiquitous application across public services. Across the apparatus of the State, from health to housing and social welfare, such regimes formed part of an orthodoxy of state reason. The reliance placed in this technology to manage conduct is perhaps most vividly exemplified in targets being set^{lvii} and written into contracts for ministers leading government departments.

In taking office Blunkett was able to put into motion an approach that had been worked up in the preceding two years of opposition. Both in terms of the organization of government and the development of policy, this approach reflected how the government of education was to be understood and achieved. Barber was speedily appointed as a special advisor, his main task would be to lead the new Standards and Effectiveness Unit (SEU). This was a notable innovation in the way the Department for Education and Employment had administered education and encountered resistance from within the civil service (Blunkett, 2006). The intended role of the SEU was not only to be policy reform but primarily 'delivery;' driving implementation across the system. The unit was to grow under the leadership of Barber to employ a staff of around 100 people.

The governmental reason that came to animate the Third Way state carried the twin imperatives of economic success, in the conditions of knowledge capitalism, and the necessity to rule so as to mediate the State, in its heterogeneous existences, to its population while retaining the approval of a coalition of consumer citizens. New Labour's standards agenda has among its

origins the influence of what Ball (1999) has called ‘global policy paradigms.’ This international discourse heralds the end of economic nationalism and the arrival of the global economy. Capital no longer has any inhibitions over national borders and will flow to regions where the skills and education base match its requirements. In this context, flexibility, employability and human capital recourses are key concerns for economic prosperity. This economic discourse places a new premium on international comparisons of educational attainment. New Labour’s government of education must be understood in this context, reflecting their preoccupation with the new knowledge vocationalism and with contributing to social cohesion through employability and preparedness for participation in paid work. The standards agenda can be primarily understood as a response to governing education that emerges from the ambition to govern so as to meet the demands of the new knowledge vocationalism. Importantly, this policy imperative had the added attraction of providing the strong reassuring signal on education demanded by the consumer citizen.

Standards not Structures

The focus on standards is a comprehensible attempt to govern education shaped and conditioned by aspects of the state reason that had consolidated within Third Way. New Labour’s structuring of the educational state can also be elucidated in relation to its preoccupation with governing education so as to retain support from the consumer citizen. The structure of the educational state (types of provision, access, curricula, assessment and outcomes) emerged in the post war period as an arena of political struggle. Following 1945, under the burgeoning state of welfare, the universal provision of secondary education under a tripartite system^{lviii} was introduced. This was followed in the 1960s by the comprehensive movement. It was the Labour Party who had led the movement for comprehensive education, driven by growing disquiet over early selection, the blighting of life prospects and a desire to make the education system provide more equality of opportunity. Following from the 1960s, a conception of the common school, taking children of all abilities, with no selection, became an article of faith, an educational totem, for the Labour Party (McSmith, 1996).

As New Labour approached the 1997 election, the structure of education had been, in the interim, significantly altered by the New Right's attempt to govern education through marketization and the normalisation of 'choice and diversity.' This was to provide an internal and external dilemma for the key policy actors shaping New Labour's ambitions for the educational state. This dilemma comes into view clearly over the question of Grant Maintained schools (GM schools). The provision for schools (through a ballot of parents, initiated by its governing body or a proportion of parents) to seek Grant-maintained status was provided in the Education Reform Act 1988. GM schools were directly funded from central government and managed by their own board of school governors. GM status also allowed schools to apply directly to central government for capital funds intended for work on the school estate. Most significantly GM schools were given latitude to set their own admissions criteria; this ranged from schools becoming fully or partial selective with some using approaches such as selection by interview. GM schools had the twin attractions of circumventing the Local Education Authority and promoting the choice and diversity desired within the system. The left found the selective dimension of this reform deeply objectionable and saw the removal of control from local education authorities (often Labour controlled) as a loss of democratic accountability. In the early months of his leadership, Blair had controversially send his son Euan to a selective Catholic GM school, the London Oratory, making clear the importance of parental choice in the decision.

In opposition Labour had opposed GM schools, a view supported by a considerable proportion of the party. Significantly such a course of action would now be discordant with the governmental reason animating the New Labour project. In addition, New Labour's key policy actors viewed any form of return to local authority control as sending the wrong signal, jeopardizing the approval of the consumer citizen. The resolution developed by Blunkett and his advisors was typical of Third Way's focus on delivery, all schools would be funded locally, but importantly would have more autonomy, GM Schools would be rebranded as Foundation Schools and would be required to have two local authority representatives on their board of governors. This policy was developed in dialogue with the Association of Grant Maintained Schools to ensure a level of

acceptance; many GM schools were in marginal seats. Blunkett recorded in his diary in the early months of taking office that it was:

...hard to remember just how exercised people were by the issue of grant-maintained schools and remaining selection: not until the white paper produced in the autumn of 2005 did we see revision to the old arguments. But from 1994 to 1996 the battle was raging inside the party, and the document we produced for the party conference in autumn 1995 which spelt out the changes we wished to make was only narrowly carried - indeed, at one stage it genuinely looked as if we were going to lose the vote. Although in the long run this would not have changed our direction, it would have been a tremendous humiliation and, more importantly, would have sent entirely the wrong signal to the electorate, allowing our critics in the press to paint us as obsessed with the very thing that we had been accusing our opponents of having an obsession about - structures and status, rather than standards. (Blunkett, 2006:4)

‘Standards not structures’ had become the guiding policy narrative between 1995 and taking office. Pollard (2005:190) credits the coining of the ‘standards matter more than structures’ phrase to Michael Barber at a decisive seminar on education organised by David Miliband (then Blair’s policy chief) at the House of Commons in January of 1995. Mandelson and Liddle in their book *The Blair Revolution*, written during this period, provide an early instance of the adoption of this line. In a section discussing opportunity and investment in skills they explain, ‘New Labour believes that, throughout schooling, standards are more important than structures’ (Mandelson and Liddle, 1996:92). The 1997 manifesto promised to ‘attack low standards in schools.’ The assertion ‘standards not structures’ is well established by the time it appears in the white paper *Excellence in Schools* (1997). This position had the advantage of acting to neutralise the contentious issue of diversity in the school system introduced through marketization, typified in the question of the future of GM and grammar schools, and allowing New Labour to govern education in a way that more closely reflected its form of governmental reason. However, beyond a policy narrative that centred standards, New Labour’s advanced liberal ethos of government demanded changes to the structure of the educational state.

In responding to the consumer citizen, and the desire for higher standards, New Labour took a comparatively modest policy innovation - that of ‘specialist schools’ introduced under the previous Conservative government - and

reengineered it into its central policy thrust in relation to England's state system. New Labour would use diversity and specialisation to drive its reform of secondary schooling. Schools were encouraged to specialise under such banners as technology, sports, languages, arts, business, science, engineering and enterprise. Schools that specialised were given additional funding, and allowed to select up to 10% of their intake on the basis of aptitude or ability. Along with specialist schools other structural innovations would be deployed: Education Action Zones involving the private sector, The Excellence in Cities programme, aimed at the educational difficulties of the inner cities. Critics pointed to the dangers of diversity in the creation of a hierarchy of schools, and the risk of concentrating disadvantage and reducing opportunities for sections of children in a market system. Critics from the left (Hill, 2002) have described this process in terms of the 'hierarchicalisation and differentiation' of schools. Such policy ambitions go some way to explain the depreciatory 'bog standard, one size fits all' public rhetoric of New Labour in relation to its argument for modernisation of comprehensive education. Critics such as Hill view New Labour's specialist schools as a retreat from the comprehensive ideal under a cloak in which diversity and claims of concern for the educational needs of the individual child are centred. Woodward (2002) in one analysis describes the new structural topography of English education, under the Third Way project, in terms of constituting a thirteen fold hierarchy of secondary schools:

1. Advanced schools: Elite group of 300 schools expected to lead curriculum innovation
2. City academies: 33 by 2006. Backed with £2m from private donors
3. Specialist schools: Some 990 now - expected to double to 2,000 by 2006
4. Beacon schools: Schools which spread expertise throughout their area.
5. Training schools: Carry out on-job teacher training
6. Grammar schools: 164 still in England
7. Secondary moderns: 11-plus failures and others
8. Schools working toward specialist status but have not yet applied
9. Extended schools: Provide all-day schooling in deprived communities
10. Fresh Start schools: Failing schools given new name and new leadership
11. Contract schools: Businesses take over failing schools and run them
12. Schools in serious weakness: Schools having problems
13. Schools in special measures: 'Failing schools'.

Structures and Selection

In the ambitions for education that were expressed in the final days of Old Labour the 'selection' of children for entry into schools was clearly articulated as unacceptable; contradicting socialist values as they applied to education. In the immediate pre-Blair period Labour was clear in its intentions to administer the educational state so as to eliminate the practice of selection. This direction did not fit with the new logic of the state in education that took shape in the years following the election of Blair to the leadership of the Party. Selection, like structure, proved a fault line along which internal party conflict became visible. The educational modernisers only narrowly triumphed in first rehabilitating and then extending this practice within the governmental reason of Third Way. The early dramatic high point of this shift came at the 1995 party conference in Brighton. The policy document *Diversity and Excellence* was the focus of a heated and passionate debate over the direction of education policy. The document presented the revision of GM schools while at the same time offering to traditionalists what seemed to be an intention to end selection. Labour's traditionalists wanted a move toward a national unified secondary structure (McSmith, 1996). This would mean removing the multiplicity of admission arrangements for 163 grammar schools, 15 city technology colleges and 1,155 GM schools (Chitty, 2002). The traditionalist case was made in a influential speech by Roy Hattersley, which received a standing ovation. Hattersley defended the comprehensive ideal and described Blunkett's proposals for foundation schools as, GM schools by another name. Blunkett made a speech setting out the case for the policy direction contained in *Diversity and Excellence*. However, at a seminal point during the speech Blunkett parodied George Bush senior's rhetoric on taxes, 'read my lips,' and then went on to state that under a Labour government there would be 'no selection, either by examination or by interview.' This statement was greeted with a standing ovation and was understood to announce the end of selection. However, Blunkett claimed to have made an error, and that his declaration 'should have read no more selection'. The omission of the 'more' according to Blunkett, 'shouldn't have mattered, not least because in the seventeen broadcast interviews I did after my speech I made our position abundantly clear' (Blunkett, 2006:5). For the traditionalists Blunkett had made a promise that had help carry

the most contentious policy document of the 1995 conference^{lix}. A position of 'no selection meant the end of grammar schools and a new regime of equal access to secondary school. The introduction of 'no more' authorized current arrangements for selection to remain, this was seen by many in the traditional camp of the Labour Party as dishonest.

England's remaining grammar schools emerged as another instance of the influence of the consumer citizen on how the educational state should be ordered. It provides a very useful case study of Third Way in education and its concern to send the right 'signals.' This significance of New Labour's position on grammar schools is apparent when viewed in the light of Old Labour's policy position on selection and comprehensive education. The policy positions available to New Labour on selection had a direct implication on the stance that they can defensibly take on the future of existing grammar schools under a New Labour administration. In practice, New Labour's policy position on grammar schools was presented as a democratic gesture, handing over to parents the right to make decisions on the future of local schools. This would be made possible through the mechanism of a ballot on future status, the outcome determining if a school remained selective or became comprehensive. To trigger such a ballot parents in favour of a change had to collect a required number of signatures from parents who would be eligible to vote. Critics have pointed to such trigger thresholds, and to the regulations that govern which parents are eligible to vote in such a ballot, as barriers that reinforce the status quo, therefore effectively neutralising the political risks associated with this issue. Ripon Grammar School in North Yorkshire was the first grammar school to have a ballot on its future status. It was won by parents wanting to maintain selection - by 1,493 votes to 747 on a 74.8% turnout. This can be presented as a democratic solution to a long running issue of contention or understood as a clever containment, or avoidance, of a deeply symbolic and potentially damaging policy issue in relation to reforming the structure of state education.

The Literacy and Numeracy Hour

New Labour's policy approach to literacy and numeracy stands out as a significant archetype of their embrace of an advanced form of liberal

government. In charting the way to the strong educational state, school attainment in literacy and numeracy became for New Labour a troublesome sector in need of intervention. In his 1996 Observer article^{lx} (*Let Blair be his own education chief*, which brought him to the attention of Blair) Adonis lamented that the ‘statistics are depressing, even breathtaking.’ Miliband had Michael Barber prepare a briefing paper on literacy and numeracy for Blair, which he read on his way to the G8 summit in June of 1997 (Seldon, 2004). Barber, had chaired a ‘literacy taskforce,’ set up by Blunkett in 1996 to formulate an approach to this issue. This was to result in a strategy that was implemented within months of taking office’ (Blunkett, 2006). This was unsurprisingly a technicist approach focused on performance that followed the logic of the new knowledge vocationalism. Along with targets, there would be prescribed materials and pedagogical approaches; together with the requirement that an hour be devoted to literacy and numeracy teaching each day. What is markedly ‘advanced’ about this policy is its clear breach and subjugation of expertise which had operated previously in ‘enclosures within which authority could not be challenged’ (Rose, 1993:295).

Scotland and Advanced Liberal Government

The Scottish experience serves as another context in which to view the movement of an educational state under the early governmental reason of Third Way. It serves to illustrate the contingent and improvisational character of regimes of government. The actual reforms enacted on Scotland’s education system under both the New Right and New Labour never exhibited the starkness and radical edge evident south of the border. However, the same governmental reason has driven very significant change in Scotland. The actual form, extent and depth of change has nevertheless, been the product of a policy process that has incorporated differing measures of imposition, consultation, opposition, and compromise, mediated through a national context contingent upon a particular set of historical conjunctions.

Scotland has long maintained and cherished its own distinctive system of education, perhaps not as different in essence today from its large southern neighbour as some would like to believe, but it is a system shaped and

inextricably bound up with national fortunes. It is almost impossible to survey constructions of Scottish identity without unearthing notions of Scottish education interwoven in some configuration. Explanatory and legitimising mythology is to be found in even the most sophisticated and modern of societies. Myths elude tests of reality, they operate at a submerged subtextual level, seeping values, beliefs and orientations to action into human consciousness. The myth of the 'American Dream,' success being available to all through hard work and talent, has an equivalent in Scottish consciousness, the 'lad o'pairs' (McCrone, 2003). This 19th century characterisation is of course male, typically a son of the soil, lowly of birth, originating from an agrarian social order predating urbanisation. The young man has his talents recognised in the school of the parish, bequest of the protestant reformation, and is supported by those of means to attend one of the ancient universities and often to enter one of the great professions. The lad o'pairs is a myth of social mobility, an important expression and motif of the strong egalitarian strand to Scottish identity. The symbolism of the lad o'pairs illustrates the way in which Scottish education has functioned as one of the principal locations bearing and sustaining resources of national identity following the union of the crowns in 1707.

Accounts of Scotland's place in the union commonly say that national identity came to depend on three sets of institutions: the law, the Church, and education. Sometimes local government is added to this institutional set of pillars along with -from the twentieth century- the media (Paterson, 2000a:10). The existence of myths provide a subterranean and powerful resource that can be put to work, legitimising and persuading in favour of diverse agendas. In assembling a rhetoric of persuasion the symbolism and language of the lad o'pairs has been laid claim to by both the left and right (Paterson, 2000b). The place of educational mythology in the Scottish psyche has important implications for change and policy making. Reform perceived as injurious to Scottish education can rapidly be interpreted through national sensibilities as being synonymous with an assault on Scottish identity itself. This cultural context was to have a detectable impact on the outcome of Conservative reforms to Scottish Education and in the posture and tone of New Labour north of the border following the 1997 election. While the new knowledge vocationalism has dominated educational reform for those shaping New Labour's state reason,

concern with the consumer citizen has been supplanted with the need to govern in accord with the Caledonian citizen.

While Scottishness is much stronger north of the border than comparable national identities in other parts of the UK, it has a pervasive effect, colouring virtually all aspects of social and political life (Paterson, 2003:120)

New Labour and the Educational State in Scotland

The restructuring of Scotland's Education system took place amid the turbulence and establishment phase of devolution. This is an important maker of the political climate of reform. In the task of gaining consent and preserving support, government, in ordering devolved areas and functions of the State its looks to strike a compromise with the constituencies that have legitimised it through their support. In gathering and maintaining such popular support, politicians are inclined to work with the grain of national sensibilities; this is positively the case in Scotland. In a devolved context, education emerges (alongside areas such as health and law and order) as a key terrain of political contestation. Any executive needs to be seen to be competent and innovative, crafting and maintaining an evolving and coherent political narrative (Doherty, 2003).

One way to conceive the settlement that comprises the reform of Scotland's education system under the state reason of Third Way is to view it as representing the outcome of the politics and compromises of the devolved context. Any such settlement is mediated in the main by the relative power and patterns of interaction between the Executive, departments of the State apparatus, local government and organised teacher labour. These are in effect the central players that are active in the Scottish institutional context that contains its policy system. The social order that sustains this system (see layer policy model Figure 4.1) is characterised by Scottishness. The Labour Party has from its origins contained members who understand this set of sensibilities. This devolved context was to produce an alteration in governmental reason, a Scottish strain of Third Way governmentality, that would order the policy system and infuse the pre-initiation, initiation and formulation of policy for education in Scotland. It is through filtration in this national policy system that international

and supranational policy imperatives and objectives are vernacularised and emerge in a Caledonian form. The present Scottish settlement could be characterised as expressing the successful mediation of the educational State to a majority of the electorate, and a working compromise with other central actors such in the policy community at the commencement of the devolved context.

The seeds of reform that were planted and cultivated within Scottish education by successive Conservative administrations have continued to flourish under the nurture of the Scottish franchise of New Labour. The narrative of reform is, on the other hand, of a particularly Scottish strain, less overt in practice and less strident in tone. It could be ventured that New Labour, with its powerful hold over local government and its penetration of unions and the institutional locations and fora that were the focus of resistance to the Thatcher project in Scotland, together with its successful McCrone (2000) accord with the teacher unions, has been able to intensify control and performance management in ways that would have seemed fanciful to previous Conservative administrations. New Labour's Scottish standards agenda has, without precipitating national controversy, succeeded in intensifying the focus of schools on attainment as measured through external assessment. Pressures on performance have been exerted by a host of strategies reflecting New Labour's form of advanced liberal governmentality.

In comparison to restructuring in England, reform in Scotland has tended to be identified with the retention of elements and features characteristic of the public service beliefs associated with the state of welfare. This has been described in terms of a 'revived public service partnership model' (Ozga, 2005) or the continuation of a 'public service ethic' and 'trust in teachers' (Menter et al., 2004). In contrast, Ball when discussing the English experience of performativity feels compelled to describe teachers' experiences in terms of 'terrors' (Ball, 2003). Ozga (2005), drawing on the EGSIE^{lxi}, study directs our attention to the English context as emerging from this study as the most 'extreme' case of restructuring. Against such an acute comparator, Scotland, with its established and close-fitting policy community (Humes, 2000b, Humes, 1986) and a public climate that has reverberated with ideas of new politics and

consultation in the wake of the opening of the Holyrood Parliament, emerges as retaining something of what could be described as the social democratic virtues of policy making. While both Ozga and Menter and his colleagues can rightly point to consultational arrangements and negotiated reforms that contrast and discord with the English context, a review of the restructuring of Scotland's education system needs to take account of Scotland's own particular regime for the government of education. Collectively Scotland's educational workforce has never been more accountable, observed, statistically analysed and held firmly in the grip of a growing plethora of policy exhortations, requirements, and priorities. At the same time this new professional context has been engineered without rousing any detectable public conflict in the open spaces of political and civil discourse. Three illustrations are offered to help exemplify the Scottish variety of the standards agenda: the use of development planning, statistical monitoring and self-evaluation, a brief survey of the contents of the first legislation on education by the new Scottish Parliament^{lxii}, and a consideration of the *Agreement on Teachers' Pay and Conditions of Service* (EIS, 2001). The three illustrations are discussed as a way of giving form to the role of the new knowledge vocationalism implicit in the priorities of the State in Scottish education.

Development planning, Scotland's statistical panopticon and Self-evaluation

Development Planning has been promoted and encouraged by Scotland's policy makers over the last decade. It has evolved from use by a small number of interested schools to become a nationally binding orthodoxy. A retrospective reading of statements and publications emanating from the inspectorate (HMIE) and the Scottish Education Department (SED) and its predecessors, traces its emergence as a technology of control and conformity. The discourse surrounding development planning has moved from an establishment phase that alerted schools to a useful technique for managing change and improvement, to a phase of expectation that such practices are mainstream, only justifiably absent in schools that had found alternative techniques and systems. This progression has culminated in the final casting of development planning as explicitly required by force of legislation. This use of a compulsory development-planning framework

has been accompanied by a parallel trend of central dictation of developmental priorities and their enforced insertion within the planning priorities of local authorities and individual schools and their cascading downward into department development plans.

Within this basic framework there are variations of tone and emphasis. Sometimes the continuing potency of hard-edged managerialism is in evidence. This is apparent in the invocation of terms like ‘objectives’ and ‘targets’, ‘competences’ and ‘standards’, ‘achievement’ and ‘effectiveness’, ‘quality’ and ‘accountability’. The emphasis is on rational strategic and operational planning, usually with a focus on ‘delivery’ within a clearly defined time-scale. School development planning is an example of this. (Humes, 2000a:43)

Scotland’s inspectorate has helped operationalise New Labour’s standards and quality agenda through well established patterns of external inspection, the promotion of self-evaluation and target setting. Scotland has approximately 460 secondary schools, 95% of Scottish children receiving their secondary education in the state sector in an all-through (11-18) comprehensive school. The scale of the Scottish system has made achievable the task of constructing what could be described as a national statistical panopticon (Foucault, 1977). This numerical regime holds all local authority secondary schools simultaneously frozen in its gaze, as its harsh objective light illuminates every statistically significant contour, deviation, trend and performance. This regime is exemplified by two ways of measuring examination performance, through measurements identified as ‘relative value’ (previously relative ratings) and ‘progression value’ (previously value added). Relative values are produced for secondary schools and measure differences in pupil progress across all of the subject departments within a particular secondary school. This highlights departments in which pupils tend to achieve above or below an average baseline across all subjects, therefore allowing and encouraging scrutiny using a between-department comparison. Progression value measures use statistical analysis to quantify pupil progress from the first stage of public examinations in comparison to the outcome of upper school examinations (Highers). This comparison has both an inter-departmental dimension and a national dimension through referencing to a national average measure of progress.

Standard Tables and Charts (STACs) contain data and an analysis of pupil attainment in national qualifications produced by the Scottish Education

Department. The data is analysed in the form of tables and charts and has been issued to education authorities and schools since August 2001. Behind this analysis stands a genealogy that chronicles the development of statistical process control applied to Scottish secondary schools stretching back to the 1980s (Cowie and Croxford, 2006). STACs form the central stream of data on examination performance that is directed toward local authorities and the senior management teams of individual schools. Performance is enumerated internally, between subject departments, and notably in comparison to a basket of schools with ‘similar’ intake profiles. Departments will typically have regular presentations from management teams on the basis of such data and the performance indicator 2.1, ‘pupils’ attainment in relation to national 5-14 levels and/or in national examinations’ (HMIE, 2001).

Local authority staff, who in the past would have described their role in terms of an education advisory service, have been restructured in the new context as ‘quality improvement officers’. Central to the carrying out of this role is the use of varying degrees of statistical literacy. The analysis of such performance data has also provided new commercial opportunities in Scotland for the private sector through selling consultancy to local authorities around the requirement to analyse and monitor school improvement information. Teachers, subject departments and school managers increasingly live and move in a professional context delineated by performance numbers, indices and ratings. The development of the Scottish Exchange of Educational Data (ScotXed^{lxiii}) is the most recent and visible embodiment of Scotland’s statistical panopticon. This programme aims to develop a national coordinated information management and exchange system providing access to information for monitoring and quality assurance.

Self-evaluation is a noteworthy aspect of the standards climate in Scotland (HMIE, 1996). Self-evaluation is a fundamental aspect of the Scottish performativity culture and plays a central role in policy narratives around quality and improvement; furthermore, this rationality has been exported internationally^{lxiv} across the EU and to countries as diverse as Canada, Australia, Hong Kong, the Pacific islands, and African nations. HMIE have been central in the promotion of systematic self-evaluation using ‘Quality Indicators’; indicators

that include performance data. On a benign reading, it is worth noting the attraction of self-evaluation with its location of responsibility at the level of the school, potentially involving the whole school, led by the headteacher. This can appeal to the professional autonomy of teachers, signifying a positioning of responsibility for quality with those who provide the service. The self-evaluation policy has had the added attraction of contrasting with the more externally imposed and caustic Ofsted regime south of the border.

From a critical position, it is not too hard to see the attraction of, and understand international interest in, a rationality of quality improvement that locates the responsibility for improvement with the provider. This is a rationality in keeping with the technologies of control that characterise advanced liberalism (Rose, 1999). Teachers and school leaders are guided towards internalising the language and topography of what constitutes a good school, and to conceive of their professional world with reference to such horizons. This collective technique of introspection has an underlying potential to reshape professional subjectivity, particularly as the logic of professionalism is defined by others, rather than by teachers themselves. This powerful set of ideas fosters 'self-inspection', an examination of the collective professional conscience, in relation to an official narrative of the good school. Such practices look to locate ownership of emerging deficiency, inadequacy and underperformance in the self-evaluating self of the teacher.

The Standards in Scotland's Schools etc. Act 2000

The Standards in Scotland's Schools etc. Act 2000 was the first major education legislation of the new Scottish parliament. It is a remarkable Act when considered in relation to any discussion of the new knowledge vocationalism. Disappointment awaits anyone searching for the declaration of a grand vision or philosophy of Scottish education to act as a datum in the birth of the new post-devolution Scotland. In Section 2 there is a notable declaration of the right of the child to a form of education that develops her or his 'personality, talents and mental and physical abilities... to their fullest potential', but after this departure to conform with United Nations convention on the rights of the child, the Act turns to its main business of tightening control, extending surveillance

and pursuing New Labour's standards agenda. The Act allows for the executive to set 'national priorities' for school education and to '...define and publish measures of performance in respect to the priorities'. Direction from the centre has long been a feature of the Scottish system (Humes, 1986) but in central priorities there is an intensification of control and a legislative extension of the centre's reach in agenda setting and climate building at the local level.

Sections 3 to 7 of the Act, under the heading of 'Raising Standards' embody distilled mechanisms of performativity, legislation inspired by the technology of managerialism, a regime of surveillance, control and measurement. The sections above establish the legal requirement for both schools and local authorities to produce a development plan and to annually report on its implementation. Statements of improvement objectives become mandatory alongside reviews of individual school performance. Sections 9 to 12 of the Act bolster external inspection markedly by the introduction of powers of inspection over local authorities. This extension to the field of measurement puts educational directorates and local government administrations on clear notice that inspection will be triggered by inadequate performance. There is a sense in which it could be argued that many of the provisions in the Act could be realised without the force of legislation, or were implied in previous legislation. This draws attention to the symbolism and pathos of the Act, its role as an element within a political narrative that seeks to make a strong statement on the conduct of education in a new devolved context.

The Teaching Profession

The professional context of Scotland's teachers has altered under what has come to be known in Scotland as 'McCrone'.^{lxv} The *Committee of Inquiry into Professional Conditions of Service for Teachers* (McCrone, 2000) chaired by Professor Gavin McCrone, was established early in the term of the newly elected Labour-dominated Holyrood government. The committee reported its findings in May of 2000. The context of McCrone is important in understanding its initiation and subsequent implementation. There are conceivably three main characters in this production, and each entered the stage with their own set of concerns, vested interests, and a concomitant set of risks. For the New Labour Executive,

in a fledgling devolved government context in which expectations were running high, there was a strong political motivation to make an agreement with teachers, while keeping to the New Labour agenda of modernisation for public services. This is evidenced by the funding found by Sam Galbraith (then Minister for Education) to increase the rejected 3% pay offer made by the local authorities to the teacher unions and the resultant one year deal; a 3.5% settlement that coincided with the setting up of the McCrone inquiry. This period was contemporary with performance or “threshold” payments; the system of pay linked to results being advocated by New Labour in the face of opposition from the teaching profession in England (Menter et al., 2004). While in the English context Blair could lament the pace of reform in public services, most notably in his ‘scars on my back’ speech in July 1999 to an audience of venture capitalists at London’s Intercontinental Hotel, no sensible Labour politician in Scotland would dare risk anything approaching such rhetoric.

New Labour politically could not afford any public dispute with teachers, having campaigned for the elections to the Holyrood parliament on an education agenda spearheaded by a policy of ‘Community Schools.’ The teacher unions were also under pressure from a dissatisfied and increasingly restless teaching force. McCrone had been preceded by the failed so-called ‘millennium review’, an attempt to negotiate a restructuring of teachers work involving the employers in the form of local government (COSLA^{lxvi}) and the unions. There was a widespread suspicion by teachers that calls for ‘flexibility’ within the millennium review masked a desire on the employers’ side to intensify teachers’ work for little in return. Past alliances between Labour and the teacher unions against a common enemy in Conservative governments and the support of Labour by many within the teaching profession heightened expectations. The third actor in this unholy trinity was local government, the administrators of education, technically the employers of teachers, deeply anxious about the financial and staffing implications of any new agreement on pay and conditions and ambitious to bring flexibility to the work order of teachers. The agreement that was reached in 2001 (and perhaps more accurately the internal wrangles, compromises and tradeoffs that went on behind the closed doors of some of Scotland’s most well-appointed hotels leading up to the finalising of the agreement, see Pickard and

Dobie, 2003) is an episode deserving of further research in charting the recent restructuring of the teaching profession in Scotland.

The agreement (EIS, 2001) has altered the work of teachers in Scotland, restructuring and reconstructing it in a way that harmonises with international trends in labour flexibility that now define the 'new work order' (Helsby, 1999) for Scotland's teachers. This new work order is a broth that not only reflected its ingredients but also reflects the ambitions and priorities of its signatories in the heat of a particular political juncture. From the perspective of policymakers, the agreement help to put in place the structures and measures necessary to achieve the 'shared objective of a world class education service which will fit our children well for the 21st century' (EIS, 2001). The arrangements contained the 'incentives' seen as necessary to support current and future reform in education: significant salary enhancement (21.5% over three years), reduced class contact time and a notional overall reduction in working hours, with the freeing of teachers from responsibilities that could be undertaken by support staff. In return the employers gained the measures they thought necessary to deliver the flexible teaching workforce (flatter management hierarchies, flexible job design, expanded responsibilities, local negotiation, and mandatory planned and recorded continuing professional development of 35 hours) that could take their place in 'an integrated public sector career network.' In essence, McCrone provided the means to come to a new settlement on the conditions of service for the teaching workforce with a view to supporting the standards agenda and other policy aims of the new Executive and at the same time conceding to the well established agenda for change found within COSLA. Teachers in the form of organised labour were, in terms of the process and political climate, much better placed in Scotland to negotiate gains and concessions, in contrast to the profession south of the border.

Governing Education

Governing is reflexive, dynamic and unfolds with a temporality. The destination for the educational state under Third Way remained unaltered, but the search for more efficient, more productive, tactics and strategies of government would

be a constant concern for those in possession of political sovereignty. By New Labour's second term in office the devices and strategies employed to create the desired order within compulsory education were being adjusted, recalculated. Hargreaves (2004) describes one such shift as comprising a move from a concern with 'system excellence' to include an increased realisation of the need for 'personal excellence.' This new adjustment took the form of a new effort to require 'responsiveness to learning needs through personalization' (Smyth and Gunter, 2009). Personal excellence required less reliance on central control in favour of ways in which teachers and schools could be encouraged to be innovative in the services they provided to the pupil.

New Labour's state reason provided a frame for what constituted the prosperous State. This governmentality actively shaped and extended into the ordering of the educational state, fashioning a schematic that outlined how compulsory education should be governed. As the section above has attempted to underline, New Labour in compulsory education had to be first created in thought. The emergent educational logic lashed together and borrowed much from traditional educational ideas and practices. The new knowledge vocationalism together with consumer democracy (through its consumer citizens), came to act coextensively, comprising the dominant context for the 'conduct of conduct' in education. The array of means, tactics, administrative arrangements and managerial techniques employed towards these ends surface as archetypal identifiers of an advanced liberal mode of government. It would be within this climate that the third aspect of New Labour's broader ambitions for education was developed; concern to educate the excluded or to educate for resistance to the threat of exclusion.

Schooling the Excluded

Claiming continuity with classic social democracy and in contrast to the governmental reason of the New Right, Third Way's new social democracy looked to govern the social with a conscious concern for social cohesion and the health of the social order. Resting on a more pessimistic view of human nature, New Labour's concern for the social order also carries within it a thread of social conservatism; present in the problematization of the existence and conduct of the excluded. This governmental reason produces a social policy culture that seeks social integration, but harbours a disposition towards authoritarianism; welfare benefits, for example, being an entitlement that brings 'strong reciprocal obligations.' Paid work came to be seen by New Labour as the main social integrator, closely followed by education and training for employability. New Labour's adoption of social exclusion would be taken up as a recognisable policy problem across a gamut of public policy, including: urban renewal, health, housing, access to services, particular groups and community education (Percy-Smith, 2000). Education and skill acquisition came to be positioned within the logic of this policy culture as the best guarantor of future inclusion and social integration through employment. Within this general policy trajectory compulsory education came to be understood as a first level guarantor of the education and skill acquisition that would in turn inoculate against future exclusion.

Figure 11.5 represents a section of the layered policy model (see Figure 4.1) that attempts to signify the policy climate within which 'problems' come to be recognised, defined and courses of action or inaction embarked upon. Governmental reason can be conceived as forming the dominant conditioning element within the climate that surrounds policy making. While political projects and their ideological commitments offer directions, ideals and objectives, this broad set of purposes and imperatives requires 'translation' (Rose, 1996:43) into an assemblage of practices, relations, tactics and technologies that can transmit the authority of political sovereignty into a multitude of locations, institutions and onto a host of practices, activities and roles. Governmental reason takes up such ambitions and connects them with lines of action that seem to provide an infrastructure through which to act upon

the conduct of conduct. Modern governmental reason combines a conception of the successful State, a reflexiveness over the state of the State, with a perceptual apparatus for the recognition of a host of problematizations that must be governed towards resolution or containment, together with preferences for forms of knowledge and technical mechanisms through which the power of government can be enacted. In preceding sections an attempt was been made to elaborate the governmental reason of New Labour, Figure 11.5 tries to represent something of the prominence of such a mentality of government in precipitating initiation within the policy system. The problem of educating those at risk of exclusion was clearly present in the governmental reason of Third Way, however, under scrutiny, as outlined above, the climate surrounding New Labour's policy initiation comes into view as one dominated by concerns with the new knowledge vocationalism and the constraints of consumer democracy.

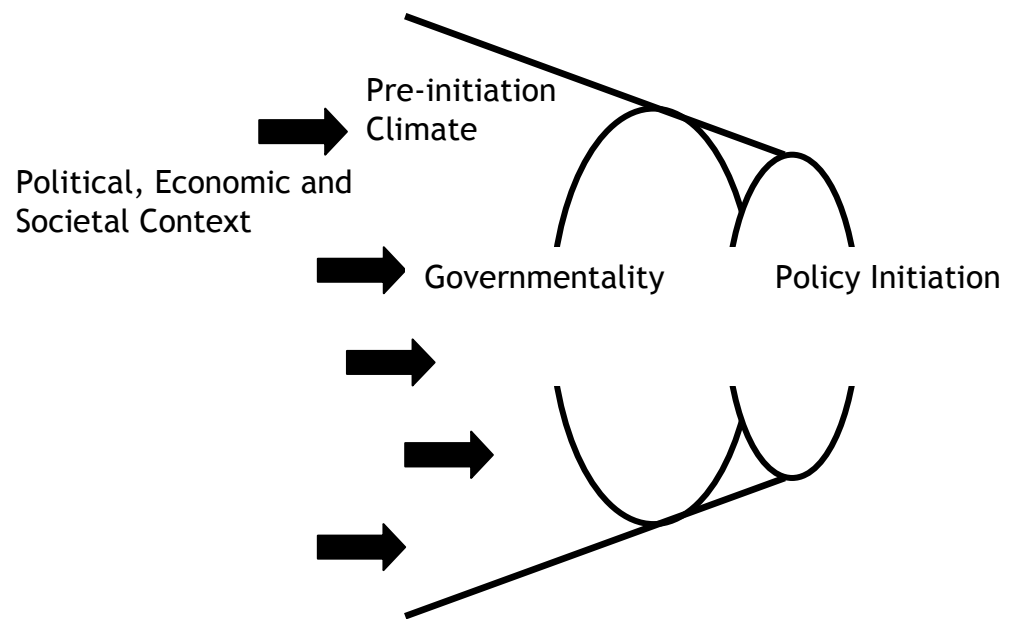


Figure 11.5: Governmental Reason and Policy Initiation

Following 1997, education policy aimed at reducing social exclusion emerges diffusely, comprising a less consequential element of New Labour's policy formation in compulsory education. The task of reducing social exclusion came to occupy this less significant position in New Labour's education policy portfolio due to its marginalisation by the all-encompassing demands of the new knowledge vocationalism and the continuous concern to govern in accord with the preferences of the consumer citizen. New Labour's conception of inclusion as primarily integrative, together with aspects of a underclass and moral deficiency discourse, are factors in explaining the lack of infiltration by the fight against social exclusion, 'the greatest crisis of our times' (TSE:63), into the dominant policy landscape of New Labour in compulsory education. That sector of New Labour's policy formation across compulsory education characterised as *schooling the excluded* at the start of this chapter turns out to be, under closer scrutiny, a more subordinate policy ambition. This subordination occurs despite the clear conceptual linkage between educational failure and the risk of detachment from mainstream society found in *The Will to Win, Tackling Social Exclusion*, and *Bringing Britain Back Together*. The much vaunted ambition to reduce social exclusion, and the early emphasis on educational failure, did not translate into a deep or prominent stream of education policy. Rather, the ambition to ensure that 'everyone has the opportunity to succeed' (WTW:74) came to be integrated around and within New Labour's standards agenda, conditioned by the requirement to govern the educational state in accord with the demands of consumer citizens.

A Rising Tide Lifts All Boats

In attempting to school children and young people at risk from social exclusion New Labour's reforms can be characterised as operating at two distinct altitudes. The fundamental and defining thrust to emerge from the policy system was centred on the mission of raising standards across education; system excellence. Many commentators on New Labour in education (see Fullen in Earl et al., 2000, Lawton, 2005, Toynbee and Walker, 2001) have been unambiguous in crediting New Labour with a commendable commitment to education and its prioritisation in public policy; positioning education at the forefront of domestic governmental concerns. This is evidenced in New Labour's significant investment

in compulsory education (Ball, 1999). In ‘attacking educational disadvantage’ ‘where a school is’ was to be considered as less significant, New Labour would ‘not tolerate under-achievement’ (Labour Party, 1997). In having a ‘zero tolerance’ of failure this rising tide would therefore lift the educational outcomes of all; including those at risk from exclusion. The technicist approach favoured by insiders such as Barber was to apply across the system with no exceptions, there was to be ‘increased expectations of what can be achieved’ (DfEE, 1997:5).

At a more secondary level, onto the main policy stream (Kingdon, 1984) of system excellence it is possible to map a tributary, a distinctive set of policies that come closer to being recognisable as a response to the challenges of schooling those at risk of exclusion. It was in the problematization of urban decay and deprivation, in the recognition of the ‘estate,’ that New Labour was to take-up and fashion a particular discourse of social exclusion. The recognition of places and the *spatial* distributions of ‘crime-ridden’ localities, areas where ‘society is falling apart’ (BBT:40-41), is fundamental in understanding this aspect of Third Way governmentally. This spatial dimension to the existence and risk of social exclusion surfaces in a detectable if adjacent form within New Labour’s direction of the educational state. From October 1997 the Social Exclusion Unit was active, working across public policy including a number of education policy initiatives; for example concerns over school exclusions and truancy (Lovey, 2000). Notwithstanding, within the level of education policy initiation, this tributary was not articulated or made manifest as a response to the crisis of social exclusion, but did address the operation of the educational state in the very places and locations that are centred in New Labour’s conception of social exclusion.

There will be education action zones to attack low standards by recruiting the best teachers and head teachers to under-achieving schools; by supporting voluntary mentoring schemes to provide one-to-one support for disadvantaged pupils; and by creating new opportunities for children, after the age of 14, to enhance their studies by acquiring knowledge and experience within industry and commerce. (Labour Manifesto, 1997)

One early exemplar of this combination of the standards agenda with the spatial is the Education Action Zone (EAZ). Within this policy initiative the spatial is not

primarily conceived as inscribing the distributions and places of social exclusion, those areas which suffered from ‘a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime, poor health and family breakdown’ (SEU, 1994:2), but as representations of the places and domains of educational failure. The manifesto text is apparent in its construction of the factors impacting on performance among ‘under-achieving schools.’ Failure is not attributed to location, areas where ‘society is falling apart,’ but is presented in a rehearsal of antidotes. Low standards are to be treated by the performance and technical skills of the ‘best’ teachers and the management provided by top headteachers. Interestingly, the other two components of the remedy to under-achieving schools are mentoring and a more vocationally oriented curriculum. Mentors were to be encouraged from the voluntary or third sector in an approach in keeping with the ethos of Third Way. Barber (1996:274) promoted the idea of mentoring by individuals from ‘business or the community’ as a way of offsetting a lack of parental support, or the educationally undermining effect of dysfunctional homes.

What is not apparent from the manifesto text was a more veiled ambition for Education Action Zones that had been developed in the two and half years proceeding government. In responding to unambiguous educational failure as it was made manifest, made thinkable, through the medium of spatially distributed domains, the modernising reason of Third Way responded with a turn to the private. Business was viewed as a natural solution to providing the kind of ‘action’ needed within such zones. Stephen Byers, Blunkett’s Minister for School Standards, was the force behind the EAZ programme (Blunkett, 2006). Byers could be described as a hyper-modernizer, keen on the idea that the private sector should be used to replace failing state sector institutions. In the process of allowing and encouraging commercial and business involvement in EAZs, Byers anticipated that the opportunities opened up by EAZs would precipitate the growth of a private sector market capacity. Byers anticipated that business and private consortia would become willing and proficient enough to enter into contracts for the management and operation of such problematic sectors of the educational state in the place of ineffective local education authorities. This policy innovation was to prove expensive and did not produce the significant improvements sought by Byers and Blunkett (Pollard, 2005).

However, the governmental reason guiding New Labour as it looked to reform the educational state continued to consolidate around this recognition of place^{lxvii} and the spatial. In 1996 Michael Barber had co-edited a book, *Raising Educational Standards in the Inner City* (Barber and Dann, 1996). The city or rather problematic urban schools located in ‘tough inner city areas’ (DfEE, 1997:40) were to become a constant within the governmental reason of New Labour as being the locations where low standards were concentrated. EAZs give way to, and would be incorporated into, a second and bolder initiative; *Excellence in Cities*. Estelle Morris was designated as Minister for Inner City Education, and it was announced that she would to lead a ‘strategy group’ to drive this programme forward. In 2001-02 New Labour spent £200 million on the Excellence in Cities Programme, rising to £300 million in 2002-03. The programme had a number of strands including the use of smaller action zones that would cluster a number of schools together, the use of mentors to support learning, the provision of concentrations of technology in accessible centres to promote learning and the encouragement of schools to seek beacon and specialist status. Indiscipline would be addressed through the provision of learning support units, and special programmes would be provided for the most able 5 to 10% of pupils (DfEE, 1999). Notably in the policy narrative around Excellence in Cities the idea of social inclusion surfaces, but rarely, and when deployed has a marginal quality to its use, referring to New Labour’s broader policy agenda as pursued by the SEU. The policy narrative of the launch document presents a logic that consistently tracks a set structure. The exposition acknowledges the economic and social factors contributing to the educational contexts of ‘inner city areas and outer estates’ but lays the stress on the achievability of the task of rising standards. ‘While problems exist’ there are examples of success in such circumstances that are to become the norm, this can be achieved through building ‘a climate in which this ‘can do’ approach can prosper’ (DfEE, 1999:5). Michael Barber, as head of the Standards and Effectiveness Unit, in his first newsletter to new partnerships was clear that the solution to the ‘educational problems of major cities’ lay in innovation, planning and partnership:

We want pupils in the partnership areas to have the same opportunities as their counterparts in more favoured parts of the country. But its

success will depend on the strengths of your partnerships, the quality of partnership plans and the ability and capacity of schools and local education authorities to look beyond their own administrative horizons and to develop new ways of addressing old problems. Such innovation is the hallmark of the policy strands we are concentrating upon the target areas of Excellence in Cities. (Barber, 1999)

Another, and perhaps radical, New Labour response to the concentration of failure in urban schools was the policy of closing down and reopening schools. 'For those failing schools unable to improve, ministers will order a 'Fresh Start' - close the school and start afresh on the same site' (Labour Party, 1997). Fresh Start exhibited a number of facets of New Labour's governmental reason as it touched upon education. There is a clear symbolism in this get tough approach which affirms the delivery state's dedication to high standards. Discernible also is the belief in modernisation, improved forms of management, along with additional funding, a new name, and cosmetic improvements, a new culture would be created in such schools through the leadership of 'super-heads.' An early Fresh Start school was in Islington North London. In the summer of 1999 the George Orwell School closed, re-opening in September 1999 as a specialist school; the Islington Arts and Media School. The super-head head in this case was Torsten Friedag, previously head of a School for the performing arts in Surrey. Interestingly, he was to be one of three Fresh Start super-heads to resign within a week in March of 2000 (Mansell, 2000) putting a dent in this particular innovation.

On taking office New Labour inherited 15 City Technology Colleges (CTCs) created by the previous Conservative government. This innovation combined elements of a modernisation of the grammar school tradition but with an overtly technical vocational curriculum and importantly, sponsorship from business. In an instance perhaps illustrating something of Rose's (1999) 'contingent lash ups,' the struggling Fresh Start policy was to be reengineered into City Academies (later schools in this category were referred to as Academies) the successor to CTCs. Adonis was one of the key policy actors behind the City Academy Programme. It would combine recognisable elements of New Labour's governmental reason as it sought to intervene in places characterised by significant and consistent low educational attainment. The efficacy of the academy is premised on Fresh Start, or a new school, primarily in those city locations where educational failure is stark and constant. A key aspect of what

constitutes an academy is sponsorship as a way of circumventing Local Authority control. Academy sponsors were to be drawn from business, the voluntary sector, and faith groups. In the modernising ethos of Third Way, sponsors were viewed as contributing not just additional funding^{lxviii} but the essential element of expertise that would make a difference. The sponsor would have influence over key dimensions of the life of the school including curriculum, ethos, architecture and clearly its choice of specialism. There was a concern to constitute academies in such a way as to provide the freedom to innovate in response to the educational challenges that had proved insurmountable for the predecessor school or schools. The curriculum of an academy had to provide the core of the national curriculum but was similar to that of specialist schools. Academies specialized in areas such as arts, business, science, or enterprise. Alongside specialist schools, academies were permitted to select up to 10% of pupils as demonstrating a particular aptitude for the specialism offered by the school. Academies would also be the beneficiary of investment in impressive new school buildings or the upgrading of the existing estate.

In Scotland, New Labour fought an election campaign for the new Scottish Parliament on the back of a policy of New Community Schools (see Baron, 2001, for an insight into the shallow genesis of this policy). Baron (2001) in his analysis of this innovation is unequivocal in locating it as a response to a political imperative that required New Labour, 'be seen to be acting radically on issues of education and social inclusion.' Margaret Maden, then director of the Centre for Successful Schools at Keele University, gave the 1996 TES/Greenwich annual education lecture in which she likened the social divisions of urban schooling to 'a tale of two tribes.' Maden's concerns over a marked widening of social division in the urban, quoting Blair on the need for a 'sense of communal belonging,' have a close alignment with nascent New Labour thinking. What is notable in Maden's lecture is that in exploring solutions to the urban education divide, 'the dwellers in different zones or inhabitants of different planets,' the full service school model was brought to public attention.

The optimal urban school should also be what the Americans call a "full service" school or what we might call a community school. In Florida, the state authorities argue that schools are appropriate locations for providing a wide range of services. People are more likely to know where schools are and they often have surplus space; "a 'one-stop shop'

fosters communications between agencies, can reduce duplication, and saves parents' time (Maden, 1996: TES/Greenwich annual education lecture).

In a Scottish context, the collocation of 'community' and education in a policy narrative exerts a strong appeal to national sentiments. This education policy was rhetorically prominent in the run-up to the elections, but in practice amounted to a much more modest funding for pilots in each of Scotland's local authorities, bearing some similarities to the EAZ initiative. The New Community Schools policy took inspiration from the Full Service Schools model highlighted by Maden and developed in District 6 of New York City (an area characterised by poor first generation immigrants, overcrowding and a serious lack of basic health and social services). This model of school was the result of collaboration between the Children's Aid Society (a voluntary organisation) and the city authorities responsible for schooling. New Community Schools were part of the Scottish Executive's wider Social Inclusion Strategy and noticeably, was presented as a course of action within education intended to promote social inclusion. It followed Maden's solution to the 'Blade Runner problem' (a bleak urban disaffection and deprivation): collocation of services, interagency collaboration and communication. The exact extent to which the New Community Schools policy in Scotland borrowed from the early innovation of New Labour south of the border is unclear; but there would be no mention or conception of private sector involvement in Scotland. The idea of private control of public education, or the even more unpalatable idea of for profit involvement in schools, risked serious offence to national sensibilities and a loss of political capital for New Labour.

Scottish local authorities were invited by the Scottish Executive Education Department to bid for funding in order to establish pilots for the New Community School model. The prospectus outlined five key goals:

- modernisation of schools and the promotion of social inclusion
- increasing the attainment of young people facing the destructive cycle of underachievement
- early intervention to address barriers to learning and maximise potential
- meeting the needs of every child, ensuring that services are focused through New Community Schools
- raising parental and family expectations and participation in their children's education (Scottish Office, 1998:8).

The first phase of the pilot programme produced 37 projects, involving 170 schools across 30 education authorities. The funding for the delivery of integrated services was taken in the main from existing allocations for health, social work and education (Sammons, et al. 2003). Significantly, by 2002 the funding going to for New Community School pilots would be halted in favour of a 'programme of roll out' with all schools expected to take up the lessons of multi agency working and efforts to provide integrated services to young people. Baron's (2001) critique of the New Community Schools policy is trenchant, representing it as a form of new authoritarianism aimed at areas of social crisis, and looking to govern through the 'fine grained specification of success criteria' for welfare professionals.

Another example of education policy on both sides of the border, which bears the imprint of New Labour's integrative conception of social exclusion, is a concern with young people (between 16 and 24) who are 'not in employment, education or training' (NEET) following the compulsory phase of education. The NEETs category was formally adopted in 1999 (LSN, 2009). Concern for this category, and its acronym, have spread beyond the UK (Nakamura, 2005). NEETs designate a group characterised in the main by post compulsory disengagement and a risk of exclusion. The policy problem that lies at the centre of the construction of this category, and its criteria for membership, is quintessentially New Labour; combining the new economics with a concern for social cohesion and manifesting New Labour's predominantly integrative discourse of social exclusion. Added to this, and often overlapping with this concern for NEETs, is attention to the educational outcomes for 'looked after children' who in general terms lagged very significantly behind their peers in terms of educational attainment. Both categories would be the subject of policy innovations, target setting and an array of initiatives to reduce their risk of future exclusion.

Selective Sociological Thought

In considering the educational state and its relation to New Labour's intention to tackle social exclusion a number of authors have made the same salient observation concerning the excluding effects of many educational arrangements and practices left untouched by Third Way reforms (Edwards, 1998, Chitty,

2002a, 2002b, Ball, 2001, Lawton, 2005). The possibility of excluding effects arising within educational processes seems, for the most part, to be overlooked by the logic of New Labour's ordering of the educational state. From a governmentality perspective, this contradiction, or any resistance to the acknowledgment of this dynamic, can be attributed to the form of state reason that came to animate the educational state under Third Way. The consolidation of a particular view of education among the main policy actors who inhabited the context of policy initiation and formulation was not characterised by openness to such interpretations of the educational enterprise. The more conventional views of education that became lodged within the governmental reason of New Labour, as it came to observe and make intelligible the educational state, had few concerns over the role of educational practices in reproduction and role allocation. As Lawton, following Edwards (1998), puts it, 'Labour policies on setting, selection and choice,' for example, can be understood as 'representing a confused or at least weak commitment to social justice' (Lawton, 2005:134). Interestingly, what motivates many of those concerned with New Labour's lack of engagement with the exclusionary effects of educational practices and arrangements were insights accumulated from within the sociology of education.

The discipline of sociology has emerged around the intellectual enterprise of explaining the nature of society in modernity, or 'the character and dynamics of modern or industrialised societies' (Giddens, 1996:3). The function of schooling as an institution of mass education in modern forms of society has been the subject of many projects of sociological enquiry. The sociology of education, in particular those studies of education informed by a conflict perspective, have produced a range of insights into the dynamics of mass education systems together with a range of theoretical accounts that attempt to explain patterns of educational outcomes. Seen through explanatory concepts such as class, ethnicity and gender, a sector of this literature has implicated the functions and practices of mass systems of education in the distribution and reproduction of patterns of advantage or disadvantage; reflective of the existing structure of the social order. From explaining 'how working class kids get working class jobs' (Willis, 1982) or the relational patterns of social 'origins and destinations' (Halsey, et al., 1980) or the operation of forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1983) in

mediating educational outcomes, this literature is constant in the conclusion that the structure and practices of education can act to mediate or reproduce the patterns of stratification present in modern society.

In developing its educational thought, including at the level of the micro, such insights have been attractive to the political left in formulating the contours of a social democratic or socialist project in education. Unsurprisingly, a range of studies concerned with educational processes and outcomes found it essential to account for connections to place and to the spatial location of cultures and forms of capital. Such perspectives were taken up by the Left in education during the late 1960s and influenced conceptions of how the state in education was to intervene in an attempt to offset the dislocating and regressive effects of industrial society. From challenging the tripartite selective nature of education to the creation of 'education priority areas' or programmes of 'urban aid,' sociology provided a language and a new set of ideas with which to understand and think about the state in education. In its problematization of inner city education, New Labour also takes up the idea of 'educational disadvantage' linked to a general context of patterns of urban deprivation. However, insights into the excluding effects of educational process at the micro are in the main unseen, resisted, obscured by the attraction of a performativity, a technicist managerial realism present within New Labour's governmental reason. New Labour places its confidence in a technical and outcome focused approach to bring about the recognisable and quantifiable success sought by the 'delivery' state.

For, by implication, sociology is vastly superior for thinking about politics to political thought. Not simply because of a superior methodology, but because what it studies is the basis for any political questioning. By its very nature sociological thinking enters into our ideas about social life and so alters its character, thereby necessitating a further revision of sociological thinking. Giddens' role as an advisor to Blair is a culmination, not merely of personal talent, but of a logic that inheres within the very project of sociology as Giddens has delineated it. (Finlayson, 2003:126).

If concerns were raised over excluding effects lurking within New Labour's stipulations for funding, system structure, access arrangements, management, and what Bernstein (1971) described as the three message systems of education, curriculum, pedagogy and assessment, they were submerged by the discourse of

‘standards not structures.’ There is an irony in New Labour’s suspicion towards questions over the existence of exclusionary effects arising from within the processes of education. Finlayson (2003) insightfully draws attention to the deep significance of sociological thinking in providing a foundational element to the intellectual architecture of the New Labour project, the grand narrative of Third Way. New Labour’s macro analysis, its claim to legitimacy through its unique grasp and diagnosis of the present, rests on a sociological reading and identification of the contemporary social order. The absence of sociological thinking in New Labour’s governmental reason as it touches upon the state in education, what Whitty and his colleagues (1998:2) have called its ‘fairly conventional view of educational knowledge,’ hints at the framing effect of forms of governmental reason. Even if key policy actors within the inner core steering New Labour’s thinking on education had been inclined to attempt to reduce the potential for systemic exclusionary effects, such reforms would seem, at face value, to be incommensurate with dominant elements of its governmental reason. For example, intervening to change the composition of school intakes was not a possibility because of the need to govern in harmony with a consumer citizen, the representation of the normalised subject of Third Way. However, on balance it can be argued that a comprehensible range of New Labour policy innovations can be recognised as articulating with insights into the micro processes of educational disadvantage. Even if sponsored by a technocratic problem solving ethos, alongside the allocation of additional funding, the use of ‘learning mentors,’ homework clubs, study centres, out of school hours learning and the relaxation of curricular regulation, all fit within a historiography of the altering or shifting regimes of practice present within the educational state in the face of places, ‘areas,’ ‘zones’ of anomie.

The Symbolism of Attacking Educational Disadvantage

McSmith (1996) notes the remarkable statistic of 60% of all delegates to the 1995 Labour Party Conference in Brighton as comprising of teachers or school governors. The Labour Party’s association with the move to comprehensive education stands out as a marker of the emergence of education as a more significant policy field within the party. Comprehensivisation, along with the expansion of higher education and policies such as training levies (McCaig, 2001),

came to represent a visible expression of socialist and social democratic values. Blunkett, in an interview with McSmith (1996:189), draws attention to this association as becoming ‘...an article of faith, linked with all the other issues relating to equality of opportunity’ and that ‘people who are now in senior positions in the party, and their friends and relatives grew up with it.’ The resonance of such an article of faith helps explain the major internal obstacles faced by New Labour over GM schools and selection. This theme of ‘issues relating to equality’ resurfaces in Giddens’ attempt to locate a politics of Third Way in the political field. ‘The term centre-left thus isn’t an innocent label. A renewed social democracy has to be left of centre, because social justice and emancipatory politics remain at its core’ (Giddens, 1998:45). New Labour’s broad continuity with the most significant educational reforms of the New Right was a source of discomfort for many on the Left concerned with education. Consequently, the symbolism of New Labour’s attack on educational disadvantage, in much the same way as elements of its adoption of social exclusion, can be seen as a welcome instance of continuity with Old Labour in education and as an expression of its ‘emancipatory politics.’

There is an understandable sensitivity around designating identifiable individuals as ‘socially excluded’ within the wider discourse of New Labour, in particular in relation to the young. This difficulty over designation may also help explain why, in terms of a policy narrative, the designation of ‘socially excluded,’ or a focus on specific groups at risk from social exclusion, has not been visibly prominent within the policy narratives of compulsory education. Being in education is to be involved in an activity plainly located in ‘mainstream’ society. ‘Tackling social exclusion’ is sublimated in favour of ‘attacking educational disadvantage,’ working to ‘attack under-achievement in urban areas.’ Notably, Third Way governmentality as it came to animate the state in education, and in contrast to the governmental reason of the New Right, made thinkable a pattern, conceptualised a spatial arrangement to education failure, and understood the role of the State of Third Way as being one that required intervention to ameliorate, to govern the conduct of education in such ‘zones’ and ‘cities.’

No matter where a school is, Labour will not tolerate under-achievement.
(Labour Party Manifesto, 1997)

This chapter has offered a broad analysis of New Labour in compulsory education. Two guiding imperatives have been identified within its conception of how the educational state should be governed. The new knowledge vocationalism centred educational standards as a vital dimension of progress towards the good State. The desire to govern, to mediate the functions of the State, to reach out to the 'new middle class' (Gould, 1998) required that the educational state be consumer citizen friendly in the provision of this highly valued form of public good. It was in the restricted space left between these two dominating policy ambitions that New Labour attempted to give expression in education to its 'fight' against social exclusion. Nonetheless, in the reason of state that applied to compulsory education, direct concerns with social exclusion were displaced in the policy climate by a combination of seeking opportunity for all and a recognition of 'educational disadvantage,' together with a willingness to innovate and modify policy in the face of geographically concentrated failure.

New Labour in 1997 recognised what it described as educational disadvantage. Many on the Left and among New Labour's supporters would interpret this in the tradition of Labour in education (notwithstanding that the intensity of this set of beliefs had coalesced relatively recently in historical terms). The meaning, and indeed the legitimacy, of conceptions of social justice are an area of ongoing philosophical and political contention. What is indisputable is the implication of education policy in regulating and administering multiple issues of distribution, access and opportunity. Questions over who gets what in and from education, together with the importance attached to the consequences, are contested at every level of the policy process. As the political left has sought an intellectual foundation for its understanding of public education, this endeavour has been shaped by particular valuations of social justice. This struggle for social justice in education has tended to look to establish policies with the purpose of shaping a system that provides educational opportunity to all. However, for many on the educational left equality of opportunity is not enough to satisfy the demands of social justice in education. Policy must also be advanced and actively designed to ameliorate the burden of disadvantage weighing on many children and young people (Miller, 1999). In lining up at the start line of educational opportunity many children are already facing adversity and need additional support to offset varying degrees of disadvantage; spanning across the crucial period prior to

entry into early years education and continuing right through to higher education.

One of the notable dimensions of New Labour's attempts to address problematizations cognate to social exclusion, such as educational disadvantage, is the employment of policy innovation. Responses to the 'problem' of educational disadvantage are informed by a Third Way governmental reason typified by a belief in new forms of management, the involvement of the private and third sector, school improvement, closing and relaunching schools, new styles of organisational form and extended provision, forms of exceptionalism in governance and regulatory arrangements and redistributive funding around pilots and programmes; all of which required to be designed and operate around the naturalised assumption of choice, diversity and the market form in education. What is not in doubt is that the project of New Labour in education came to recognise places and spatial distributions of educational disadvantage. This recognition, and New Labour's response, can be interpreted as an expression of the emancipatory impulse that connects the project of New Labour with 'the values of the Left' (Blair, 1998). This aspect of New Labour in compulsory education can be contrasted with the advanced liberal governmentality that developed under the New Right project. This identification, this problematization of a spatially arranged set of locations characterised by educational failure is an instance of the distinguishing aspects of the governmentality of Third Way. While restrained within a policy framework that developed around the central elements of New Labour's governmental reason, the mission to tackle social exclusion emerges tangentially, present most visibly in the guise of responses to educational failure located in 'tough inner city areas' or 'in our inner city areas and outer estates' (DfEE, 1999). New Labour has attempted to address the places and locations of educational failure, to intervene with an array of governmental tactics and techniques, while concentrating its main dynamism on governing the state in education for success in conditions of knowledge capitalism and in harmony with the consumer citizen.

The concept of social exclusion emerged and was taken up in relation to urban renewal as problem places, and the subjects who inhabited them, became visible within the governmental reason of New Labour. For many on the Left,

tackling the scourge of social exclusion represented an emancipatory thrust within the new social democracy in a way that resembled the importance of a politics of redistribution for Old Labour. In compulsory education the 'attack' on 'under-achievement in urban areas' seemed to be the most perceptible continuity with what many understood as Labour's natural concerns over education; its articles of faith. Having attempted to sketch out the prominent features of New Labour in compulsory education the next chapter offers a limited appraisal of New Labour's ambition to govern towards social inclusion within compulsory education. A governmentality perspective has illuminated a narrow but critically productive interpretation of New Labour and its ordering of the educational state. This has focused on elucidating what conduct in the educational state came to be understood as desirable or as dysfunctional within the regime of intelligibility that coalesced to form the state reason of Third Way. Furthermore, a governmentality perspective operates by explicating the 'assemblage of practices, techniques and rationalities' (Dean, 1999:198) aimed at modulating and regulating the conduct of others or of individuals within the spaces of education's regulated freedom. In its ambition to govern the socially excluded back into mainstream society, and in the government of compulsory education, the governmental thought of New Labour has naturally 'territorialized,' it has followed a well established logic to forms of sovereignty and conceived of 'governable spaces' (Rose, 1999). The following chapter makes a modest attempt to take up the question of apprising progress under New Labour in relation to education and the concerns of social justice or a more 'equal society.'

One challenge above all stands out before we can deserve another historic victory: tackling the scourge and waste of social exclusion... In politics the acid test is what you end up achieving. I say to the doubters, judge us after we have implemented our programme. And if, we retain the trust of the British people judge us after ten years of success in office. For one of the fruits of that success will be that Britain has become a more equal society. (Peter Mandelson, Minister without Portfolio, on 14 August 1997, at the Fabian society)

Chapter 6: The Intransigence of Exclusion

The Intransigence of Exclusion

To govern through the possession of political sovereignty is to exercise a 'specific, albeit complex, form of power' (Foucault, 1991:102); but governing is not a totalising auto-effective process, it is not an infallible set of practices that emasculate the possibility of agency. A governmentality perspective draws attention to the malfunctions, the inadequacies, or the outright collapse of more or less rationalised schemes, tactics and ambitions to intervene in the conduct of conduct. Any modern history of the government of populations, or their constituents, must be resplendent with episodes of crisis, collapse, rebellion, resistances, concessions and repressions. There are limitations to any project of liberal governmentality. Rose (1999:21) draws attention to 'an array of lines of thought, of will, of intervention, of programmes and failures, of acts and counter-acts.' Rose in articulating the analytical productivity of governmentality as a perspective is unambiguous about failures and unintended consequences as being as revealing and explanatory as any aspect or outcome of deliberate rational projects of government.

In attempting to make any evaluative appraisal of New Labour's endeavours to govern so as to 'tackling the scourge and waste of social exclusion' or to direct the educational state to attack 'educational disadvantage' in urban areas, raises questions over how such policy ambitions are to be evaluated. In taking up a governmentality perspective there is an implied commitment to a social constructionist epistemological orientation. How are the truth claims, (social exclusion exists, it threatens the cohesion of society, it is harmful and must be 'tackled') made by New Labour to be appraised? Foucault (1980:132) rejected an understanding of truth as objective reality in favour of a 'regime of truth' or forms of knowledge. This understanding of what counts as truth, how such truths are established and how such forms of truth are adjudicated, is historically situated and shifting, forming part of a larger field of power relations and productively understood as an outcome of the operation of power-knowledge^{lxix}. One solution is to mount a critical appraisal from the vantage point of New Labour's own logic, to play within the rules of its regime of truth, its own construction of what is to be governed, to what ends; its narrative of the good society and the characteristics by which it should be recognised.

One implication of this evaluative approach is a requirement to work within the regimes of quantification and mathematization; the numerical and statistical technologies that emanate from New Labour's own politics of numbers (see chapter 5). A whole host of objectifications, the school pupil, the unemployed, the graduate, the excluded, together with a multitude problematizations, antisocial behaviour, levels of obesity, morbidity, mortality, alcohol consumption, credit card debt, business start ups or NEETs, require the assignment of numbers as a component of their intelligibility. Such regimes of numbers operate diagnostically within New Labour's governmental reason and are indispensable in making advanced forms of liberal government imaginable and possible. It is therefore possible to draw upon a range of studies, investigations and accounts that depend on the same forms of knowledge, cognate regimes of truth, that make 'social exclusion' or education outcomes 'in tough inner city areas' thinkable and actionable within the governmental reason of New Labour.

Tackling Social Exclusion

In a move that suggests a downgrading, or perhaps a loss of conviction, the New Labour government's Social Exclusion Unit was 'closed' in 2006, with its functions being relocated to a smaller Social Exclusion Task Force based in the Cabinet Office. A comprehensive or even satisfactory evaluative appraisal of New Labour's success in tackling social exclusion, the 'greatest social crisis of our times,' is beyond the scope of this project. There is however, a range of accessible evidence drawing upon broadly similar assumptions and regimes of knowledge to those that have underpinned New Labour's policies around social exclusion. Even from this small base there is a clear indication that the challenge of 'social exclusion' has proved to be intractable, deeply resistant to the governmental interventions devised and put into effect by New Labour. Along a number of indicators the challenge of building a more equal society, of reducing poverty and of reducing educational disadvantage, looks at best to have made modest progress, stalled, or has failed to prevent a growing social disparity. The distribution of total household income in the UK had begun to diverge significantly (between 1977 and 1991) long before New Labour came to power (see Figure 12.6). Following 1997 it is notable, and perhaps predictable, that New Labour's 'new economics' was unable to alter this pattern, at best levelling-off inequality. In particular the bottom fifth, and the three quintiles above, have at best remained unaltered or declined in their share of household income.

The National Equality Panel started work in October 2008, chaired by John Hills of the London School of Economics, and published its review report in January 2010. The review is an illuminating source of insight on the fortune of New Labour's social policy around social exclusion. The Panel was established by Harriet Harman, in her role as Labour minister for women and equality, and its findings were presented in a 460-page report, *An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK*. This is a significant and comprehensive review of inequality by any standards. The report sets out a broad and coherent set of measures and indicators of inequality, analysing a wide range of data in formulating its findings. The picture that emerged suggests that at best New Labour's attempts to reduce social inequality had only managed to stabilise the striking gap in income equality that opened up during the 1980s and early 1990s. The headline

finding of the review revealed the wealthiest 10% of the population as now being 100 times more wealthy than the poorest 10% of households.

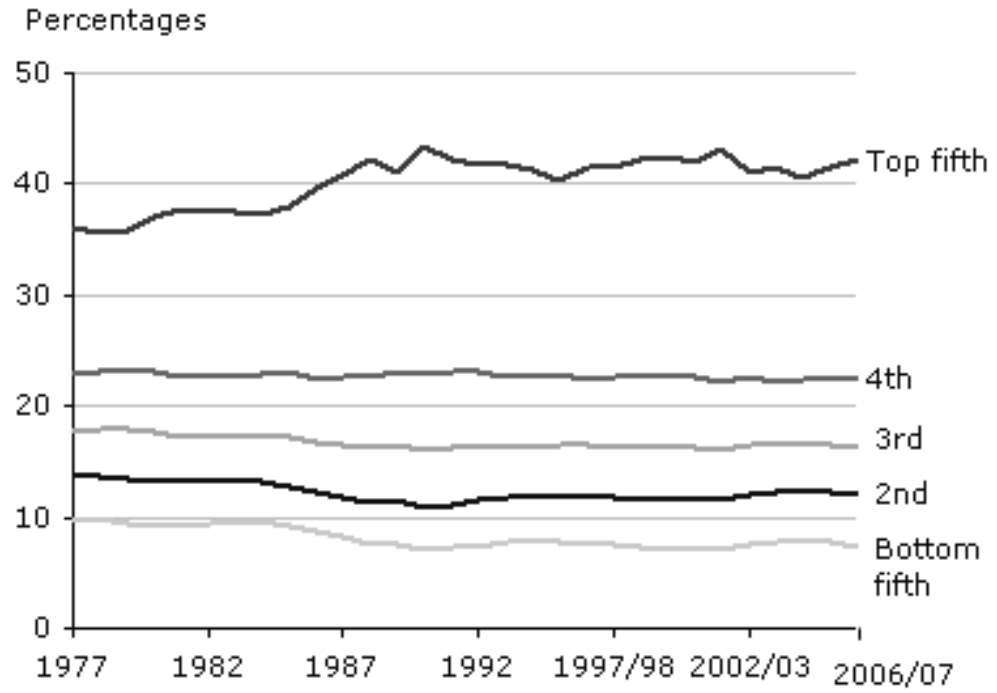


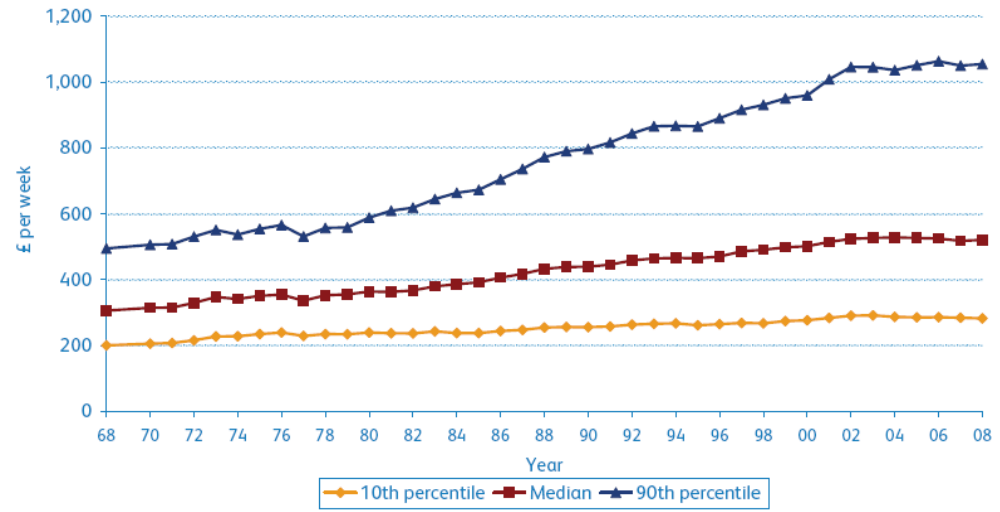
Figure 12.6: Shares of total household income by quintile group
Source: The National Statistics Office (Online)

<http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=332>

The approach of the review panel was to study a range of economic indicators and measures in relation to ‘people’s characteristics and circumstances’ including a range of social cleavages that are well established in social science research. This array included social class, race, disability, gender and notably, regional differences. Across a whole range of indicators New Labour’s attempts to govern towards a more cohesive society begins to look fragile and ineffective. The authors suggested that, ‘for many readers, the sheer scale of the inequalities in outcomes which we present will be shocking’ (Hills, et al., 2010:2). For example, the distribution of earnings in the UK has become significantly more dispersed, with a significant gap opening between those in high income jobs and other earners. The review reported on earnings by gender comparing three points in the distribution: the 10th percentile, the median and 90th percentile and utilised a ratio of the 90th and 10th percentile as a measure of earning distribution. The review reported that for males, the 90:10 ratio widened from 2.3 in 1977 to 3.6 in 2002 and for females rose from 2.4 to 3.2 in the same period (see Table 15.6 and Figures 16.6 and 14.6).

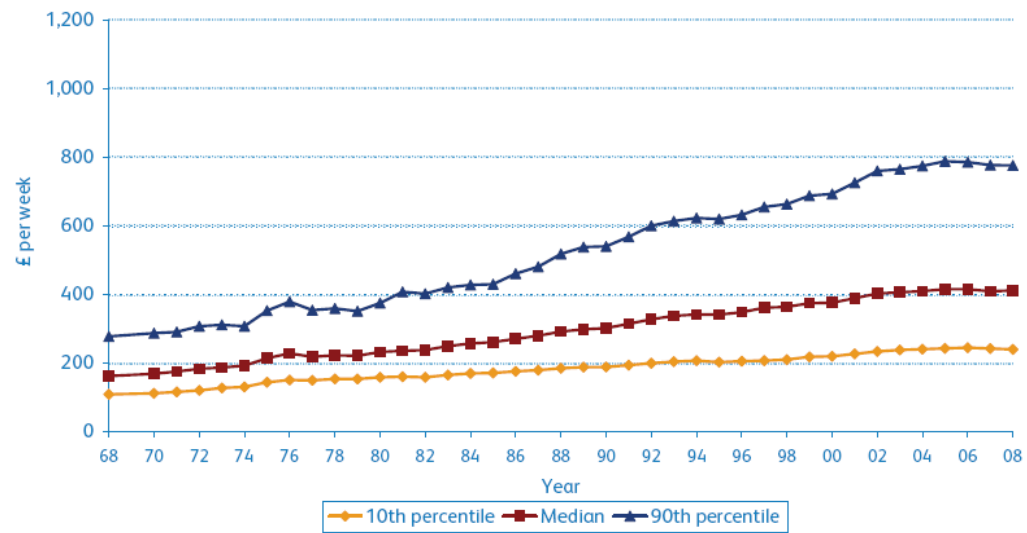
Male Workers	Earnings Growth %
90 th Percentile	51
Median	56
10 th Percentile	27
Female Workers	
90 th Percentile	114
Median	84
10 th Percentile	56

Table 15.6: Earnings Growth for full-time workers 1997-2002
Source: An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK 2010



Source: NEP, based on 1968-1996 New Earnings Survey (NES) (GB), 1997-2008 ASHE (UK).

Figure 13.6: Full-time weekly earnings at 2008 prices, 1968 to 2008, men.
Source: An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK, 2010:28



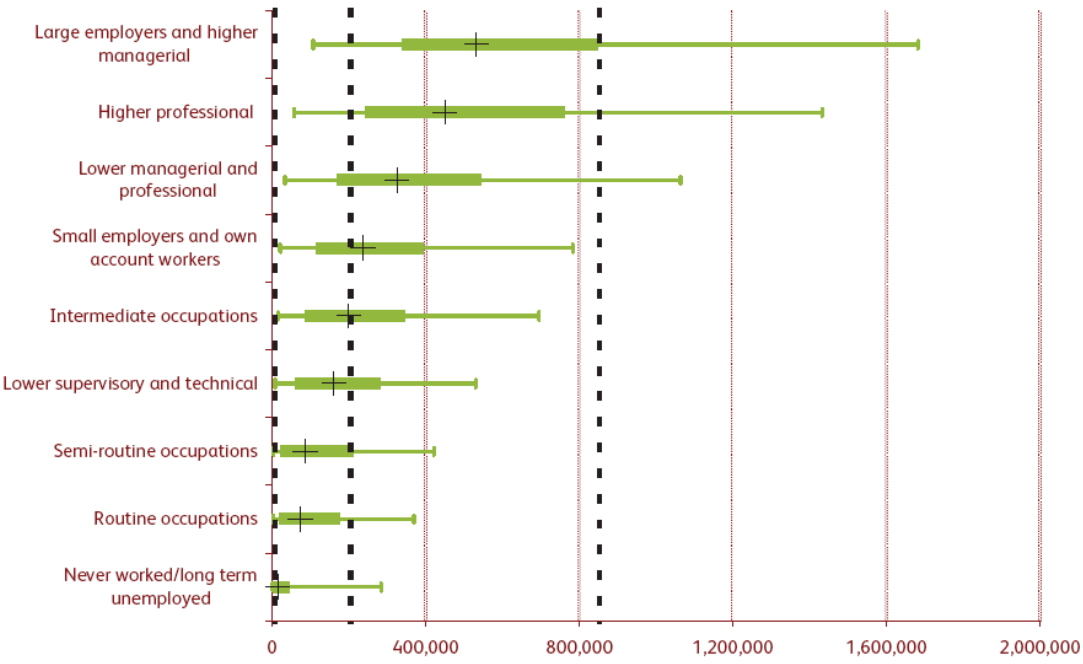
Source: NEP, based on 1968-1996 NES (GB), 1997-2008 ASHE (UK).

Figure 14.6: Full-time weekly earnings at 2008 prices, 1968 to 2008, women.
Source: An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK, 2010:29

The review acknowledges that over the last thirty years wage differentials have increased in other comparable nations, but notes that the UK is second only behind the USA in the extent and speed of divergence. Taking the year 2008, the USA had a 90:10 ratio of 4.9 to the UK's 3.6, this can be compared to a lower ratio for Germany (3.3) and France (3.0). It is perhaps unsurprising that the review also reports a very large difference in household wealth when considered in relation to occupational social classes (see Figure 15.6). This set of trends would imply that any project aimed at the 'socially excluded' becomes even more difficult to achieve in the face of an entrenched economic inequality. The report also highlights a regional effect in educational outcomes (Hills, et al., 2010:92); however this effect is small in comparison to within region differences that take account of where children live. Figure 16.6 and 17.6 reveal a very significant difference in educational attainment at age 16, particularly in the light of New Labour's policy ambitions around educational disadvantage, when linked to domicile area and measures of deprivation. This data relates to the English context and details how only 30 per cent of boys in areas of high deprivation achieve results in the top half compared to 70 per cent of boys from the least deprived areas. For girls the pattern is similar, a fifth of those in the most deprived areas, as compared to half in the least deprived areas, are in the top quarter of the attainment range. The pattern in Scotland displays an even steeper gradient when similar educational outcomes are compared on the basis of area deprivation.

Free school meals (FSM) has become an established proxy for economic disadvantage within public policy around education. Nonetheless, FSM is recognised as an imperfect indicator of deprivation; as a measure it is likely to underestimate low income. Parents or carers in receipt of particular benefits can claim to their local authority for FSM. Not all families who are entitled to claim FSM know about their entitlement or make the application. In March 2009 the Schools Analysis and Research Division of the Department for Children, Schools and Families produced the report, *Deprivation and Education* (DCSF, 2009). This report looked at the relationship between education and deprivation from foundation to Key Stage 4. In considering deprivation the report presents information on both the distribution of children entitled to FSM and its relationship to educational outcomes. Unsurprisingly the report confirms that a significant attainment gap exists between pupils in receipt of FSM and those who

are not. Figure 18.6, drawing on a range of government statistics, charts this gap from early years to entry into higher education. Across this stage of the lifecycle (from foundation to higher education) the odds against a child in receipt of FSM attaining a benchmarked level of achievement compared to a child with no FSM ranges from 2.5 to 3.6. Another significant dimension of FSM is their allocation across schools or the spatial patterning of their distribution (see Figure 19.6 and 20.6). What is notable from the viewpoint of educational disadvantage and New Labour's concern with social exclusion is the three columns to the right of the charts, displaying the concentration of high proportions of FSM pupils in particular school locations.



Source: ONS from WAS.

Figure 15.6: Total wealth, by occupational social class, GB, 2006-08 (£)
Source: An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK, 2010:210

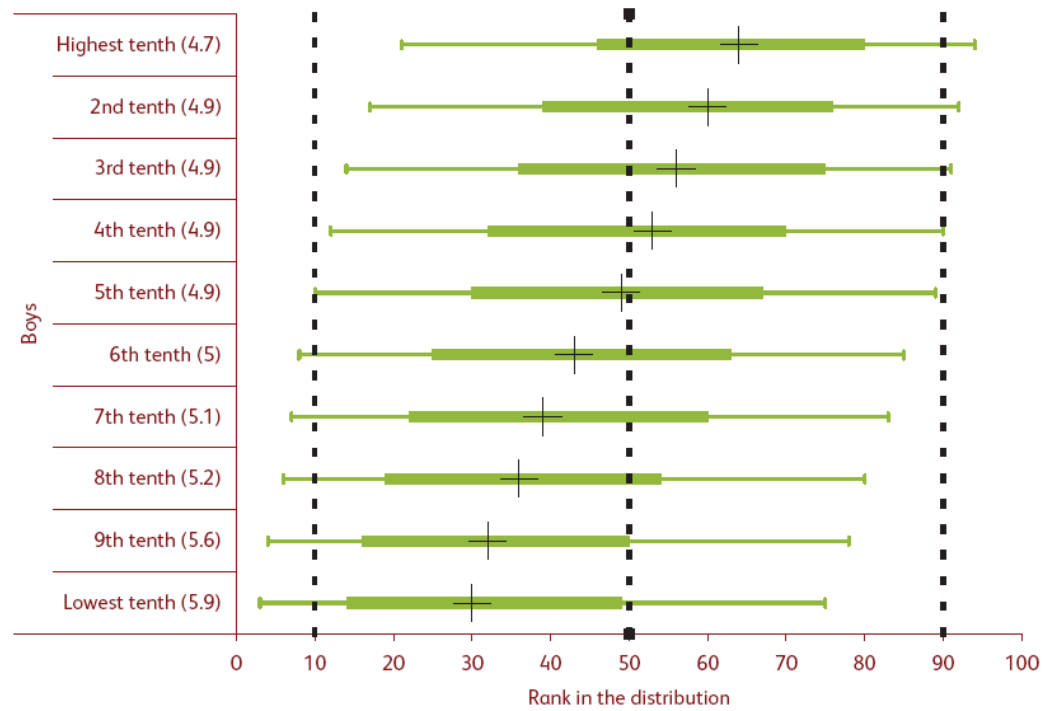
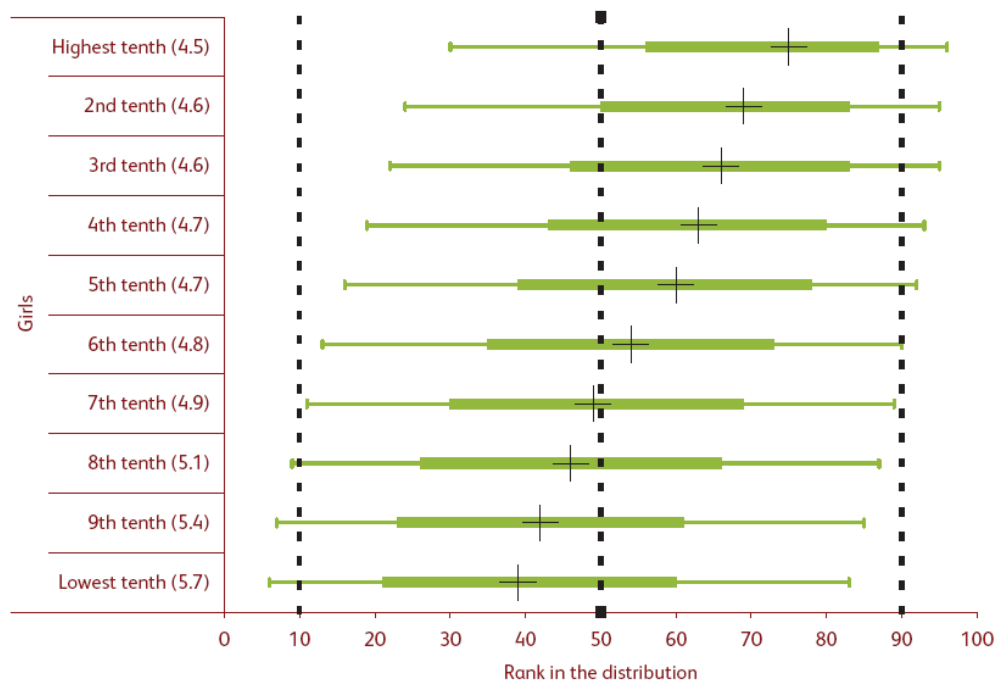


Figure 16.6: Key Stage 4 results, by Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index, England, 2008.
Source: An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK, 2010:94



Source: DCSF, based on NPD-PLASC.

Figure 17.6: Key Stage 4 results, by Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index, England, 2008.
Source: An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK, 2010:94

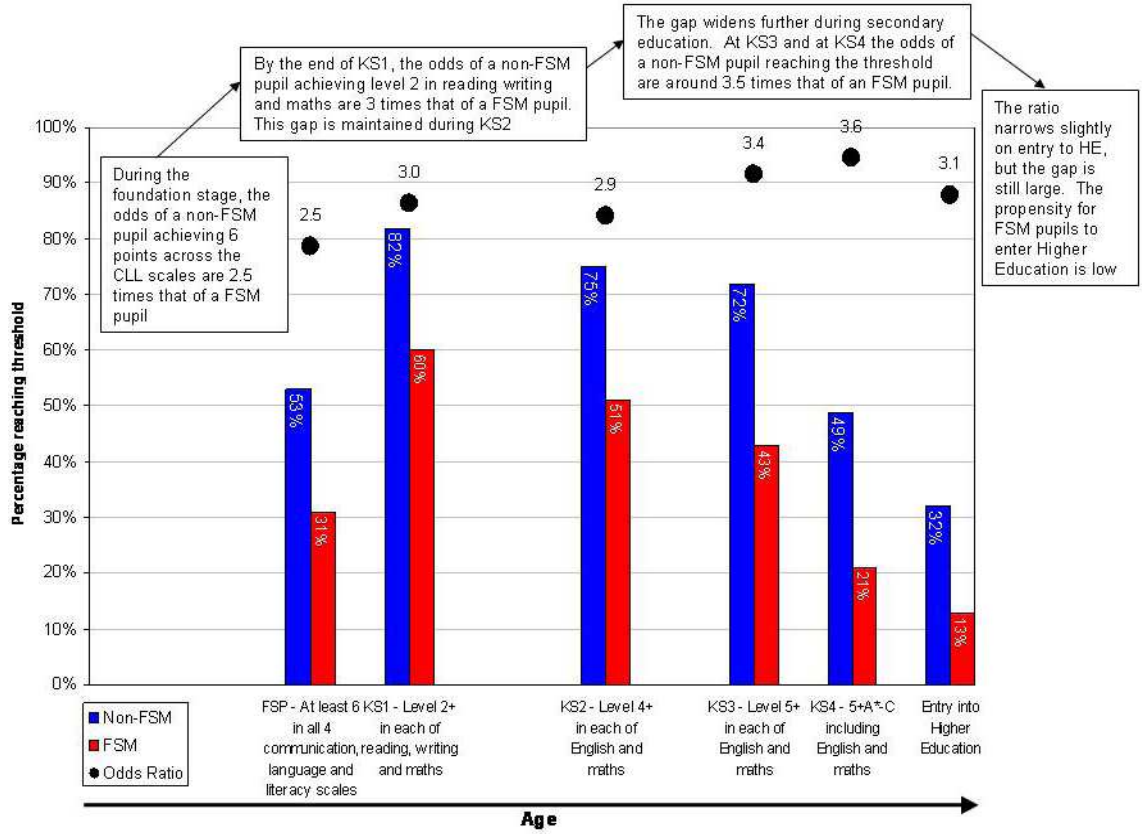


Figure 18.6: FSM attainment gap from early years to higher education.
 Source: Deprivation and Education (DCFS, 2009:25).

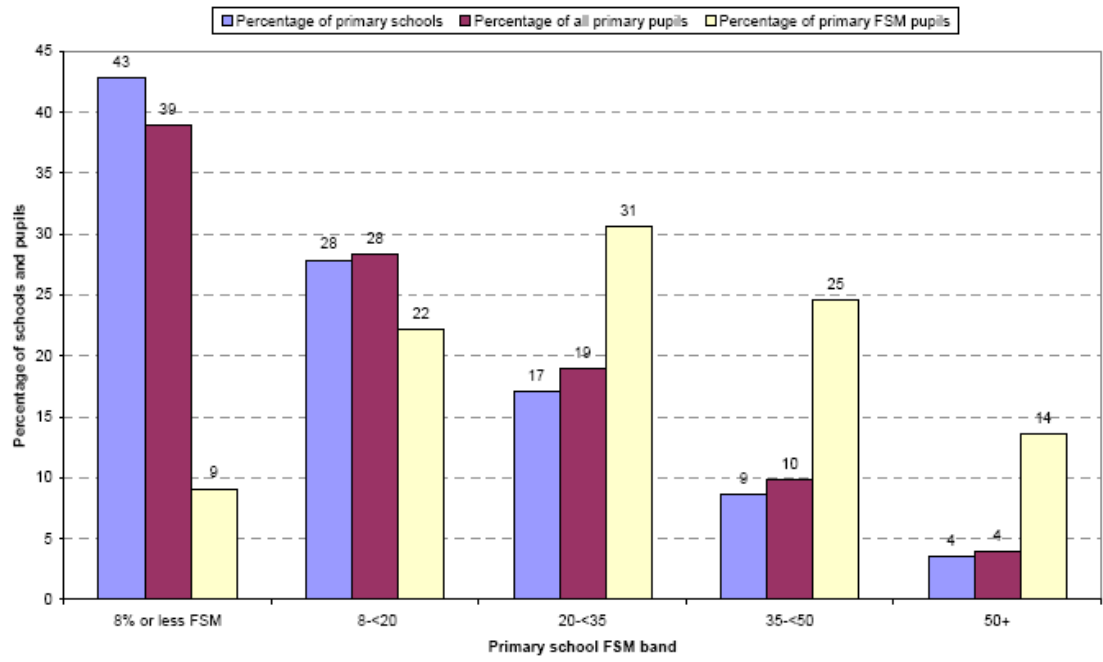


Figure 19.6: Distribution of primary schools by proportion of FSM pupils (2008)
Source: Deprivation and Education (DCFS, 2009:12).

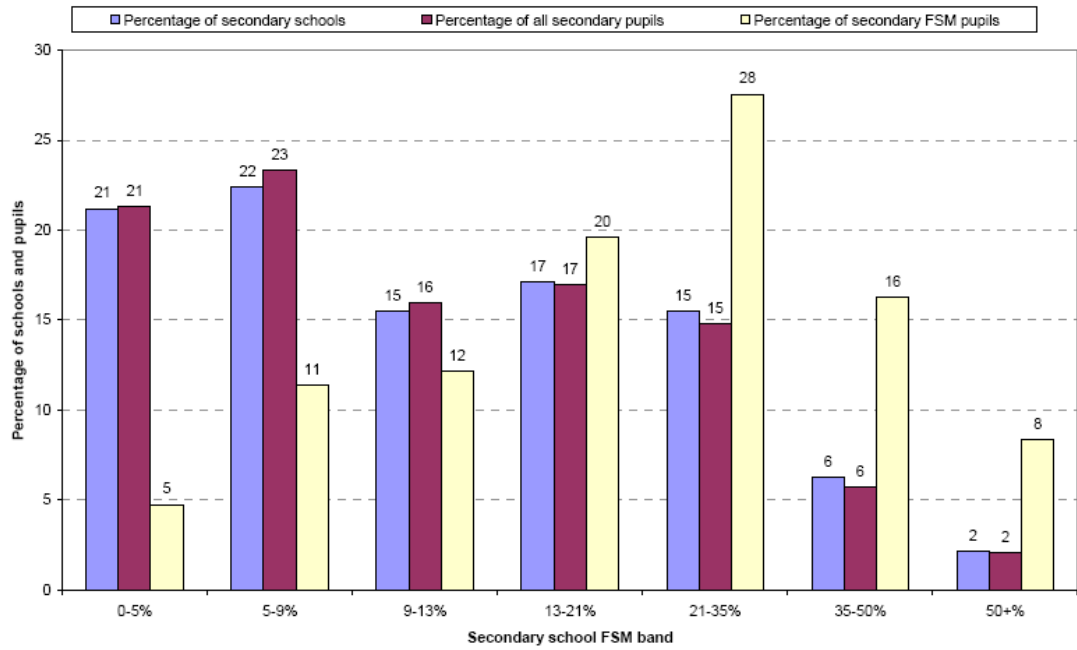


Figure 20.6: Distribution of secondary schools by proportion of FSM pupils (2008)
Source: Deprivation and Education (DCFS, 2009:13).

Indexes of deprivation provide information on the geographical distribution of relative deprivation. The construction of such indexes predated New Labour taking office, nonetheless they would become a significant technical device within the regimes of measurement that came to legitimate and inform policy under New Labour. Their adoption and development can be attributed to the need to objectively locate the 'excluded' and to provide a logic for apportioning the resources allocated to the amelioration of exclusion across a range of policy interventions. Significant in recent developments within the methodology that underpinned this approach has been the work of the Social Disadvantage Research Centre (SDRC) in the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at University of Oxford. Indexes are produced by combining a range of statistical data and indicators available for small areas designated as datazones. Measures across a range of 'domains' are selected and aggregated for each area to produce a measure of deprivation. Typically this can involve between two and eight indicators across such domains as: Income, Employment, Health, Education, Housing, Crime and Access to Services.

In the Scottish context (there are similar methodologies in use across England, Wales, and Northern Ireland^{lxx}) there have been revisions to the index in 1998, 2004 and 2009. In 2005, based on the 2004 Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD), the Scottish Executive's statistical service produced the report *Social Focus on Deprived Areas* (Scottish Executive 2005). The report stated that:

The study provides a snapshot of the scale of the differences between the most deprived areas and the rest of Scotland and, through Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, introduces for the first time, a framework to allow changes over time to be readily monitored. (Scottish Executive 2005:1)

This publication gives a detailed 'snapshot' of the relation between education, including compulsory education, and deprivation in Scotland under New Labour. What it reveals is an intractable and intransigent relation between educational patterns or outcomes and deprivation as a measure of a range of social and economic disadvantages measured at the datazone level. Five indicators were used to construct the 'education, skills and training domain' of the SIMD 2004. These included measures of progression into higher or further education, qualifications and absenteeism. This focus report is particularly useful because it provides a detailed range of comparisons with the SIMD and education statistics

that had recently become available from the development of Scottish neighbourhood statistics that could be aggregated and matched to data zones. Unsurprisingly the analysis reported a strong correlation between the degree of deprivation found in the area in which a pupil lived and FSM data (45 per cent in 15% most deprived, compared with 11 per cent in the rest of Scotland, see Figure 21.6).

Young people from the most deprived areas have the highest level of absence from school (Figure 22.6) and were more likely to have been subject to a temporary exclusion from school (Figure 23.6). In terms of educational attainment, considered at 5-14 levels or tariff scores at S4 (key stage 4 in England), the higher the level of deprivation the less likely pupils were to achieve target levels or average tariff scores at S4 (score for 15% most deprived was 122 against a national average of 178, see Table 16.6 and Figures 24.6 and 25.6). It follows that a higher proportion of young people from deprived areas leave compulsory education without any qualifications and that a much lower proportion of Scottish students who enter higher education come from deprived areas (Table 17.6). There is a constant and striking relation in the Scottish data on education reported in *Social Focus on Deprived Areas*: as the level of deprivation becomes more intense within the domicile location of the child or young person there is a visible inverse relation to desirable educational outcomes and patterns of behaviour. In terms of New Labour in Scotland, the ambitions to govern the educational state so as to promote 'social inclusion' and 'increasing the attainment of young people facing the destructive cycle of underachievement' (Scottish Office, 1998:8) would seem ineffective or at best only successful in levelling-off Scotland's pattern of educational inequality.

New Labour's own techniques of numbers testify to the intransigence to change found in areas characterised by 'a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime, poor health and family breakdown' (SEU, 1994:2). New Labour could point to measures of system improvement in compulsory education; driven up by a combination of investment and its standards agenda. Nonetheless, outcomes from compulsory education remain a feature of the social cleavages that constituted New Labour's zones of social exclusion. The question of the extent or magnitude of such cleavages in the absence of New Labour's concern with exclusion is an open

one; in all likelihood divisions and disparities of outcome would have become even more pronounced and entrenched. Over a range of policies around benefits, tax credits and a minimum wage, New Labour's actions would seem to have at least stabilised income inequality. In a study by the Institute for Fiscal Studies looking at the influence of benefit and tax reforms since 1979, New Labour's policy emerged as tending to reduce income inequality. During the period 1979 to 1997 benefit increases were broadly equivalent to price inflation, tending to increase inequality. Following 1997 benefits increases under New Labour were broadly equivalent to the growth of national income, tending to reduce income inequality (Brewer, et al., 2009).

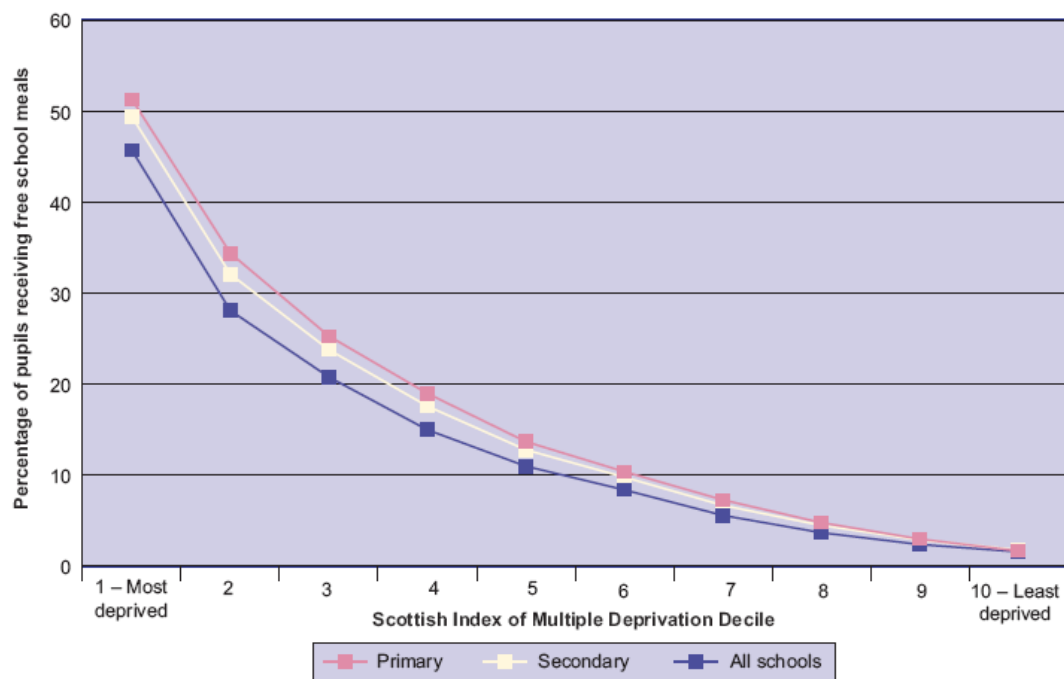


Figure 21.6: Pupils registered for free school meals, 2003/4
 Source: *Social Focus on Deprived Areas* (Scottish Executive 2005:90)

(a) Authorised and unauthorised absence

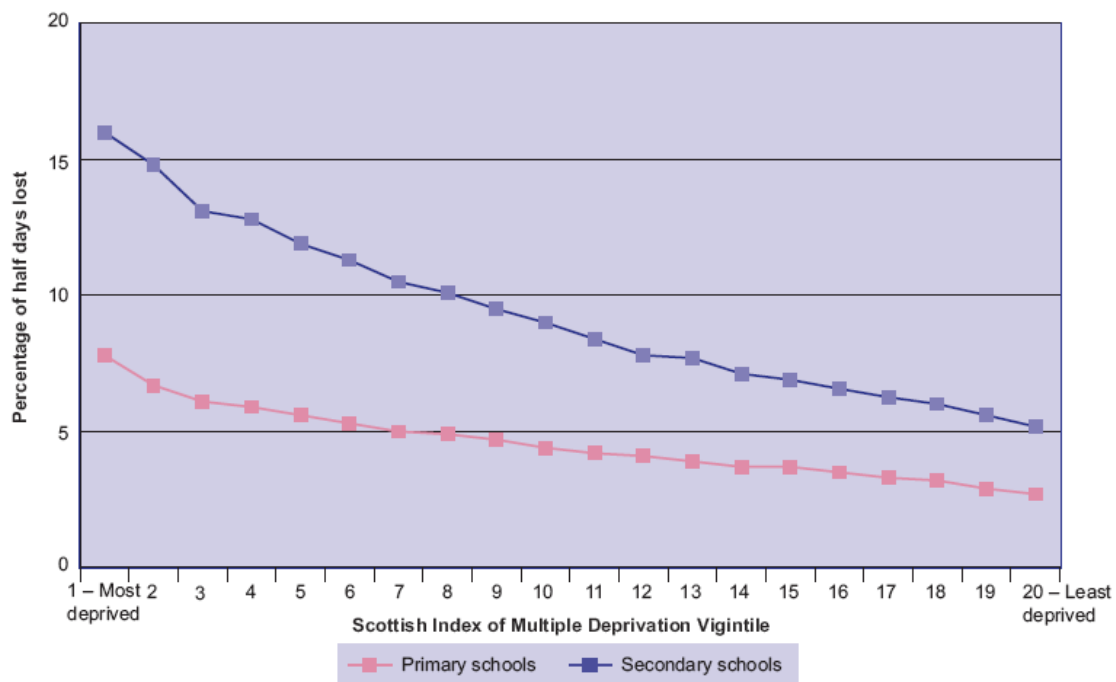


Figure 22.6: Pupil absence: all school pupils, 2003/4
 Source: *Social Focus on Deprived Areas* (Scottish Executive 2005:92)

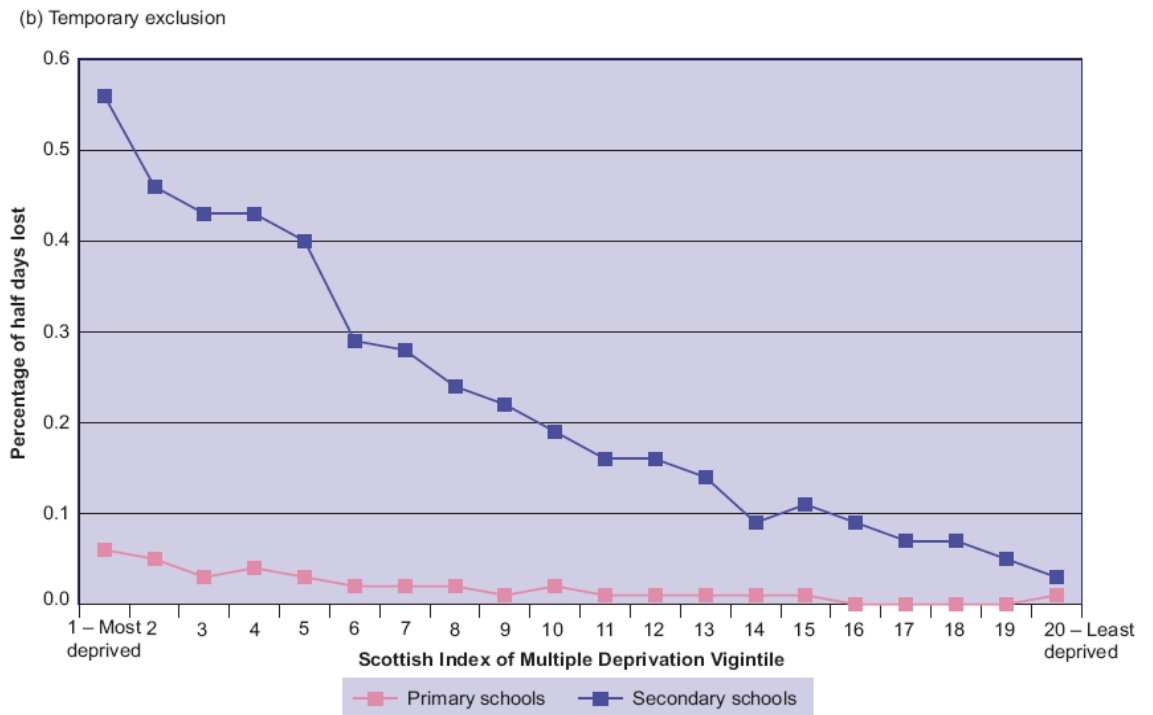


Figure 23.6: Temporary exclusion
 Source: *Social Focus on Deprived Areas* (Scottish Executive 2005:92)

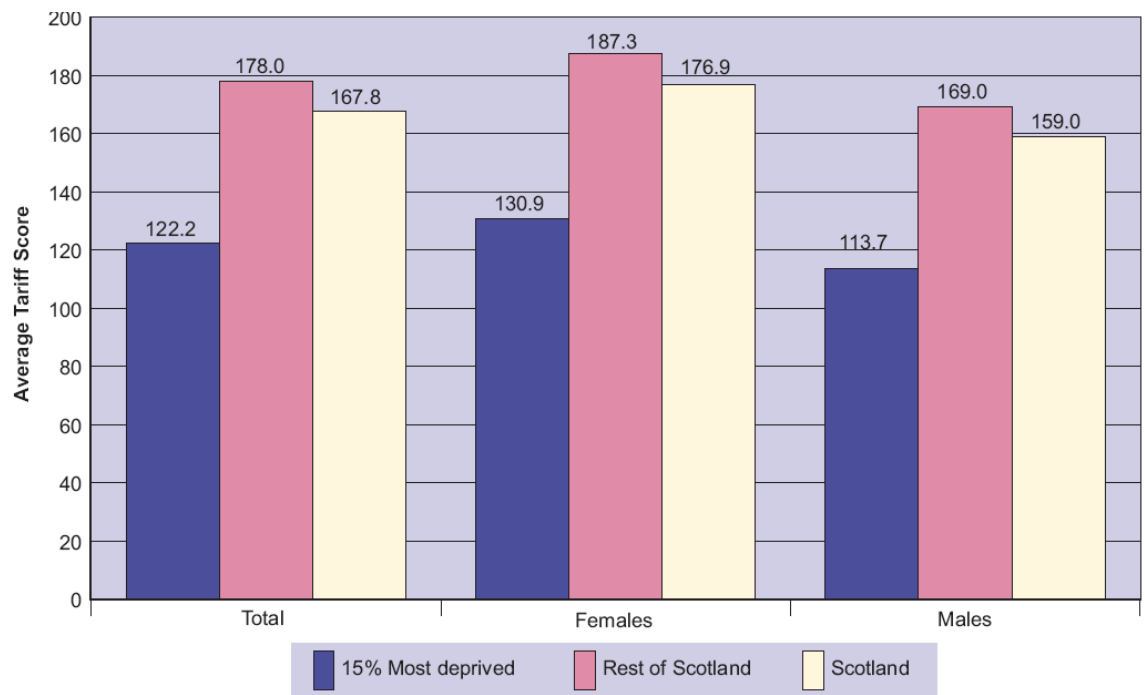
	Reading		Writing		Mathematics	
	15% Most Deprived	Scotland Total	15% Most Deprived	Scotland Total	15% Most Deprived	Scotland Total
Level A or above by the end of P3	78.5	85.5	77.7	85.4	94.0	95.9
Level B or above by the end of P4	71.6	80.6	63.0	74.0	73.4	80.8
Level C or above by the end of P6	76.6	85.5	63.4	75.4	72.7	82.0
Level D or above by the end of P7	61.1	74.4	45.8	60.6	58.0	69.7

Source: School management information systems

Note: Most deprived 15% data excludes pupils living in Perth & Kinross, Angus (primary school pupils only) and East Lothian. As the majority of pupils in these local authorities live within the 85% least deprived data zones, the attainment data available for the least deprived 85% are not representative of all data zones and, therefore, have not been included here. Scotland totals do include these pupils.

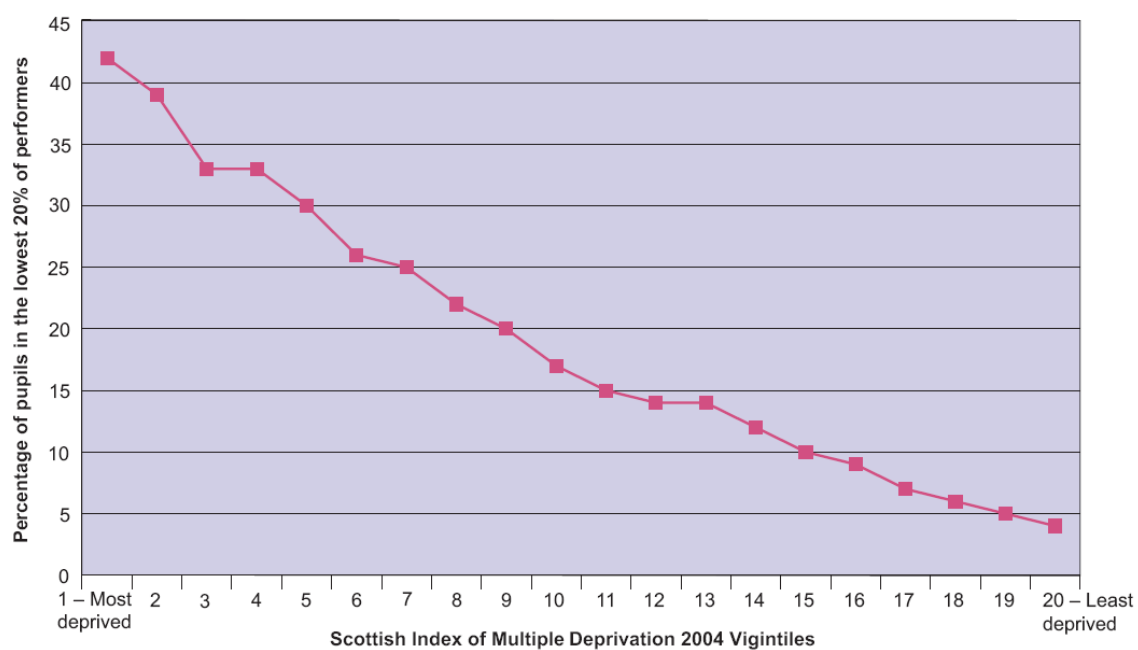
Table 16.6: Percentage of pupils gaining expected levels of 5-14 attainment in publicly funded schools, 2003/4.

Source: *Social Focus on Deprived Areas* (Scottish Executive 2005:93)



Source: Scottish Qualifications Authority

Figure 24.6: Average S4 tariff score by sex, 2002/3
 Source: *Social Focus on Deprived Areas* (Scottish Executive 2005:95)



Source: Scottish Qualifications Authority

Note: Data are shown for pupils with known data zones only.

Figure 25.6: Average S4 tariff score by sex, 2002/3
Source: *Social Focus on Deprived Areas* (Scottish Executive 2005:93)

		15% Most Deprived	Rest of Scotland	Scotland
2000	Acceptances	910	18,191	19,101
	% of acceptances	5	95	100
2001	Acceptances	968	18,399	19,367
	% of acceptances	5	95	100
2002	Acceptances	1,016	18,568	19,584
	% of acceptances	5	95	100

Source: Universities and Colleges Admissions Service

Table 17.6: Successful applications to Higher Education from 17 to 19 year olds, 2000 to 2002. Source: *Social Focus on Deprived Areas* (Scottish Executive 2005:98)

Chapter 7: The Future of Social Exclusion

The Future of Social Exclusion

The shift in centre-left parties from advocacy of social-democratic equality to the defence of social inclusion may have helped resolve some difficult issues in electoral strategy. The ideal of inclusion may be more philosophically defensible than social-democratic egalitarianism. Nevertheless, inclusion has no advantage over equality as a political response to the social and political dilemmas of globalisation. Social inclusion and market globalisation are opposing political ideas. It is not difficult to envisage circumstances in which recognition of this is made unavoidable (Gray, 2000:35).

When Peter Mandelson addressed the Fabian Society on 14 August 1997 a degree of hyperbole was perhaps unavoidable within this discursive context. Mandelson made the bold claim that doubters on the left should judge the fruits of New Labour after ten years in office and on the extent to which 'Britain has become a more equal society.' Even the limited evidence reviewed above would suggest that, notwithstanding a wide policy stream focused on 'social exclusion,' this problem as defined by New Labour remains as a somewhat impervious feature of the social order in the UK. Gray (2000) has characterised New Labour's adoption of social inclusion as an electoral strategy, whatever their motivation this project has pointed to its clear assimilation into the way New Labour came to think about governing. This incorporation into the mentality of Third Way government led, in turn, to the assembly, fabrication and mobilisation of a host of regimes of practices centred around the socially excluded and those at risk of future exclusion. New Labour's broader project of social exclusion was not easily incorporated into the educational state; not least because New Labour had more dominant concerns shaping its rationality of government as it touched upon the state in education. In much the same way as New Labour's ambitions to reduce social exclusion became fatigued, submerged by other demands including the essential project of economic prosperity in

a globalised market, so the inclusion project within compulsory education was overshadowed, marginalised by the all-encompassing demands of the new knowledge vocationalism and a constant concern to gratify the consumer citizen.

By 2006 there was a clearly detectible downgrading of New Labour's engagement with the problem of social exclusion. The New Labour government's Social Exclusion Unit, at one time chaired by the Prime Minister in person, was relegated in favour of a smaller Social Exclusion Task Force. In May 2006 Hilary Armstrong, having been Labour's Chief Whip, was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and minister for the Cabinet Office. At the same time Armstrong was made Minister for Social Exclusion with responsibility for the Task Force. A 'lecture' by Blair (2006) to the Joseph Rowntree Foundation the following September produced a text that revealed, while maintaining a public enthusiasm for policy around exclusion, an alteration in focus and a lowering of policy ambitions around tackling exclusion. The language of the texts betrayed a new sense of the intractability of social exclusion to governmental intervention. Blair now represents the socially excluded as being 'very hard to reach' and begins to introduce a gradation among the excluded, describing to his audience the 'excluded of the excluded, the deeply excluded.' The Task Force would now follow an Action Plan outlined by Blair in the lecture. The focus of New Labour's efforts would be focused down onto four 'hard to reach' groups: looked after children, families with complex problems, mental health patients and teenagers at risk of pregnancy.

My thesis today is straightforward: some aspects of social exclusion are deeply intractable. The most socially excluded are very hard to reach. Their problems are multiple, entrenched and often passed down the generations. (Blair, 2006)

MacLeavy (2006) using a content analysis approach looked at the incidence of reports mentioning social exclusion in national newspapers, in six month periods, surveyed from January 1995 to June 2003. There was an average of 7 references to social exclusion in national newspapers from January 1995 until the May of 1997 when Labour took office. From July 1997 to December 1997 this increased to 231, reaching a peak in July-December 1999 of 422. By the end of the survey period, June 2003, the incidence had declined to 170. Prior to 1997 the concept of social exclusion was uncommon, circulating in a narrow sector of the academy and the social policy environment of the EU. Following New Labour's adoption of this policy concept there followed a concomitant explosion of interest and academic research within the academy. The Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) adopted social exclusion as one of its nine themes for organising social science research. A Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion was established in October 1997 at the LSE supported by ESRC funding. The fate of social exclusion as an explanatory concept within the academy, in the post New Labour context, will be a matter of interest. Will social exclusion maintain a theoretical salience or will it rapidly slip down the hierarchy of conceptual preferences, displaced by older or alternative policy concepts?

A Left Turn to the Spatial

New Labour's attempt to grasp and alter the structure of the social order, its attempts to govern so as to reintegrate the detached and excluded was in part made actionable by a turn to the spatial. There existed few alternative forms of knowledge for New Labour; ways of making of meaning that could underpin the allocation of the resources and guide agents of the State in a project of social inclusion. In changing society New Labour sought to change subjects and to changes the places they inhabit; together with the practices, moral references and subjectivities they enclosed. While the social inclusion ambitions of the New Labour project may not have been realised to any significant

extent, the turn to the spatial within their governmental reason can be recognised as significant and as articulating with a lineage of social and education policy sponsored by the Left.

In 2001, the Government set out a vision that, “within 10 to 20 years, no-one should be seriously disadvantaged by where they live”. The evidence we have presented on the profound differences in all economic outcomes between more and less disadvantaged areas suggests we are still a very long way from achieving this goal. Whatever the source of these differences, they imply huge disparities in the collective resources available from one area to the next, and the need for investments that counter their effects. The ‘neighbourhood renewal’ agenda itself needs renewal, especially as the impact of recession becomes clear. (Hills, et al., 2010:402).

Future Research

This thesis set out to critically analyse aspects of New Labour policy on compulsory education; in particular looking to elucidate the outworking of ambitions to reduce social exclusion. It aimed to critically interrogate New Labour’s adoption of a distinctive formulation of social exclusion as a policy concept. This was connected with a focus on the outworking of this commitment, in New Labour’s early years in office, within instances of policy directed at compulsory education. This line of investigation was set in context by a concomitant consideration of compulsory education policy under New Labour. This policy stream was interpreted in relation to a conceptualisation of the scheme of governmentality acting to direct New Labour’s course of action in its early years of government.

To this end the thesis attempted to offer a brief account of New Labour’s Third Way in terms of its own claims for position on the political field. Third Way emerges as a project that can be understood as reflecting classical social democracy’s compromise with the tension riven project of the New Right following 1979. This account shares many

descriptions, classifications and conclusions in common with other critical accounts of New Labour. Conversely, it has been influenced in part by an attempt to be sensitive to elements of governmental reason articulated within New Labour's claims. One element, the adoption of a formulation of social exclusion as an important policy concept, was located and considered in its period of initiation. Critical Discourse Analysis supported the interpretation and explanation of two policy texts selected as germane in capturing a particular historical moment in New Labour's adoption and commitment to a distinct formulation of social exclusion. This analysis allowed a critical engagement with the social exclusion concept and authorized the elucidation of the ideological subtext inscribed, by the hands of New Labour, onto this central policy concept.

The social exclusion ambition was found to be present within the policy climate informing New Labour's elaboration of compulsory education, but in what could be described as a surrogated and weaker set of intentions. The impact of New Labour's ambitions to govern so as to reincorporate the excluded was shaped in tension with two overriding concerns active in the policy climate of compulsory education; understood as the new knowledge vocationalism and the demands of a consumer democracy. This plurality and hierarchy of policy ambitions reinforces that need for policy analysis to look to conceptualise and attempt to find forms of cartography that capture the multidimensional and contested context of policy initiation. There is a need to explore further the idea of a climate of pre initiation and its relation to post initiation in public policy making. The layered model proposed here needs to be developed so as to accommodate the interfacing layers of pre initiation and post initiation. If policy is a course of action or inaction, it is at this level problems are framed, agendas decided and contestation over finite resources, system capacity and political capital is fought out.

The explanatory or ordering potential of the layered policy model (see figure 4.1 and 11.5) was deployed as an ordering mechanism in the background of this theses. The model is critical in its assumptions of contestation and in particular its focus on levels of influence and power. What is distinctive about the layered model (the author has been unable to find a comparable model in the literature) is its attempt to incorporate the place of primary policy texts within the stages of a policy process differentiated by forms of activity and a focus on power. The wider application and usefulness of this modelling of policy making can only be assessed through its presentation and review within the policy field. The next phase of development would be to refine its description and theoretical assumptions and to offer it for use and critique by those involved in critical policy analysis.

The thesis reported an attempt to develop and undertake an analysis informed by Foucault's idea of governmentality as a productive critical perspective for policy analysis. Connected to this aim was an attendant attempt to begin the task of integrating a governmentality perspective within established policy theory. Foucault's idea of governmentality was put to work informing a critical reading of New Labour in compulsory education and its concern for social exclusion. In practice it has been possible, with some claim to coherence, to employ a governmentality perspective in concert within a framework of policy theory and the layered model. Attention to a historically shifting governmentality invited concentration on a narrower sector of the exercise of political sovereignty concerned with the art of government, its objects, problematizations, its schema of intelligibility, and its technical means of application. From this perspective a distinct reading of compulsory education under the governmental reason of Third Way was discernable. This account of New Labour's attempts to govern education and to school the excluded moves beyond judgements about ideological fidelity, accounts of betrayal or bastardised Thatcherism to provide explanations and interpretations heavy with tensions, complexities,

compromises, failures and contradictions. From this standpoint the social exclusion dimension of New Labour's policy ambitions can be understood as emerging with some intensity during the early period of taking power, coupled to the problem of 'neighbourhood renewal.' The impact of intentions to counter social exclusion can be characterised in terms of sublimation within the conflicted policy climate around compulsory education arising from New Labour's distinctive and evolving governmentality.

The brief, and undeveloped, evaluation above made use of the same governmental numbers or metrics favoured by New Labour. This official data clearly suggests that the initial enthusiasm and multi sector policy activity sponsored by New Labour would seem to have been ineffective in the reality of the excluded 'neighbourhood.' Governing so as to close those social cleavages conceived as troubling by Third Way's nascent social theory proved to be beyond the reach of New Labour. It is worth noting the contraction of ambition, around combating exclusion, evident in the evolution of New Labour's project. Such outcomes and alterations draw attention to the need for an analytical sensitivity to the altering nature, the reflexive dynamic, of governing and of governmental reason.

The significance of spatiality was an unanticipated dimension of this analysis of New Labour's attempts to govern the excluded. Two different perspectives on spatiality have surfaced within this thesis as it progressed. For those who govern through the exercise of political sovereignty; place and spatiality emerge as inescapable points of reference. They are part of an extended set of knowledges from which governmental reason is constructed; making thinkable and locating a matrix of more or less rational attempts to influence the 'conduct of conduct.' Place and space function overtly within the governmentality of New Labour, operating as part of its regime of intelligibility and are posited within an implied set of ontological commitments. New Labour's policy narratives are loaded with representations and constructions of

place, spatial distributions and connections. Any representation of space and place is of course open to challenge. Nonetheless, in practice such meanings function within the discourse of New Labour in a normative, naturalised way. Such narratives draw on an order of spatial discourse embracing areas such as geography, architecture, the social sciences, cultural memory and ordinary language. This account of space and place reflects Fairclough's (1995a) notion of members' resources, forms of commonsense, a socially mediated knowledge of places, and the spatial; be it the 'estate,' children 'hanging round on street corners' or 'one nation.' As Cresswell (2004:1) observes, 'place is a word that seems to speak for itself.' Critically, place and space form part of a representation that vernacularizes and territorializes government thought, diagnosing ills, locating positions for intervention, and marking out the spaces that will become the focus of governmental action. New Labour's attempt to grasp and alter the structure of the social order, its attempts to govern so as to reintegrate the detached and excluded was made actionable in part by a turn to the spatial.

The second perspective arises out of the task of critical policy analysis. In particular there is a need for standpoints that can provide a critical reading or appraisal of forms of policy such as New Labour's response to what it understood as educational disadvantage. From the viewpoint of critical policy analysis, place and spatiality offer another accessible vantage point from which to interpret and explain attempts to govern through policy. One unintended consequence of the effort to operationalise a stream of public policy informed by New Labour's conception of social exclusion has been a recourse to the spatial. This is most visibly illustrated in the development and use of area based measures of deprivation, deprivation indexes, in support of this policy stream. It should be noted that in operationalising policy, in administering courses of action, the abstractness and slipperiness of the concept of social exclusion required a return to the concept of 'deprivation.' This more established form of knowledge allowed policy

objectives and interventions, in particular the distribution of significant resources, to be put on an administratively rational and quantifiable basis. Within the governmental reason of New Labour, sectors of public policy have been initiated around problematizations that depended on a construction of place; were formulated and operationalised within a conceptual framing of place and space. Importantly this spatial patterning of the social order, with its codes, zones of cohabitation and separation, its corporal, temporal and material flows, incorporates the spatial arrangement of compulsory education. Such attention to the spatiality of compulsory education would, in the content of social exclusion, seem to offer a productive interrogative horizon. Policy makers, policy readers and those in education with a concern for social justice are continually reminded that the 'place' of education matters significantly.

By contrast with relatively small regional differences, in all of the outcomes we examine, from education at 16 to equivalent net incomes, there are profound differences at neighbourhood level, between those with higher and lower levels of deprivation. Even allowing for the way in which average levels of qualifications, employment and incomes form part of the indices used to establish which are the most and least disadvantaged areas, the differences between them were some of the most striking that we showed in Chapters 3-8. (Hills, et al., 2010:248)

In looking back critically on the development of this project a number of other supplementary issues and questions have surfaced that invite additional work and also provide directions for future development. This project has grounded on Foucault's analysis of the form of governmental reason inherent within classical liberalism. It has also made use of advanced liberalism; a category posited by Nikolas Rose (1993, 1996). This form of governmentality was adumbrated by Rose as recent and distinctive. The coherence and justification of this chronology of historically identifiable modes of governmental reason deserves a more fine grained interrogation. This line of analysis was bracketed off as being beyond the practical scope of the work being undertaken within

this thesis. However, in taking forward any governmentality perspective across the social sciences in general, or in relation to policy analysis in particular, this would seem to be a necessary line of research. To this end, the coherence and conceptual vigour of advanced liberalism together with welfare liberalism as modes of governmental reason deserve to be revisited. One useful theme in this task would concern the identification of the dimensions that cohere to compose an elaborated and distinctive form of governmental reason in the thought of Foucault and in the deliberations of those, such as Rose and Dean (Ref), who have extended his analysis.

Political ideology or ideologies of education as systems of ideas that coalesce within their own domains around values, ideals, moral frameworks, roles, structures and programmes for action deserve more attention in ‘illuminating the concrete process of social life’ (Giddens, 1984:xvii). The interrelation between political ideology, or political philosophy at the service of active politics, and schemes of governmental reason is a project initiated by Foucault but as yet remains underdeveloped within the governmentality literature. Other than noting this line of research, its pursuit has been outside the practical limits of the thesis. This work would seem to be an essential next step for testing the conceptual coherence and usefulness of any claim for the impact of a distinctive, independent and influential order of thought understood as governmental reason.

Political ideologies as a bias for organised political action and their impact on framing policy making and public policy continues to be a key reference for critical policy analysts. The articulation of an understanding of policy relative to its interrelation with the historical emergence of forms of governmental reason has not been achieved to any degree of satisfaction within this thesis. Providing a developed theoretical account of policy in relation to the emergence of forms of governmentality has again proven to be a larger project extending

beyond the scope of this thesis. A fuller account of a governmentality conception of policy requires to be developed and opened up to review. This is an essential step in looking to establish or test the saliency of any governmentally perspective in undertaking forms of critical policy analysis.

New Labour is now in opposition following the UK elections of 2010. The 'new' in New Labour has in turn become an internal focus of contestation. The tired project of New Labour is now the subject of reappraisal, reinvention and repositioning. Coincidentally, the new Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government have, in a context of economic austerity, been required to negotiate and operationalise their own project of government. In this context an obvious and pressing line of research for proponents of an analytics of governmentality centres on the elucidation of the form of governmental reason consolidating within the coalition following May 2010. One clear dimension for any such analysis will be the classification of this form of governmentality and its relation to the previous Third Way schema and the proceeding variety of advanced liberalism.

Appendices

Appendix I

Extract from a speech by the Minister without Portfolio, on 14 August, at the Fabian society

Tackling social exclusion

1. One challenge above all stands out before we can deserve another historic victory: tackling the scourge and waste of social exclusion.
2. It is this area where the case against the Tories was most telling.
3. It is in this area where Labour can show how we are different and prove that we can make a difference.
4. The extent of the Tory failure is truly shocking.
5. Their legacy is 5 million families in which no one of working age works. 150,000 people are now deemed to be homeless.
6. There may be as many as 100,000 children not attending school in England and Wales.
7. Britain has a higher proportion of single parent families than anywhere else in Europe.
8. There are 3 million people living in the worst 1,300 housing estates expressing multiple deprivation, rising poverty, unemployment, educational failure and crime.
9. Behind these statistics, as the Prime Minister has said, are people who have lost hope, trapped in fatalism.
10. They are today's and tomorrow's underclass, shut out from society.
11. The Tories' failure resulted from a profound misunderstanding of the modern world. True, this modern world offers rich rewards to some and a wide range of opportunities for many more.
12. Where these are the results of genuine initiative and creative dynamism New Labour has no quarrel.
13. But it also contains a great deal of insecurity for a broad mass.
14. For a significant minority at the bottom of the social ladder, who are at best on the edge of the labour force, the result is social exclusion.
15. We cannot tolerate this.
16. The philosophy of the Right is to accept exclusion as an unavoidable fact of life, a piece of economic determinism that the hidden hand of the market deals out to hapless individuals who are left with only their own meagre resources to fall back upon.
17. Indeed some right-wingers would go further.
18. The workings of chance economic fate are to be applauded and should as far as possible be made easier.
19. Only by making the world more insecure, they say, can we inculcate the fear needed to make our economy more competitive.
20. New Labour believes this approach is neither economically efficient nor socially just.
21. Certainly we need the flexibility without which a dynamic market cannot function well and stimulate new jobs.
22. Our Continental partners are now realising that they ignore the need for labour market flexibility at their peril.
23. But our case against the Tories' exclusive reliance on flexibility is twofold.
24. First a permanently excluded underclass actually hinders flexibility rather than enhancing it.
25. If we are to promote flexibility we must find ways of getting people off dependency and into the labour market.
26. Second, flexibility on its own is not enough to promote economic competitiveness.
27. It is the job of government to play its part in guaranteeing "flexibility plus" - plus higher skills and higher standards in our schools and colleges; plus

- partnership with business to raise investment in infrastructure, science and research and to back small firms; plus an imaginative Welfare to Work programme to put the long term unemployed back to work; plus minimum standards of fair treatment at the workplace; plus new leadership in Europe in place of Tory drift and disengagement from our largest markets.
28. These are the conditions needed for economic strength and to build offer the confidence and opportunity individuals require to overcome insecurity.
 29. This is the heart of where New Labour differs from both the limitations of New Right economics and the Old Labour agenda of crude state intervention in industry and indiscriminate "tax and spend".
 30. It represents a vision of competitiveness and social cohesion that is relevant to both Britain and our partners in Europe as we move forward into the next century.
 31. Now some may feel that this is all right far as it goes but isn't it all a very timid vision by comparison with the far grander ambitions to transform society that brought many of us into politics.
 32. Does it involve an acceptance as Roy Hattersley has argued that the Labour Party is no longer a "force for a more equal society"?
 33. The answer is a resounding "no".
 34. In politics the acid test is what you end up achieving. I say to the doubters, judge us after we have implemented our programme.
 35. And if, we retain the trust of the British people judge us after ten years of success in office.
 36. For one of the fruits of that success will be that Britain has become a more equal society.
 37. However, we will have achieved that result by many different routes not just the redistribution of cash from rich to poor which others artificially choose as their own limited definition of egalitarianism.
 38. Let us be crystal clear on this point.
 39. The people we are concerned about, those in danger of dropping off the end of the ladder of opportunity and becoming disengaged from society, will not have their long-term problems addressed by an extra pound a week on their benefits.
 40. Of course I would like to see the badly off have more money in their pockets and purses.
 41. Not only is Labour committed to protect the poor against inflation, we are also determined to do more for those on the lowest incomes when economic circumstances and the re-ordering of public expenditure makes this possible.
 42. The introduction of a national minimum wage will play its part in this. Groups such as poor pensioners as well as the chronically sick and disabled who are little able to help themselves and for whom the message of opportunity must seem hollow should be stakeholders in Britain's economic success and share its rewards.
 43. But we must concentrate effort on helping individuals who can escape their situation to do so, in the knowledge that personal skills and employment are the most effective anti-poverty policy in the long run.
 44. That is why the top priorities of our government are welfare to work and tackling the problems of bad schools and low educational standards. Preventing the growth of social exclusion, wiping away the poison that seeped through the Thatcher years and corroded our society, starts with these programmes.
 45. However, these are simply the first steps in the development of a new set of comprehensive policies to tackle social exclusion and multiple deprivation: policies that will involve improved public health which the appointment of Britain's first ever Minister for public health presages, far-reaching changes to the education system, new social housing to rent, radical reforms of youth justice, and locally based economic strategies to stimulate new jobs in the estates and inner city areas that suffer high, hard core unemployment.

46. None of this is easy.
47. These are the difficult, inter-related issues no past government has successfully tackled. Government will not for that reason run away from them.
48. Let me summarise the themes of this lecture in this way.
49. Our vision is to end social exclusion.
50. Our priority is to redirect and reform social programmes and the welfare state towards that goal.
51. Our strategy is to build a broad ranging political consensus for action.
52. This action was presaged in a speech the Prime Minister delivered at the Aylesbury Estate, Southwark on June 2.
53. But we recognise that this action, in itself, is not sufficient for the scale of the challenge we face.
54. The Prime Minister believes that the Government's efforts, for all their fine intentions, are insufficiently directed.
55. That we spend a great deal of money and energy but too much of it goes to alleviating the effects of social exclusion rather than preventing it from happening.
56. There is a proliferation of programmes with insufficient collaboration between the different agencies involved at national, local and area level as a result we are spending vast sums of money, often over and over again on the same people through different programmes, without improving their ability to participate in the economy and society.
57. There have been many discussions involving the ministers concerned, the No 10 Policy Unit, the Cabinet Office and Permanent Secretaries about the best way of concerting Government action to tackle social exclusion and the Whitehall machinery needed to do so.
58. The Prime Minister has decided to establish a special unit in the Cabinet Office to take decisive action at the heart of the government machine.
59. This will promote co-operation between departments, drawing together a panoply of new initiatives, shifting the focus of government programmes towards preventing social exclusion and making recommendations for changes in policies, programmes and machinery effectively to attack social exclusion.
60. All policy decisions will be made by the appropriate Cabinet committee. We cannot afford delay and the unit's work will get underway by the end of next month.
61. It is so important that the Prime Minister, himself, will steer the unit with whatever support is necessary at Ministerial level.
62. It is the most important innovation in government we have made since coming to office.
63. It will harness the full power of government to take on the greatest social crisis of our times.

Conclusion

64. The task of tackling social exclusion will not be easy.
65. But it is essential for the government's success.
66. The enthusiasm with which we go about it will give character and purpose to the government.
67. It will nail forever the Tory lie that we are no more than a highly professional election winning machine, by showing the real difference that a Labour government can make.
68. It is a huge test for our vision of society, and a test that we must not fail.
69. Let everyone be clear.
70. There is no complacency at the heart of New Labour.
71. Instead a driving ambition to secure lasting and effective change.
72. After a hundred days in office, we know what we are about.
73. We hit the ground running.
74. We are motoring ahead.

75. We have a vision of a modern, competitive, socially cohesive country.
76. And we will deliver it!

Appendix II

“BRINGING BRITAIN TOGETHER”

**SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER, THE RT HON TONY BLAIR MP
STOCKWELL PARK SCHOOL SOUTH LONDON, MONDAY 8 DECEMBER 1997**

Introduction (1-4)

1. We are here today in the Stockwell Park School in Lambeth to launch one of the most important new initiatives of this administration.
2. It is an experiment in policy-making that is vital to the country's future.
3. The Social Exclusion Unit will yield results over months and years not days, but its purpose is central to the values and ambitions of the new Government.
4. Its role reflects a new mood in the country and the values of a new Government.

Setting and managing expectations (5-14)

5. Expectations are a curious thing.
6. Before the election many people complained when I said we couldn't do it all at once; spending would be tough; when I refused to promise more money even for worthy causes; when I emphasized that the basis of a stable economy was monetary and fiscal prudence.
7. Expectations are being lowered too much, they said.
8. After the election, it is remarkable how expectations have rocketed and how short the memories are of what was said before.
9. We are accused of breaking promises we never made, often by opponents who introduced the very measures they now criticise us for not reversing.
10. So let me spell it out again.
11. We can't do it all at once.
12. It will take time.
13. And we must never lose control of spending and monetary policy.
14. Because if we do we will repeat the pain of boom and bust, of record interest rates, repossessions, soaring public debt - all the attributes of a Britain which before 1st May had for the last twenty to thirty years, the least stability of any major economy in the world.

Contrast of the New Right Project to that of New Labour (15-29)

15. But within this necessary prudence, do not let anyone fall for the nonsense that Labour priorities are Tory ones, or that we have done just the same as them.
16. The £3.5bn Welfare to Work programme.
17. That wasn't a Tory policy.
18. The £1.2bn School Building programme.
19. That was never in any Tory manifesto I saw.
20. The £2.5bn extra spending on schools and hospitals next year.
21. That wasn't in any Tory spending plans.
22. The Section 11 funding cut for children from ethnic minorities in schools, reversed.
23. The last government's cuts in Housing Benefit, reversed.
24. The £50 cash help for heating for pensioners on income support and £20 for the rest.
25. No Tory policy there.
26. The £300m childcare strategy, with £200m help to lone parents to get into jobs.
27. That never crossed Tory lips.
28. The £900m release of capital receipts for housing. Not in 18 years did that happen. VAT on fuel cut.
29. It was the last Government that raised it.

Return to Setting Expectations (30-34)

- 30. But it all takes time.
- 31. Welfare to work doesn't start until next year.
- 32. It will only be over time that the extra money for schools and hospitals gets through.
- 33. Progress I promised, and am delivering.
- 34. Britain reborn in a day or even a Parliamentary session - I never did promise that and couldn't deliver it.

The good society and the central purpose of NL (35-39)

- 35. At the heart of all our work, however, is one central theme: national renewal.
- 36. Britain re-built as one nation, in which each citizen is valued and has a stake; in which no-one is excluded from opportunity and the chance to develop their potential; in which we make it, once more, our national purpose to tackle social division and inequality.
- 37. Hence the creation of the Social Exclusion Unit.
- 38. My political philosophy is simple.
- 39. Individuals prosper in a strong and active community of citizens.

Identification of the Problem (40-42)

- 40. But Britain cannot be a strong community, cannot be one nation, when there are so many families experiencing a third generation of unemployment, when so many pensioners live on crime-ridden housing estates and are afraid to go out, when thousands of truant children spend their days hanging round on street corners.
- 41. The public knows only too well the dangers of a society that is falling apart. They know that worsening inequality, hopelessness, crime and poverty undermine the decency on which any good society rests.
- 42. They know how easily shared values and rules can unravel.

Establishing the frame of Social Exclusion (43-47)

- 43. Social exclusion is about income but it is about more.
- 44. It is about prospects and networks and life-chances.
- 45. It's a very modern problem, and one that is more harmful to the individual, more damaging to self-esteem, more corrosive for society as a whole, more likely to be passed down from generation to generation, than material poverty.
- 46. Getting government to act more coherently is the key.
- 47. Everyone knows that the problems of social exclusion - of failure at school, joblessness, crime - are woven together when you get down to the level of the individual's daily life, or the life of a housing estate.

What must be done: joined up solutions (48-53)

- 48. Yet all too often governments in the past have tried to slice problems up into separate packages - as if you could fix an estate by just painting the houses rather than tackling the lack of jobs or the level of crime.
- 49. And in many areas dozens of agencies and professions are working in parallel, often doing good things, but sometimes working at cross purposes with far too little coordination and cooperation.
- 50. Joined up problems demand joined up solutions. Back in June I spoke about new ways for departments and agencies to work together.
- 51. I also talked about the need to act to prevent problems before they get out of hand.
- 52. I described how government itself would have to change if it was to be the solution rather than, as is sometimes the case, being part of the problem.

53. I said that the job of refashioning welfare and the job of refashioning government are inseparable.

Introducing the Social Exclusion Unit (54-64)

54. The Social Exclusion Unit is a big step towards putting these ideas into practice, helping government to work in a more coherent, integrated way, across departmental boundaries, and with all the agencies - public, private and voluntary - that can help turn things round.
55. It will be a dynamic unit - there to solve problems and to achieve results.
56. Its staff are now all appointed, and most have been at work for more than a month.
57. Its make-up - including secondees from many government departments, from the voluntary sector, business, police, local government and probation - exemplifies the new ways in which we need to work.
58. We don't believe that Whitehall knows best.
59. We need practical experience.
60. We need the insights of people who have worked at the sharp end.
61. And just as we plan to bring other experience into government, so too will the unit be outward looking.
62. Finding out about the best projects, the most promising initiatives.
63. Working with communities engaged in making their own solutions.
64. And crucially, too, hearing from the socially excluded themselves.

Social exclusion and educational failure (65-78)

65. I've asked the unit to make truancy and school exclusions a top priority because we know that the prospects for kids who miss school are so dismal.
66. It's bad enough if kids are missing out on the education they'll need to get a job and make a life.
67. What's worse is that for many, being out of school is the beginning of a slippery slope to crime, drugs and exploitation by others.
68. They pay a high price.
69. But in the long run we all end up paying for it as well.
70. The first message we're sending out today is that we're not prepared to sit by while more and more kids are excluded or truant without taking action.
71. There will always be some who need special help that can't be provided in a mainstream school.
72. But good schools don't exclude pupils unless it's absolutely necessary.
73. However, we also need to acknowledge that this isn't a problem that schools can solve on their own.
74. They need the backing of parents and the community.
75. And they need the help of all the different agencies that work with young people - social services, educational authorities and the police too.
76. The people you see here today demonstrate that commitment.
77. They are here to show their belief that it's no longer good enough to blame someone else - this is a problem we need to solve together.
78. David Blunkett will be announcing new measures today to step up the attack on exclusions and truancy by helping children who are having difficulty keeping up at school, many of whom skip lessons because they can't keep up and won't admit it.

Conclusion: bringing Britain back together (79-90)

79. Our actions on exclusion reflect our values and those of the British people.
80. It offends against our values to see children with no prospect of work, families trapped in poverty, neighbourhoods blighted by crime.
81. But this isn't just about compassion. It's also about self-interest. If we can shift resources from picking up the costs of problems to preventing them, there will be a dividend for everyone.

82. We now have a chance for the first time in a generation to prevent Britain irretrievably sliding into division.
83. A chance to bring Britain together.
84. The Social Exclusion Unit is just one part of government.
85. Every department has a role to play.
86. Every business, charity, school, and every community needs to help too.
87. But I am confident that the unit will make a particularly important contribution because it is tackling directly the problems that affect the people who are most excluded.
88. Help them and we change young lives for the better. Help them and we make society stronger.
89. Help them and we make Britain better.
90. Help them and we bring Britain back together.

Appendix III

Speech by the Prime Minister on Monday 2 June 1997, at the Aylesbury estate, Southwark

- 1-69 The Will to Win
- 70-122 Early actions
- 123-134 The ethic of responsibility
- 135-168 Transforming the structures of government
- 169-170 Conclusion

The Will to Win

1. I have chosen this housing estate to deliver my first speech as Prime Minister for a very simple reason.
2. For 18 years, the poorest people in our country have been forgotten by government.
3. They have been left out of growing prosperity, told that they were not needed, ignored by the Government except for the purpose of blaming them.
4. I want that to change.
5. There will be no forgotten people in the Britain I want to build.
6. We need to act in a new way because fatalism, and not just poverty, is the problem we face, the dead weight of low expectations, the crushing belief that things cannot get better.
7. I want to give people back the will to win again.
8. This will to win is what drives a country, the belief that expectations can be fulfilled and ambitions realised.
9. But that cannot be done without a radical shift in our values and attitudes.
10. When the electorate gave the Conservatives their marching orders after 18 years of government, they did so for more than reasons of political fatigue and "time for a change".
11. They did so also because they thought that the values underpinning the Conservative government were wrong.
12. The 1960s were the decade of "anything goes".
13. The 1980s were a time of "who cares?".
14. The next decade will be defined by a simple idea; "we are all in this together."
15. It will be about how to recreate the bonds of civic society and community in a way compatible with the far more individualistic nature of modern, economic, social and cultural life.
16. In political terms, the choice used to be posed throughout the 80s as: vote for yourself or vote for helping the disadvantaged.
17. Today there is a possibility of an alliance between the haves and the have-nots. Comfortable Britain now knows not just its own forms of insecurity and difficulty following the recession and industrial restructuring.
18. It also knows the price it pays for economic and social breakdown in the poorest parts of Britain.
19. There is a case not just in moral terms but in enlightened self interest to act, to tackle what we all know exists - an underclass of people cut off from society's mainstream, without any sense of shared purpose.
20. Just as there are no no-go areas for new Labour so there will be no no-hope areas in new Labour's Britain.
21. To be a citizen of Britain is not just to hold its passport it is to share its aspirations, to be part of the British family.
22. But this new alliance of interests to build on "one nation Britain" can only be done on the basis of a new bargain between us all as members of society.
23. We should reject the rootless morality whose symptom is a false choice between bleeding hearts and couldn't care less, when what we need is one grounded in the core of British values, the sense of fairness and a balance between rights and duties.

24. The basis of this modern civic society is an ethic of mutual responsibility or duty.
25. It is something for something.
26. A society where we play by the rules.
27. You only take out if you put in.
28. That's the bargain.
29. In concrete terms that means: Reforming welfare so that government helps people to help themselves and provides for those who can't, rather than trying to do it all through government.
30. Where opportunities are given, for example to young people, for real jobs and skills, there should be a reciprocal duty on them to take them up.
31. We should encourage people like single mothers who are anxious to work but unable to, to get back into the labour market.
32. This is empowerment not punishment.
33. We should root out educational failure, because it is the greatest inhibition to correcting poverty.
34. We should enforce a new code of laws that crack down on crime and other antisocial behaviour
35. We should attack discrimination in all its forms
36. We should engage the interest and commitment of the whole of the community to tackle the desperate need for urban regeneration
37. Government should commit itself to using whatever means is the best to play its part without outdated dogma of left or right to hold it back.
38. We must begin by being clear about the legacy we have inherited.
39. Some people are doing well, but too many are left behind and falling down.
40. It is a legacy that previous generations of Conservatives would have felt ashamed of.
41. After several years of economic growth, five million people of working age live in homes where nobody works. Over a million have never worked since leaving school.
42. For a generation of young men, little has come to replace the third of all manufacturing jobs that have been lost.
43. For part of a generation of young women early pregnancies and the absence of a reliable father almost guarantee a life of poverty, and today Britain has a higher proportion of single parent families than anywhere else in Europe.
44. These are the raw statistics.
45. You can add to them the 150,000 people who are now deemed to be homeless; what may be as many as 100,000 children not attending school in England and Wales; the fact that nearly a half of all crimes take place in only a tenth of the neighbourhoods in a country that has the worst crime record of any in the western world; the dozens of failing schools that threaten another generation with unemployment and failure; the housing estates cut off by failing bus services and where only a third of homes have a phone.
46. Behind the statistics lie households where three generations have never had a job.
47. There are estates where the biggest employer is the drugs industry, where all that is left of the high hopes of the post-war planners is derelict concrete.
48. Behind the statistics are people who have lost hope, trapped in fatalism.
49. If we are to act effectively it is vital that we understand how we got here.
50. The industrial revolution of the 19th century created a new working class.
51. Millions of people became key players in the economy - but lacked the basic rights to vote, rights of association at work, rights to security in old age.
52. Then it fell to the Labour party - and similar parties around the world - to bring that new class into the mainstream of society, through new rights and a comprehensive welfare state.
53. Now at the close of the 20th century, the decline of old industries and the shift to an economy based on knowledge and skills has given rise to a new class: a workless class.
54. In many countries - not just Britain - a large minority is playing no role in the formal economy, dependent on benefits and the black economy.

55. In 1979, only one in twelve non-pensioner households had no-one bringing in a wage, today one in five are in that position.
56. Without skills and opportunities people become detached not just from work, but also from citizenship in its wider sense.
57. With each generation aspirations are falling. So that whereas a generation ago even the poorest believed that they had a chance to make it to the top, now children are being brought up on benefits without ambition and without hope.
58. Earlier this century leaders faced the challenge of creating a welfare state that could provide security for the new working class.
59. Today the greatest challenge of any democratic government is to refashion our institutions to bring this new workless class back into society and into useful work, and to bring back the will to win.
60. The previous government failed that challenge because it believed that a divided Britain was sustainable. That we could afford to forget about a workless minority.
61. That it might even be the price to be paid for competitiveness.
62. But they were proven wrong.
63. First because there was no way of avoiding the cost of a workless class falling on businesses and people in work.
64. The Tories never guessed that social security spending would double since 1979, that it would rise from 9% of GDP to 13%, nearly £100 billion, that crime would more than double or that benefits for lone parents would now cost £10 billion each year.
65. Yet these were the predictable consequences of their policies, since while they talked of cutting crime and social security costs, their policies were in fact fuelling them - and loading extra costs onto everyone from taxpayers to hospitals and insurance companies.
66. Everyone who has had their house burgled, their car radio stolen, their child offered drugs in the playground, their neighbour's teenage son out of work and in trouble, knows what a mother said to me during the campaign: "what goes around comes around."
67. The second reason the Tories were proven wrong is that the people of Britain found it morally unacceptable that so many should have no stake.
68. They saw it as an offence against decency that work should be allowed to disappear from so many areas of the country, work, to be replaced by an economy built on benefits, crime, petty thieving and drugs.
69. For a country famous for its sense of fair play it was a source of national shame that visitors should see beggars on the streets and that Britain should have shot up the international league tables for inequality.

Early actions

70. The changes we seek will take many years and will involve many difficult choices.
71. There are no quick fixes.
72. But since the election we have made a quick start in dealing with this legacy.
73. There have been no excuses, and no prevarications.
74. And in every area, we have given substance to the claim that we will govern for the majority, on the basis that everyone has the opportunity to succeed and everyone has the responsibility to contribute.
75. In education we have shown that we will have zero tolerance of failure.
76. We have shown that we will not hesitate to close the worst schools, and provide something better. We have published ambitious targets for literacy and numeracy.
77. We are moving to abolish the Assisted Places Scheme and cut class sizes.
78. Good teachers will be supported, bad ones removed more quickly. And parents will have to play their part too: home-school contracts will be made compulsory in all schools.
79. Why are we so keen to raise standards in our schools?

80. Because the quickest route to the workless class is to fail your English and maths class.
81. In today's world, the more you learn, the more you earn.
82. We have committed to releasing on a phased basis the capital receipts held by councils from the sale of council houses, so that we can begin building and renovating homes to attack chronic homelessness.
83. There will be houses but there will be jobs too, part of a process of regeneration.
84. We are cutting £100 million from NHS bureaucracy and getting additional money into patient care.
85. We have created the first Minister for Public Health, whose job it will be to tackle the growing inequalities in life expectancy.
86. That will include a crackdown on teenage smoking.
87. We have committed to making the lottery serve the many not the few, introducing a new Lotteries Bill to bring opportunities for those without them, by using the proceeds of the midweek lottery to fund specific education and health projects that otherwise would not be funded at all.
88. It is the people's money, and it must be their priorities that come first.
89. The scourge of many communities is that young people with nothing to do are sucked into a life of vandalism and drugs, and make life hell for other citizens.
90. Our Youth Offender Teams are going to nip young offending in the bud.
91. Young children wandering the streets at night, getting into trouble, growing into a life of criminality, will be subject to Child Protection Orders.
92. The people suffering most from youth crime are the poor not the rich, and I want to help them.
93. In the absence of a clear philosophy of rights and duties the welfare system can discourage hard work and honesty.
94. The benefits system penalises the husband or wife of an unemployed person who takes up a job.
95. It makes couples better off when they live apart.
96. It locks people into dependence on benefits like housing benefit and income support when it should be helping them to get clear of benefits.
97. It offers little incentive to work part-time, or for irregular earnings. 30% of people live in a household dependent on a means tested benefit, which discourages work and encourages people to hide any money that is earned.
98. The task of reshaping welfare to reward hard work is daunting.
99. But we must be absolutely clear that our challenge is to help all those people who want to work but are not working with the jobs, the training and the support that they need.
100. That is why I am asking social security Ministers to look at all the key benefits and apply a simple test - do they give people a chance to work or do they trap them on benefits for the most productive years of their lives.
We are already making progress.
101. This afternoon Gordon Brown is announcing the date of the budget. It will be the Welfare to Work Budget.
102. This will be the Welfare to Work government.
103. At the heart of the budget will be a windfall tax on the excess profits of the privatised utilities.
104. We said in opposition that we would get 250,000 young people off benefit and into work. And we will.
105. This will be a budget to give hope to our young and in so doing to give back strength to our country.
106. For under 25s, we will provide new chances to take up a quality job in the private sector, backed up by a £60 a week subsidy for employers, and our aim is to help as many young people as possible into proper jobs in the private sector.
107. We will provide opportunities to join our Environmental Task Force, working on projects across the country in improving the local environment, and in everything from crime prevention to insulating homes and recycling.

108. We will provide chances to work with a voluntary organisation. And for those without adequate skills we will also provide an option of full-time education and training, to provide the foundation for getting a job in the future.

109. We will also provide new chances for adults who have been out of work for more than two years, backing their search for work with a £75 a week subsidy.

110. There will be and should be no fifth option of an inactive life on benefit.

111. There are also the half million lone parents, all of whose children are at school.

112. They range from the 40 year old divorcee who gained qualifications before having children, to the teenage mother who has never had a job.

113. But what they share in common is a desire to work, a desire to be economically self-sufficient. In the past they have been ignored by government.

114. Harriet Harman is developing a programme whereby, over time, single parents with children of school age will be invited to obtain the help of the Employment Service.

115. They will come into the Jobcentre, be given advice, directed as to where they might get upgrading of skills, and insofar as is possible, shown what child-care packages may be on offer. Of course, looking after the children comes first.

116. But much more can be done to make work and family life compatible.

117. Other reforms will obviously help: a guarantee of nursery education for four year olds, and the piloting of early excellence centres for under-fives as part of the development of a coherent programme for the education and care of young children.

118. And, as we have already said, one of the first four new projects to be funded from the midweek lottery will be after-school clubs at which children can do their homework, which will make the juggling of work and family life that much easier for parents who want to work.

119. What we are talking about is empowerment not punishment, so that as many children as possible can grow up in working households with the expectation of a job themselves.

120. What unites these policies is the idea that work is the best form of welfare - the best way of funding people's needs, and the best way of giving them a stake in society.

121. They will help the under 25s who are the first generation since the war to expect their standard of living to be worse than their parents.

The ethic of responsibility

122. To reverse the slide towards a divided nation, we also need to tap a wider ethic of responsibility.

123. The making of one nation is not just a job for government.

124. It is a task for everyone, a responsibility that applies as much at the top of society as at the bottom.

125. We have already drawn in new blood to help us.

126. And in the next few months we will be looking to companies - both large and small - to take on the young unemployed, to give them a job and training - and hope.

127. Already we see signs of an immensely encouraging response.

128. We will be looking to the voluntary sector to provide mentors and helpers, as well as jobs for young people.

129. We will be looking to schools to open through the evening to make it easier for lone parents to go out to work, and to older people to do their bit to help out in schools.

130. And we will be aiming to emulate the example of America's NetDay, when thousands of computer professionals give their time to help wire up schools and community centres so that everyone can benefit from access to the technologies of the future.

131. For the same reason we will be backing the thousands of "social entrepreneurs" - those people who bring to social problems the same enterprise and imagination that business entrepreneurs bring to wealth creation.
132. There are people on every housing estate who have it in themselves to be community leaders - the policeman who turns young people away from crime, the person who sets up a leisure centre, the local church leaders who galvanise the community to improve schools and build health centres.
133. And because the British are a generous and decent people, to back up our welfare to work programme we will be looking at ways to encourage people from all backgrounds to act as volunteer mentors for young people coming off unemployment - giving them advice, helping them through difficulties and providing a bridge to the world of jobs and careers.

Transforming the structures of government

134. We also need to change how government governs.
135. Governments can all too easily institutionalise poverty rather than solving it.
136. They can give out money not because it is the right thing to do but because it is the easy thing to do.
137. Before embarking on new policies it is salutary to remember that the equivalent of all the revenues from North Sea Oil has been spent on poverty over the last 25 years - yet poverty got worse.
138. If we are to succeed - and to avoid the pernicious combination of profligacy and neglect - it is incumbent on us to learn from the mistakes from the past.
139. There are three lessons in particular that I want to emphasise today.
140. Lesson number one is that government must not fall into the trap of short-termism.
141. Huge sums are spent dealing with this year's problems, but very little on preventing the problems that will arise in five years time.
142. So we spend more on social security to pay for people out of work than we do on training and education to help them into work.
143. We spend less than half of one percent of the criminal justice budget on crime prevention, while we spend billions on courts and prisons to deal with people after they have committed crimes.
144. And whereas 18 years ago we spent £7 billion on housing investment, today we spend £11.5 billion on housing benefit.
145. Yet we know that many problems in later life stem from problems in the family, from poor parenting and lack of support.
146. We know that if a child is aggressive and out of control, it is better to help them when they are 6 than when they have become a criminal at 16.
147. We know that if a young teenage is dropping out of school it is better to bring them back into education now, than to wait for them to be unemployable in five years time.
148. None of these measures is easy.
149. But early action can save money later on - as well as being morally right. That is why we are already putting this principle into action - turning around failing schools, supporting crime prevention to keep young people out of trouble, and investing in jobs and skills for the future rather than idleness today.
150. But we need to go further if we are to avoid the double jeopardy of worsening social problems and escalating tax bills.
151. We will be calling on departments to draw up plans for shifting energy and resources from cure to prevention, from clearing problems up to anticipating them, and I will judge their success by how far this is done.
152. Lesson number two is that government has to learn to work more coherently.
153. In every poor housing estate you can encounter literally dozens of public agencies - schools, police, probation, youth service, social services, the courts, the Employment Service and Benefits Agency, TECs, health authorities and

GPs, local authorities, City Challenge initiatives, English partnerships, careers services - all often doing good work, but all often working at cross-purposes or without adequate communication.

154. This matters because it leads to poor policy and wasted resources - like schools excluding pupils who then become a huge burden for the police.

155. Our challenge must be to overcome these barriers, liberating funds from their departmental silos so that they can be used to deliver the best results.

156. Sometimes that will mean greater competition for funds, to encourage new ideas and to reward departments and agencies for working together.

157. Sometimes it will mean backing projects that cut across the divides, like the Foyer initiatives that deal with jobs as well as homelessness.

158. Sometimes it could mean ensuring that the unemployed youngster or the lone parent has a single point of access to government services and funds, one person who can bring together the budgets that would otherwise be spent separately, so as to maximise their opportunities to find work and take control of their own lives.

159. Sometimes it will mean much more active partnership with business.

160. And everywhere it will mean making sure that budgets are directed to measurable outcomes - not just to doing things because that's the way they've always been done.

161. There is also a third lesson that is just as important. Unless Government is pragmatic and rigorous about what does and does not work, it will not spend money wisely or gain the trust of the public.

162. The last government did little serious evaluation of its policies for poverty, and didn't even know how many people had been on welfare for 10 or 20 years. Its policies were driven by dogma, not by common sense.

163. Our approach will be different.

164. We will find out what works, and we will support the successes and stop the failures. We will back anyone - from a multinational company to a community association - if they can deliver the goods.

165. We will evaluate our policies - and improve them if they need to be improved. And where appropriate we will run pilots, testing out ideas so that we can be sure that every pound we spend is well spent.

166. We will, in short, govern in a different way. In the 1960s people thought government was always the solution. In the 1980s people said government was the problem.

167. In the 1990s, we know that we cannot solve the problems of the workless class without government, but that government itself must change if it is to be part of the solution not the problem.

Conclusion

168. We must never forget that a strong, competitive, flexible economy is the prerequisite for creating jobs and opportunities.

169. But equally we must never forget that it is not enough.

170. The economy can grow even while leaving behind a workless class whose members become so detached that they are no longer full citizens.

171. The initiative on jobs and welfare that I launched last week with President Clinton was born out of a recognition that this is a shared problem and not one unique to Britain.

172. We can learn from each others experience, and we can also cooperate to find common solutions.

173. To that end we will be using our chairmanship of the G8 next year to drive this agenda forward.

174. Here in Britain, our task is to reconnect that workless class - to bring jobs, skills, opportunities and ambition to all those people who have been left behind by the Conservative years, and to restore the will to win where it has been lost.

175. That will to win is what drives every country.

176. There already is a sense of hope and optimism in the country.

177. People believe that there are new options, new possibilities. And I want everyone to be part of them.

178. That is a new government with a new sense of purpose.

179. A government that believes in giving everyone the chance to succeed and get on in life. It is a government that has a will to win.

180. To those who have lost hope over the last 18 years, I offer them a fresh start.

181. The best thing any government can offer is hope, and that is what I bring today.

Appendix 4: Coding Discourse Analysis

Analytical Category	Code
Allusion	Al
Aristotelian ideas of qualities of speech Ethos: morality or moral code	E
Aristotelian ideas of qualities of speech Logos: reason and logic	L
Aristotelian ideas of qualities of speech Pathos: emotion, affection	P
Aristotelian ideas of qualities of speech see: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0060&query=book%3D%231 Rhetorical Categories see: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rhetoric	
Assumption The implicit meanings of texts (presupposition, entailment, implicature). Fairclough, 2003:213	As
Classification Different discourses embody different classifications. Bourdieu's term for taken-for-granted ways of dividing up parts of the world. Fairclough, 2003:213	Cl
Collocation Collocations are co-occurrences between words in a text. Fairclough 2000:161	Co
Components of argumentation Understanding and identifying arguments: explicit or implied Goals of the participants Identifying the premises from which conclusions are derived Establishing the "burden of proof" who made the initial claim The advocate, to marshal evidence Fulfillment of the burden of proof creates a burden of rejoinder Coherence of reasoning	Arg
Concept An abstract idea or a mental symbol. Sometimes defined as a unit of knowledge or unit of meaning; built from other units which act as a concept's characteristics. Associated with a corresponding representation in a language or system of symbols such as a word.	C
Cultural Memory	CM
Discourse Type An example of a particular form of discourse within an order of discourse. The category required to be described and its characteristics set out. For example: SID, RED and MUD.	DT
Equivalences Texts simultaneously create differences and reduce differences - they set up antitheses and equivalences between words and phrases. Equivalence and Difference Social processes of <i>classification</i> can be seen as involving two simultaneous 'logics': a logic of difference which creates differences, and a logic of equivalence which subverts differences and creates new equivalences. Fairclough, 2000:	Eq
Image	Im
Lists or Listing In traditional grammatical terms, lists are 'paratactic' (their elements are equal, one is not subordinate to another). Items in lists tend to be equivalences. Fairclough, 2000:161	Li
Metaphor	M
Mood The grammatical moods of English are: declarative, interrogative, imperative. Every sentence is in one of these moods. Systematic preferences can be socially or ideologically significant. Fairclough, 2000:162	Mo
Nominalisation Nominalisation is the representation of a process as a noun - Nominalisation characteristically means vagueness - no specification of what is changing, in what ways, over what period of time, and so forth. One possible consequence links nominalisation to passive - agency and responsibility can be obfuscated. Fairclough, 2000:163	Nom

Analytical Category	Code
Over-wording The 'proliferation of different words in the same area of meaning, for instance the words associated with partnership in the language of New Labour – 'partnership', 'cooperation', 'consultation', 'dialogue', 'working (bringing, coming) together', and so forth. Over-wording may be indicative of 'intense ideological preoccupation!' - suggesting that a particular area of meaning is especially significant or problematic.' Fairclough 2000:161	OW
Simile Note: CDA can be presented as a method of analysing discourse but this is not the understanding attached to it by Fairclough. The key concern of CDA is that it goes beyond simply the analysis of specific structures of text or talk to elucidate the ideological properties of text; the operation of discourse in power relations or the way in which discourse acts to reproduce (or oppose) social and political inequality. Any method of discourse analysis can be employed. It is incumbent to make the approach explicit, but the fundamental requirement is its capacity to reveal or decode the ideological properties of text and their relation to power and the sociopolitical structures in the wider societal order.	S

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End Notes

ⁱⁱ Lecture of 31st January 1979: Naissance de la biopolitique

ⁱⁱⁱ The statement is the name given to utterances, things said, constituent elements of a text that operate above the level of the clause. What is essential about the statement is not its linguistic construction or grammatical form. Archaeology is concerned with serious statements that tend to express or contain truth claims and can be organised by their regularities into a system of formation. Statements are the elements that compose discursive formations; ‘...the general enunciative system that governs a group of verbal performances.’ (Foucault 1972:117)

^{iv} Friedrich Nietzsche first published *The Genealogy of Morality* in 1887. It takes a historical perspective in arguing how moral concepts evolved; outlining ‘the origin of our moral prejudices.’ As the 1960s drew to a close the application of a form of Nietzschean ‘genealogy’ was to become influential in Foucault’s approach to research (Olssen, 2006). “Genealogy could thus unearth, not just the unconscious rules which lead members of a community to accept some statements as true and reject others as false, but the subtle historical and social conditions which bring about the institutions in which those rules are accepted. The particular set of unconscious rules which most interested Foucault were those which constitute the discursive practice of modern, or post-enlightenment, society, the society of ‘science’, ‘reason’ and of ‘humanism’.” (Matthews 1996)

^v Theoretical Knowledge or deep knowledge.

^{vi} The idea of police is used in its archaic sense, not in terms of its more contemporary identification with repressive control in a State that exhibits elements of totalitarianism. The German science of administration, *polizeiwissenschaft*, had as its concern a wide range of instructions and ordinances that has as their end *order* in the community. This notion of police can be traced back to the 13th century in German and French regions and is associated with a form of government known as cameralism. Cameralism can be understood as a European predecessor of contemporary public administration.

^{vii} In approaching the primary literature on social capital there emerges what perhaps could be characterised as a clear fault line. This fissure can be thought of as demarcating two broad discourses of social capital reflecting the differing contexts and theoretical milieu from which forms of social capital theory have emerged and developed. On one side, around a social reproductive conflict point of reference, there is a vertical orientation to social capital theory, associated with the innovation of Bourdieu (1986). This vertical orientation can be contrasted with a horizontal more functionalist orientation associated with Coleman (1988) and taken up by Putnam (2000) who, in turn, has become synonymous with the notion of social capital circulating in the policy climate. Bourdieu developed his formulation of social capital within the thrust of an intellectual project that sought, operating within a broadly Marxist framework, to recognize the dynamics of a hierarchically structured social order, its operation and in particular, its mechanisms of reproduction. For Bourdieu the existence, stability and recreation of social inequality was decisively unmasked when examined through the operation of capital, primarily the possession of economic capital. However, economic capital was only part of a much more ambitious endeavour to articulate the nature of a new comprehensive account of an economy of forms of capital. Using this original multi-capital scheme, including ideas of, economic, cultural, symbolic and social capital developed to differing degrees of theoretical precision, Bourdieu set out to explain the operation of the different forms of

exchanges that reproduced the social order. Bourdieu's is a vertical formulation of social capital in that it captures differences in power, status and resources, drawing attention not only to the accessible resources available through social bonds but to the fundamentally different 'aggregate of the actual or potential resources.' For Bourdieu, the value or worth, or the power of such diverse resources accessible within social networks corresponded to, and was mediated by, class position in the social structure. James Coleman stands as a key Figure in the launch of a horizontally orientated social capital theory in the English speaking world, notably through a paper entitled *social capital in the creation of human capital* (Coleman 1988) and a book, *foundations of social theory* (Coleman 1990). It is hard not to believe that, along with the lucid articulation of its meaning, Coleman's established eminence as a sociologist played an important part in drawing attention to this idea (Field 2003). Again, Coleman's intellectual biography is essential to understanding his formulation and use of social capital. A distinct feature of Coleman's social theory is his commitment to methodological individualism, in seeking to explain the social Coleman remained steadfast in a commitment to rational choice theory. Notable in Coleman's work predating his venture into social capital is his involvement with social exchange theory (Fine 2001) and his collaboration with Gary Becker (1964) at the University of Chicago. Coleman's formulation of social capital must be understood as part of a more general attempt to integrate economics and sociology underpinned by rational choice. Fine (ibid) draws attention to Coleman's contribution to social exchange theory and the lack of consideration given to its significance and continuity with his development of social capital. At its heart social exchange theory, operating on the basis of methodological individualism, sought to explain the social in terms of the cumulative behaviours of individuals. This project drew on a theorisation of exchange and on behavioural psychology. In moving on to social capital Coleman engages in a new partnership with economics in the enterprise of explaining the relation of the individual to the macro. While finding the use of aggregation within economics to be inadequate, Coleman also admires this solution as being constructive, but strives to go further in explaining the social structures that frame individual rational actions. Social capital therefore operates for Coleman as a form of public good, a resource, arising as a by-product of the actions and relations of free self interested individuals who create obligations, reciprocity, trust and norms providing benefits that can have a wider impact and sanctions and reinforcements that can prevent free riding. For Coleman, social capital could explain aspects of the development of human capital, and can exist in different forms and importantly in differing quantities. Robert Putnam, a political scientist by discipline, has been elevated from the shadows of academia to the status of public intellectual on the basis of his articulation of social capital theory. His first modest venture into the explanatory property of social capital, *Making Democracy Work* (Putnam, Leonardi et al. 1993), a study of regional government in Italy, only gained semi-canonical status in retrospect when he turned his attention to the civic climate of the US using a social capital framework. It was a paper (Putnam, 1995) and a subsequent book; both provocatively titled *Bowling Alone* (2000) that propelled social capital into the mainstream of political and educated popular thought. Putnam's message was that contemporary America was experiencing an ongoing decline in its social capital, exemplified in the demise of associational life; a view supported by a plethora of indices of falling membership, lack of trust, encapsulated in the change from organised bowling leagues to the motif of the individual bowler. Putnam's approach to social capital is informed by Coleman, acknowledging the influence of Coleman's study (1988) of its relation to educational outcomes. Putnam defined social capital in terms of the establishment of networks, norms and trust and shares a broadly public goods conception with Coleman. In Putnam's application of social capital there is an up-scaling of the level of analysis. In the Italian study Putnam focuses on the operation of regions in the North and South, and in turning his attention to the US he makes use of the state level as a subunit of the national. The existence and vitality of networks, norms and trust are presented by Putnam as key dimensions of the strength of society and its ability to generate wealth, health and provide contentment. Putnam (2000) made use of a 'social capital index' including components

measuring participation, volunteerism, sociability and trust, to produce a graded map of social capital across America's states. This array of social capital scores was then correlated by Putnam with a range of other indices (including education, crime, prosperity and democracy) to conclude that there is a positive relation between high levels of social capital and other desirable outcomes. Putnam gives an unequivocally affirmative answer to his question; 'does social capital have salutary effects on individuals, communities, or even entire nations?' Horizontal social capital harmonises powerfully with the essential assemblage of other knowledges, economic, political, social and ethical, that make Third Way government thinkable.

^{viii} Bio-politics and bio-power are terms coined by Foucault to refer to technologies; discourses, policies, practices and forms of knowledge directed at managing and maximising what could be termed the State's human resources. This technology seeks to manage aspects such as births, deaths, reproduction and health. Foucault contends that bio-power comes into existence in the late eighteenth century with the emergence of population. The body and behaviour of the citizen is the object of bio-power. See Foucault's (1979) first volume of *The History of Sexuality*.

^{ix} Foucault is recorded as replying that he had abstained from the State, "in the sense that one abstains from an indigestible meal" when challenged that he had neglected the State by a Marxist critic. However, Foucault did not view the State as unimportant, but came to theorise it in a way that was informed by his understanding of power. Theories of the State in juridical terms of illegitimacy, or in Marxist terms of it possessing power, were inadequate in capturing the effects, or 'microprocesses' of power that gave meaning to practices and effects. The State, for Foucault, lacked a solid essence that was adequate to the questions he wanted to answer, it was a significant, if complex and profuse assemblage of institutions and arrangements that transversed a whole web of other networks of power that extended beyond the State into every aspect of the social nexus '... the State does not have an essence. The State is not universal, the State is not in itself an autonomous source of power. The State is nothing other than the effect, the outline, the moving cross section of a perpetual process of State formation ... The State is nothing other than the changing effect of a multiple regime of governmentalities ... It is a matter of ... undertaking the investigation of the problem of the State starting from practices of governmentality.' Michel Foucault. (2004:79). *Naissance de la biopolitique. Cours au Collège de France. 1978-1979*. Paris: Gallimard. (Translation by. Clare O'Farrell). Available at <http://www.michel-foucault.com/quote/2005q.html>

^x Greek term for the art, craft, or skill involved in deliberately producing something.

^{xi} The leader's speech to the annual party conference; a discursive event invested with cultural significance and authority. Labour Party Conference, Winter Gardens, Blackpool; Tuesday 1st October 2002.

^{xii} Anthony Giddens (Now Baron Giddens of Southgate) was Professor of Sociology at the University of Cambridge from 1986-96 and served as Director of the London School of Economics. He is a Fellow of the American Academy of Science and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. He was the BBC Reith Lecturer on the subject of globalisation in 1999. Notably for a sociologist, Giddens' impact upon politics has been significant. He has acted in an advisory capacity to political leaders from Asia, Latin America and Australia, the US and Europe. As illustrated in this chapter he has been a principal architect of the New Labour project and took an active part following 1997 in the Blair-Clinton dialogues. His books include: *Social Theory and Modern Sociology*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987; Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. *The Consequences of Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990; Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. *The Transformation of Intimacy*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992; Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. *Making Sense of Modernity*. Conversations with Anthony Giddens, Polity Press, 1988.

^{xiii} Communitarianism can be seen as a form of reaction to what are regarded as the undesirable effects of the atomistic tendencies of modern liberal societies. For example the most high profile group advocating ideas around this position, the *Communitarian Network* founded in 1993 by Amitai Etzioni, state on their website that they are a network 'who have come together to shore up the social, moral and political environment.' The 'shore up' metaphor can be understood to operate by suggesting that the social moral and political dimensions of modern society in the US and in other developed contexts are collapsing. Communitarians advocate the necessity of obligations and the need to acquire a sense of personal and civic responsibilities. Excessive individualism and a neglect of community, social responsibilities and duties to civil society are ultimately to blame for social disintegration and untimely threaten freedoms, liberties and democratic forms of life. See <http://www.gwu.edu/~ccps/>

^{xiv} The Fabian society, founded in 1884, by a group of socialist intellectuals who came together in order to work for the transform of society. In preference to revolutionary socialism the group favoured an incremental approach to change, this outlook is symbolised in their choice of name (after the Roman general Quintus Fabius Maximus famous for his strategic choice of progress by slow attrition and harassment of the enemy). The group came together around two prominent members, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, who along with another two famous members Graham Wallas, and George Bernard Shaw founded the London School of Economics. Many Fabians were instrumental in the formation of the Labour Party in 1900, including Sidney Webb, and to this day the society is affiliated to the Party. The Fabian society holds a very significant position in the history, imagination and symbolic systems of Labour. In particular it operates as an important intellectual forum in the generation of the political ideas and the policy reforms.

^{xv} Political economy is used here in terms of that relationship or interaction between the State and the market, or the government of the economic by the State. Predating the limitation of the focus of political economy (from around the end of the 18th century) to a direct concern for the wealth of the nation, its literature also embraced the social, moral, political and administrative questions that the relation between the State and the economy raised.

^{xvi} Final Report of Labour's Policy Review for the 1990s. Labour Party, (1989) *Meet the Challenge, Make the Change: A New Agenda for Britain*. London: Labour Party.

^{xvii} This new 'managerialism' can be identified as a distinctive feature of policy making during the Thatcher administrations. A business mind-set would replace the conventions of bureaucracy, planning would be relegated by competition and the logics of the system would be rendered redundant by the "logics of the market and the demands of customers" (Self,1993). Farnham and Horton list five axioms of managerialism: '...social progress requires continuing increases in economic productivity; productivity increases come from applying sophisticated technologies; the application of these technologies can only be achieved through a disciplined workforce; business success depends on the professionalism of skilled managers; and to perform their crucial role managers must have the right to manage' (Farnham and Horton, 1999:41).

^{xviii} The idea of the realm of the Red Queen is a literary metaphor, also used in science, inspired by Lewis Carroll's *Alice Through the Looking Glass*. In the world of the Red Queen Alice discovers that you have to run at speed in order to stay in the same place.

^{xix} The Office of Public Services Reform was established in summer 2001 to advise the Prime Minister and work with Government Departments on how reform of public services, including the Civil Service and local government, can be achieved. (see <http://www.number10.gov.uk/files/pdf/p%20into%20p.pdf>)

^{xx} Homo economicus, or Economic man was the name given to a conception of the subject that developed in classical liberal economic thought, in particular John Stuart Mill's work on political economy. Economic man was characterised as being rational, self-interested and conditioned to maximise their own utility.

^{xxi} Geoff Mulgan was a prominent New Labour intellectual, described in a Guardian article as the ultimate New Labourite. Following the election of the first Blair government, Mulgan was director of the government's strategy unit and the Prime Minister's head of policy. In the years proceeding 1997 he was a founder and director of the influential think-tank Demos. See:
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2006/may/26/thinktanks.labour>

^{xxii} Giddens (2000:16) proposed a third sector be added to this schema. He is also concerned with the 'revolt of the elites,' exclusion at the top or self exclusion, arguing that this is also a problem for social cohesion. However this elaboration was to have little impression on policy that attempted to govern what was rendered visible through an inclusion/exclusion model of the social.

^{xxiii} In a much acclaimed biography Donald Macintyre (2000) opens the first chapter with the line, 'Tony Blair chose the Labour Party; Peter Mandelson was born into it.' Mandelson was born into Labour aristocracy being the grandson, on his mother's side, of the Labour cabinet minister Herbert Morrison. His childhood and early life were lived in close proximity to politics and the Labour Party; becoming a party member at age 16 followed by a brief involvement with the Young Communist League over Labour's stance on the Vietnam War (Seldon 2004). In what could be seen as a portent of his destiny as a politician he was as a child no stranger to the inside of number 10 Downing street; Mandelson and his brother being friends with the children of the Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson. After grammar school he studied philosophy, politics and economics at St Catherine's College, Oxford followed by employment in the economics department of the Trades Union Congress. Around this period Mandelson had the formative experience of witnessing the hard left at close hand as a member of Lambeth Council in South London. It was here he met his long time collaborator and political associate Roger Liddle (see Mandelson and Liddle, 1996). By the early 1980s Mandelson had become disillusioned by the internal strife that was churning the Labour party, even though he still harbored an ambition to become an MP, and looked for respite in a break from active politics. In 1982 he joined *The London Programme* as a researcher followed by a job as a producer for London Weekend Television on the flagship *Weekend World* programme. Here he became friends with John Birt, who would subsequently become the Director General of the BBC. The experience gained from this media phase of his political development was to eventually prove decisive in propelling Mandelson into the higher echelons of power within the Labour party. Significantly in 1985 Mandelson took up role of director of communications under the Labour Leader Neil Kinnock. He was elected as MP for the Hartlepool seat in 1992. In what is now part of the internal drama of Labour Party history, Mandelson was cast as kingmaker to Tony Blair (leading to a break in relations with his one time very close political companion Gordon Brown) in his move to the leadership of the party in 1994 after the sudden death of John Smith. Mandelson is for many a backroom fixer, a master of presentation and the black arts of political manipulation. This firmly established perception in the popular imagination has tended to mask any appraisal of Mandelson as mentor to Brown and Blair, as a serious political thinker, master strategist and senior member of the founding inner circle of New Labour.

^{xxiv} The section of the speech focused on social exclusion was publicly available on the website of the new Social Exclusion Unit; only in the early months of the existence. The creation of this unit was in fact trailed in the speech. It is perhaps unsurprising, from a political perspective given the ambition of some of the claims made in the

speech, the setting up of hostages to fortune ('our vision is to end social exclusion'), that it was quickly removed.

^{xxv} The Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) moved to the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) in May 2002, from the Cabinet Office. In line with the remit of the ODPM to promote the creation of sustainable communities, the Social Exclusion Unit works with the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, Homelessness and Housing Support Directorates to develop and promote policy that tackles deprivation. For the background of the SEU see

<http://www.literacytrust.org.uk/Database/Exclusion.html#Background>

^{xxvi} Collocation: See appendix IV

^{xxvii} Accommodation in discourse terms is an attempt to scrutinise the extent to which a speaker or writer has to alter their discourse to make it more accessible, coherent or communicable to listeners or an audience.

^{xxviii} Demos is an independent think tank and research institute closely aligned to New Labour. Demos was founded in 1993 by Martin Jacques (a former editor of *Marxism Today*) and Geoff Mulgan its first director. Mulgan worked as chief advisor to Gordon Brown as part of a team that included Ed Balls prior to the 1997 election victory. Mulgan left Demos for Downing Street and served as Blair's Director of Policy and Director of the Prime Minister's Strategy Unit (formerly known as the Performance and Innovation Unit).

^{xxix} Equivalences: Texts simultaneously create differences and reduce differences - they set up antitheses* and equivalences between words and phrases. See Fairclough, 2000:161.

^{xxx} Significantly the *estate* Figure s in the very first line of the first speech given by Blair on the Aylesbury Housing Estate in June 1997. 'I have chosen this housing estate to deliver my first speech as Prime Minister for a very simple reason. For 18 years, the poorest people in our country have been forgotten by government.' (Appendix III)

^{xxxi} In semiology, denotation is understood as the first, primary or literal meaning of a sign. The meanings of such signs are understandable through everyday knowledge.

^{xxxii} Murray did not invent the term underclass but has been credited with its emergence into popular speech and writing. Murray's construction of the underclass takes place within the context of his critique of US welfare in the 1980s, in particular he argued that the perverse outcomes of benefits in producing dependence and fostering antisocial habits was a threat. Unlike structural accounts of class position, Murray located the existence of an underclass in terms of culture and understood its members as being accounted for by their own moral destitution. See Murray (1984). Murray visited the UK in 1998 and had an article outlining his thesis published in the *Sunday Times*.

^{xxxiii} Lambeth is ranked 23 out of 354 local authorities in England in levels of deprivation (where 1 is most deprived). Lambeth ranks 8 out of 376 local authorities in England and Wales for the number of unemployed 16-74 year olds (1 being the highest - source: ONS) 79% of Lambeth's SOAs are ranked within the 30% most deprived in England and some of Lambeth's Wards are within the 5% most deprived in the country. Children in Lambeth are more likely to live in poverty. Source: <http://www.walcotfoundation.org.uk/PovertyLambeth.html>

^{xxxiv} Seldon (2005) notes that overtures by the Church of England to have a senior Figure seconded to the Social Exclusion Unit were rejected by New Labour.

^{xxxv} David Blunkett was to prove a very significant figure in New Labour's policy approach to compulsory education. Blunkett was born blind and grew up during the late 1940s in the grinding poverty of one of Sheffield's most deprived districts. His parents were poor but deeply supportive of their son. In the face of many obstacles Blunkett single-mindedly attempted to get the most out of the limited educational opportunities provided to him. He was to prove an able and resolute student, finally graduating in 1972 after reading politics and modern history at the University of Sheffield. As a student he became a Labour Member of Sheffield Council in 1969. He was to go on to led the city council for seven years before entering the Commons and has been Member of Parliament for Sheffield Brightside since 1987. He rose to the Party's national executive, and chaired the Labour Party nationally, together with shadow cabinet roles in health and education. He brought the New Labour modernisation agenda to the education and employment portfolio in the First Blair government. His career was to go into decline following damage to his reputation from media coverage of events in his personal life and allegations of abuse of power.

^{xxxvi} First speech by Blair as Prime Minister: Monday 2 June 1997, at the Aylesbury estate, Southwark. *The Will to Win* is structured into five sections (See Appendix III);

The Will to Win	1-69
Early actions	70-122
The ethic of responsibility	123-134
Transforming the structures of government	135-168
Conclusion	169-170

^{xxxvii} T.H. Marshall (1893-1981) was an eminent British sociologist. In 1950 he published what was to become a very influential essay on citizenship. In *Citizenship and Social Class*, Marshall traced the historical development of citizenship rights through their civil and political establishment. He extended this analysis to set out the concept of social rights; and the position that full citizenship comprised possession of all three forms of rights.

^{xxxviii} Picture of Tony Giddens: Permission is granted to copy, distribute and/or modify this document under the terms of the GNU Free Documentation License, Version 1.2 or any later version published by the Free Software Foundation. A copy of the license is available at

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Commons:GNU_Free_Documentation_License

^{xxxix} The new vocationalism (Ball, 1992) is a descriptive term that emerged in the sociology of education literature in the UK during the 1980s to describe the emergence of a shift in education policy towards the needs of industry and employment. I make use of the term the *new knowledge vocationalism* to express both the continuity of the economic and vocational imperative over this period and in attempting to capture the intensification of this trajectory in response to the analysis of new times in New Labour's claim's to power; its developmentalism and attraction to endogenous growth theory and its management of the State toward success in a global economic competition where knowledge has come to be understood as the fundamental economic resource.

^{xl} Dean (1999) for example, takes up the idea of problematizations, from Foucault, as the action of calling into question some aspect of the 'conduct of conduct.' Problematizations are a key element in the rationality that underpins regimes of practices.

^{xli} In one of life's little coincidences I wrote this section of the paper on the day the death of Milton Friedman was announced (16th Nov. 2006). The US economist died at the age of 94 died in San Francisco. The phrase 'there's no such thing as a free lunch,' was typical of Friedman's promotion of the tenets of liberal political economy, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for economics in 1976. He had travelled to Chile in 1975 and

met with Pinochet, the junta was being advised by members of the Chicago school, the Chilean episode was for many an indelible stain on his reputation.

^{xlii} Background to Roger Scruton

^{xliii} Antony Fisher (1915 - 1988) took the advice of Friedrich von Hayek to heart in what was to become his life's work. Over the course of his lifetime, after establishing the Institute of Economic Affairs in 1955, Fisher went on to help establish up to 150 other think-tanks. Included in this number are the Atlas Economic Research Foundation and such libertarian think-tanks as: Fraser Institute, Manhattan Institute, Pacific Research Institute, National Centre for Policy Analysis and the Adam Smith Institute.

^{xliv} The Foundation for Economic Education was the first modern think tank established in the United States specifically to promote and disseminate free-market and libertarian ideas. To this day it continues to promote neoliberal ideas.
<http://www.fee.org/tradition>

^{xl} *The Adam Smith Institute* is a free market think tank founded by Madsen Pirie and Eamonn Butler in 1977 with the assistance of Antony Fisher of the Institute of Economic Affairs. Madsen Pirie, Eamonn Butler along with Stuart Butler were students at the University of St Andrews, Scotland. This connection to the University of St Andrews is an important link to the IEA and with a college of New Right Conservative MPs including Michael Forsyth, Christopher Cope, Robert Jones and Michael Fallon; all future members of the *NO Turning Back* group of Conservative MPs. The Adam Smith Institute operates from a commitment to classical liberal principles and public choice theory; it is distinguished by a focus on policy implementation and the generation and promotion of market solutions and public policy options.

The Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) is a neoliberal think tank. It was set up following the 1974 election defeat by Margaret Thatcher, the Tory grandee Keith Joseph and Alfred Sherman (an adviser to Margaret Thatcher, writer and political analyst). Joseph became a convert to Friedman's theory of monetarism and was instrumental in persuading Thatcher of its importance. The CPS sought to influence the future direction of Conservative party policy inspired by the German social market philosophy.

The Social Affairs Unit (SAU) is a right of centre think tank started with support from the Institute of Economic Affairs. The founding director was Digby Anderson; a writer and editor of several conservative American and British journals. Initially the Unit concentrated on promoting critical evaluations and alternative ideas to the welfare state. Latterly the SAU is notable for its emphasis on values, and the moral order and their relation to a stable society that supports freedom and a classical liberal economic order. It has drawn inspiration from American neoconservatism, notably the critique by Kristol and other neoconservatives of Johnston's Great Society programme, and the role of the 'New Class' and their position in welfare statism.

^{xlvi} For a history of RAND <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/RAND>

^{xlvii} A committed Thatcherite, John Redwood became a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, in 1972 and has been a visiting professorship at Middlesex University since 2000. In the early 1980s he was head of Margaret Thatcher's Policy Unit, he became the MP for Wokingham in 1987. In November 1990, he was promoted to Minister of State. He was the guiding hand behind the privatisation of the UK's nationalized telecoms industry. After the 1992 General Election as Minister for Local Government and Inner Cities he oversaw the abolition of the Community Charge, or poll tax.

^{xlviii} Willetts' early career included being a private researcher for Nigel Lawson. At the tender age of 26 he was to lead the treasury monetary policy division, moving to on to Margaret Thatcher's Policy Unit. He went on to lead the centre for policy studies. Aged 36, Willetts entered Parliament in 1992, as the member for Havant. He went on to

become a whip, Cabinet Office minister and Paymaster General. He was nicknamed Two Brains by a political journalist, a name that stuck, due to his physical appearance, ties to academia and policy background. At present (2010) he remains a key thinker in the Cameron shadow cabinet.

^{xlix} Duncan Black was born in Motherwell in 1908 and grew up in Argyll, he went on to study mathematics and physics at the University of Glasgow then economics at Dundee. He is virtually unknown in his native Scotland; he taught at Dundee School of Economics, the University College of North Wales and Glasgow. He had a number of visiting teaching positions in the United States. The George Mason University near Washington has a Duncan Black Chair in Economics in his honour. He has recently been eulogised in relation to his contribution to public choice on the IEA website: <http://www.iea.org.uk/record.jsp?type=pressArticle&ID=265>

ⁱ Woodhead had been an English teacher before moving into teacher education at the University of Oxford. This was followed by a period as a senior education officer in number of local authorities before becoming Chief Executive of the National Curriculum Council and the School Examinations and Assessment Council. Woodhead was to become the controversial and divisive head of the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) in 1994.

^{li} Cyril Lodowic Burt (1883 -1971) was an influential educational psychologist belonging to the London School of Differential Psychology. Burt was posthumously accused of scientific fraud, see Stephen Jay Gould's *The Mismeasure of Man*. Gould, S. J. (1984). *The mismeasure of man*. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1984.

^{lii} Charles Anthony Raven Crosland (1918-77) was a Labour Member of Parliament and socialist intellectual in the revisionist tradition (Sassoon 1997). Crosland was a member of the Fabian Society, one of the authors of the *New Fabian Essays* (his most influential work was Crosland, C. A. (1956). *The Future of Socialism*, Jonathan Cape: London.) He was a strong supporter of Comprehensive Schools; his wife in her biography controversially quoted him as saying, "If it's the last thing I do, I'm going to destroy every fucking grammar school in England and Wales and Northern Ireland." Crosland, S. (1982). *Tony Crosland*. [Sevenoaks], Coronet, 1983.

^{liii} Ed Balls was educated at Keble College, Oxford; and the John F Kennedy School of Government, Harvard and was a teaching fellow in the Department of Economics at Harvard in the period 1989-90. This was followed with a spell as a journalist with the Financial Times.

^{liv} Following a period as an academic, Adonis worked as a journalist at the Financial Times and then the Observer. From joining the party in 1995, Andrew Adonis was to rise rapidly as a key advisor and Blair aid. He joined the Downing Street policy unit in 1998 and by 2001, at the age of 38, he had become its head. In 2005 he was made a life peer (Baron Adonis, of Camden Town); this made possible his appointment to the government post of Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State in the Department for Education and Skills without having been elected to Parliament.

^{lv} Michael Barber's career began as a teacher and NUT official. He then moved into educational management within a LEA. This was followed by a period in academia, then on to become the director of the Standards and Effectiveness Unit of the Department for Education and Skills. In 2001 he moved to the centre of New Labour in government, taking the helm of the Prime Minister's Delivery Unit. In a way that perhaps reflects the ethos of Third Way, Barber left government and joined McKinsey and Company, a private consulting firm, in July 2005.

^{lvi} In his diary Blunkett (2006, 32) recorded that: 'Chris Woodhead had many qualities which he did his best to hide, but collegiality and modesty were not among them.'

^{lvii} A candidate for the most public casualty of this approach is the resignation of Estelle Morris from ministerial office over literacy and numeracy targets not being met. Morris was at the time Secretary of State for Education and Skills, the first (former) comprehensive school teacher to hold this office.

^{lviii} The 1945 Education Act introduced free universal secondary education in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. Introduced by R.A. Butler (Conservative Secretary of State for Education) the structure of the system was to be tripartite. After selection by examination at aged 11, children would progress on to one of three types of school; secondary modern, secondary technical or grammar school. In practice the system was more bipartite due to the inhibitive cost of technical schools. Access to the limited grammar school places (15-25%) became very competitive with the vast majority of children being sent to the inferior secondary modern. Educationalist from the left saw the extension of secondary education as a progressive reform, while at the same time, viewing the selective nature of the structure as regressive.

^{lix} McSimth (1996:189) gives the incredible statistic that: 60% of all delegates to the 1995 party conference were teachers or school governors.

^{lx} See <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/1996/dec/15/publicservices.education>

^{lxi} EGSIE was carried out with support from the European Commission, participating universities and by national research councils. See Uppsala Report No. 39: Lindblad, S. & Popkewitz, T. (Eds) (2002) Education governance and social integration and exclusion: studies in the power of reason and the reasons of power, Uppsala Reports on Education No. 39 (Uppsala, Universitetsstryckeriet).

^{lxii} The first Scottish Parliament for almost 300 years was elected on 6 May 1999. As part of its election manifesto in 1997, New Labour had proposed a programme of constitutional reforms including a referendum on a Scottish Parliament. The Parliament has devolved powers over such areas as health, education, criminal justice, housing and local government. Other areas are reserved to the Westminster UK Government (known as reserved matters) for example: defence, foreign policy, and welfare. The Scottish Executive is the Scottish equivalent of the Westminster cabinet; taking government decisions and policy making on devolved matters. The Executive is comprised of a First Minister and a Cabinet

^{lxiii} ScotXed: see <https://www.scotxed.net/jahia/Jahia/lang/en/pid/87>

^{lxiv} The use of self-evaluation in school improvement and quality assurance is a central idea in the thinking of Scotland's education inspectorate, see <http://www.hmie.gov.uk/documents/publication/hgios.pdf>. There is a sense within the inspectorate that Scotland leads the way on self-evaluation, it has been promoted as a significant Scottish contribution to practice in this field, and as an organisation the inspectorate have taken public satisfaction in promoting this approach and subsequent international interest. This view is apparent in a recent policy document from the Scottish Executive in which it listed one of Scotland's successes as having 'a world renowned system of inspection and self-evaluation' (2004, Ambitious Excellent Schools: see <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2004/11/20176/45852#6>).

^{lxv} The 'Committee of Inquiry into Professional Conditions of Service for Teachers' produced a two-volume final report dated 31st May 2000, entitled: 'A Teaching Profession for the 21st Century'. The agreement reached following recommendations made in the McCrone Report was given the same overall title but was published in January 2001.

^{lxvi} COSLA: the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities is the representative organisation of Scottish local government and also acts as an employers' association on behalf of all Scottish councils.

^{lxvii} '...we have decided to focus the additional efforts described in this document in the following inner city areas in the first instance: Inner London, Manchester/Salford, Liverpool/Knowsley, Birmingham, Leeds/Bradford, Sheffield/Rotherham.' *Excellence in Cities* (DfEE, 1999:13).

^{lxviii} Up until recently sponsors of an academy were required to provide 10% of the capital costs for the academy (or £2m, depending on which sum is the lower). In a move designed to generate more sponsors, federate academies under existing schools that are successful, or encourage charities to become sponsors, the government removed the requirement for financial sponsorship. The new requirement would be a track record of management and leadership success. See http://www.dcsf.gov.uk/pns/DisplayPN.cgi?pn_id=2009_0158

^{lxix} Foucault's neologism 'power-knowledge,' arises from his theorization of the complex relationship or connection between power and knowledge. For Foucault knowledge systems had to be understood as linked to the social structure. Systems of knowledge are fundamental to the exercise of power and shape, and importantly are shaped by, the power relations of the social order.

^{lxx} While similar methodologies for the construction of indices are used across Great Britain and Northern Ireland, there are important geographical differences and differences in the data used. Such differences results in a lack of comparability across indices.

